

THE INFLUENCE OF THE YOUTH MOVEMENT ON

GERMAN EDUCATION

by

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SCHOOL EXCURSIONS : ARDGOIL AND MOORWARDER.

GEORGE THOMSON.

Whoever first thought of associating Silver Jubilee Celebrations with Ardgool Estate deserves a Jubilee Medal. Forty thousand Glasgow school children would certainly unite to do him honour. It was a bold experiment organising a fortnight's excursions from the city schools, but all who were associated with these excursions in any capacity must agree that they were an unqualified success. It is difficult to estimate the significance of such an excursion for Glasgow children: the rich and varied experiences of the day, the novelty, the glamour which invests the most trivial incident, the memories which will but mellow with the years. On such a day nothing is commonplace.

The children assemble in the school playground. All is excitement. Eyes are bright and shining with keen anticipation. A murmur of conversation runs through the class-groups. From a little group of boys comes a voice 'Did ye hear 'im say that efter we eat, the time's oor ain to three o'clock?' Another responds 'By jings, it'll be oor ain tae!' They are just like puppies being let off the lead. This is not an ordinary holiday. It is not a holiday from school, it is a genuine school holiday. Their first feeling is that this is a school day that is going to be different.

Tramcars are waiting and off we go. A talkative conductor tries to discuss the day's news with us on the

platform, but he might as well save his breath: the occupants of the top deck are bawling 'Roll along, covered waggon, roll along', while at the same time those downstairs are loudly lamenting 'Poor old Joe'. We arrive eventually at Bridge Wharf, and then there are all the thrills of embarkation. At the gangway each child receives two packages, a bun and a biscuit to take the edge off appetite, a little box of chocolate drops to whet the edge of enjoyment. By the time these have received due attention Bridge Wharf is far behind, we are well on our way 'doon the Watter'. Everything moves steadily past as we stand looking over the rail - the long line of wharves, docks, ship-yards, ships and yet more ships, the 'Queen Mary' massive yet graceful, cranes gigantic against the sky, a dredger at work, Dumbarton Rock. Now we are into more spacious country, hills merge into hills, leading the eye to the far horizon. And the children! Some are standing at the rail taking in every detail of the changing panorama, others are prowling round exploring the ship. Some of the more boisterous are frolicking about, puppies chasing their own metaphorical tails, others are silent, watching the cloud-shadows drifting across the landscape and weaving an ever-varying pattern of light and shade over the colours of hillside and loch.

The hills are receding into the distance; we are on our return journey and the trip is almost over. It is a time for reflection, for letting the mind drift pleasantly over the experiences of the day. As thoughts drift on, the scene changes before me. This is no longer . . . Hamburg

children. The deck is more open but more crowded. The children look different from Glasgow children, the boys with close-cropped heads and sun-tanned skin, many of them wearing only shirt and shorts, the girls with fair hair dangling in plaits or clasped tightly at the nape of the neck, with dresses rough and serviceable, mainly blue in colour. There is a constant chatter of talk and of nonsense, an occasional burst of laughter. From the far corner of the deck comes the strumming of a uke' almost submerged by lusty young voices singing about the 'lieb' Vaterland.

(This is no longer the 'Queen Alexandra' sailing up the Clyde. The brown waters which are swirling past are the waters of the Elbe: it is July, 1933, and I am returning to Hamburg from Moorwärder Day Colony on the Hugo von Basedow, with 1,000 Hamburg children). It is an interesting parallel - the excursion from Glasgow to Ardgool, the excursion from Hamburg to Moorwärder! The comparison is tempting, but what contrasts it reveals!

Hamburg has two Day Colonies for school children, one at Moorwärder, forty minutes by steamer up the Elbe,

with full accommodation for 2,000 children, the other at Kohlbrand, across the Elbe by ferry from the centre of the city, with full accommodation for 3,000. During the summer vacation, three groups of almost 2,000 children each go to Moorwärder for consecutive fortnightly periods, travelling by steamer morning and evening, spending the whole day at Moorwärder. Similarly for Kohlbrand. Each child pays roughly ten shillings for his fortnight's stay, the money being collected in instalments at the schools. For poorer children the charge is reduced, according to home circumstances, and in many cases it is purely nominal. The colonies are subsidised directly from city funds so that the charges made are no index of actual expenses. Now note this point: during school time these colonies are visited by class-groups, visiting as class-groups with their teacher, who is aided in supervision and in instruction by the resident staff.

In addition to these colonies there are the 'school-homes', houses in the country which have been established by Hamburg schools, individually or in groups, for the reception of school children, visiting with their teachers in classes and staying for a continuous period of a fortnight or even longer. Hamburg has about thirty school-homes, each capable of accommodating from thirty to a hundred children, or even more. During school time the school-home is to all intents and purposes an annexe of the school. Here for instance is a school-home belonging

to a secondary school: each year nine of the nineteen school classes visit it for a fortnight during school time, not for a holiday but for purposes of education. The period of school vacation is kept as a separate holiday period for selected pupils, and is not arranged on a class basis. The classes which do not visit this school-home usually go to some other school-home for a fortnight during school time, or, in the case of the highest classes, go on excursion further afield, probably staying at Youth Hostels, of which there are literally thousands throughout Germany.

In Hamburg the value of country excursions for city children was early recognised. Even long before the War, activities of this kind were organised on quite a large scale. From the very beginning it was an educational experiment, conducted directly through the schools, or indirectly through teachers' organisations, and its influence throughout the Hamburg school system makes a profoundly interesting study. Activities of a similar kind are slowly but surely coming into their own in this country, mainly in the guise of holiday camps or school journeys. It is vitally important at this stage that all who have any responsibility in education should see to it that this incipient movement is directed not merely to recreation and holiday relaxation but first and last to the service of education.

BOOK I.

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PREFACE : BIBLIOGRAPHY.

To uphold the thesis that the Youth Movement was an important influence in German education we first investigate the significance of the Youth Movement as a whole, then explore its significance more particularly for education.

We begin with a discussion of the Youth Movement as a product of the abnormal social situation which obtained in Germany at the end of last century, tracing its emergence and expansion in the Wandervogel and kindred youth organisations. In this first phase, the youth associations were the vehicle of the Youth Movement. Though mainly outside the educational system these associations exerted considerable influence on education as they developed, through the methods and activities they served to popularise and the outlook they expressed. Moreover they came into close and intimate contact with other influences making for social change, with the hostels movement, with the growth of settlements and other nuclei of reform opinion, with reform movements in education, and all these combined to bring tremendous pressure to bear on educational policy and on educational practice throughout Germany. But as the youth associations became assimilated into the social organism they became less representative of the spontaneous interests of the young people who comprised their membership, less genuinely part of the Youth Movement. At the same time the whole social system was gradually being opened up so that while the youth associations were losing touch with the Youth Movement, its

aims and ideals were finding more direct expression in their proper media. In the first half of our discussion (Chapters I-V) we consider the Youth Movement as it found expression in the youth associations, regarding everything from the point of view of the youth associations. In the second (Chapters VI-X) we regard everything from the point of view of educational reform. After a preliminary survey of the general trend of educational reform we proceed to discuss the increasing preoccupation with educational reform within the Youth Movement, from 1913 onwards, (Chapter VI). In further analysis, we explore the connection between the Youth Movement and specific movements of educational reform like the Country Home Schools (Landerziehungsheime) and Free Community Schools (Freie Schulgemeinden) which, while clearly working under simplified conditions, seem to embody in an exceptional degree the educational idealism of the Youth Movement, (Chapter VII). We then turn from these free-lance ventures to consider changes within the educational system as a whole. First we review those new departments of educational activity which were brought into being through the synthesis of the influence of the Youth Movement with the social requirements of the new era - Country School Homes (Schullandheime) in all their variety, and Folk Colleges (Volkshochschulen), (Chapter VIII). We proceed next to discuss changes within the ordinary school system: we note that many important changes in school practice,

for instance activities centring round school excursions and the use of the country school home, are directly due to the Youth Movement, and indicate how its influence can be traced throughout all the changes in the practice and organisation of the school such as we associate with the 'new education,' (Chapter IX). In the final chapter, (Chapter X), we discuss briefly some points which bear on the atmosphere in which the work of the schools is carried on: changes in the standing of the pupils in the school, and in the relationship between teacher and pupils, and, more particularly, the growth of parent participation in school affairs, in which the influence of the Youth Movement can be clearly traced.

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As regards the facilities I have obtained in pursuing these studies, over a period of about six years, I have many acknowledgments to make. In summer, 1928, I prosecuted a course of study in the German school system at Berlin University: the course was given by Professor Delmanzo, of Columbia University, New York, and I am indebted to him, not merely for his lectures and for the facilities he obtained for me in the visiting of schools, but for the line along which my interest in German education has developed. Through Professor Delmanzo I was enabled to participate in the American study tour of summer 1929 - the first such tour after the War. The

visiting group was organised by Teachers College, Columbia University, in conjunction with the Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht, Berlin, and visited schools, colleges, universities - all kinds of educational institutions, including auxiliary and special schools, experimental schools private and public, welfare colonies and school country homes, - throughout the greater part of Germany, in Hamburg, Magdeburg, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Chemnitz, Munich, Mainz, Bonn, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Essen, and in other cities and towns. From this tour I obtained a general survey of the educational system, particularly in its newer aspects, and many valuable contacts for subsequent visits in following years. The leader of the group was Professor Alexander, and to him and to Professor Hylla, who accompanied us, I am deeply indebted. Having by this time determined my subject of study, I enrolled as a research student at Glasgow University in October, 1929, and since that date have had the guidance and assistance of Professor Smith of the Department of German and of Dr. Boyd, of the Department of Education. In summer, 1930, I visited Hamburg and through the Oberschulbehörde (Education Authority) obtained access to further literature of the Youth Movement, and obtained facilities for visiting schools, welfare colonies, and school country homes. I am specially indebted to Dr. Sahrhage, of the Reichsbund der deutschen Schullandheime and of Thaer Oberrealschule, Hamburg, and to

the leaders of the association which runs Moorwärder Day Colony. Subsequently I made a walking excursion in the Harz Mountains, and viewed the work of the Jugendherbergen from within, sampling about a dozen hostels of miscellaneous type. During the winter I continued my analysis of the literature of the Youth Movement, but appendicitis interrupted my plans for visiting Germany in 1931. In summer 1932 I went to Berlin, obtaining facilities through the Zentralinstitut there for visiting welfare colonies, holiday playgrounds, and experimental schools such as the Waldschulen. Further, I obtained access to the library of the Zentralinstitut and to the Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt in the Reichsministerium des Innern: for the latter privilege in particular I am deeply indebted. In summer 1933 I returned to Germany, mainly to gather some loose ends and to check some points which had cropped up in the course of my reading.

As regards the books which I have found most useful for the purposes of this thesis, these may be listed most conveniently in the bibliography. Accordingly books which have been found to be of special value, or have been extensively used for the purposes of this thesis, are indicated in the bibliography by means of an asterisk. Special mention is due to the book by Alexander and Parker, 'New Education in the German Republic,' which deals with many of the topics which I have discussed, though from a more general point of

view. This book was not available till 1931, so that on obtaining it I found that many points on which I had spent a fair amount of work were already most adequately discussed. At the same time however it endorsed my general point of view, and by suggesting new lines of approach and new topics for investigation undoubtedly enhanced the value of this thesis.

* * * * *

For convenience the bibliography may be grouped roughly in three sections:- (1) the materials for a preliminary survey of German education, (2) a selection from the literature of the Youth Movement as expressed in the youth associations, and (3) a selection from the literature of educational reform, illustrating the nature and extent of the educational influence of the Youth Movement. Further references on specific topics are given in footnotes as these topics arise.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory - Beginnings of the Wandervogel -
Expansion of the Movement - Wandervogel Outlook.

The Youth Movement in Germany is one of the few instances in history where the idealism of youthful outlook has been purposefully directed to social ends on a national scale. Normally young people find ample scope for self-expression in everyday affairs, they find ample opportunity in the school, in the home, in work and in play, for enquiring into the why and wherefore of things and adjusting themselves to their environment with the minimum of tension. Where the social situation is such as to make adjustment difficult, tension is correspondingly great, and young people are apt to become prematurely introspective and aggressively insistent on the validity of their own point of view. From such a medium a Youth Movement may develop, if the energies and enthusiasms of the young people can find expression in common activities and common interests and be brought to a common focus. The German Youth Movement is of this type: it is essentially a product of the abnormal social situation which obtained in pre-war Germany. This, in its turn, is the culmination of a long period of social change extending over the previous half century. Let us briefly outline the changes which occurred during this period in order to gain some idea of the medium in which the Youth Movement arose.

Politically this period shows the rise of Germany as a new world power, a nation, no longer a loose federation of states. The comparative rapidity of the change had a pronounced effect in social affairs. Normally, national feeling arises as an extended form of community feeling, it develops in a people through the exercise of mutual interests and sympathies, and through mutual support and co-operation against people of different tradition and outlook. National feeling of this order is deeply rooted in all German-speaking peoples, this common basis of tradition and outlook is in fact one of the vitalising forces of the Youth Movement. But the consolidation of the national consciousness which accompanied these political changes was very different, it focussed on the external form alone. Nationalism meant enthusiasm for the Empire in its organisation, it was not the product of a genuine folk movement. The idea of the State as an end in itself overshadowed the aims which are the real justification of the State's existence. This glorification of the State demanded, and obtained, the complete subservience of the individual. The individual was regarded as primarily a part of the State, and was under strict supervision in all his activities. The social régime was directed to State ends, the social order was rigid and inflexible, giving little scope for personality

or individual freedom. This social despotism of course was not due purely and simply to the flowering of a narrow imperialism, it is in direct sequence with the tyranny of the petty principalities from which Germany had evolved. The habit of unquestioning obedience was deep-rooted in the German mind, subservience to the ruling authority merely took a new form. Authority was no longer vested in a particular ruler or dynasty, it had become something less tangible, yet at the same time with a stronger claim on the people, since it was something with which they could identify themselves, namely, the State. However we may explain it, the fact remains that the nationalism which flowered so profusely with the German Empire was a plant of relatively superficial growth, it was rooted only in enthusiasm for the State and its organisation, it did not grow from a recognition of the common heritage of German tradition and culture.

The era was also one of great economic changes. In 1816, 78 per cent. of the country's population was directly agricultural, while the 1907 census gives agriculture and forestry as providing only 29 per cent. of the total occupation, mining, trade, and commerce accounting for about twice as much. For the same period the population increased from 25 millions to 60 millions, for the same territory, and was becoming more and more concentrated in

large towns and cities in the interests of industry. Industrial expansion had far-reaching social consequences. For one thing, the population was no longer self-supporting, it was dependent on foreign countries for much of its food supplies, and this, with the exigencies of foreign trade as a whole, inevitably tended to bind the nation still closer together as an economic unit. Industry and commerce have played no small part in unifying Germany, as is evident from the Customs Union of 1832 onwards. Another consequence of this industrial revolution was the new importance of the working classes, in numbers, and in the influence they wielded as they gradually gained the right to combine in trade unions. An important social factor in the new era was the progressive mechanisation of labour, a direct result of which was the entry of women and young people into the labour market. As we shall see later, the Youth Movement owed much of its power to the fact that it gave practical expression to the protest against the exploitation of youth in the community, exploitation in labour as in more subtle ways.

The concentration of the population in towns also meant a profound change in the individual and social life of the people. The small agricultural community of the village or hamlet is almost self-sufficient as a medium for human life and experience, it is firmly rooted in

local tradition and constitutes a strong social unit. The industrial community on the other hand embodies no such tradition, is volatile in composition, and intensely individualistic in its members. Moreover it does not possess in itself the power to develop a genuine tradition, the community of interests is too narrow and at the same time too superficial. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the vast majority of the population lived in small agricultural communities; by the end of the century the cities and industrial towns accounted between them for some 70 per cent. of the population. Social life had been completely transformed, yet despite all the many advantages of town life, the extra conveniences in food, in dress, in home comforts, the widening of the horizon by speedy and efficient transport services, the expansion of interests by the newspaper and by all kinds of social amenities - despite all these the German people had lost contact with the real sources of its strength. It had lost touch not only with the past, but also with the realities of the present; under the stress of industrialism it had thrown over too readily what was of value in the agricultural community, where work is the personal experience of natural things and where neighbours are in a subtle sense kinsmen. Family life also was endangered in the new industrial régime, particularly among the poorest classes, because of the congestion of the towns and the slums which developed. The slackening of family ties among all classes of the com-

munity was fostered by the rapid growth of such outside interests as the theatre and the cinema, which tended to remove the focus of life from the home.

Not only was there this loosening and breaking of social ties, the outlook of the individual himself was changed. Skilled craftsmanship gave way to the soullessness of machinery, and work began to have little inner meaning apart from the earning of bread. This point of view extended to all aspects of life so that all association tended to be regarded as merely utilitarian, not the satisfaction of some deep human need but as something casual apart from its benefit to the individual in superficial ways. The natural result was the beginning of an era of artificiality in life - in architecture, in art, in literature, in social relationships.

The industrial revolution had singularly little effect on the German social system. Many of the most vicious features of the existing system were reinforced by the influences of industrial life. The old ideals of subjection to the State and to the social order it epitomised still held, industry, trade and commerce were merely adapted and absorbed. The rigid distinctions of rank characteristic of the army were extended throughout the whole national life, in government and in law, in the church and in the school, even in business and trade. Each person had his own par-

ticular place in the social hierarchy and his whole life was conditioned thereby. This militaristic code put all personal relations between individuals on a fundamentally wrong basis. Service became a superficial thing, the exercise of the duties attaching to some particular position, and the wielding of the authority associated with it - with little inner impulsion or inner satisfaction. Industrialism brought the progressive mechanisation of labour, but the mechanisation of life for all, due to the mechanical rigidity of the social order, was essentially similar in its effects, and on a vastly greater scale.

In such a rigid social scheme, conceived as it was in purely adult terms, youth as such had no standing. Youth was primarily the period of preparation for adult life and was dealt with accordingly: it had to remain convinced that everything was for the best and would be proved so in the fulness of time. Nowhere is this more evident than in the school: there we find a true reflection of the attitude of the community to its young people. Throughout the school organisation, particularly in the secondary schools, we find education directed to the satisfying of the pupil's future requirements, to the training of the incipient adult. The curriculum was fixed, unalterable. It did not conform to the aptitudes or requirements of the individual pupils, they had to conform to it instead. Freedom was further restricted

by periodic examinations and tests, success in which was the criterion of educational progress: pupils were hence reduced to the status of puppets to be crammed with examinable knowledge. The highest aims of the school were examination success and the subjection of the individual to externally imposed authority. The curriculum moreover was of purely intellectual content so that the preparation of the pupils for the claims of maturity was defective on its practical side. It may be argued that a purely intellectual education constitutes the best preparation for the life of maturity, but the fact that material, practical subjects had little place in the school was not due to an emphasis on the cultural aspects of education, but rather to the conservatism of a school system loth to depart from old methods. And in any case, the more intellectual the educational system, the later is the introduction to the practical outlook of maturity and the consciousness of its problems.

The emphasis on the organisation of youthful activities as a preparation for adult life pressed with particular severity on the young people of the upper classes. While in other classes of the community young people early found themselves independent and comparatively free to lead a life which they could feel was their own, where they had to face their own difficulties and solve their own problems, the pupils of the secondary schools were under a system which

allowed little scope for individual development. The revolt of youth against the domination of the adult point of view might thus be expected to originate through this particular group, partly for the reasons we have mentioned, partly because these young people belonged to the most articulate class of the community, where dissatisfaction was most liable to find expression in action. In point of fact the Youth Movement did originate in this social stratum. Towards the end of last century in different parts of Germany we find little groups of young people, their members drawn together by the desire for a more natural companionship with one another than other social organisations could afford them, and by the desire for methods of self-expression which would be free, spontaneous and genuinely their own. We find groups of this kind notably in Hamburg, in Leipzig, and in Steglitz, now part of Berlin. At the same time the gradual growth of a new spirit was evident within all kinds of youth organisations, for instance in the youthful branches of the Turnvereine (Gymnastic Associations), and in Church guilds. There however it was complicated by other issues, so that it found less direct and less adequate expression. All that was needed to direct vague longings and aspirations to purposeful activity was a definite point of focus. The nucleus round which the whole movement grew was the Steglitz Wandervogel - partly because the methods of this group seemed to meet the inarticulate dissatisfaction of German youth, partly because its

idealism envisaged the growth of a national movement, partly because of strong and inspiring leadership, partly too by the accidents of circumstance, for as we have already observed the Steglitz Wandervogel was only one of several which arose independently in different cities, inspired by similar enthusiasms and imbued with like ideals. These various groups acted as local centres of growth for youth associations of this new type, but it is indisputable that in the expansion to national dimensions the Steglitz Wandervogel had by far the most prominent place.

The youth associations formed the matrix in which the Youth Movement developed and, at the same time, the first vehicle for its expression. They were not merely a new variety of youth organisation formed to give young people companionship and occupation in leisure hours, they constituted rather a crusade on behalf of youth. This is evident when we consider their insistence on the theoretic basis of their activities, an insistence amounting almost to an obsession, and expressed at times in

* The general significance of the Youth Movement is well expressed by König: 'eine Geistesrichtung der Jugend, die, geboren aus dem Protest gegen die entartete Kultur der Erwachsenen, nach selbst gefundenen Gesetzen, frei von allen sonstigen Bindungen ihr eigenes Leben gestalten, und von hier aus das Gesamtleben beeinflussen will.'

(König, 'Das Ethos der Jugendbewegung in Deutschland').

somewhat grandiloquent terms. Briefly their main claims were as follows: (i) that youth is a period of life which is of value in itself, not merely as a period of preparation for adult life, and hence, that youth is entitled to live its own life by its own standards, (ii) that youthful outlook and youthful ideals could find no adequate expression within the existing social order, (iii) that the fulfilment of such ideals would involve nothing less than 'the moral rejuvenescence of the German people',* (iv) that youth was entitled to freedom and independence in outlook and in behaviour, adult authority as such to be refuted, and (v) that anything that savoured of juvenile welfare work must be repudiated by the Youth Movement.Ø

The last two of these raise questions which we might well elaborate further at this stage, firstly, the antipathy of the Youth Movement to juvenile welfare work in its usual forms, secondly, the position of the adult in the activities associated with the Youth Movement, for it must be remembered that, paradoxically enough, the movement owes almost as much to adult guidance as to youthful inspiration.

In its origins and in its development the Youth Movement is in direct antithesis to youth welfare work. Whereas

* A phrase by Friedrich Förster which sums up as well as any the aims of the Youth Movement.

Ø For a balanced discussion of the theoretical basis of the youth associations see in particular the books on the Youth Movement by König and O. Stählin.

welfare work (Jugendpflege and Jugendfürsorge) is the activity of adults on behalf of young people, the Youth Movement (Jugendbewegung) arises from the spontaneous activity of young people in finding expression for their own outlook.* This distinction applies throughout the whole history of the Youth Movement, not only in the activities of the youth associations but in all subsequent developments. In normal times such an antithesis, though valid enough in theory, has little practical value, for young people can usually find adequate outlet for their own interests and ideals within the framework of clubs and associations such as are already long established in the community, and which are directed in the last instance by adults, without requiring to start new ventures of their own. The lack of adequate outlet along these lines was one of the root causes of the Youth Movement, and the new associations in which the movement took shape were bitterly opposed to those welfare associations which tacitly accepted the existing régime with all its defects. They valued above all things their freedom, their independence, and the spontaneity of youthful enthusiasm which inspired and directed their activities, the very characteristics which distinguished them from the ordinary type

* 'Jugendpflege und Jugendfürsorge haben es mit der Arbeit der Erwachsenen an der Jugend zu tun. In Gegensatz zu beiden tritt die neue Erscheinung der Arbeit an der Jugend, die von den Jugendlichen selbst ausgeht, von ihnen selbst getan wird.' (König, p. 15).

of welfare association. As the years passed, the welfare associations gradually adopted the methods which had been popularised by the new movement, and absorbed some of the spirit which inspired them, so that the antithesis tended of itself to disappear. But the antipathy which the antithesis had engendered was more difficult to remove and years later we still find many prominent leaders in the Youth Movement still insisting that the movement must not contaminate the purity of its ideals by association with welfare work proper: they failed to realise that to infuse these ideals into welfare work and into all other aspects of national and individual life was to bring about the fulfilment of the movement.*

A paradoxical feature of the Youth Movement is the part played in it by adults. The whole organisation of the movement, and the direction of its activities, particularly after it had achieved national dimensions, was, in its final analysis, adult. This is not to be wondered at when it is remembered that considerable practical experience is necessary in running any large-scale organisation, and that the inexperience of young people was bound to attract the help of older people who sympathised with their idealism and in some measure shared their point of view. Nor is it to be wondered

* For contrasting views as to the relation between Youth Movement and youth welfare, see König, 'Das Ethos der Jugendbewegung in Deutschland' and Jöde 'Jugendbewegung oder Jugendpflege?'

at, that people growing up within the movement should preserve the enthusiasms and idealism of their youthful years and try to help those coming on behind. After all, the term 'Youth Movement' does not mean merely a movement involving young people, but rather a movement involving youthful ideals and youthful outlook, and in such a movement adult insight and adult experience are of definite value. But there was more to it than this: adults were not content with assisting the young people to run their associations on sound practical lines, or with helping them to a clearer understanding of what they were really after, they went much further, so that eventually they took upon themselves the interpretation and direction of the movement as a whole. It is the adult leaders, as we shall find later, who were mainly responsible for bringing the influence of the Youth Movement to bear directly on current problems, though even in this they were entitled to claim that they were only making explicit what was already implicit in the movement itself. When the new youth associations first began, before the end of last century, adults had little direct part in their activities. As the movement grew, difficulties in organisation gradually drew the older people into closer contact with it, and their presence helped at the same time to secure the young people freedom from outside interference. Without adult assistance, it is difficult to see how the Youth Movement could possibly have developed to national dimensions, or exerted such an influence

on national affairs as it ultimately did.

The expansion of the movement brought it into contact with other movements of social reform which were motivated by similar ideals, notably in the field of education, and at the same time brought it into closer contact with current affairs. This was becoming increasingly evident from about 1910 onwards. The War naturally cut across normal development, thereafter the influence of the Youth Movement and all such movements of reform can be traced throughout the radical changes in social organisation which occurred in the stormy post-war years. The new era promised a measure of fulfilment to the idealism of the Youth Movement, and to the idealism which actuated all such reform movements. The advent of a freer, more congenial atmosphere inevitably brought about the decline of the Youth Movement as a separate entity: the forces which gave it its distinctive character were now free to find expression in natural channels, they were no longer welded together in making common cause against the forces of repression. The enthusiasms which had made the Youth Movement were now free to find more individual expression in all the diversified activities of community life. The individual enthusiasms still remained potent influences in the community, but they were no longer recognisable parts of a definite Youth Movement. Their history is continuous right to the present day - some of these same enthusiasms are

prominent in the National Socialist Revolution of 1933 - but that unity of outlook and of purpose which previously had characterised so many varied activities and which betokened a national Youth Movement has long since gone. In dealing therefore with the influence of the Youth Movement in German education we shall consider that after 1925 the Youth Movement cannot be properly considered as a definite national movement, since by that time its component elements had ^{become} assimilated into the national life and were now playing their part less obtrusively but no less adequately in their natural medium.

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In tracing the development of the new type of youth association we start naturally from the Steglitz Wandervogel. As we previously remarked, this group was only one of several which originated towards the end of last century in different parts of Germany, inspired by similar enthusiasms and imbued with like ideals.* But it was round this particular group that the whole movement developed, so in tracing the history

* Certain earlier movements can be considered as, in a sense, fore-runners of the Youth Movement, notably the Burschenschaften of the early 19th century. The methods they adopted and the ideals they set, articulated as formulated in Jahn's writings, clearly show that they have a place in the spiritual ancestry of the Wandervogel. For an analysis of these earlier movements as the fore-runners of the Youth Movement, see

Brossmer 'Wanderheime der Jugend,'
 Hodann and Koch 'Die Urburschenschaft als Jugendbewegung'
 and Büsse-Wilson 'Stufen der Jugendbewegung' (Chapter 1,
 Die burschenschaftliche Revolution).

of the youth associations the natural sequence for us to follow is to discuss first the Steglitz Wandervogel, its origins, the vicissitudes of its early days, its methods and practice, and its expansion to a movement of nation-wide importance.

The first actual impulse which started the Wandervogel came from some pupils of the high school (Gymnasium) at Steglitz who had formed a stenography club under the leadership of one of the teachers, Hermann Hoffmann. For a month during the summer vacation they roamed through the Bohemian Forest, living the simple life, cooking their own food and sleeping overnight in hay-lofts or barns made available by friendly farmers. The experience of this holiday opened up a new world to the boys; they formed themselves into a rambling club under the leadership of Karl Fischer, one of the leaders of the initial excursion, now a student of law and no longer in touch with the school. The group gradually withdrew from connection with school activities and took to itself more and more the form of a secret society. Mysteries and secrets are as the breath of life to schoolboys, and this group was no exception. A happy chance led them to imitate the wandering scholars of the middle ages, and to model the constitution of their society to correspond. All fully accredited members were called Scholaren, while the leaders were called Pachanten or Bachanten.* The head of the society, Karl Fischer,

* The derivation has nothing to do with Bacchus, but is from the Latin 'vagantes.'

was the Oberbachant. New members had to be approved by the Oberbachant after taking part in one or more excursions, before being admitted as Scholaren and having their names inscribed in the membership book. The activities of the society were varied and continuous, in fact whenever the boys were at leisure, the first place to look for them was in the company of Karl Fischer or his lieutenants, Wolf Meyen and Hans Breuer. In the afternoons, Fischer could be found at his lodgings frequently surrounded by a group of youngsters listening to his tales or making plans for some forthcoming excursion. In the warm summer evenings the group would be seen out on the expanse of waste-land which skirted the town and extended to the solitude of the forest; there they would sit about on the grass singing folk-songs to the accompaniment of Fischer's guitar, or at other times play Indians and scouting games. The spirit of romantic adventure dominated all their activities. The boys felt that they were following out the old German tradition, that they were the true successors of the Scholaren of the Middle Ages, of the Burschen of less remote times. They felt the bond of brotherhood with the guilds such as are still extant in German life, they saw romance in the travelling joiner in his picturesque garb and delighted in his tales should they be so lucky as to meet with one on his wanderings. They felt a new love for German folklore and folk-song, a new love for Nature in all her moods, a new basis of friendship with one another.

But the success of the society was too great for it to be allowed to continue in its detachment. It came to exercise so great an influence on its members that the school, the home and the Church had to take serious account of it. For many of the children it had become the most important part of their lives, and all other influences had become secondary. Opposition to the society gradually stiffened and it seemed as though official action would be taken for its suppression. Fischer adopted a bold plan, which was wholly successful: he expanded the society to include adults who sympathised with its aims. These were to be enrolled as the responsible members, the children were to be associate members, and the society was to continue much as before, safeguarded by its adult membership from official intervention, and allaying the natural anxieties of the parents of the children by ensuring responsible supervision. At a meeting on November 4th, 1901, the excursions' committee (Ausschuss für Schülerfahrten) was founded. 'On the same evening the band of youngsters got its name. The quick wit of Wolf Meyen coined the term 'Wandervogel.' The Birds of Passage were on the wing.'*

To see the Wandervogel in clear perspective we must see the movement against the social background in which it had arisen. Let us discuss briefly the social situation in Steglitz at the time when the Wandervogel began.

* See Frobenius, p. 24.

Half a century ago Steglitz was a little country town closely adjacent to Berlin. With the growth of industry, its nearness to the metropolis brought it commercial and industrial prosperity, factories sprang up, and trade displaced agriculture as the basis of economic life. Absorption as part of Berlin became inevitable, not only through the steady expansion of the city boundaries but also through the claims of trade and commerce. The outlook of the community changed to correspond, its people gradually changed to city ways of life, cultivating indoor habits in their recreations and relaxations, as in their business. Though surrounded by beautiful woods and lakes, these no longer constituted the habitat of the Steglitz community, the true habitat was Berlin, the city with its noise and bustle, its round of social amusements, and its increasing commercial prosperity. Moreover the growth of Steglitz was not solely due to the building of factories and the development of industry, but was also partly due to its increased attractions for city people. As transport improved so that it was no longer necessary for business men to stay within a mile or so of their offices, Steglitz with other similar places became effectively nearer to Berlin, and increased greatly in population through large numbers of Berlin people of the upper classes setting up their homes there. Within convenient distance from the centre of the city they enjoyed the privilege of staying in the country; free from the noise and

bustle of the city streets they could enjoy the quiet of the country, breathing the clean, fresh air instead of the smoke and dust of the city. The trouble was that though in the country they were not of the country: they took their city habits and their city outlook with them. Though of course there were many individual exceptions to the rule, the countryside was, in the main, a mere incidental in their lives, its chief function was to provide a healthy restful atmosphere in which they might lead the same life as they had led in the city.

At the end of last century Steglitz comprised three distinct types: firstly, a group of aristocrats and upper-class people mostly residing in the same neighbourhood, on the Fichteberg, secondly a large colony of officials and business men, rather more widely scattered throughout the town, and thirdly shopkeepers, factory hands and working people generally. Socially the third class did not count, between the other two there was endless friction, largely because of the system of caste which dominated social life. In Steglitz we see in concentrated form all those social factors which we have already mentioned more generally as the matrix of the Youth Movement - the paralysing influence of officialdom, the industrial and commercial outlook, a conservative and reactionary school tradition, and a complete ignoring of the point of view of the young people themselves. The Wandervogel began as a movement of escape - a

romantic movement in which young people banded themselves together to obtain freedom to express themselves in their own way, to live a free life in the natural environment of the woods and the hills, finding a closer friendship with each other in such experiences as these than they had ever found in the town, in the classroom or even in the home.

Accurate information about these first years of the Wandervogel is difficult to obtain, chiefly because writers who have dealt with the subject have been more concerned as a rule with the later history of the Youth Movement, and with later phases of the Wandervogel, when it had become an institution, and as such had come into conflict with other social institutions. They have thus tended to look at the former period from the same point of view, showing the seeds of social dissatisfaction which later were to bear fruit in action, at the same time emphasising features which would substantiate their own particular views as to the significance of the Youth Movement as a whole. The real significance of the period thus tends to be overlooked, its significance first of all as a movement of escape, secondly in bringing into one channel the forces of youthful idealism, later to be transformed and applied to the reform of the whole social system.

The most fruitful source of information about the beginnings of the Wandervogel is Blüher's 'Wandervogel,'* which is

* Blüher, 'Wandervogel - Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung.'

not so open to the objections noted above in that it is not a history of the Youth Movement as a whole, but deals only with the Steglitz movement before it had expanded throughout the country. Blüher lived through the experiences of the Wandervogel as a member himself, and his book originated in the form of personal reminiscences, though it was modified while in course of preparation to serve as a historical description of the beginnings of the Wandervogel. As a result the element of personal opinion is very marked, and though written in a vivid refreshing style, the vividness is partly due to the forcing of contrasts: the social situation is painted in very sombre colours so that the Wandervogel stands out brightly against a background of unrelieved gloom. Blüher for instance dwells at length on the contrast between the curriculum and method of study at Steglitz Gymnasium and the natural interests of the boys as they found expression in the Wandervogel, so much so that one would infer that the school and the Wandervogel were at enmity with each other from the very beginning. Yet elsewhere, in his autobiography, Blüher pays tribute to the teachers of his old school, and claims that they were not inferior to those of any school in the country. The personality of the teacher is an important matter even under the most inflexible system of education, and it is not to be thought that the teachers were entirely out of sympathy with the youthful point of view, even though their main rôle was that of

highly-trained educational officials. However despite the fact that the primary impulse to form the Wandervogel came from an excursion made from the school, it developed apart from the school, and stood in sharp contrast to it. Blüher is right in his main contention, that the rigidity of the school system erected a barrier between the teacher and his pupils, - the school was primarily that part of the organisation of the State whose function was the training of the future citizen, and it was rigidly constituted to that end, so that even the best of teachers found themselves unable to establish with their pupils that close personal relationship which is the foundation of teaching, without coming into conflict with school regulations. School reforms which had been made, such as those instituted at Steglitz Gymnasium through the influence of Paulsen, were almost entirely in curriculum and in teaching methods: the school was so organised that there was little possibility of real understanding between teacher and pupils in the class-room, and little consideration for the pupils' point of view. So far the Wandervogel stood in contrast to the school; later, opposition was to develop, not against the school as an institution, but against the prevailing school system, and in this opposition many of the school teachers were to range themselves on the side of the Wandervogel.

As with the school, so with the parents in the home,

Blüher describes them as being sharply opposed to the Wandervogel, partly by generalising from the most extreme cases of lack of understanding between parents and children, partly by pointing out the sharp contrast between the outlook of the parents and that of the children. It must be remembered here that Blüher's social theory is such that he is completely out of sympathy with the attitude of the parents. The contrast was not so explicit as Blüher would have us believe, so far it was only implicit, though clearly evident on comparison. The same is true of the relationship between Wandervogel and Church: Blüher overstates the position here in precisely the same way. He finds nothing but hypocrisy in the Church and its representatives, and concludes that all members of the Wandervogel must necessarily find it as barren in satisfying their spiritual needs as he finds it himself. A further objection must be lodged against his interpretation of the movement. Not content with recording the origin and development of the Wandervogel he tries to account for it as an erotic phenomenon.* His Freudian views led him to interpret all the phenomena of the Wandervogel, particularly the friendship between the individual boys and the enthusiasm of the adult leaders of the group, as a case of homosexual inversion on a large scale. The binding forces of common interests and of a common enthusiasm are sufficient to account for the strong feelings of mutual co-operation and interdependence to

* See Blüher, 'Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung als erotisches Phänomen.'

be found among the members of the Wandervogel without recourse to psychoanalytic explanation.*

The Wandervogel was first of all a movement of escape, escape from a cramping social environment. To begin with there was no essential antagonism, though that was bound to develop. Thus for instance it came into conflict with the school as the young people and their leaders came to question why the school should necessarily ignore the youthful point of view and why it should be so dominated by adult outlook, and, for another reason, as the school became one of the media through which, later, social disapproval of the Wandervogel came to be expressed. The Wandervogel also came into conflict with the claims of the home: parents became jealous of their children's interest in the Wandervogel, something in which they themselves had no part. Merry excursions into the country were all very well, but when it came to the children going off every Sunday for the whole day, and sometimes for the whole week-end, the parents could hardly be expected to approve. For one thing it was hardly respectable for their children to go about on a Sunday dressed as they were, in rough serviceable clothes, with gaudy kerchiefs around their necks and rucksacks on their backs. For another the experiences of such excursions and the frank discussions and exchange of opinion between the members of the groups led to a sturdy independence which made the children less docile and

* A more balanced account of the movement from this point of view is given by W. Stern: 'Die Inversionswelle, ein zeitgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Jugendpsychologie.'

tractable in the home. But further, and this was more important, the parents began to be anxious as to the moral influence on their children: was the freedom of the Wandervogel not more of the nature of licence? In particular, the excursions of mixed groups of boys and girls were a source of worry to the parents. And more generally, their children would no longer accept the traditional attitude to social and moral questions, they claimed the right to think for themselves in spite of their immature experience. They questioned social institutions - even the institution of the family; they belittled social conventions and class distinctions - in a word they struck at the roots of the whole system of society. On moral and religious questions they also refused to be bound by tradition, and in this the Wandervogel came into conflict not only with the home but with the Church. The Church, like the school, had become for the most part merely an instrument of State policy and had thereby lost much of its spiritual force. In following out their ideals the Wandervogel refused to submit to the outward semblance of religion without a corresponding inner conviction; at the same time the passionate devotion to Nature which characterised the Wandervögel tended to develop a pronouncedly pantheistic outlook, in many cases frankly pagan.

In the beginning the Wandervogel was not antagonistic to the school, to the home, or to the Church. It was essen-

tially a movement of escape, and its members were fully pre-occupied in taking advantage of their new found freedom. United in a common bond there appeared for these young people a prospect of escape from the cribbing, cramping atmosphere of the city, of the school, the prospect of living a jolly life of their own. In essence the Wandervogel remained in this detachment: many of its members found in it only the element of relaxation and of play by which it had first attracted them, and allowed it to have but little influence on their ordinary everyday life. But many others, forming their opinions by discussion with their companions in a free atmosphere, where social considerations were untrammelled by convention, found much in common practice in their everyday life to which they could no longer honestly subscribe. It was inevitable that the views of life to which they were led should bring them into conflict with the school, the home, and the Church. They had indeed escaped from their cramping environment, but through escaping they were enabled to see it objectively, to see its defects more clearly, and at the same time to realise they had a responsibility in setting it right.

But this was a later phase: initially the Wandervogel was a youth movement pure and simple, conceived in the spirit of youth by young people themselves, and by older people who knew the enthusiasms and the needs of youth and

felt themselves urged to assist in their fulfilment, and who at the same time wished to recapture some of the glamour of youth in their own lives. The essence of the movement escapes philosophic analysis, whether as a social phenomenon or as a study in adolescent psychology. We must look through the eyes of the wanderers themselves, we must share their experiences as they tramp through the woods, singing the old German folk-songs to the twanging of a guitar, as they wander by the lakeside in the gathering dusk, till the trees have become mere silhouettes against the sky, as they sit around the camp-fire laughing and chatting, or silent, watching the leaping flames. It is only there we will find the dynamus, the driving force which has spread the Youth Movement throughout the whole land, city as well as country, overstepping class distinctions of every kind and uniting all in a common bond of brotherhood.

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The first decade of the Wandervogel's existence was a period of stress and strain, but also of rapid progress. After the founding of the adults' committee in 1901, which regularised the position of the society in the community, the Wandervogel proceeded to systematise its activities - regular excursions were made each year at Easter, at Whitsun, and in summer, to all parts of Germany, as far afield as Hamburg, Westphalia, or Posen. Week-end excursions were made to places in the

nearer distance, while through frequent outings the young people were soon as familiar with the woods around Steglitz as they were with the streets of the town. Groups were founded elsewhere, by youths who had gone from Steglitz to other parts of the country, or by people who had come into touch with the Wandervögel on their wanderings or who had in any way become acquainted with the aims and methods of the movement. Within five years the number of district groups had reached 80, comprising some 1,500 members. All were more or less directly affiliated to the Steglitz Wandervogel and looked to Fischer as leader.

In its initial stages the movement was led and directed by Fischer, personally and through the Bachanten. The committee of adults, the Ausschuss für Schülerfahrten, had as its main function the safeguarding of the activities of the society in public opinion; as regards the society's internal affairs it acted only in an advisory capacity. The committee had as its president Wolfgang Kirchbach, a writer who was completely in sympathy with the aims of the Wandervogel and who, in particular, saw in the Wandervogel the means of bringing the boys into a closer more natural relation to one another and of leading them to independent self-activity and self-reliance. He realised that the committee had a purely advisory function, that it had no direct place in the activities of the Wandervogel. As time went on, and more and more district groups became affiliated, the very looseness of this organisation

led to strain. Fischer was an individualist, of a forceful personality, and the very intensity of his inner convictions led him to discount the views of other people, so that before long the leaders of other groups became restive under his authoritative direction of affairs. Further, not all the members of the sponsoring committee in Steglitz were so disinterested as Kirchbach and so thoroughly convinced that the Wandervogel must preserve its own autonomy free from all adult control other than that exercised by its immediate leaders. Many of them correlated the Wandervogel with the defects of the existing school system and saw in it an instrument of social and educational reform. In particular, many of them were teachers of advanced educational views, preoccupied with the educational aspect of the movement; they were not content to allow the boys to follow out of themselves that instinctive craving, that urge to self-expression which was the very essence of the Wandervogel, they were desirous of so fashioning the Wandervogel that it would supplement the defects of the school according to their own views. They did not see that this was against the very spirit of the Wandervogel - that enlightened adult control was still adult control.

The first split in the Wandervogel occurred from this very reason. Certain colleagues of Fischer, dissatisfied with the rough, more primitive elements in the Wandervogel movement, founded what they called the Wandervogel Association

(Wandervogel e.V.), in Steglitz. Ludwig Gurlitt, who was head of the Ausschuss für Schülerfahrten in Kirchbach's temporary absence from Steglitz, and who had come into conflict with Fischer over regulations passed by the committee, joined them as leader and many of the committee accompanied him. The aim of the new society was to get away from the wild rough life of the Wandervogel on excursion, and to develop artistic and aesthetic interests. Gurlitt was an educationist of advanced and liberal views which were later to bring him into conflict with the school authorities, and it was mainly his zeal for educational reform which had led to his enthusiasm for the Wandervogel. In the new association teachers were predominant, and its membership^{was}/drawn mainly from the pupils of Steglitz Gymnasium. The old Wandervogel was formally declared disbanded and the number of Fischer's followers became sadly depleted. But his influence was still strong, particularly among outside groups, and all who looked to him as leader assembled and banded themselves together as the Alt-Wandervogel. Organised on precisely the same lines as before, the committee of sponsors merely changed its name to 'Ehren- und Freundesrat' - in it were many who had stood by Fischer in the old committee, for instance Kirchbach. Under the inspiration of Fischer's leadership the Alt-Wandervogel soon outstripped the rival association. Before long a new factor came into prominence: Gurlitt's educational views as expressed in his writings had brought him into sharp conflict with the

school authorities, conflict which continued for years, ending only with his resignation from teaching.* The Wandervogel movement had now attained an importance which the school authorities could not ignore, and the educational value of the movement was becoming more and more recognised, so that the school was naturally impelled towards support of the Alt-Wandervogel, partly for its own sake, partly in opposition to Gurlitt's educational doctrines. This new cordiality had as little effect on the inner life of the society as the previous opposition, but the official sanction it entailed helped very considerably to strengthen the standing of the society, to regularise its position, and to increase its membership. Gradually the movement came to be reorganised on more democratic lines: with Fischer's departure to Halle in 1904 to pursue his long-neglected studies a new constitution was drawn up, and the powers of management vested in the Ehren- und Freundesrat (Euftrat), working in conjunction with the Bachanten. Fischer continued as head of the general association till the beginning of 1906, when he withdrew from the further direction of affairs. The movement had in truth become so widespread that it could be no longer directed by the personality of one man, for personal contact with all its detailed activities was no longer possible.

The most prominent figure in the subsequent stage of Wandervogel history is probably Wilhelm Jansen. A landowner

* See for instance L. Gurlitt, 'Mein Kampf um die Wahrheit.' (1907).

of Hesse who had been brought into touch with the wandering groups through their visits to his domains, his enthusiasm showed itself in the founding of several branches in different districts, and his flair for leadership brought him to a place of importance on the council. His chief pre-occupation was with the furthering of physical culture. His influence gave a stimulus to the practice of gymnastics and the cult of the body. The enthusiasm grew for sun-bathing and for free exercise in the open air untrammelled by the irksome confinement of clothing: initial extravagances of this nature soon gave way to more rational behaviour and the acceptance of the cult of physical fitness as part of the Wandervogel creed. In later years, Jansen was involved in the controversy over the interpretation of the Wandervogel as a purely erotic phenomenon. His main claim to distinction is that his liberal and enlightened leadership did much to weld the Wandervogel into a more democratic body.

With the rapid and extensive spread of the movement, the differences between the individual groups led to disruption. Divergence was chiefly on two related questions: the attitude of the Wandervogel to movements of social and educational reform, and the nature and extent of adult control within the Wandervogel. On the first of these questions the most varied points of view are to be found: at one extreme, the activities of the Wandervogel are regarded

as a realm apart from everyday life, to be jealously guarded from contamination with ordinary affairs; at the other, the movement is regarded as primarily an instrument of social and educational reform, which ought to co-operate wholeheartedly with other reform movements. In particular the attitude of the Wandervogel to the abstinence movement, which was acquiring a new importance in Germany, led to a sharp conflict of opinion; some held that the Wandervögel ought to take a definite stand for abstinence from alcoholic liquor and from tobacco, others, though freely admitting that alcohol and tobacco were out of keeping with Wandervogel activities, maintained that definite regulations of that kind were quite unnecessary for the Wandervogel and that these questions had nothing to do with the Wandervogel as such, - the latter view was that which Fischer had held and which had dominated the earlier Wandervogel. The cleavage of opinion was not over the merits of the various movements of social reform, though even here the most varied shades of opinion were represented; it arose over the question whether the Wandervogel by its constitution should take up a definite attitude to social reforms or whether it should leave such problems for the individual member to solve.

Closely connected with this was another thorny question, that of Mädchenwandern, the participation of girls in Wandervogel activities. Clearly girls had as much right as boys to benefit by the new outlook, but to extend the same

untrammelled freedom to groups of girls or to mixed groups as was accorded to boys alone, would be definitely unwise considering the sheltered lives girls led at the time, and at the very least it would mean flouting public opinion. Most of the more level-headed leaders saw the necessity for introducing safeguards for the participation of girls in Wandervogel activities, but the more extreme individualists saw in such safeguards the cramping of individual freedom and claimed the right of the individual to determine his or her own behaviour. Many again refused to admit that girls had a place in the Wandervogel movement at all. It is significant that among the city groups, in particular in Berlin, are to be found the most extreme views on this as on other problems: these are the groups in which the energising force is the revulsion from the cramping city environment and to whom the life of the Wandervogel is a life apart. In the country the life and activities of the Wandervogel are less incompatible with ordinary every-day life and can be organised on a more natural basis. Moreover, in the country the individual is more conscious of the claims of the community, and more liable to be influenced by them.

The general difference of opinion on these various questions gradually hardened to such an extent that a split in the Alt-Wandervogel became inevitable. Things came to a head in 1907 when the Deutsche Bund für Jugendwandern was formed, taking a more rigorous constitution than the

parent body, and most of the district groups in the provinces became affiliated to the new organisation. Further discord in the Alt-Wandervogel led in 1910 to the formation of a new association, the Jungwandervogel. The causes of this disruption were of a rather different order. Previously the main grounds of difference between the leaders had been regarding the extent to which the activities of the Wandervogel should be left to the initiative of the boys and girls themselves. This time the main cleavage took a new form. Among the leaders there had always been a fair percentage of teachers, teachers who realised the deficiencies of the existing school system and saw in the Wandervogel an organisation which supplemented some of these deficiencies in the lives of the children. Naturally enough, their aims were suspect to those of the leaders for whom the school epitomised all that was antagonistic to the Wandervogel, and there was constant friction between the teachers and the other leaders, who accused the teachers of definitely educational aims. With the spread of the Wandervogel and its increasing recognition by the school authorities, the proportion of teachers among the leaders grew enormously, and the others strove still more strenuously to preserve the freedom and spontaneity within the Wandervogel which they saw endangered, and to safeguard the Wandervogel from educational aims, which in their view would eventually bring it under school control. The teacher type of leader was

anathema to many, and in control by teachers they saw the end of the Wandervogel as a Youth Movement.* The hardening of the opposition to teacher control led to the formation of the Jungwandervogel, an association which would have nothing to do with teachers as leaders.

Of the various sectional organisations which made up the Wandervogel movement at this stage - the Steglitz Wandervogel, the Alt-Wandervogel, the Deutsche Bund, the Jungwandervogel - the Deutsche Bund was probably most in keeping with the true spirit of the movement, while its more rigorous constitution helped to consolidate its position in public opinion. The general trend of the time was clearly towards a more explicit direction of the activities of the Wandervogel; it was becoming more and more freely recognised that behind any adequate organisation there must be enlightened adult control. Strict regulations against drinking and smoking for instance were clearly no restriction of individual freedom since such things were quite incompatible with the ideals of the Wandervogel in any case, while the furtherance of groups for girls and the organisation of such groups within the Movement - in which Hans Breuer took a prominent part - was only a logical extension to the other sex of the privileges so far accorded to one only. Whether the Deutsche Bund was really more in keeping with prevailing ideas or whether it merely benefited by a more thorough organisation, certain it is that it soon outstripped the others, in numbers and in significance.

* See for instance Blüher, 'Wandervogel,' p. 149.

Still the movement continued to grow, to such an extent that by 1913 there were 25,000 Wandervögel in Germany. By this time a strong feeling towards union had grown in the various organisations, fostered by the conferences which were now becoming vogue, and this resulted in the Wandervogel Bund für deutsches Jugendwandern under the leadership of E. Neuen-dorff. By 1913 this association included the Deutsche Bund, the Steglitz Wandervogel, and part of the Alt-Wandervogel in one central organisation, the Jungwandervogel and the more reactionary part of the Alt-Wandervogel remaining outside. The plan on which it was organised was in its essentials that of the original Wandervogel - the members of the society were the adults who exercised a general supervision, the youths were merely affiliated members. The central council was appointed from the provinces (Gaue), the provincial council was appointed from the districts (Kreisen), and in each district there were the local groups (Ortsgruppen), directed by their leader or leaders, subject to the control of the provincial council. From this organisation many of the Alt-Wandervogel remained aloof; in it they saw the betrayal of the movement - the subjection of youth to adult control once more and the loss of that spontaneity which is the life of the Youth Movement.

The older Wandervogel, following Fischer's views, had as their ideal a network of little district groups each preserving its own autonomy and working according to its own ideas, but such an ideal, however desirable, was not practi-

cable. The groups did not want to remain separate, they felt the common bond of brotherhood in a new cause, the gregarious instinct extended its influence beyond the limits of the individual group. Moreover the movement by now had grown to such dimensions that organisation on a national scale by adults was inevitable, quite apart from the fact that public opinion was becoming increasingly aware of the significance of the new movement and was hardening in its demands for responsible adult control. And in any case the first revulsion of the young people from adult control had brought its own reaction. They turned to adults for leadership, and indeed adults could understand the desires and needs of youth better than the young people themselves. So long as the adults directed youth along the lines it wanted to go of itself, directed it in the spirit of free co-operation, youth would progress further in the fulfilment of its own ideals than it would unaided. It is not correct to say that adult leadership meant the reversion to adult domination; control by adult councils is a very different matter from the domination by school, parents, and the social system generally such as had given the initial impetus to the Wandervogel. It remained to be seen whether the adult control councils would be successful in keeping steadfast to the youthful point of view, or whether they would lapse to the partisanship of adult interests.*

* Some of the associations which were particularly sensitive to the dangers of adult control sought to impose an age limit/

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The making of group excursions (Wanderfahrten) was what brought the Wandervogel together in the beginning: it remained the chief medium of Wandervogel activities and interests. In the beginning it was largely a question of escape from the cramping restrictions of city life and the existing social environment, escape to the simple life of the countryside, in which youth could find outlet for its pent-up energies and its zest for adventure and make-believe. But the countryside was much more than a mere background for Wandervogel activities; the activities themselves developed spontaneously from contact with it. The place of Nature in the ideals of the Wandervogel is a most characteristic feature of the movement, but to portray it adequately is most difficult. 'It is not a question of the happy, care-free life of the open-air, of sport and dance and physical freedom, of friendly companionship or even of escape from the narrow trammel of circumstance - these are the accompaniment, but he who hears these alone does not hear the melody.' (Goldbeck). The glamour of the Wanderfahrt evades

Footnote continued from previous page:

on their membership, with a double aim, firstly, in order to limit the influence of older people and ensure that they could act only in an advisory capacity, secondly, in order to prevent a certain obnoxious type - the 'ewige Wandervogel,' the Wandervogel who would not grow up - from vitiating their activities. Restrictions of this kind however were generally considered too drastic and, where imposed, raised greater difficulties than they solved. A writer who lays stress on this particular problem is V. Engelhardt, see for instance 'Die deutsche Jugendbewegung als Kulturhistorisches Phänomen.'

description, transcends it, experience alone gives that mystic sense of comradeship with Nature, that sense of real and abiding satisfaction which the Wandervogel found on excursion in Nature's ways. All the journals of the Youth Associations are full of descriptions of such experience, often crude and unpolished, often of real depth and beauty. 'To the young people it was as though they had found their true environment, the medium in which their unconscious longings and strivings could find expression, the medium in which youth could live. The Wandervögel were not merely the occasional guests of Nature, they were its truest children.' (Neuendorff).

This intimacy with Nature was the basis of Wandervogel activities, not only on actual excursions, but as the touchstone for all problems. It made the Wandervogel expunge from their lives all that prevented free untrammelled intercourse with Nature, it made them so prepare themselves that they might be ready to accept fully whatever Nature had in store for them. This is what is meant by Wandervogelkultur, by the new style of life - Wandervogel style. The cult of the folk-song and folk-dance, the attitude to dress, the avoidance of alcohol and tobacco are all manifestations of the same point of view. Often enough there are features which appear exaggerated or absurd, for instance, extravagances in dress reform, in the cult of the body, in behaviour overstepping liberty into licence, but these were due mainly

to the exuberance of youthful enthusiasms and in many cases to the readiness with which the young people inclined to take themselves too seriously.

The folk-song was the inseparable companion of the Wandervögel, from the very beginning of the movement. Song was spontaneous - by the lakeside, round the camp-fire, or relieving the tedium of a long march, giving at all times a basis of rhythm and harmony to the comradeship of the group. The Wandervögel found in it a language for the expression of their comradeship with one another, and it is this which explains the predominance of folk-song, which alone lent itself to such expression. Old songs and ballads, minnelieder, soldiers' songs, songs sad and gay, all were grist for the Wandervögel, while they composed not a few wander-songs themselves. Many old folk-songs were rescued from oblivion through the enthusiasm of the Wandervögel, at home or on excursion, and a new impetus was given to the appreciation of the worth of this part of Germany's cultural heritage.

As early as 1900, a booklet of 250 folk-songs appeared, "Die Lieder der Zupfgeigenhansl," edited by Hans Breuer. By 1913, 100,000 copies had been sold: "Zupf" had become the vade mecum of the Wandervögel. Collection and publication of folk-songs had by this time become vogue: The Altwandervogel published "Liederbuch fahrender Schüler," several of the provinces (Gaue) published collections of local folk-songs, while special research collections also appeared. The most valuable

collections however were not the elaborate collections of antiquarian interest, but the little booklets for the pocket, the pamphlets and song-sheets which accompanied the Wander-vögel wherever they went, and were thumbed and worn with constant use.

Musical accompaniment was not lacking, without flute, fiddle, or mandoline the wander-group was not complete. The mandoline in particular was the boon companion of many an excursion, decked with bright ribbons its gay strumming gave further incentive and zest to song, and added to the merry camaraderie of the wander-life.

As with folk-songs, so with folklore: myths and legends, tales of long ago, had an irresistible attraction for the Wandervögel. Told by the campfire, or in the gathering dusk as the group sat around after the evening meal, myths and tales of heroes of long ago became vivid and real - had they not themselves penetrated into that world of myth and fantasy? Old customs they also sought out and wished to perpetuate. The old sun-rites they celebrated as festivals, in particular the festival of Midsummer's day (Johannisfeier).

The folk-dance came into Wandervogel activities under the sponsoring of the folk-song. Many of the favourite folk-songs had folk-dances associated with them, in fact the rhythm and the vividness of imagery found in such dance-songs were the characteristics which made them favourites with the Wander-vögel. Naturally enough, however, the folk-dance has never

had the strength or influence in the Wandervogel that the folk-song has had, and its growth is associated definitely with the increase of girls' groups and of mixed groups within the movement. From the very beginnings of girls' groups the folk-dance has had a place in Wandervogel activities, but its general acceptance dates from about 1908. To dance in the open, under the trees or among the flowers in the meadow, was found to be a real expression of the spirit of the Wandervogel. Not only is it a return to the old German customs which the Wandervogel cherished, it contains the very essence of the movement. It is a kind of nature-cult, the rhythm of the old German folk-song expressing itself in rhythmic activity in Nature's sphere. Singing as they dance the boys and girls go through the simple movements of the dance with delight and enthusiasm, the accompanying fiddle or mandoline being played with no less enjoyment. The effect is heightened, for participant as for onlooker, by the Wandervogel fashions in dress, dictated partly by the desire for healthy, sensible clothing, partly by the spirit of the ancient guilds living on in the movement.

Through time the activities of the Wandervogel settled down into a definite form - the type of activities, their arrangement, and the procedure followed, became remarkably uniform throughout the whole country, and this form continued in the youth groups as long as they retained their independence of outside interests. The uniformity of their activities was

the outward sign of a common outlook, a common attitude to the problems of life as youth saw them. In the Wandervogel, youth had come to a consciousness of itself: the simple life of the countryside, the joys of 'Wandern' had developed the consciousness of youthful comradeship, had brought about a distinctive point of view. The movement of escape had developed into a guild movement - still on the basis of romanticism, a guild movement with methods and traditions more or less standardised.*

For all practical purposes it was found that best results were obtained with groups of from ten to twelve boys, under a group leader. It may be noted in passing that similar conclusions have been reached by the great majority of youth organisations in different countries, wherever youthful initiative is depended on. The members of a small group have a closeness of intimacy with each other and with their leader which is denied to larger groups, where the mutual interests of the group are necessarily less personal, and more diffused.

Usually the group met at the home of the leader, or of one of the older boys, but as time went on and the local associations became stronger, special club-rooms, 'nests,' were obtained. Occasionally old buildings of historic interest fell vacant and could be obtained for a nominal rent

* This question is discussed at length in most of the magazines of the youth associations as well as in books and pamphlets dealing with the history of the Youth Movement. The writings of W. Stählin are particularly useful in this connection.

from the town authorities, more frequently the boys had to take whatever suitable accommodation they could find. The assistance of the Euftrat was of course necessary in obtaining the rooms and furnishing them, but the boys did all they could themselves without calling in outside assistance. At the 'nest' the group assembled regularly to plan excursions, to talk and discuss problems, and to sing. The longer excursions especially required much preparation, to choose the itinerary, to arrange for over-night accommodation, to estimate expenses, and, not least, to learn as much as possible about the new district to be visited, so that full advantage might be taken of the visit to the new environment.

But the rapid spread of the movement, with the tremendous increase in the number of rambling groups which it entailed, raised a new problem, the problem of accommodation. Private houses and barns gave only a limited provision which soon became quite inadequate to the demand. The use of inns and boarding-houses was clearly out of the question, if only for financial reasons; what was desired, and what was needed, was the establishment of rest houses, to provide over-night shelter to weary Wandervögel. The local associations thus turned their attention to the question of securing quarters in the country, at a distance of four or five miles from the town as a rule. Old houses, disused huts or even sheds were obtained, furnished plainly and simply, and transformed to country homes (Landheime) for the use of the Wandervögel.

Somebody living nearby was appointed caretaker by the local association, and the groups from the town used the place as the centre for all their excursions except the longer holiday excursions, which took them further afield. The next step was the interchange of the use of the Landheime between different district associations, to enable them to extend their environment and at the same time to foster a wider comradeship between the Wandervögel of different districts. For the long holiday excursions to distant parts of Germany the groups had still to depend on direct arrangements of a personal nature so far as accommodation was concerned, but it was clear that a network of 'nests' and 'Landheime' was springing up throughout Germany which would before long be united in a national scheme for the benefit of wayfaring youth as a whole.*

* For a full analysis of the forming of groups: their constitution, their activities, their aims and interests, the duties and responsibilities of leaders and members, see P. Jordan, 'Fahrt, Nest und Lager' - this book, unlike most, subordinates philosophic analysis in giving a clear picture of the internal management of the youth groups.

The League of Nations was established in 1919 as a result of the First World War. It was the first time that nations had agreed to work together to maintain peace and security. The League was based on the principle of collective security, which means that all nations are responsible for maintaining peace. If one nation attacks another, all nations are supposed to join together to stop the attack. The League was successful in preventing several wars, but it was not strong enough to stop the Second World War.

CHAPTER II.

Trends in other youth organisations.

In the Wandervogel we see the Youth Movement in its purest, most spontaneous form. But the Youth Movement was by no means confined to the Wandervogel even in these early days.* The Wandervogel was a spontaneous outburst of youthful idealism which attracts attention by its sharp contrast to all existing institutions and by its sturdy independence of outlook. The factors which had led to the Wandervogel however were much more wide in their application, its members were not alone in feeling oppressed by the defects of the social situation as they found it, in feeling that they were in bondage to the older generation and to its conception of life, though they alone were sufficiently articulate to found an association to remedy these defects in their own lives. The ideas behind the Wandervogel are to be found at work in all kinds of young people's associations - in church guilds, in temperance lodges, in boys' clubs run by charitable organizations, among socialist and communist youth leagues - and it is instructive to consider the gradual growth of Wandervogel activities within these associations, and of the Wandervogel point of view, and to see their gradual reorientation as genuine youth societies, dependent on youthful initiative, and serving the youthful point of view, while still preserving the religious, social, or political bias in which they originated.

* See for instance, O. Stählin, p. 54.

At first sight one might have expected the religious youth associations to have taken a prominent part in the early stages of the Youth Movement, and indeed that the initial impetus would come from them: the shallowness and superficiality of the social order might be expected to arouse them to strong opposition, to an attempt to make ethical and spiritual values the basis of individual and social life and so introduce a new order of things. Such however was not the case: not indeed for lack of youth associations in the different churches. Both Protestants and Catholics had long recognised the importance of special Church associations for young people to help bring them up in the faith: most of these associations had their origin between 1880 and 1895, though some date right back to the Napoleonic era. In fact the Churches were jealous of all youth organisations other than their own, and used their great influence to discourage them, to bring them into disfavour, and to have them forbidden by official enactment, so much so that the nineteenth century in the history of youth associations has been mentioned as the period of Church monopoly. Yet it was not religious conviction and religious enthusiasm that gave the spark which set the Youth Movement aflame. The trouble was that the world of religion and the world of affairs had grown apart, religion was conceived as life in the region of the spirit, to which one might retire for consolation from the stress of a workaday world. Thus the youth associations of the churches devoted themselves

almost exclusively to the spiritual edification of their members, to the ideals of humility, love, obedience, and service. The palpable deficiencies of the world of reality as a spiritual home led rather to an otherworldliness, to a flight from reality to the consolations of the unseen world and of the contemplation of the world to come. Thus it is that not only do we find such associations for the most part out of sympathy with the Wandervogel, we find them even definitely opposed to it, not through opposition to its fundamental principles so much as through their own different emphasis on what is vital. With the spread of the new ideas of the Wandervogel throughout Germany, especially through all the secondary schools and universities, young people in the religious groups came to realise that the two points of view were not contradictory, and set themselves to assimilate them to one another. About 1913 we see the first definite signs of this new orientation within the religious youth associations, Protestant or Catholic, but we generally find these tendencies strongly opposed by the leaders, arising spontaneously from the rank and file.

The religious groups which approximated most closely to the Wandervogel in their ideas arose, like the Wandervogel, at the secondary schools - they were the Bibelkreise and the Quickborn movement, Protestant and Catholic respectively. The Bibelkreise (Bible Study Circles) originated as early as 1883, spreading rapidly throughout Germany and forming a central

organisation in 1909, affiliated to an international association. The Quickborn is of much later date: it developed from a temperance group at a secondary school in Neisse in 1909, but though widely separated in origin, the two movements acquitted significance for the Youth Movement about the same time. Other religious associations have less claim to consideration as part of the Youth Movement. Organised by adults in accordance with their own social and religious views they were more of the nature of welfare work than inspired by youthful idealism and the outlook of youth. After the War it is true most of such organisations became transformed as a genuine part of the Youth Movement, yet it would not be correct to say that their new outlook was the natural development from the old; in the new climate of the post-war world the winds of freedom brought Youth a new assertiveness, a new independence which it carried into all its organisations, the practice of the freer Wandervogel associations showing how this could be effected.

The fact that the Bibelkreise and the Quickborn, the most spontaneous of the religious associations, originated in the same social stratum as the Wandervogel, is no mere accident: as mentioned previously, it is here the growing revolt of youth might be expected to find its first expression, because of the more obvious defects of the social situation as regards school and home, and because youth here is more arti-

culate than in other sections of the community. The Bibelkreise and Quickborn faced the same problems as the Wandervogel, but with a difference: on the whole, they lacked the antagonism to the adult outlook and to the adult direction and control of affairs, they lacked the strong conviction of the rights and worth of youth itself, and its need to cut out new paths for itself. It was in a sense natural that they should: accepting the tenets of their religion as they did, there could be no fundamental antagonism to the older generation, which constituted the medium through which their religion came. But in course of time, their passive, receptive attitude became more vitalised: the conviction grew that true religion could not be acquired superficially, but must be worked out in terms of individual needs and individual outlook, and that their group activities should be an affair for youth and youth alone, and not governed and directed by adults and the adult point of view. This is where the Bibelkreise on the one hand, the Quickborn on the other, differed from most of the other religious youth associations, they were more than mere welfare organisations, they developed much of the spontaneity and vitality of a genuine Youth Movement.

As with the Churches so with all other social institutions: all were turning a new attention to the younger generation, partly from the conviction that what was desirable for adults was valid with but little modification for young people also, partly from the desire to proselytise.

About the same time as the Wandervogel began, there began also the first political youth associations. The first political party to direct its attention to youth propaganda was the Catholic Centre Party (Zentrum). Under its aegis the Windhorstbund was founded in Essen in 1895, motivated partly by political, partly by religious views. The nationalist parties found a field for their activities in the Jugendwehr, associations which devoted themselves to the fostering of patriotic sentiments among their youthful members, imitating military forms and giving outlet to youthful energy in route marches and field exercises. But it is to the socialist parties we must look for the real regimentation of youth politically, both as regards the scope and extent of the party activities and as regards the intensity of political conviction shown by the youth groups. Yet the socialist youth associations constituted a youth movement as genuine in many ways as the Wandervogel itself. In essence this movement was founded by young people and took its inspiration from their point of view and their attitude to life, but in reaction against a different aspect of the social situation. Whereas the Wandervogel was a romantic movement begun by the sons of well-to-do people, the socialist youth movement was directed to more material ends, in particular to the betterment of the conditions of life for young workers. Industrialism and materialism had roused the antagonism of the young people of the upper classes in that the period of youth had become con-

ditioned by adult requirements and by the adult outlook, had become in itself barren and meaningless. But in the working-classes the defects were more obvious, more material. There the youth of 18 was for all practical purposes an adult; he stood in the same relation to his employer as an adult, his abilities and capacities were measured by the same standards. Intellectually he was starved, hard physical labour left too little time or energy for intellectual interests even where provision for such interests was available. At the stage when he should have been developing the ability to use leisure, developing interests personal to himself, he had no time or energy beyond his daily work. What the young worker needed above all was protection from the harshness of the industrial system. Of all the deficiencies of the existing régime from his point of view this bulked most largely, and here his primary grievances were the grievances of the working-class as a whole. This explains how the young workers threw themselves with such enthusiasm into the socialist movement: political propaganda by the socialist parties was certainly important, but the main factor was the spontaneous enthusiasm of the young people themselves for bringing about a new régime which would give them a measure of freedom, such a transformation being promised by the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of the socialist state.

The first notable association of young people under socialist auspices was that begun at Mannheim in 1904 by Dr.

Frank, inspired in some measure by the success of such associations in other countries. The movement spread to other cities in the south of Germany and in 1906 the Verband junger Arbeiter Deutschlands was founded. From Berlin originated a separate movement in 1904, under E. Bernstein, aiming primarily at the protection of the rights and privileges of apprentices and young workers. Its activities had a strongly socialist tinge, but in its written constitution it expressly excluded political and religious distinctions, so that it might evade the Prussian law against participation of young people in political or religious organisations. Other cities followed the example of Berlin, and in 1906 groups from some 20 cities, with a total membership of about 4,000, united to form the Vereinigung der freien Jugendorganisationen Deutschlands. Gradually taking a more definitely political bias, it spread its interests over a wide field: in industry, it set itself to improve conditions for the young worker; in education, it set itself to extend the scope and the practical usefulness of continuation classes and to aid the expansion of educational facilities of all kinds; it sought to influence its members against intemperance, against the cinema and against the more degrading influences in social life; it issued a journal, 'Die Arbeitende Jugend,' to state its point of view on things generally. The association had to fight for recognition against the trade guilds, which were suspicious of its power in organising the young workers, and against the Churches, which desired no youth associations other

than their own, and were at the same time afraid its influence would be against the religious welfare of its youthful members. Even within the socialist movement it was not altogether regarded with favour; many in the Trade Unions were opposed to the idea of separate youth groups in the socialist ranks, maintaining with a degree of reason that such groups would probably develop an independence of outlook that would cause friction later. It had also to fight within against the excesses of political extremists.

A new complication arose: in the beginning of 1908 a federal law was passed which, among other things, forbade the participation of young people in political associations until they had completed their eighteenth year. This law was directly aimed against the socialist youth organisations, but they were successful in avoiding compulsory disbandment: immediately after the passing of the law the local associations were transformed into youth committees ostensibly for instructional purposes, *Bildungsvereine*, and definitely affiliated as such to the socialist party. The *Zentralstelle für die arbeitende Jugend Deutschlands* was founded in 1909 to supervise and extend the activities of the local groups, with such success that before long the number of groups exceeded 300; the range of their activities included courses of lectures on a wide variety of topics, excursions made to places of interest and, following in the footsteps of the *Wandervögel*, the discovery of the art

and practice of 'Wandern.' Clubrooms were obtained, likewise country quarters where groups or individuals on excursion could find accommodation. District libraries were also instituted for the benefit of the members of the association and a periodical was started in 1909, 'Arbeiterjugend.' The growth of the movement is shown by the fact that in 1914 over 100,000 copies were issued of a single edition of this magazine. The first conference was held in 1910 under the presidency of Ebert, later President of the Reich, and the proceedings are particularly instructive in showing the political motives activating the movement. Opposition to the capitalistic régime is fundamental to the movement, and the overthrow of that régime is its ultimate aim. The bulwark of capitalism is the bourgeoisie, the 'bürgerliche Klasse,' whose efforts are directed to the subjection of the proletariat, the conscious, articulate section of which constitutes the socialist party. Socialist youth accuses the 'bürgerliche Klasse' of striving to remove proletarian class-consciousness by the fostering of religious and patriotic ideas: it thus finds itself antagonistic to religious youth associations on the one hand, to Jugendwehr and militaristic organisations on the other because of the overwhelming emphasis it lays on entirely different principles. It constitutes, in its view, a reaction against the 'bürgerliche Jugendbewegung,' meaning by that the youth movement inspired by religious and nationalist ideas; its aim is to preserve the true perspective for the youth of the proletariat and to prepare

it for its part in the coming class war.*

Such was the political basis of the socialist youth movement, but it is clear that the activities embraced by the movement were much more varied and important than to be fully expressible in political terms alone. The movement not only served to bring youth to a consciousness of the defects of the capitalistic régime, it set out to remedy these defects so far as it could in the lives of its members, to protect them industrially, to widen their horizons, to build them up physically and mentally, and in so doing it went far beyond the realms of political propaganda.

The interest of the socialist parties in youth organisations led more or less directly to State intervention in this field. It was coming to be realised in official quarters that education for citizenship could not be adequately provided for merely by enforcing attendance at continuation classes of day-school type, and the growth of all kinds of youth associations throughout the country showed clearly that other methods were available. Besides, official intervention, local or national, might serve to free the youth associations from the narrowness of party, dogma, or faction, and set them on a

* 'Ihr Ziel ist die Vorbereitung des jugendlichen Proletariats für den Klassenkampf, ihr Mittel die bewährte Methode der allgemeinproletarischen Propaganda, angewandt auf die besondere wirtschaftliche Lage und das Erkenntnisvermögen der jungen Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen.' (J. Kipper).

See also J. Kipper, 'Die sozialistische Jugendbewegung in Deutschland,' V. Engelhardt, 'Die deutsche Jugendbewegung als kulturhistorisches Phänomen,' and E. Müller, 'Das Weimar der arbeitenden Jugend.'

broader basis. Theoretically this was sound, but the difficulty was in finding how to set about it. The continuation schools were clearly the medium of all government action, since through them the boys and girls just left school were still under official control. But the link was weak: the continuation schools had been conceived largely as a day-school extension, and making them partly compulsory had not helped matters. The problem of continuation classes has always been that of reaching young people and so influencing them that the provision of classes and of facilities generally is in response to their own felt needs, so that although external control is retained the pupils have at least the semblance of independence. Had the schools been conceived thus, the assimilation of youth-welfare activities would have been easier, the extension of the class-groups to youth-groups in the spirit of the Wandervogel might have been possible.

In 1909 a congress was held at Darmstadt to discuss aims and methods; representatives were present from official State organisations interested in youth associations and from religious and other youth associations. It was agreed to recommend the formation of district groups, preferably associated with the continuation schools, which would extend the activities of the school along the lines of the young people's interests, in providing facilities for games and athletics, in arranging for day excursions and for tours of longer duration, even to the obtaining of club-rooms and of country

quarters to serve as centres for country excursions. Welfare groups of this nature sprang up rapidly all over Germany: in 1911 Prussia passed a law formally instituting the organisation of youth welfare (Jugendpflege) as a national service, for boys first, but with extension to girls later in the same year; it instituted local committees for youth welfare as part of the machinery of local government, and appropriated funds for their use. In other states progress was on similar lines.

But though youth associations were now receiving their full meed of official attention it is doubtful if their last condition was better than their first. The free development of a spontaneous youth movement had been sidetracked before into the channels of politics and of religion. Now the State, partly supplanting, partly supplementing these, was bringing its quota to the regimentation of youth. State intervention did not mean that youth organisations were to be encouraged to develop spontaneously from the ideals and enthusiasms of youth, it meant that they were to be encouraged to State ends by those in power in the State. The local committees, with whom lay the power, were constituted for the most part of men of standing in the community, and almost inevitably represented a conservative and nationalist point of view. It is thus evident that the new-found enthusiasm for youth welfare through these district youth associations was more than anything else a counterblast to the socialist youth movement. The Jugendwehr attained a new importance; a 'youth militia' organised

and trained on military lines, its dominant, militant patriotism was more in keeping with the spirit of the local welfare committees, and it flourished accordingly. It was a new organisation, however, the Jungdeutschlandbund, which benefited mainly by the new condition of affairs. Founded by General von der Goltz in 1911, the Jungdeutschlandbund had something of the military aspect of the Jugendwehr, but it gave more recognition to the things the young people themselves were interested in. Its primary aims were the physical development of German youth, and, in all aspects, the general conscription of youth in the interests of the nation. Its activities covered a wide range: military exercises, scouting, sport, games, hiking excursions, while its official recognition and numerical strength enabled it to set up country homes and resthouses for the reception of wayfaring groups, to take over military exercise-grounds and swimming ponds, and among other things obtain cheap railway fares for its members when on excursion. By 1913 more than 500,000 youths were members of the Jungdeutschlandbund or affiliated thereto in kindred associations.

Through course of time, as we have seen previously, the Wandervogel lost some of the fine spontaneity in which it originated and gravitated in some measure towards organisation as a youth welfare association. It was invited to affiliate with the Jungdeutschlandbund, but declined to merge its identity with that of the other. Youth welfare was certainly a

matter of importance, but the true Wandervogel did not see in the mass-conscription of youth the fulfilment of his ideals. The militia-like organisation of the Jungdeutschlandbund repelled him, and though its social services were indubitable, he disputed the value for the individual of such social ideals as it developed, and preferred to develop his social ideals in Wandervogel ways. On the other hand, Goltz and others saw in many Wandervogel practices a lack of purpose, a perverseness even, arising out of the avoidance of the obvious and of the utilitarian in its emphasis on independent self-activity. As a result, the Wandervogel as a whole remained aloof from the Jungdeutschlandbund, though individual groups shared in its activities.

At this stage mention might be made of the Pfadfinder movement: the extension of the Boy Scout Movement in Germany. Taking its inspiration from the organisation founded by Baden-Powell in England, the first group was founded in Germany in 1909 and was quickly followed by many others. The association, Pfadfinderbund, was founded, closely following the English model in its aims and methods, while scouting games and practice found wide vogue. As a youth association however it stood nearer to the Jugendwehr than to the Wandervogel; based on an aristocratic outlook, it inevitably became associated with militaristic ideas in Germany which it had almost entirely escaped in England, so that the Pfadfinderbund was organised on strictly military lines, its dominant ideas

a militant patriotism, and the cult of physical fitness. During the War the scouts (Pfadfinder) at home did valuable service, but afterwards, among prevailing ideas to which the organisation was antagonistic, its influence declined and internal dissensions were rife. These resulted for instance, in the schism which led to the Neupfadfinderbund, an association with greater claims to be a spontaneous youth movement than the old.

So far we have dealt with the main developments in youth organisations till about 1913, but, though we have discussed the most salient features, we have not by any means accounted for the complete network of youth associations which spread throughout Germany covering every aspect of social life. We have discussed neither the young workers' associations nor the sport associations, nor associations like the Bund deutscher Jugendvereine (founded 1909) which, actuated by motives of social service, did valuable welfare work among the poorer classes.

In discussing the youth associations which arose among the ranks of young workers and apprentices we dealt only with those which had a socialist basis, but there were other important associations, organised on an occupational basis, though often enough tinged with the socialist outlook. These arose through the Trade Unions, which early realised the importance of protecting and organising young workers. The expansion and the increasing mechanisation of industry had

worked havoc with the apprenticeship system. Before, master and man were on essentially the same footing while at work, now, with the advent of machinery, the expansion of the industrial unit and the increasing complexity of organisation, they had drifted apart from one another into classes of different outlook, whose interests were in many ways opposed. In particular, apprentices were no longer introduced to their trade under the personal supervision of their employer, nor had they a general insight into all its workings; they were mere cogs in the industrial machine, necessarily kept to their own restricted job. They represented above all cheap labour, and the responsibility of teaching them their trade no longer bulked largely in the employer's view. Besides, long and heavy working hours left no time or energy for independent private preparation and study. Continuation classes and other organisations could not solve the problem; what was required was a lightening of the young worker's load and a new insistence on apprenticeship as a period of training. Shop assistants were in as bad a plight as factory workers, worse even as regards their working hours. The progress of legislation as regards shop closing hours was slow; the law of 1900 fixed the 9 o'clock closing hour with permission for local arrangements for earlier closing, but these facilities were little used, while the question of afternoons off and the adequate curtailment of shop hours on Sundays had to wait till much later.

The Trade Unions, claiming as they did to represent all workers, whether youth or adult, naturally attached great importance to the protection of young workers from exploitation, direct or indirect, whether in the length of their working hours or in the evasion by the employer of his obligations to his apprentices in the way of teaching them their trade. Thus in 1908 there were apprentice groups in more than 40 branches of the German Trades Union Association (Verband Deutscher Handlungsgehilfen), while in 1914 the Kaufmännische Jugendbund, founded in the interests of young shop assistants, had 380 distinct groups with 12,000 members. In 1909 the association founded a department to deal with instructional aspects, primarily for apprentices, and in 1911 it was broadened to include all aspects of youth welfare. This department, Abteilung für Bildungswesen und Jugendpflege, took its place with State recognition in 1911 as an official welfare organisation. All the activities of the Trades Unions in trying to better the lot of the young worker have naturally been organised on an occupational basis, but they have not been confined to the economic sphere. Behind these more immediate aims we see the desire to help the individual to develop his own personality to the full, and to develop socially as a worthy citizen.

Sport and physical culture had a place in most youth associations, but, apart altogether from the organisations we have described, there was a great number of associations

which had these as their specific aims. Adult associations for physical culture date as far back as the beginning of the 19th century. The wide extension of such associations among young people however is much more recent, for the adult associations themselves had to fight hard for their very existence, let alone try to extend their privileges to young people. Forbidden for a long time as being politically suspect, and, throughout, opposed strenuously by political and religious associations, their progress has yet been steadily forward, so that by the beginning of the War there were over a million members in the Turnvereine, including 200,000 young people. Despite the numbers, the gymnastic activities represented if anything a falling from the high standards set up a century before by Jahn, the father of German gymnastics. For him physical culture was not a question of mechanical drill on the parade ground or in the drill hall. He found the finest gymnastics in the form of natural activities such as tested the physical powers in natural ways, above all in hiking expeditions over rough country. He devised a great number of variations on this very theme, for instance, on the type of loads to be carried on such training hikes, and transformed even the stereotyped exercises of the parade ground by applying such methods. Jahn's views of the physical benefit to be obtained from hiking and other natural tests of fitness and endurance are reinforced by his stress on the wider value of such activities. His books, 'Deutsches Volkstum'

(1810) and 'Deutsche Turnkunst' (1816) make this abundantly clear; in them we find a close analysis of the art and practice of 'Wandern' and its value for individual, social, and national life, - and this almost a century before the Wander-vogel.*

The Turnvereine however did not long provide expression to such methods and such ideals. They became suspect as centres of political free-thought and were compelled by law to eradicate all elements other than direct physical training: even the hiking excursion, the Turnfahrt, which had come to stay as part of their activities, degenerated into the typical route march. Jealously watched by political and religious organisations, they were held on a tight rein for almost a century till the transformation effected by the War. Numerically they gained steadily in strength, among young people as among adults, but their activities were confined to mechanical drill and the performance of stereotyped exercises. Still, even at that, the association of young people with one another on two evenings of the week, and with other groups on the quarterly Turnfahrt, completely degenerated though it was from Jahn's conception of it, had significance for more than merely physical culture. By 1914 a progressive change in attitude became evident: the unsatisfactory nature of prescribed mechanical exercises became increasingly apparent,

* For instance: 'Wandern, Zusammenwandern erweckt schlummernde Tugenden, Mitgefühl, Teilnahme, Gemeingeist und Menschenliebe. Steigende Vervollkommnung, Trieb nach Verbesserung gehen daraus hervor und die edle Betriebsamkeit, das auswärts gesehene Gut in die Heimat zu verpflanzen.' ('Deutsches Volkstum,' p. 250).

the cult of rhythmic, spontaneous bodily movements began to take vogue. At the same time the increasing popularity of games and sport provided physical culture of a more attractive type, a type, moreover, which had greater value in fostering mutual dependence and social feeling. But within the Turnvereine the play element was strongly discountenanced. Whatever savoured of play was suspected of being mere irresponsible idleness: the theoretical principles of physical culture determined their activities so that the drill hall and the parade ground were still the medium of all their work.

With the obtaining of playing-fields and the furtherance of games and sport among young people the Turnvereine as such had but little to do. In 1891 there was founded a separate association, the 'Zentralausschuss für Forderung der Jugend-und Volksspiele,' and this association dealt with such matters as its own particular province. Acting primarily through the schools it set itself to encourage out-of-door sports, scouting games and play activities generally, and it was largely through its influence that the 1904 Act was passed, giving school children a play afternoon each week.

An association which did still more to smooth the way for the expansion of Wandervogel activities was that which concerned itself with the institution of hostels and shelters for wayfaring youth. The committee formed to this end obtained its first hostel as early as 1884. By 1894 there were 94 hostels, by 1904 there were 165, by 1913, 640. War

intervened, so that in 1919 there were only 288, while some of these, particularly the hostels situated outwith Germany, in Austria and Czecho-slovakia lapsed shortly afterwards. The hostels were instituted for the use of students and pupils of the secondary schools while on excursion, and did no small service in extending the wayfaring movement by making all necessary arrangements for the accommodation of the wayfaring groups. Organisation was on a voluntary basis throughout. The association derived its income mainly from voluntary contributions, though after it had established itself, contributions also flowed through various official channels. Though essentially of the nature of welfare work it is clear that the work of this association was inspired by more liberal ideas, by a greater sympathy with the youthful point of view, than inspired many other welfare associations which we have discussed. There is no attempt to dominate young people or to sidetrack their enthusiasms into adult ways, there is rather the desire to remove difficulties from their path, to give them the possibility and the opportunity of working out their own salvation in their own way.

When we look over the vast array of associations seeking to serve the needs of German youth in the period just before the War, we see the most bewildering diversity: groups of every political colour and of every social creed, religious groups, groups dominated by a pantheistic outlook, groups for

physical culture, groups for sport, groups which are really juvenile trade unions, groups formed by charitable organisations by way of welfare work, groups covering every facet of German life, at every social level. Yet through it all we feel the same driving force, the same surge of youthful vitality, youth eager to shake off its shackles, to free itself from an environment which it instinctively feels to be alien.

As we have shown previously the problems which confronted lower-class youth were vastly different from those which confronted upper-class youth. For upper-class youth the problems were primarily of an intellectual nature: the young people were in revolt against the adult domination of affairs and against the cramping restrictions of an outworn social code. For lower-class youth however material problems were so substantial as to outweigh all other considerations: the defects of the social situation meant for them first and foremost the need for economic protection. It was inevitable therefore that the Youth Movement at the two social levels should take widely different forms, inevitable also that the associations in the lower social level should be somewhat antagonised by the apparent indifference of upper-class youth to the evils they found so oppressive.

What chiefly kept the two groups apart, however, was not any antagonism of principle, or incompatibility of outlook, but the simple fact that there was no bridge between the workers

on the one hand, the middle and upper classes on the other. Diversity was further introduced by the extreme variety of form in which the Youth Movement crystallised. In considering the development of the various youth associations we see but seldom, as with the Wandervogel, spontaneous activities originating from the young people themselves. Usually the youth associations were founded and directed by adults who could enter with zest into the activities and the interests of young people, and who had the ability not only to see through youthful eyes but to find some expression for youthful outlook. The true interpretation of the extreme variety of outward form to be found in the youth associations is not so much that they have been side-tracked from the service of youth to the partisanship of adult interests, it rather lies in the fact that youthful idealism must have a peg to hang on, youth must put its idealism into practice in the environment or medium in which it finds itself. In the case of any social organisation which sponsors a youth association, we invariably find the youth association taking up the same attitude socially as the parent body, partly through imitation and by definite instruction, partly because this particular channel is available for youthful enthusiasm. Thus in the religious groups the defects of the social situation were attributed to the neglect of spiritual values, and the cultivation of the spiritual life was the goal; in the ranks of working-class youth economic considerations were of primary importance, and led naturally

to the predominance of nationalist ideas. For nationalist youth the defects were to be considered as part of the national inefficiency due to political weakness in internal and external affairs. Such associations therefore directed themselves to the fostering of patriotic sentiments and to the imitation of military forms, marches and field exercises giving youth outlet for self-activity. Similarly with young people who were members of athletic and sports clubs. They found in sport something in which they could be vitally interested: their antagonism to the existing régime was canalised by sport, just as that of nationalist youth was canalised by military activities. Every type of group regarded life from its own particular angle: the inadequacy and deficiencies of the existing régime constituted a problem to be solved, and the solution depended on the point of view of the group.

Behind all the outward diversity of form displayed by the youth associations there is a strong community of feeling: the inspiration, the driving power which made these associations came from the young people themselves. The tremendous spread of all types of youth organisations at this time cannot be in any way explained as a new expansion of welfare work on the part of adults; though the activities of the individual groups were in many cases directed by adults, and took a practical form corresponding in many respects to the adult outlook,

this was because other forms of self-expression were not yet available. There was only so far a vague sense of dissatisfaction with the existing scheme of things, the formulation of a definite point of view was as yet distant. It may be maintained that this youthful dissatisfaction was taken advantage of by all sorts of adult associations for their own ends, but on the whole it is more correct to say that youth organisations provided an outlet, a medium in which this dissatisfaction could find expression, though sometimes in rather perverted form. The subsequent history of these organisations substantiates this view: influenced from without by the activities and the ideas of more spontaneous movements like the Wandervogel, revitalised from within by the growing assertiveness of youth and its gradual formulation of a definite outlook, many of them emerged from the melting-pot of War and Revolution with a definite claim to rank as part of the Youth Movement: their activities, their sympathies, and their outlook became in no essential distinct from those of youth groups which were of more spontaneous origin.

The first thing that struck me when I stepped out of the train was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to penetrate to the bone. I had heard that the weather in the north was harsh, but I had not realized just how cold it would be. The wind was howling, and the snow was falling in thick, heavy drifts. I shivered as I walked along the deserted streets, my hands tucked into my pockets. The only sound I could hear was the crunch of my boots on the snow. I felt alone and vulnerable in this vast, white landscape.

CHAPTER III.

The Freideutschen.

It was a cold, clear day in the heart of winter. The sun was low in the sky, casting long, dark shadows across the snow-covered ground. I was walking through a quiet street in a small town, my breath visible in the cold air. The houses were old and well-kept, with white-painted walls and dark wooden shutters. The streets were clean and free of snow, a sign of the care and attention given to the town. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility as I walked, the only sound being the soft crunch of my boots on the pavement. The air was crisp and fresh, a welcome change from the smog of the city. I had heard that the people here were friendly and welcoming, and I was beginning to believe it. The town had a warm, inviting atmosphere that made me feel at home. I was looking forward to staying here for a while, to experience the life and culture of this beautiful place.

The Youth Movement was now to enter on a new phase, partly through the expansion of Wandervogel activities and Wandervogel ideas, partly through the mere lapse of time, whereby young people grew up within the Youth Movement and applied to their ever-widening range of interests the outlook of the Wandervogel. Wandervogel ideas spread naturally from the secondary schools to the Universities, resulting there in the foundation of many new student societies imbued with ideals widely different from those of the duelling corps, and in the pervading of many existing student societies with an entirely new spirit.* The whole climate of college and university life was changed for many of the students. In the fresher freer atmosphere they took a wider view than student youth had been accustomed to take. They claimed for themselves the right and the responsibility of thinking things out anew from the point of view of youth, of establishing criteria for the solving of all social problems. They refused to accept the plea of use and wont as adequate justification for any social institutions, however firmly rooted in the national life, - the school, the Church, the State, even the home. This revaluation of social and individual life, entailing as it did the formulation of new aims and a more responsible outlook in social affairs, was in some measure an advance on the views of the earlier Wandervögel with their rigid dis-

* For amplification of this, see an article by Heidler: 'Die Jugendbewegung und die gesellschaftliche Form studentischen Lebens,' in 'Die Zwiespruch,' Vol. 2.

inction between the world of every-day affairs and the life of the Wandervogel.

Public attention was first attracted to the advent of this new force by the assembly at Hohe Meissner in October 1913, summoned by the newly founded Freideutsche Jugend.* The immediate reason for the assembly^{was} to offset the celebrations being held throughout Germany on the occasion of the centenary of the battle of Leipzig: such celebrations were not genuinely expressive of patriotic fervour, they merely served to glorify a perfervid militarism, and were made an excuse for revelry, intemperance and licence. The summons of protest was vigorously responded to; thirteen young people's unions sent delegates, and some 2,000 young men and women attended at Hohe Meissner. There they lit their bonfires and celebrated in their own way. They were celebrating not a military anniversary, but the birth of a new movement. The keynote of the assembly was the vigorous assertion of the right and responsibility of youth to control its own destiny, and it brought a new realisation of the strength which comes from union in a common cause. Speeches and discussions culminated in the acclamation of a common aim: to shape their lives with inner sincerity, by their own decisions, on their own responsi-

* The name Freideutsche Jugend was adopted at a conference of youth groups early in 1913. Friedrich Wilhelm Fulda, a leader in the Wandervogel, was responsible for the name: as he said "deutsche ist die neue Jugend bis ins innerste Herz, frei halte sie sich in ihren Gemeinschaften von ausseren Bindungen und von inneren Zwang." (August Messer, "Die freideutsche Jugendbewegung.").

bility.* It was further unanimously agreed that in their social activities the use of alcohols and tobacco should have no place.

The gathering at Hohe Meissner is one of the landmarks in the history of the Youth Movement. Opinions differ widely as to its significance; by some historians it has been minimised as a mere link in the chain of events, more obvious in that it received a greater share of public attention, by others it has been over-rated as the culminating point in the history of the movement, the height to which youthful idealism attained before it became besmirched by political and religious intrigue and misdirected to the furtherance of adult interests. There is a measure of truth in both points of view, but both miss the real significance: the Hohe Meissner assembly is important because there we see the beginnings of the struggle to achieve a new synthesis between the Wandervogel outlook and the affairs of everyday life. In so far as synthesis was to be achieved, we see at Hohe Meissner the beginnings of the process. Before then there had been attempts to use the Wandervogel movement as an instrument of social reform and its value had been recognised in sweetening and strengthening life for the individual, but fundamentally the Wandervogel had remained a thing apart from the stress and strain of a workaday world. Social and educational reformers take an

* "Die Freideutsche Jugend will aus eigener Bestimmung vor eigener Verantwortung mit innerer Wahrhaftigkeit ihr Leben gestalten. Für diese innere Freiheit tritt sie unter allen Umständen geschlossen ein." (The Hohemeissner formula).

honoured place among the leaders of the Wandervogel, and they did not mitigate their reforming ideas while directing the activities of the groups, but till Hohe Meissner we do not find the incipient movement regarded as the nucleus of a reform movement which would go to the very roots of the national life. The service of the Wandervogel had been to release the pent-up forces of youthful idealism and give them adequate outlet in youthful activities and youthful interests, the service of the Freideutsche Jugend was to begin to unite these forces and direct them to the moral rejuvenescence of German life.

The part played by the publications of the youth associations in sponsoring the new ideas was of vital importance. Quite apart from the magazines and journals issued by the various youth associations for the benefit of their members, the time was clearly ripe for a periodical which would serve to express the views of youth as a whole in its desire for practical reforms and in its desire to express its own outlook. Several attempts were made, but without success,* till in 1913 appeared the first issue of 'Der Anfang' under the editorship of Gustav Wyneken. The magazine dealt with all kinds of problems as they affected the outlook of youth, in particular with the deficiencies of existing social institutions, and partly through the intrinsic appeal of its subject-

* For a discussion of these attempts see for instance Herrle, p. 42.

matter, partly through the earnestness and pungency of its style, it enjoyed immediate vogue. It immediately came to serve as a focus to the Freideutsche movement, and as a spearhead to the new ideas. It is questionable how far the young members of the various youth associations understood the ideas that were being put forward in their name, in this journal as elsewhere, indeed it is true enough that many of the ideas attributed to youth by their leaders have originated under the leaders' influence.* It is not enough merely to say that the ideas implicit in the young people's behaviour and general outlook were made explicit under the leaders' guidance. In many cases sheer indoctrination is evident. Wyneken himself freely admitted in 'Der Anfang' that youth was not ready to endorse his views and that it was often enough sceptical and even antagonistic.† But it would be unfair to lay too much stress upon this: the popularity of 'Der Anfang' was due primarily to an interest in the views it set forth, not because of the sensational diatribes against school and home and against the rottenness of the social organism such as are to be found in its pages, but because an

* Thus in the preface to later editions of his 'Geschichte einer Wandervogel,' Blüher says that his history had itself served to shape history - a statement fully borne out by events.

† See for instance 'Der Anfang,' No. 6, p. 165.

increasing number of young people were in sympathy with its aims and found in it in some measure the expression of their own outlook. If we consider the thirteen groups which sponsored the Hohe Meissner celebration we find further corroboration; many of these were student societies, and the youth they represented, while devoted to Wandervogel activities, was older and at a stage of development more given to pondering the why and the wherefore of things. The records of these societies before Hohe Meissner, and the nature of the summonses which were issued in invitation to Hohe Meissner,* show that the conclusions there expressed were no new thing. What was new was a sense of power, a new purposefulness, derived from the realisation that behind the little group there was a network of groups involving thousands, with like ideals, all striving to put these ideals into practice.♠

The Wandervogel, apart from one branch, the Jungwandler-vogel, remained aloof from the Hohe Meissner celebration and from the Freideutschen, - they were suspicious of anything which might bring vitiating social influences into Wandervogel affairs, and had no desire to pour the new wine

* For the report of the Hohe Meissner conference, see 'Freideutsche Jugend, Zur Jahrhundertfeier auf dem Hohen Meissner,' and 'Der Anfang,' No. 1 (1913).

♠ "Die entscheidende Bedeutung lag in dem Erlebnis der Tagung selbst. Zum ersten Mal waren 3,000 Jugendliche versammelt, die bisher - jeder in seiner Umwelt und seinem Freundeskreis - für sich gelebt hatten, ohne von einander zu wissen. Sie erlebten den Gleichklang eines überall sonst befehlenden und in ihnen selbst noch halb unbewusst ringenden Wollens in allen. So war dieses Fest eine sie bis auf das Tiefste erregende und erweckende Tat." (Ehrenthal, "Die deutschen Jugendbünde.").

of life into the old bottles. Even the Jungwandervogel in proclaiming its aims at Hohe Meissner emphasised that its aim was towards freedom, the freedom of the individual to develop his own personality.*

Other youth organisations such as devoted themselves to welfare work among young people could hardly be expected to be in sympathy with the Freideutschen: their young members had not sufficient independence of outlook to be concerned with the problems which faced the Freideutschen, while religious organisations were clearly out of touch. Socialist youth also remained aloof, though they had much in common with the Freideutschen - the bridges which were to bring together the young people of the upper and lower classes had not yet been built.

The Freideutsche Jugend initiated a new phase in the history of the Youth Movement, and its history amply justifies closer study.^φ The new spirit in German youth was looking to ever-widening horizons, its aim was no longer the freeing of the individual from his cramping conditions

* "Unsere Stärke ist tatsächlich unsere Programmlosigkeit, die Beschränkung auf das eine Wollen, die jungen Menschen für alle Lebensfragen und ihre späteren Aufgaben biegsam und frisch und frei von Vorurteilen und Einseitigkeit zu erhalten, vorerst nur ihrem Charakter, der Entwicklung ihrer Persönlichkeit zu dienen." (From the Hohe Meissner report).

^φ See for instance, August Messer, 'Die freideutsche Jugendbewegung;' Adolf Grabowsky and Walter Koch, 'Die freideutsche Jugendbewegung, Ursprung und Zukunft,' 1920; Wyneken's periodical 'Der Anfang,' 1913-14; the Freideutsche organ, 'Die Freideutsche Jugend.'

of life, but the setting up of a new social environment in which youth could find the realisation of its ideals. All aspects of life had to be re-examined; the structure of society from the more casual human relationships to the fundamental ties of family and home, art and science, religion and philosophy, the aim and purpose of life itself. Authority was not to be recognised as such unless it could justify itself from the point of view of youth.* The Freideutschen claimed the right to think things out for themselves and to order their lives accordingly; they had lost faith in the postulates on which social and individual life was based and demanded the establishment of a new order consciously based on worthy ideals. Unfortunately they never got beyond the theoretical stage: things were to be thought out on a purely theoretical basis, not as practical problems requiring solution under everyday conditions. Their activities got no further than formulation in the pages of the multitudinous magazines published by the various associations or groups - proclamations and speeches were not translated into action: if expressed in terms appropriate to action no account was taken of practical details, of the imponderabilia which necessarily modify theory in making it a practical code. ^ø

* "...darin eben bestehe die jetzige Bewegung der Jugend, dass sie irgend welche gegebenen unantastbaren Autoritäten nicht anerkenne, dass sie alles und jedes was mit dem Anspruch Autoritätiver Geltung auftrete, ihrem Selbsturteil unterwerfe, also vorerst in Frage ziehen müsse." (Natorp, p. 20).

ø A similar argument is summed up by A. Messer ('Die Freideutsche Jugendbewegung,' p.125) in the following terms: 'Die erste Unglück der freideutschen Jugendbewegung sind die Zeitschriften gewesen... Die zweite Gefahr der dies Freideutschtum erlegen ist: man hat alles und jedes auf Sympathie und Antipathie gebracht.'

From the very beginning of the movement there was conflict between the moderates and the extremists. All were unanimous about the need for reform in the various media of social life, there was even practical unanimity about the lines such reform should take, but as to the part to be played by the Freideutschen in effecting this reform there was complete discord. The more radical element, led by Wyneken and 'Der Anfang,' strove to bring about a social revolution. In its condemnation of the existing order it set itself no bounds, as protagonist of a new era it stopped short of no bitterness, disdained all compromise. The other, more moderate element, founded more on the outlook of the Wandervogel, saw in its activities first and foremost the satisfaction of youthful needs in supplement of the defects of the existing order, confident that the pervading of social life by such activities would have a leavening influence on the whole.*

The sharpest cleavage of opinion between moderates and extremists was on the question of Mädchenwandern - the participation by girls in group excursions and in the activities of the youth associations. Leaders like Wyneken were in favour of admitting girls on the same footing as boys and allowing much the same freedom to mixed groups as to groups of boys alone, believing that normal sex development was possible only under such conditions. With proper safeguards such a scheme was per-

* See O. Stählin, p. 13.

fectly feasible, but the extravagant utterances of Blüher, Jansen and others on questions of sex antagonised public opinion.* Their influence within the movement did little to assure parents that their daughters could participate freely in the activities of the groups. The vast majority of those youth associations which admitted girls to membership recognised the sensitiveness of public opinion on this point, recognised also that the sheltered lives led by girls at the time unfitted them for equality with boys in group activities.† Hans Breuer did much to bring about a rational attitude to the problem within the associations and to reassure popular feeling, but it remained a continual source of friction, friction within the associations between moderates and extremists, friction between the associations and the various organs of public opinion.

Rupture was inevitable sooner or later and events were precipitated by developments in Bavaria. In January, 1914, a fierce attack was launched under Catholic auspices against the Freideutschen in Bavaria, 'Der Anfang' was suppressed, and the use of the 'Zupfgeigenhansl' was forbidden. A violent speech was made in the Bavarian Diet attacking the new ideas,† An

* The more responsible leaders of the youth associations regarded Blüher's views on sex questions as pernicious, and all the more dangerous in that they were cloaked in pseudo-scientific form: see for instance König, p. 277.

† For a general analysis of the attitude of the youth associations to sex problems see F.W.Förster, 'Jugendseele, Jugendbewegung, Jugendziel,' (1923). For an analysis of the position of girls in the Youth Movement and its influence in helping to remove the restrictions which surrounded their lives, see E. Büsse-Wilson, 'Die Frau und die Jugendbewegung.' (1920).

+ The point of view is shown in the peroration of this speech: 'Die Ziele dieser freideutschen Jugendkultur sind Kampf gegen das Elternhaus, gegen die Schule, gegen jede positive Religion und gegen den Patriotismus.'

anonymous pamphlet 'Jugendkultur' was broadcast, denouncing in no uncertain terms the dangerous and subversive doctrines of the Freideutschen, and its arguments were taken up widely in the Bavarian press. The Freideutschen as we have seen were peculiarly susceptible to misrepresentation, they had room within their organisation for the most extravagant and revolutionary views and it was only natural that any antagonism to these views should be directed against the Freideutschen as a whole. In reply to the attacks made on it, the Freideutsche Jugend emphasised that Wyneken's ideas of Jugendkultur and the articles in 'Der Anfang' which had aroused resentment were not representative of Freideutsche opinion, and that the magazine had no official standing whatsoever. But alleviation of popular misgivings was bought at the price of internal disruption. At the subsequent conference of the Freideutsche Jugend at Marburg in March, 1914, Wyneken and his supporters found themselves up against bitter opposition. A resolution was passed as to the aims of the association which compared with the Hohe Meissner formula was uninspired and vague, rousing Wyneken to passionate protest.* As yet, however, the association could agree against partisanship in economic, religious or political matters and against affiliation to the corresponding organisations in the community,^ø such as was later to dissipate the enthusiasms and

* 'Der Anfang,' 1914, No. 2.

ø 'Wirtschaftliche, Konfessionelle und politische Parteinahme lehnen wir als vorzeitige Bindungen dieser unserer Selbsterziehung ab.' (from the Marburg report).

energies of the Youth Movement.*

* * * * *

War intervened, cutting across development and dissensions alike: the environment in which the Youth Movement had arisen was shaken to the foundations. Profound changes resulted in the activities of the youth organisations, and in the outlook of their members.

The most direct influence of the War was in removing class distinctions and in bringing the young people's associations closer together. The close companionship of actual warfare bound together those young soldiers who had been influenced by the Youth Movement, and helped further to spread its influence on others.⁶ The strengthening of social feeling and the new awareness to social problems which arose in the trenches played no small part in determining the course of

* The outstanding personality at this time was undoubtedly Gustav Wyneken. Holding strong views on social questions and on the organisation of life from the point of view of youth, he wielded tremendous influence through 'Der Anfang,' of which he was editor. As founder of the Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf he had been able to develop and give a measure of practical expression to his educational ideas: his views on Jugendkultur roused great interest even among those who disagreed with him. His writings and speeches have been potent instruments in bringing a new spirit into German education, and his views will require further consideration later in that connection.

⁶ In the war-time issues of the 'Freideutsche Jugend,' the 'Wandervogel' and similar periodicals, we find how closely the young soldiers kept in touch with affairs at home, and also how thorough an organisation was built up to enable them to meet with one another and keep their Wandervogel traditions alive: in all the bigger training camps and military centres local groups were formed, and on occasion conferences and celebrations were held in true Wandervogel style, notices and reports being given in the periodicals, of the various youth associations.

events in post-war Germany. At home, all types of young people's organisations had to carry on without the help of the older people who had very largely determined the work and the principles of the individual groups, so that distinctions between groups tended of themselves to disappear. At the same time the work undertaken to keep things going at home served as a new unifying force.* Individual members found they had to shoulder greater responsibilities, but in compensation they found they had greater scope for their own ideas. As the War continued, however, the older element in the youth groups became more and more completely removed, the average age within the groups diminished, so that many of the groups became groups of children, and took on a play aspect - their aim the preservation of the health of the children under the privations of wartime. In many cases girls had to run the group activities, and the new independence such responsibilities developed did much to put girls on a more equal footing with boys within the movement.

The War interfered with the spread of Freideutsche ideas even more than it did with the activities of the youth organisations. In the changed circumstances the enthusiasms of youth were sidetracked. In a country at war everything is under military control; not only are the material resources of the country directed against the enemy, national feeling also is

* See the official decree 'Schulhilfdienst aller Schüler.' This voluntary service, inaugurated in 1917, enrolled some 75,000 school children in keeping things going at home and in war-work of various kinds. For a fuller discussion of this, see H. Stelter, 'Die deutsche Jugendbewegung.'

mobilised, patriotism and social sentiment directed into narrower channels. In such an atmosphere the Youth Movement in all its aspects was stifled. "Der Anfang" had to stop publication in 1914. Its successor "Der Aufbruch" was prohibited after only 4 issues. The Zentralarbeitsstätte für Jugendbewegung were dissolved by decree in 1917. It says much for the intrinsic vitality of the movement that after the first revulsion of national feeling it settled down steadily to find its place in the changed circumstances. The activities of the youth groups continued, though in modified form, and excursions, festivals and conferences were held as in prewar days though on a minor scale. The "Freideutsche Jugend" which started publication at the end of 1914 as the official organ of the Freideutsche association appeared at monthly intervals throughout the War. It served to unify the activities of the groups and to sustain the interest of their members in problems apt to be lost sight of under the stress of wartime, in problems of social theory, of economics, of philosophy and religion, as they appeared to the youthful point of view.

Not only did the War tend to divert the attention of the Freideutschen from a purely intellectual and theoretical outlook and give their outlook a new realism, it also gave a more practical bias to their activities. The spirit of wartime and later the quickening atmosphere of Revolution gave

added impetus in the same direction. Much of the new practical activity developed along the old lines, but with a new significance: for instance in the flight from the constraints of city life. For the Wandervögel the country meant freedom, freedom from the constraint and confinement of the city, freedom to follow their natural inclinations. But the preoccupation of young people with country things and the life of the wild was now seen to be more than mere reaction against city ways and the cramping social environment of town life; they began to feel that there was something to be gained by intimacy with country ways which could be obtained in no other way. From being mainly negative, the 'back to the land' movement began to take positive form, seeking not escape from a defective social order, but the setting up of a new social order deriving its inspiration from the simple relationships of the country community, and with its roots firmly fixed in German custom and tradition. Hostels had already arisen throughout the German countryside for the service of wayfar- ing youth. The next step was the establishment of larger centres of essentially the same type: we find the Jugendburg (youth castle) coming into prominence as a youth community where the young people could direct affairs according to their own ideas. The Jugendburg was a hostel, a rallying-ground, a focus for the activities of the youth groups. The number of such centres increased rapidly in the Revolution era, when

many old castles and other places of great historic interest and romantic tradition were made available to the youth associations for such purposes. The establishment of youth settlements was similar: during the War the settlement idea took a thorough grip of the youthful imagination, as reflected in the pages of the magazines and periodicals of the youth associations, but it is only after the War that the idea was translated into action on a large scale.

Besides the more practical bias which Freideutsche ideas took in the course of War and Revolution, there were signs of coming disruption. In the beginning the welding force of a common enthusiasm had been so great as to suppress individual differences, but in course of time, and through pressure of external circumstances, trends of opinion came into ever sharper opposition and hardened into ever more definite form, so that ultimately we find the unity of the movement endangered. There were those among the Freideutschen who wished to preserve the youth associations from contamination by social problems, there were those on the other hand who saw in these associations the first cells in the synthesis of a new social order. Among the latter, some, inspired by feelings of comradeship and social responsibility, and a deep pride in their natural heritage, sought to find expression for their ideals in various branches of social service, others who had broadly similar ideas but lacked the ballast of contact with everyday affairs, went further in

their analysis of social problems, sought to solve them on the theoretical plane and then carry their theory into practice: such attempts often got no further than Utopian abstractions, and were responsible for the dissipating of a great deal of youthful idealism in mere philosophising. There was a further complication. Within the movement there was a growing conviction that if ideals of practical reform were to be made effective they must be striven for in political ways. At the same time, the political party organisations, conscious of the power they could wield through the youth associations, strove more and more to obtain a footing and won over many of the leaders to party dogma.

The lines of cleavage became ever more distinct - antitheses on matters of policy became prominent at conferences and discussions, while dissension was rife on a vast range of topics, particularly on the question of the relation of the youth groups to political organisations. It was not till the time of the Revolution however, that such differences acquired disruptive force: during the War the Freideutsche movement went steadily forward. The sharp conflict between Wyneken and the leaders at the Marburg conference of 1914 gradually lost its edge in the stress of wartime, and the conferences at Jena in 1916, and at the Loreley in 1917 show an increasing mutual tolerance among the leaders. The number of affiliated groups increased from year to year.

After preliminary discussions and conferences the association (Verband Freideutscher Jugend) dissolved to reunite in a new form, more loosely organised and more generally acceptable, assembling at Nürnberg in 1918. The reorganisation led to greater freedom and elasticity within the movement and resulted in further youth groups becoming affiliated. Shortly after the Nürnberg conference, the Wandervogel e.V. joined in, thus officially uniting the main forces of Freideutschen and of Wandervogel. Union was theoretically complete, but such union was more apparent than real. In so far as the groups had a common outlook it was strongly individualistic. They were at one in the recognition of personal responsibility, and of loyalty to personal conviction for their members, but were not impelled together by the need for mutual help and support. Union with other groups was not a *sine qua non* of their existence. It was more a question of mutual tolerance than of mutual dependence.

The advent of Revolution showed the weakness of the bond. The seeds of social unrest, retarded under the mobilisation of national feeling in wartime, grew apace under the stimulus of defeat. Abstract idealism was faced with the downfall of the old order and the setting up of a new: the opportunity had come to give these ideals practical form. The call to action went forth among the ranks of youth as through all grades of life, but the stress of the new found

freedom was too great. In vain Wyneken summoned youth to organise under its old leaders,* leaders who knew the needs and claims of youth, who realised the deficiencies of the old régime. In vain he summoned it to discipline and to service in the building of a new era. It became increasingly apparent that the union of the youth associations was merely nominal, that when it came to the formulation of a definite programme in practical terms, unanimity could not be obtained on any single topic. Differences of outlook which previously had been quite compatible, which had seemed indeed to be facets of the same truth were found to lead to sharp contrast when it came to the outlining of a practical policy. The lines of cleavage, such as we have already remarked as developing within the movement, were now tested by the stresses and strains of social upheaval: the bitterness of opposing factions became increasingly prominent, and soon the unity of the movement was rent in pieces.♠

Under the influence of Revolution the Freideutschen gravitated for the most part into two opposing camps. One wing of the Freideutschen, basing its social idealism on nationalist spirit and nationalist feeling, saw in the awakening of a national consciousness the foundation of a new Ger-

* See O. Stählin, p. 18.

♠ Certain writers refuse to accept the view that the subsequent history of the youth associations has any significance for the Youth Movement, largely because they refuse to accept the post-war phase of the Youth Movement as being a genuine Youth Movement at all. See for instance E. Luth, 'Das Ende der Jugendbewegung von Hohen Meissners.'

many, the other, looking beyond national boundaries, saw the rebirth of humanity as a whole, saw society remodelled through the play of economic forces welding the world into one social group. It is the old antithesis: Volk or Menschheit, nation or humanity. In the former group, centring round Frank Glätzel, we see affinities with political organisations of conservative tendencies, affinities which before long made such youth associations indistinguishable from those founded by the political parties of the right. In the latter, in which Karl Bittel is probably the most prominent personality, we find affinities with the political left, socialist and communist. Bittel's views led him to communism, with others he went over ultimately to the communist youth movement. The lure of the positive programme was too much for the youth groups; ^{the} spread of communist ideas at the expense of more moderate views, and its counterpart, the intensifying of nationalistic ideas among more conservative groups, went on steadily at the expense of the more balanced centre. Youth was stretching out its hands beyond its own proper domain, eager to take a share in the building up of the new social order, eager to be of social service. But in so doing it laid itself open to all the dissension of conflicting ideals, it lost the single-mindedness of purpose with which it had striven for freedom to live its own life. It could no longer find in its own outlook the touchstone for all the

problems with which it was faced: practical problems in social affairs involved the consideration of factors with which till now it had had but little to do. Moreover these new problems had to be dealt with on the practical plane, in which tolerance and compromise are potent instruments - and tolerance and compromise are foreign to the inexperience and exuberant vitality of youth.

The conference at Jena in 1919 showed clearly the drift of events. Attempts to bring about a closer co-operation between the groups failed, in fact it became increasingly evident that there was no real desire for close union, all that was desired was a governing committee to call conferences and exercise a mild supervision generally. The magazine 'Freideutsche Jugend' from being an official publication, lapsed into private enterprise. The conference proclaimed the aims of brotherhood and of service, the liberty of the individual, the breaking down of all barriers of class privilege, the readiness of the association to take its place in the building of the new society on a non-political basis and to co-operate with other youth associations, national and international, to these ends.* The proceedings at the conference show how far the movement had gone from its original youthful spontaneity. The statement of policy shows but little sign of association with a youth movement, it is couched in

* See Grabowsky and Koch for a fuller report of the proceedings of this conference.

terms fully consistent with a purely adult outlook. Further, it is too vague, too general, to form a working basis: where it is not merely negative it is only well-intentioned, and to form discordant groups into a working association requires more than a mutual recognition of good intentions. Discussion was on a purely theoretical plane: the leaders were more concerned with exploring the philosophical niceties of their idealism, more concerned with metaphysical quibbling, than with exploring how their idealism could be given practical expression.* On the whole the conference had a markedly socialist tinge, natural enough in the circumstances of the times, but the clash of rival political factions is thus early apparent.

The conference week at Hofgeismar in 1920 is notable for the onslaught of the communists, demanding action, not talk. They maintained that the Freideutsche movement was a movement which was trying to sit on the fence between proletariat and bourgeoisie, and that the theoretical position it had taken up was quite irrelevant to the real situation. The appeal of communistic ideas is well seen in the history of the Entschiedene Jugend†, which originated at the time of

* E. Busse-Wilson, dealing with the Jena conference, says: 'Man suchte die letzten metaphysischen Beziehungen hinter den Dingen zu erkennen und auch die innersten bewegenden Antriebe eigener Strebungen zu erforschen bis zur Selbst-aufhebung.' This preoccupation with metaphysical implications is the key to this period of Freideutsche history.

† 'Entschiedene bürgerliche Jugend' - for its aims see its periodical 'Die Neue Weg.'

the Jena conference, originating in the reaction from mere sentiment and romanticism, in the desire for practical activities in the overthrow of the existing régime and the establishing of a kingdom of youth. After futile attempts to preserve an independent outlook it went over to the communist youth movement in 1921.

The corresponding drift towards the right is shown in the history of the Jungdeutsche Bund. Originating in the war years and finding inspiration in the letters circulated from the Front by Ottger Graf a number of youth groups were impelled to strike root in a deeper sense of nationalism than influenced the Freideutschen as a whole. Graf was killed in 1918, but his friends and colleagues, notably Frank Glätzel, continued the work with enthusiasm, finally establishing the Jungdeutsche Bund at Burg Lauenstein in 1919. There were present representatives of all types of youth groups, not only Wandervögel and Pfadfinder, but representatives from students' societies, from working-class youth as organised in the apprentice associations, from temperance associations, and others. They found a common basis in their love for their native land, they found their inspiration and their aims in pride of race and in the greatness of their national tradition.* Their patriotism was

* 'Wir Jungdeutschen wollen aus der Kraft unseres Volkstums eigenwüchsige Menschen werden, unter Überwindung der äusseren Gegensätze eine wahrhafte Volksgemeinschaft aller Deutschen schaffen und ein Deutsches Reich als Grundlage und Gestalt unseres völkischen Lebens aufbauen helfen.' (The Lauenstein formula).

not the narrow nationalism which focuses on military prestige and subordinates the individual to the good of the State, it was grounded on a consciousness of the worth of the great heritage of German culture and in the recognition that only through being rooted in his true cultural environment could the individual come to his full stature. The influence of Fichte on the movement was very marked, a fact easily understood when we compare the circumstances under which Fichte delivered his famous 'Addresses to the German Nation' in 1809 and those in which the Jungdeutsche Bund had arisen. It was not long however, before the political aspect of things became predominant in the movement; opposition to communism and to the socialism which ignores racial differences and national boundaries drove it ever further into active support of the political right. Propaganda on Germany's altered frontiers provided another line of political activity. Nevertheless practical politics led to disruption rather than to closer co-operation among the individual groups. By 1921 there was unity neither in the internal councils of the association, nor in the activities of the different groups. But its organisation remained, and from it later were to spring other youth associations serving many different aspects of the national life.

From its inception it is evident that the Jungdeutsche Bund did not arise directly as the reaction of youth itself to circumstances - it was not a spontaneous youth movement,

and as time went on it departed further and further from the youthful point of view. Its aims were adult aims, its sphere of activity political, social, or economic, not the sphere of youthful activities or interests.*

The drift towards nationalism on the one hand, towards socialism and communism on the other meant the decline of the moderate middle. It gave less direct outlet for reforming zeal in social affairs, it demanded the striking of a just balance between conflicting claims in a spirit of tolerance and compromise. A section, under Walter Hammer, found scope for an active programme in the international field; it set itself to co-operate with youth associations in other countries towards the spread of international peace and goodwill. Many other groups remained under the leadership of Knud Ahlborn, editor of the 'Freideutsche Jugend.' In 1920 Ahlborn resigned his editorship and founded an association which in 1921 became the Freideutsche Bund e. V., its aim, the association of young and old in the upbuilding of the nation. Its activities covered a wide range; for youngsters, Wandervogel and Pfadfinder^ø groups, for youths,

* For a fuller account of the Jungdeutsche Bund see Frobenius, pp. 195-208. For more direct references see 'Jungdeutsches Wollen,' the report of the Burg Lauenstein conference, and the numbers of the official magazine 'Jungdeutsche Stimmen.'

^ø Just as with the Wandervogel so we find the specialised activities of the Pfadfinder spreading to all kinds of associations. Pfadfinder associations continued as such, but by the post-war period Pfadfindertum was no longer confined to a special group of youth associations, it was a particular form of activity common to the most varied youth associations. (See H. Siemering, "Die deutschen Jugendverbände").

Freideutsche groups, discussion and study circles, guilds, student societies, country settlements. Yet despite the ample provision for youthful activity, it was only in part a youth movement. It did not spring spontaneously from the ranks of youth itself, but was in some measure artificial and forced. It might more aptly be termed an adult association for the promotion of youth welfare according to Freideutsche ideals.* Such a distinction may appear trivial and captious, but it is enlightening when we come to consider the atmosphere in which the activities of the various groups were carried on, and the basis of these activities. They did not spring directly from youth enthusiasms, they were part of a carefully conceived plan. The aims and outlook of the Freideutsche Bund were clearly defined in all fields, in politics, in religion, in education, in economic and social life, and the furtherance of these aims was the ultimate consideration.†

The experience of the Hohe Meissner celebration of 1923 served still further to show the change which had occurred. Far from recapturing the spirit of 1913, as was desired, the proceedings only brought into sharper focus the differences between the various groups, and the chasm which separated them from the earlier venture. For its deliberations the conference formed eight sections: the Youth

* See Frobenius, p. 193.

† See Knud Ahlborn, 'Das Freideutschtum in seiner politischen Auswirkung' - a confession of faith and at the same time the plan of campaign of the Freideutsche Bund.

Association, the Home, the New School, Art, Youth Welfare, the New Church, Politics, Economics. Young people played but little part in the proceedings. The chief speeches were made by prominent personalities in various fields who had been invited to give their views. The clash of opinion at the conference, and the conflicting reports as to its conclusions and decisions* are significant: there is some truth in the pungent criticism, 'Es war weder Jugend noch Bewegung.'

The initiative in the Freideutsche Jugend was no longer with the rank and file, it had passed to the adult leaders. The vitality and enthusiasm of youth were no longer the source of all the activities of the groups, though they still acted indirectly through the leaders, in whom the influence of the Youth Movement had worked so strongly that they saw their life-work in leading the new generation to freedom and fulfilment. But with the leaders, enthusiasm for youth's outlook was complicated by adult idealism, idealism greatly influenced by the Youth Movement it is true, but preoccupied with adult problems and finding outlet in adult ways. It is this factor more than any other which made the youth associations lose their unity of direction: it led to dissension over subjects with which the young people were not really concerned, and to the misdirection of youthful enthusiasm into the partisanship of adult in-

* For a catalogue of such reports see Herrle, p. 50.

terests. And yet we cannot consider these changes as due to the betrayal of the young people by their adult leaders: the romanticism of the Wandervogel had in itself the seeds of decay. Youth cannot stand alone, and normally has no desire to stand alone; the oppression of the social situation had forced the Wandervogel into that position. They were thrust in on themselves, compelled to establish a kingdom of their own (Eigenreich der Jugend) to satisfy their instinctive longings and desires. But as the pressure of external circumstances eased, the latent instability of the structure became evident. The concept of an Eigenreich der Jugend lost its meaning as the antagonism between the older and younger generations diminished: there was less need to claim recognition for youth when increased recognition was being given. With the broadening of interests beyond the narrow field of youth's immediate interests, moreover, there was a sharp decline in the purity and intensity of youthful romanticism. In particular, with the advent of Revolution, youth felt itself called upon to take its place in the work of setting up a new social order, and the focus of its attention moved ever further from those special activities which had all along been the source of its strength. Faced with problems of social reform it could not find the unanimity and conviction necessary to give its ideals practical shape, and confused by the con-

flitting claims of adult idealism, it was drawn into the vortex of political, religious, social and economic strife.*

* For further reference regarding political developments in the youth associations see: H. Tormin, 'Freideutsche Jugend und Politik,' (1918), W. Ehmer, 'Hofgeismar, ein politischer Versuch der Jugendbewegung,' (1921). See also O. Spengler, 'Politische Pflichten der deutschen Jugend,' which, while concerned only indirectly with the Youth Movement, is clearly indicative of the new significance attained by youth in the political sphere.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Postwar Expansion of the Youth Movement.

When we view youth organisations as a whole in the post-war period, we find a remarkable levelling process at work. In the previous chapter we have seen how the Wandervögel and Freideutschen, in coming to deal with practical problems in the social and political field, were gradually developing a point of view similar to, or at least compatible with, that of the various welfare associations. Further they were becoming increasingly dominated by their adult leaders, and through the expansion of their interests were laying less emphasis on those activities which had given them their strength as a genuine Youth Movement. With the welfare organisations on the other hand, we have exactly the opposite trend: Wandervogel methods and practice were gradually permeating all branches of their work, while the idealism of the Freideutschen was slowly gaining ground, bringing a new self-assertiveness to all groups of young people, of whatever type, and forcing the recognition of their point of view on all branches of social organisation. We have already observed such trends at work even before the War, in the religious youth associations, in the socialist and working-class youth associations, in the associations for physical culture (Turnvereine), in the Pfadfinder movement. The post-war period shows these trends becoming more general, and acquiring greater significance.

One of the most notable changes is the lowering of

the class barrier between the young people of the upper and lower classes, a barrier very evident in the prewar period, in the antithesis between the Wandervogel and the working-class youth organisations. A complete change had occurred. Among the youth of the upper classes the romantic idealism which had led to the detachment of the Wandervogel from everyday affairs, and to the unpractical theorising of the Freideutschen, had become tempered by experience and by contact with circumstance. The various groups had become less arrogant and intolerant in what they conceived to be the legitimate claims of youth and were now more prepared to play their part in the affairs of ordinary life. Among working-class youth, on the other hand, the stress of economic need, which had misdirected youthful interests into the political field, was becoming enlivened by the idealistic conception of a new social order in which youth could find its true environment. Both groups had gravitated to a common plane; both groups, for all their outward differences, were now looking at a world of practical affairs from a similar standpoint.

Organisations for working-class youth had originated in either of three ways: associations of apprentices, socialist associations, or benevolent societies. None of these can be considered in their origins as part of the

Youth Movement.* in so far as the youths were spontaneously interested in these associations they were preoccupied with their own economic difficulties. The binding force was the desire for the strength given by union, while political feeling tinged all their activities. Not till 1920 is there evidence of a deeper idealism than that of a militant class-consciousness. A deeper recognition was growing of the implications of socialism: attention was shifting from the purely political aspect, from economic disability and class-feeling, to the upbuilding of a new social order embodying new ideals of social service and, at the same time, allowing freer, fuller development to the individual. This spirit was encouraged and greatly stimulated by the conference of socialist youth held at Weimar in August, 1920,^ø indeed we might safely say that this was the occasion on which the organisations of socialist youth became enrolled as an integral part of the Youth Movement.⁺

The new conception of socialism involved more than merely the reconstruction of the fabric of society: the ultimate aim of such reconstruction was the good of the individual,

* See on the other hand, V. Engelhardt, "Die deutsche Jugendbewegung als kulturhistorisches Phänomen," which treats the Youth Movement as having two parallel lines of development corresponding to the two classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

ø For a full account of the proceedings at Weimar, see E. R. Müller, "Das Weimar der arbeitenden Jugend." (1920).

+ See Herrle, p. 60, O. Stählin, p. 66.

the setting up of new ideals in the life of the individual and the transformation of the social organism so that these ideals could be attained.* The characteristics of working-class and of upper-class youth associations can now for the first time be expressed in similar terms: in both we find, at the one extreme, the desire for political action to usher in the new era by force, at the other, an intellectual idealism aiming at the reconstitution of social and individual life from within. "Der neue Mensch" was the real focus of interest, for socialist youth as for the Freideutschen, in fact, for all youth associations, whether free or sponsored by adult organisations, whether religious, political, socialist or nationalist, or even athletic. The term occurs again and again in speeches, in the resolutions passed at youth conferences, and in the magazines and journals of all kinds which served the various groups. It may seem strange at first to find such enthusiasm for abstract ideals dominating all branches of the youth organisations, but the phenomenon is rooted in the national character. The German is no pragmatist - he is not content with activities he finds interesting and stimulating, he must give them a philosophical basis. He must correlate them with his other interests and activities, explore their implications, psychological and metaphysical, and incorporate them in his whole outlook on life. This fact

* e.g. "Wir erstreben nicht nur eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung, sondern als Letztes und Höchstes einen neuen Menschen." (Müller, p. 67).

is very evident throughout the Youth Movement; we find a complete obsession with theorising and with introspective analysis as regards even its most trivial aspects. In particular we find much which is really instinctive in its origin and in its nature attributed to the consciously directed idealism of youth - an intellectual reconstruction which is quite inadequate to the facts.

The new self-assertiveness in the youth organisations might be expected to occur with special force in those associations founded by churches or connected with religious bodies, and such indeed is the case. Even before the War, as we have earlier observed, the religious youth associations were becoming infused with a new vitality. In the Protestant Church organisations, for instance, the influence of the Bibelkreise and other progressive groups was developing a fresh independence of outlook among the young people which contrasted strongly with the emasculated passiveness of group activities before. The conviction was growing that religion was a personal matter, for the youth as for the adult, and that societies of young people should not be dominated by adults and by the adult point of view. Such ideas are seen in more extreme form in the schism in the Bibelkreise which led in 1920 to the formation of the K ngener Bund, a religious youth association expressly deploring the adult outlook in religion as tending too often to dogmatism and meaningless ritual. On the whole, the religious youth associations, Protestant or Catholic, show

little in the way of revolutionary change; their organisation changed progressively from within. Their activities became modified but gradually with the spread of more liberal ideas, and the churches concerned have always had direct control. For one thing, the full weight of free personal responsibility such as oppressed the Freideutschen was not experienced among their ranks. Even though on occasion the organisation and constitution of the churches led to feelings of revolt, yet the groups were rooted firmly in the tenets of the Christian faith and their members were not so prone as the Freideutschen to let their youthful idealism carry them into the inmost recesses of doubt, where the very foundations of life itself seemed insecure. Their idealism had a firm religious basis shown, for example, in the work of the youth groups which centred around the magazine "Das Neue Werk" (founded 1919): the association formed by these groups, while not directly connected with the churches, was rooted and founded in the Protestant faith, its explicit aim to strive for the coming of the kingdom of heaven upon earth, through the work of its groups, the influence of its publications, and the social impact of the settlements it instituted.*

Though gradual, the reconstitution of the churches' youth associations was none the less real. Changes in external form were comparatively slight, but within, the whole

* See the magazine 'Das Neue Werk.'

had been transformed. Take, for instance, the question of leadership. Previously the leadership of the youth associations had been vested in the clergy, lutheran or catholic. Such was still the case, but with a difference. Previously the leaders were mainly old men who took charge of the youth associations as part of their duties. By 1922 the groups were for the most part directed by a younger generation of clergy, many of them had grown up within the Youth Movement and were inspired by its ideals.

These general conclusions can be borne out by closer analysis of the various Protestant or Catholic Youth Associations for the period about 1920. On the Protestant side the chief associations are the Bibelkreise, referred to previously, the Protestant Students' association (Deutsch-christlichen Studenten-vereinigung), and the Y.M.C.A. (Christliche Vereine junger Männer) which is more definitely a social welfare organisation. Further there is the Neulandbewegung founded by Guida Diehl, a girls' movement mainly under Church control, and the derivative Neulandjugendbewegung founded by Pastor Cordier in 1920 and extended by him to boys' groups. There is also the Neuwerkbewegung just mentioned. On the Catholic side, there are three main movements, the Neudeutschland, the Grossdeutschland, and the Quickborn. The first is a genuine Church movement, fostered and directed by the Church, so that in its beginnings at least (about 1919) it lacked the

spontaneity of a genuine youth movement. The second has greater claim to rank thus, springing more directly from the young people themselves. Its chief characteristics are the emphasis on the Catholic outlook, and antagonism to the outlook of the Freideutschen, which it conceives as inimical to the religious view of life. The third, Quickborn, was prominent as a youth movement even before the War. After the War it progressed still further as an independent youth organisation based on Catholic principles. Its activities centred round Burg Rothenfels and conferences were held there in 1919 and 1920. The reports of these conferences show clearly the attitude of the Quickborn on questions of organisation and of principle: the attitude of the movement in the question of adult control as against youthful independence is particularly interesting,* since in the religious youth associations as a whole there is a greater measure of adult control than is normally found tolerable in a genuine youth movement.

The Jewish youth associations require to be mentioned at this stage. Here the situation was complicated by factors

* See the reports of the conferences at Burg Rothenfels, for instance in the following excerpt: "aus der Jugend selbst geboren, von der Jugend selbst getragen: von ihren Besten und Reifsten unter dem gern gehörten Räte und mit der freudig angenommenen Hilfe der Alten geleitet."

(Proceedings at Rothenfels, quoted from O. Stählin, p. 64).

other than purely religious differences. One of the features of the Youth Movement as a whole is the intensification of national and racial feeling it helped to produce throughout German youth, and this feeling in extreme form was responsible for much antisemitic rancour. Within the associations of Jewish youth, on the other hand, the spread of the ideas and methods of the Youth Movement led to a conflict between the claims of race and those of the more immediate cultural environment. They were thus subjected to influences, internal and external, which raised the racial question in its most acute form. As a consequence, in considering these associations we find a definite cleavage between the groups which were organised on a Jewish basis and those which were primarily German: religious groups naturally belonged to the first of these categories, but among the others there was wide disparity, all shades of opinion being represented.*

This brief discussion of the claims of the religious associations to recognition as part of the Youth Movement, necessarily a mere outline of the subject, leaves us on the fringe of a subject wider still: the part played in the Youth Movement as a whole by religious views and religious conviction. A religious background is to be found among many youth organ-

* For a summary of the Jewish youth movement see Ehrenthal, pp. 111-116, and the handbook of the youth associations (Siemering). For a fuller discussion see Kanowitz, 'Die zionistische Jugendbewegung' (1927), and Lubinsky, 'Das soziale Programm der jüdischen Jugend' (1926). See also the publications of the Reichsausschuss der jüdischen Jugendverbände.

isations not of purely religious character. Thus among many branches of the Freideutsche Jugend the aims and ideals of the groups as interpreted by their leaders were given a directly religious basis, seldom coinciding, it is true, with the orthodox Christianity of the Protestant or Catholic Church, more commonly taking a mystical form.* The reason was not, as we might suppose, that religious conviction was the mainspring of their activities, but simply the craving to give their activities, their interests and their ideals a secure philosophic basis, a craving which we found previously to be an important factor in Freideutsche outlook.

There is a narrow line, however, between the religious conviction which leads to sane views of individual idealism, and the fanaticism which would erect Utopias, Utopias which consider neither the range of human interests nor the constitution of human nature. Like the new creeds, theosophy, spiritualism, anthroposophy, etc., which sprang up after the War, in the Youth Movement itself we have groups arising, following those and similar views. In such groups, idealism was allowed to run riot, tempered neither by the commonplace realism of everyday life, nor by the moderation which is brought about by dealing with practical affairs. Such for instance was the Neue Schar, founded in 1920 by Muck-Lamberty,

* See for instance the writings of Paul Natorp, popular among the Freideutschen in that they supplied a mystical philosophy which they could accept as a basis of belief.

the 'prophet of the Leuchtenberg.' Though this society was launched under Protestant auspices, it was soon evident that its leader had little in common with organised Christianity and that it was essentially pantheistic in form and outlook. With a group of young people Muck-Lamberty took his way through Thuringia, preaching his new gospel, and teaching the children folk-songs and folk-dances. The folk-dance had a special place in his philosophy. As with many other branches of the Youth Movement, it was more than mere rhythmic activity, more than the perpetuation of old German customs. It was a kind of nature-cult in itself, in essence akin to the pagan rites in which it had its origin.* The extravagances of Muck-Lamberty soon brought his group into disrepute, but it is not without significance as illustrating certain more extreme elements within the Youth Movement as a whole.♠

If we turn now to consider developments within the athletic associations (Turnvereine) after the War, we find there the same general process at work: a gradual synthesis

* "Es handelt sich dabei nicht nur um die Freude an rhythmischer Bewegung, nicht nur um ein neues Körpergefühl und das Erleben der Gemeinschaft, sondern um ein mystisches Versinken in einen Zustand, in dem der eigene Wille ausgeschaltet ist und man sich von dem 'Rhythmus des Alls' getragen fühlt. Daher wird der Tanz letzten Endes wieder als etwas Religiöses empfunden, wie es dies in vielen alten Kulturen war und in manchen Gegenden noch heute ist." (O. Stählin, p. 62).

♠ For further detail about Muck-Lamberty and the Neue Schar, see V. Engelhardt, "Die deutsche Jugendbewegung als kulturhistorisches Phänomen," in particular see the quotations he gives from the circular issued by Muck-Lamberty; see also A. Ritzhaupt, 'Die neue Schar in Thüringen.' (1921).

of all that is best in the movement with the ideals and methods of Wandervogel and Freideutschen, a more definite orientation as part of the Youth Movement. Before the War, as we have seen, there was an increasing dissatisfaction in the Turnvereine with mechanical drill and the performance of sets of stereotyped exercises, which showed itself for instance in the increasing popularity of rhythmic gymnastics, and in the tendency of the Turnvereine to branch out into other activities not directly connected with physical training. After the War, such tendencies became intensified, partly because of the new direction of popular feeling, but above all, because now for the first time for long years the associations were comparatively free from official regulations which, stimulated by the jealousy of political and religious organisations, had previously cramped and vitiated their activities. As a result, the Turnvereine entered on a new phase.* Their conception of physical culture expanded beyond that of mere physical training. They were convinced that physical culture could not be promoted adequately from without, but must be knit into the interests and activities of the individual. Thus, as regards their youth sections, they came more and more into line with various other organisations at work among young people. The new phase can be interpreted in two ways.

Firstly/

* The assembly at Weimar in 1922 inaugurating the 'Deutsche Turnerschaft' shows not only reorganisation with official recognition, it shows a new outlook on the aims and methods of the association.

it may be regarded as a return to Jahn's conception of 'Turnen' - the fostering of physical culture by methods which arise from natural activities and are rooted in natural interests, the enlivening of mechanical drill by free strenuous activity such as is got in climbing hills, or in traversing rough country while carrying a heavy pack, and the recognition that such activities have a significance much deeper than merely for physical training, in enriching personal experience, in widening the horizon of interests, and in fostering true patriotism.* On the other hand it may be regarded as due to the spread of Wandervogel and Freideutsche ideas within the Turnvereine: the natural attraction of the joys of Wandern, already experienced in modified form on the Turnfahrt, and the new assertiveness of young people generally as to their rights and privileges, and their place in the new scheme of things. Clearly both points of view are equally tenable, in fact the distinction only serves to emphasise the place occupied by Jahn in the spiritual ancestry of the Wandervogel. In any case, to explain the situation is not to explain it away: the fact remains that, after the War, the Turnvereine, in the spirit and substance of their activities, are qualified to rank with other youth organisations as part of the Youth Movement. ^ø

* See Jahn, 'Deutsches Volkstum.' (1810).

^ø This is evident for instance in the proceedings of the conference of the Deutsche Turnerschaft, from the first assembly in 1922 at Weimar onwards.

Sport associations also have directed their attention to activities which developed through the Youth Movement, notably in the establishing of Jugendheime in the country. For instance, in connection with the South German Football Association a country home was established at Wilhelmshöhe to which groups of young people were sent for recreation and health, and which acted at the same time as a centre for the instruction of leaders of youth groups in the principles and methods of youth welfare through sport ("sportliche Jugendpflege"). In North Germany similar homes were established.*

As with the Turnvereine and the Sportvereine so with all other organisations at work among the young people: their activities have all been considerably modified, modified in the same direction. Above all a new vitality, a new spontaneity is discernible in all these activities. Even in organisations which at first sight appear little altered from their prewar condition, for instance among Church and religious groups, we find a greater importance ascribed to the point of view of the boys themselves and a greater freedom from direct adult control than before. Changes of course do not occur uniformly throughout the movement: in some quarters the new ideas are welcomed, in others more conservative views prevail. The leaven of the Youth Movement finds the most varied of media, some comparatively unresponsive, others already well leavened. The end of the War brought opportunity to the Youth

* See Brossmer, "Wanderheime der Jugend."

Movement: it roused the desire among young and old for social reconstruction, the desire to help bring about a new order of things. Within the youth organisations as throughout the whole fabric of society there was a new spirit of idealism, idealism directed not to theorising and to philosophising, but to action in the sphere of practical affairs. The more independent groups like the Freideutschen were drawn irresistibly of themselves into this welter of social idealism. The less independent associations were impelled in the same direction by the pressure of the various adult organisations which sponsored them. In particular, political activities became intensified among youth organisations as elsewhere. The political parties began to sponsor their own youth associations in the party interests, and such associations soon ranked with the other youth organisations in size and in significance. Thus within a year or two of the end of the War the youth associations show the most extreme variety of outward form: every branch of social activity has an organisation of young people to correspond, every variation of social outlook is represented in the ranks of organised youth.*

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* Many of the older group leaders and organisers strove hard against this new preoccupation with demonstrations, conferences/

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The differences between most of the youth organisations, while not fundamental, were yet so obvious, and so varied, that any form of federation, however loosely bound together, was difficult to effect. Besides, the formulation of a distinctive philosophical outlook within each group, natural enough in itself, but aggravated to an inordinate extent by the group magazines and periodicals, was responsible for a great deal of mutual intolerance among organisations which were really very similar. The experiences of the war-years did much to bring the groups closer together, as it was mainly through the groups that the welfare of young people past school age was provided for in the stress of the times. Further, such welfare work brought in its train an increasing measure of official recognition: representatives of the groups found a place in the official Welfare Bureau, (Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt) and in the work of its sub-committees. Mutual respect and official recognition, resulting from effort in a common cause, gradually removed the barrier of jealousy

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conferences, and theorising on social affairs, seeking to lead the young people as before to the mountains, the woods and the solitude of the lonely places, the source whence the Youth Movement had drawn its strength and its inspiration from the beginning. As Schirrmann said in the early days of the hostel movement: "... mehr Freude entsteht durch den inneren Verkehr mit der Natur als der Quelle jeder Art von Gesundheit."

and misunderstanding between the groups. The first strong impetus to closer union came through the Eisenach conference of 1917, brought together largely through the work of Karl Mosterts. For the first time varied groups of conflicting views met and stated their aims and ideals, and came to realise how much they had in common. A federation was formed, its aim to further the development of young people of ages 14 to 25 in attaining fuller life and fuller well-being, as regards mental, moral and physical equipment. A few months after the Revolution, in June 1919, the Council of German Youth Associations (Ausschuss der deutschen Jugendverbände) was formed, acting as a link between the associations and the official Zentralstelle für Volkswohlfahrt. On the dissolving of the Zentralstelle in 1920 with the reorganising of welfare administration in the new Ministry of Public Welfare (Wohlfahrtsministerium) the government boards became primarily advisory bodies for the general supervision of the various branches of welfare work. The welfare organisations were given a strong representation on these advisory boards and to all intents and purposes preserved their own autonomy, since the official supervision of the organisations was now vested in bodies consisting largely of their own leaders. The Ausschuss der deutschen Jugendverbände thus acquired a new importance, on the one hand as the neutral platform of the youth associations, serving to break down prejudices and to foster co-operation and mutual understanding, on the other,

as the medium of official supervision and of public goodwill. The number of affiliated organisations increased rapidly, so that in 1926 the council was put on a new basis as a National Council (Reichsausschuss), with sub-committees also on a national basis, for the furtherance of the various interests of the associations. A magazine "Das junge Deutschland" was begun. Quite distinct in type from the magazines and periodicals of the individual associations, it was an official organ which served to express the views of the youth associations as a whole, and acted as a clearing-house for ideas generally.

Membership of the general organisation was open to all youth associations whose work was among young people of age ranging from 14 to 25 years, and whose main aim was the physical, mental and moral development of these young people. To be eligible for membership, an association had to contain at least 50 district groups, comprising not less than 1,000 young members in all. By 1931 there were 103 affiliated associations with a total membership of 5,000,000, representing practically half of the population between 14 and 21 years. To obtain an idea of the types of associations represented and their relative strength, consider the statistics of membership for 1927. In that year, Protestant Church associations comprised 595,000 members, Catholic Church 881,000, Jewish 5,000, socialist 56,000, political 44,000, vocational 402,000, youth movement clubs 30,000, athletic associations 1,578,000, and others 544,000.

The main youth associations which took no part in the National Council were those of extreme political character, notably communist youth, Nazi youth, and the militia organisations (Wehrverbände) of nationalist youth.

It must not be considered however, that these figures determine the say which the various types had in the conduct of affairs. For the election of the National Committee the associations voted in eight different sections, roughly as above, and all the associations had the same standing, whether great or small. The federation allowed the maximum of freedom to its constituent associations: at the annual assembly decisions had to be endorsed by the unanimous vote of all the associations, and in everything the aim was to interfere as little as possible with the internal affairs of the different associations. The federation existed for the purpose of strengthening the ties between the various associations, not by a process of levelling or compromise, but by the mutual recognition of worthy, if different aims, and for the purpose of representing the associations as a whole in their relations with other organisations.* Such a type of federation is in marked contrast to the pre-war type of official organisation in Germany, characterised by meticulous regulation of the most minute details. Even with this limi-

* See the articles of the constitution of the National Council, in Siemering, 'Die deutschen Jugendverbände.'

tation the field of the council's activities was vast indeed. Apart from its dealings with the individual associations it took to do with all problems affecting them as a whole. For instance, in the furthering of hiking excursions it did good work in negotiating for cheap travelling facilities, and in the provision and supervision of hostels it co-operated with the National Hostels Association (Reichsverband der deutschen Jugendherbergen) in which it was represented. But its activities covered a much wider range than this, in fact they covered all aspects of the national life in so far as they affected young people. The council worked strongly on behalf of working-class youth for shorter, better hours, and for their education and training for work and for leisure. It encouraged all movements which sought to enrich personal experience or to extend the horizon of interests, such as folk-dance, community drama, handicrafts and the like, and it sought to raise the standard of personal and social morality. Nothing connected with the welfare of youth was alien, and it did much to stimulate all useful work among young people, as well as to co-ordinate it on a national scale. The close co-operation between the National Council and the official Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt was of particular assistance in assuring contact with all branches of welfare work, and the cordiality of such co-operation is a sure sign of the mutual benefits.

which resulted from it.

The council of the Youth Associations played a prominent part in the shaping of the national decree of July 1922 on youth welfare (Jugendwohlfahrt). One of the clauses of the decree stipulated that all public assistance given to young people must be given through the Youth Welfare Departments - which necessitated the establishment of an official organisation throughout the land, explicitly directed to this end. Each district required its Youth Welfare Bureau (Jugendamt). These local boards were co-ordinated in each state or province through the Landesjugendamt, while the work of the various states was co-ordinated through the Reichsjugendamt. In many ways this was tantamount to an official recognition of the Youth Movement, for to bring youth welfare under official control in this way was to bring it under the direct influence of the youth associations through their National Council. Many of the leaders in the youth associations were appointed to the Youth Welfare Councils and in the very nature of things relations between the youth associations and the councils were very close. One result of this was the formation of provincial committees of youth associations (Landesausschüsse), like the National Council (Reichsausschuss) in little, but keeping within the bounds of the province or state. In some states there was still further subdivision into district councils (Ortsausschüsse). The

reason for such subdivision clearly lies in the fact that the official youth welfare service was on this plan. By 1930 there were 25 provincial councils, but this new development interfered very little with the work of the national council. A certain amount of readjustment was necessary to avoid overlapping, in the arranging of instruction courses for the training of leaders, in provision for accident insurance, in work for cheaper travelling expenses, in general organisation. The point to note is that the new councils were formed not to take over any of the work of the national council, but to supplement it. Even the Provincial Councils Association (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Landesausschüsse) did not encroach unduly on the work of the National Council, it came into being simply to co-ordinate the activities of the provincial councils.

In many ways the Landesausschüsse of the youth associations and the Landesjugendämter worked cordially together, but the closeness of their relations was somewhat vitiated by the fact that the chief work of the latter was with the care of necessitous children. In the prevailing economic circumstances the burden of such work was exceedingly heavy. Welfare services had to narrow their activities to these more clamant needs, at the expense of the broader aspects of child welfare which concern themselves with all children, whatever the circumstances of their parents and whatever their physical

or mental equipment. On the whole, social services whether in town or country confined themselves to the care of children in poor circumstances, that is, to Fürsorge, while the wider forms of welfare work among young people, summed up in the term Jugendpflege, arose through the independent welfare organisations, and remained on a voluntary basis. Some of these acquired a measure of support from public funds, and with it, a measure of official supervision, others again, particularly those whose interest in the young people was not free from political motive, retained their independence. A large number of youth associations refused to consider their activities from the point of view of Jugendpflege at all - they set forward the definite antithesis, Jugendpflege or Jugendbewegung, and ranged themselves under the latter. They maintained that their associations were, throughout, the free expression of the ideas and ideals of the young people themselves, and that to call them welfare organisations was to ignore the youthful spontaneity which was their very essence. The antithesis was still given forceful expression in the magazines and periodicals of the youth associations and in speeches at conferences, but it had by now lost much of its meaning. Welfare work of all kinds had become so infused with the spirit of the Youth Movement that to conceive of it as something extraneous, something foisted on young people from without, was quite erroneous. Many of the associ-

ations which arose definitely through welfare work were now as free in their constitution, as clearly inspired by the outlook of youth, as were others which derived direct from the Wandervogel. On the other hand, to consider all the social services affecting young people as having been transformed as part of the Youth Movement is just as erroneous. What had really happened was that the vast network of youth associations had become accepted as part of the social scheme. Its organisation through the National Council was one of the chief factors in enabling it to become a recognised social institution with a definite standing in the community. The varied nature of this network of associations was recognised in the looseness of their federation, for it was this variety which enabled them to touch the national life so closely at so many points, and to influence all work among young people, whatever its aim, whatever its origin, whatever its point of view. *

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* For a detailed survey of the youth associations affiliated to the National Council see the official handbook, "Die deutschen Jugendverbände," edited by H. Siemering. The history, outlook and activities of the associations are there dealt with by representatives of the associations themselves, while an important article discusses the development of the National Council, and the various branches of its work. A short summary covering the same ground is the "Kleines Handbuch der Jugendverbände." Both books are issued through the Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt. A historical account of the growth of the federation appears in the official magazine "Das Junge Deutschland" (see numbers June 1926 and July 1927). These all discuss the youth associations from within the/

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At this stage it is clear that differences between individual youth groups or types of youth groups shed little further light on the progress of the Youth Movement. To trace the endless ramifications of the youth organisations, their origins, their interconnections, their dissociations and reassociations, is in itself a problem of considerable difficulty. The main types can be distinguished readily enough, but when we come to examine them in detail, difficulties arise. When all is said and done, the individual groups centred very largely round the personality of their leaders, so that changes of leadership, or changes in the outlook of the leaders, led to corresponding changes in the outlook of the groups. Moreover, as part of the social organism the groups were influenced very greatly by the trend of social events, by changes in social outlook, and

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the movement. For a more objective treatment, see "Die deutschen Jugendbünde." (G. Ehrenthal) which deals with the history of the various youth groups, the first part of the book discussing the movement as a whole, the second dealing with the groups individually according to type. The method of treatment serves to keep a balance between the more obvious type differences and the almost chaotic nature of their differences in internal organisation. In following one single observer a clearer picture is obtained of the various groups than in viewing them through the eyes of representatives of the groups, as in the official handbook, though such clearness is inevitably due in part to prejudice or predisposition on the part of the observer. Ehrenthal's book gives an admirable treatment of the individual associations but, for an analysis of the social influence of the movement as a whole, reference must be made to the official handbook mentioned above, or to books dealing more generally with the history of the Youth Movement.

indeed by all the imponderabilia which affect social affairs. These factors inevitably tended to make the groups develop along divergent lines, but they contained so much that was absolutely fortuitous that in making a survey of the history of the individual groups one is apt to lay too much stress on differences that are comparatively superficial. The tendency to disruption among the groups ^{was} enhanced rather than diminished by the emphasis which the groups placed on the theoretical basis of their activities: groups working in the same medium gravitated naturally together, but when they laid different interpretations on similar methods and similar experiences they could not combine. The grounding of the various groups on a distinctive philosophical outlook might give them a semblance of completeness in themselves, but it rendered them exceedingly subject to internal strife and disruption, even on quite arbitrary grounds. The organisation of the individual groups was thus in a continual state of flux, partly because of their own essential characteristics, partly because of the social medium in which they were operative.

At the same time, however, we find it increasingly difficult to view the progress of the Youth Movement through the eyes of the youth associations. The Youth Movement had entered on a new phase, in which the youth associations played a rather different rôle. The first and most obvious change

had been the wide extension of the methods and enthusiasms of those associations in which the Youth Movement took shape, throughout all organisations which took to do with young people. In all these organisations young people constituted the rank and file, and the change meant more than anything the adoption by the young people themselves of a more explicit, more independent outlook on life. Accompanying this we find a shifting of the emphasis from the central organisation to the affiliated groups, and, throughout these groups, a new insistence on a practical outlook, strongly tinged with revolutionary ideas, so that their activities are not always in close accord with the views formulated by their central committees. This is evident for instance in some of the political party organisations of the moderate left or right: the youth associations of these parties had an independence of outlook such that on occasion they definitely overstepped party dogma, showing clearly that these youth groups were not merely nurseries of political thought, but insisted on exercising the right to a practical outlook of their own. In most of the groups composing the youth associations, whether independent, or affiliated to adult organisations, religious or political, connected with athletics or sport, or with welfare work, we find an independence of outlook, a spontaneous vitality which came from the young people themselves.

One result of this was that the component groups of

different associations no longer held aloof from one another, local groups came into close contact in many of their activities. The stimulus to their social idealism and the more practical bias given to their social outlook by the hectic changes of the years succeeding the War accelerated the process. In particular, local groups banded themselves together to fight against many of the vitiating factors of social life. Youth associations had throughout their existence been almost unanimous in condemning the use of alcoholic liquor and of tobacco. The campaign now took more active form and extended its scope to combat pernicious films, obnoxious publications,* anything unclean or vicious in social life, aiming at setting up higher standards in social behaviour and in individual morality. Organisations arose in many places in 1919 and 1920 to achieve such ends by public protest, by advertisement, by circular, by propaganda, by appeal to local authorities. The occurrences in Leipzig^ø in this connection are interesting and significant: the negligible results achieved by an intensive attack launched by the combined forces of the youth associations against pernicious influences in social life show conclusively how impotent youth was in its efforts to put into practice its high standards of social idealism. Campaigns of this

* See for instance Lydia Eger, 'Unser Kampf gegen das schlechte Buch.'

ø See Herrle, p. 55.

nature were all on a local basis, and meant that groups of varied type were associating with one another to common ends. From such activities arose the Jugendringe* (Youth Rings) aiming at co-ordinating and directing these activities on a larger scale, but they served little useful purpose and had little ultimate influence. The thousands of youth groups were associated with one another through their central organisations, mainly affiliated in the Reichsverband der deutschen Jugendverbände, as we have already described. At the periphery they were associated with one another in various local activities through the basic similarity of their interests. The Jugendringe constituted the attempt to combine these peripheral sympathies and reintegrate the groups on a new basis. The attempt was clearly foredoomed to failure, because the new basis was less adequate than the old. The fact however that such attempts did achieve some prominence shows how far the initiative had passed from the central associations to the component groups.

The idealism and the methods of the Youth Movement had become part of the heritage of German youth and this, with the urge to practical activity given by the social uncertainty of the times, transformed the organisations of youth so that they entered into every aspect of the national life. Various new phenomena arose under the action of these forces, notably the youth settlements, which merit a more

* See the magazine 'Der Jugendring.' (1921).

detailed discussion.

The settlement idea, which had been mooted among the youth associations before 1914 and which had even thus early found some practical form, was thoroughly ventilated in the magazines and periodicals of these associations during the War. After the War it enjoyed immediate vogue. Settlements (Siedlungen) sprang up in various parts of Germany in remote country districts, seeking to embody in practice certain views on community life. The settlements which were founded by youth associations or by groups of young people under adult leadership were only part of the whole fantastic range of settlements which arose in all parts of Germany at this time, inspired by the unruly idealism of the new era. The general idea behind all such settlements was that the new social order was to be attained, not by the revolutionary overthrow of the old, but by the growth of a new system alongside the old which would gradually assimilate the old and revitalise social life. The settlements were intended to serve as the nuclei of a new social order, but, established as they were in country districts remote from vitiation by contact with the old order, they lost all value from this point of view in their remoteness and isolation: to evade the complexities of modern society was not the best method of resolving them. The chief characteristics of the settlements established after the War are, firstly their extreme diversity of form, secondly their extreme independence of outlook, independence from out-

side influence and from one another. Each settlement centred round the outlook of its leaders; some of the settlements had as their core an economic plan, others were founded on an idealistic social philosophy, some constituted part of the movement back to the land and were established on a simple agricultural basis, others constituted part of the movement back to Nature and the primitive. Many of the more extravagant forms disappeared very quickly as the inadequacy of their social principles became evident in practice, others became considerably modified. Many of them were a failure through the incapacity of their leaders or through economic difficulties, but many established themselves firmly and still stand at the present day. Under the Nazi régime they have become stringently modified to take their part in the mobilisation of the national consciousness. Settlements of all kinds, not only the obvious concentration camps and labour colonies, have been endorsed as necessary parts of the social organism.*

The chief factors which conditioned survival in the postwar years were, firstly, detachment from ordinary social life, enabling them to preserve their idealism and their individuality through the exclusion of the larger world of everyday affairs, secondly, economic independence, as when the community developed some special work like weaving or glass-making. Official recognition and financial assistance

* Labour camps of all kinds are a significant feature of the Nazi régime: their importance as a disciplinary medium masks the fact that for a very great proportion of Nazi youth these colonies and settlements represent the very essence of Nazi policy.

were also of considerable importance, notably for agricultural settlements and for settlements founded near Germany's altered frontiers. An important point to note is that the settlements were invariably on a specific cultural basis: all the activities of the settlement were imbued with the spirit of social idealism in which the settlement arose. This is particularly evident when we consider the system of education in any of the settlements: we find that the educational plan was invariably according to the principles of the new education, which was permeated through and through with the methods and idealism of the Youth Movement.

Prominent in this whole system of settlements are those directly connected with the youth associations and founded by them,* and the many others which drew their inspiration from the enthusiasms of young people. As we have previously explained, the postwar period saw a new phase in the growth of the Youth Movement. In earlier stages the chief features had been the awakening of the young people to the fact that they had a legitimate point of view of their own and their growing awareness that that point of view was not being met, and could not be met, under the existing scheme of things. The postwar freedom brought to all the desire to do something to put their idealism into practice. We have already considered the results within the youth associations and shown how disappointingly slight

* Georg Becker, 'Die Siedlung der deutschen Jugendbewegung.'

was the influence that organised youth could bring to bear directly on the social situation. Here however is one example of less direct influence: the tremendous spread of settlements of all kinds after the War is undoubtedly in large part due to the impact of the idealism of the Youth Movement on social affairs. The settlements had this in common with the Youth Movement, that both envisaged the flight from the industrial machine and the cramping confinement of city life, while the methods followed and the aims set by the founders of these settlements have little to distinguish them from the social outlook of the Youth Movement. Thus it follows that the settlements established by the youth associations or by groups of young people under adult leadership, deriving direct from the Youth Movement, are in no main particular distinct from the other settlements. They may be classified under exactly the same categories.* We find communities organised as economic units and based on a defined code of social idealism, like Habertshof, Bruderhof, Neusonnefeld, and others. We find agricultural communities, some with the express aim of putting city people on the land, like the Obstbausiedlung Eden, Oranienburg. We find settlements in the East aiming at checking the drift of population to the towns, and particularly in threatened areas near the frontier, helping to mobilise national patriotism.

* See J. Fischer, p. 83.

We find reform colonies incorporating specialised or simplified ways of living, for instance in the more extreme nature-cults.

The first type of settlement which we have mentioned serves to indicate how little direct influence the Youth Movement had in the economic sphere. The organising of the settlement as an economic unit is almost the only indisputable sign we have of such direct influence. The economic aspect was important in that the settlements had to be put on a sound national basis if they were to persist. Many of the youth associations founded settlements, assisted by savings banks which had arisen for the furtherance of the financial side of the Youth Movement, for instance the Sparkasse für die Jugendbewegung. Such banks did much to further the founding and enlarging of settlements by advancing loans at low rates. But when we come to consider the economic influence of the Youth Movement as a whole, that is a different matter. The settlement was intended to serve as a prototype for the new organisation of society, in its economic organisation as in all else. On the economic side, however, its influence has been quite negligible. Much greater influence has been exerted through the steady, constant pressure of the idealism of Youth Movement throughout the whole range of economic life - in obtaining the wider training of apprentices, the lightening of purely mechanical labour, the developing

of personal interests which have transformed the whole outlook on life. The chief contribution of the Youth Movement in the economic sphere has been made to the individual in putting work in its proper perspective as a part of life.

The significance of the settlements here is the clarity with which they illustrate the fact that the Youth Movement had overleaped the bounds of the youth associations in which it had so far developed and was bringing its influence to bear throughout the whole national life. The expansion and modification of the old associations, the growth of new types and the spread of new activities - these constitute only part of the Youth Movement in the postwar era, the more obvious part. The leaven of the Youth Movement was at work throughout the whole fabric of society, its influence can be traced in all sorts of reform movements such as flourished in the freer atmosphere of the new era. The youth associations, in so far as they were part of the machinery of the Youth Movement, constituted the deliberate organisation of youth to express a new attitude to life and to the world. Before the War, with all their differences, they were welded together by antagonism to the existing social situation, in so far as they took cognisance of it. After the War all was changed, not only did the youth associations become transformed in the new social environment, but, what was of greater importance, the associations no

longer were the only channel through which the outlook of youth could be expressed, and we find this outlook impinging at every point on the social organism. This is particularly evident when we consider the special social phenomena of the new era: the correlation between the methods and idealism of such institutions as the settlements (Siedlungen) the Folk High Schools (Volkshochschulen) or the experimental school communities, with the methods and idealism of the Youth Movement is so close, and their mutual affinities so strong, that these institutions can clearly be regarded as in some measure part of the mechanism of the Youth Movement. The activities and interests which had in their origins been confined to the youth associations were now a comparative commonplace, they were now part of the whole nexus of social activity, part of the climate of opinion, so that they were free to find expression quite apart from the youth associations, though still embodying just as clearly the outlook of the Youth Movement. To take further illustrations: in earlier days the youth associations had been strongly against welfare work as officially conducted. The causes of such antagonism were now fast disappearing; the principles which the independent youth associations had emphasised for such work were being increasingly carried into practice, in work among necessitous and defective children,* among de-

* See chapter VIII, also appendix. 'The Schulheim Movement in Hamburg.'

linquents,* and in all ordinary child welfare organisations, and the leaders of the youth associations were now closely associated with the official conduct of such work.ø

Again, the views as to the nature and methods of education which had long been urged through the youth associations were no longer only theoretical and visionary, they were the principles on which the new education was being established. The educational ideals which had been throughout associated with the Youth Movement were now finding practical expression within the educational system, they were now working untrammelled in their own proper medium. In considering the transformation of German education in the postwar years and the part played by the Youth Movement in that transformation we must therefore avoid laying undue emphasis on the youth associations. The Youth Movement was now bringing its reforming influence to bear direct within the educational system itself. In making a more detailed analysis of the influence of the Youth Movement on German education we will therefore find it of advantage to follow a somewhat different sequence from what we have followed in dealing generally with the growth of the Youth Movement.

* The work of Karl Wilker at the Lindenhof in Berlin has had far-reaching influence on the education of defective and delinquent children. See his book 'Der Lindenhof.' Note also the work of Walter Hermann among young delinquents at Hamburg and of Curt Bondy at Eisenach. All three came to this work from the side of the Youth Movement.

ø See for instance the Federal Decree on Youth Welfare, 1921, § 6.

Before going on to this more detailed analysis, there is one important branch of the Youth Movement which we have so far tacitly assumed, namely, the hostels movement. The Jugendherbergen (Youth Hostels) were the medium through which the expansion of Wandervogel activities to nation-wide scope became possible. A description of the origins and growth of the hostels movement is a necessary part of any survey of the growth of the Youth Movement, so let us devote the next chapter to this topic.

CHAPTER V.

The Youth Hostels Movement.

considering the tremendous expansion of the youth associations in the postwar years, and the many-sided nature of their activities, it is difficult to understand how they were in a position to cope with the results of this very success. The change of scale brought with it new problems to be solved, new responsibilities to be borne. Close co-operation was necessary if the various associations were to function properly. But it was not easy for them to work together, for, though there was a growing recognition of common ideals, the individualism of the various associations, and the extreme range of outlook they represented, hindered concerted action. The co-ordination of the associations in a national scheme was due in the beginning at least to their need of mutual support in their practical affairs rather than to any consensus of feeling. The National Council of Youth Associations was comparatively late in being formed, and, loosely federated as it was, later still in exercising a real unifying influence. It is therefore difficult to see how the expansion of the work of the associations came about so harmoniously, in particular, how their outdoor activities came to be so co-ordinated as to knit together into a national scheme.

Part of the explanation lies in the history of the Youth Hostels (Jugendherbergen). Long before it had become feasible to combine the youth associations in a national

system, it had been realised that in their practical activities they had a great deal in common, in their love of outdoor activities, in their love of nature and the wander-life. There were those who saw that the furtherance of this work was not a matter which could be dealt with as a side issue by the various youth groups individually, but that it was a practical problem for the associations as a whole, quite apart from their preoccupations of outlook.

An organisation arose whose aim was simply to provide a network of hostels which would supply accommodation to wayfaring youth. It welcomed the co-operation of all, individuals or associations, in the setting up of a national youth-hostels service. Its aims were, firstly, to establish a network of hostels (Jugendherbergen) throughout Germany, secondly, to further the hostels habit among all young people. Before the War this association had become firmly established, and after the enforced restrictions of wartime, it expanded into an important national service. The system of hostels constitutes the practical framework wherein the outdoor activities of the youth associations are carried on. Even where the hostels are the property of the associations themselves, the great majority of them are affiliated as members of the national hostels service. The Jugendherbergen have thus played no small part in binding together the youth associations in furthering their common participation in the

joys of 'Wandern,' and, at the same time, in extending these same privileges to all classes of German youth. The fact that the Youth Movement expanded to a genuine folk movement is in no small measure due to the work of the Jugendherbergen.

* * * * *

The idea of providing hostels for wayfaring youth was not altogether novel, even in the early days of the Wandervogel. Before 1900 some of the more progressive secondary schools of the cities had country homes, Landheime, which provided a healthy, country environment for groups of older pupils, not only for recreation, but for their general education. Student societies have also interested themselves very greatly in such Landheime, while athletic and sport organisations of all kinds, ever since the time of Jahn, have maintained club premises in the country, generally rough huts, to act as centres for group excursions. All this, while a step in the right direction, clearly applied only to a small percentage of Germany's youth, the vast majority were as yet untouched. Even the Wandervogel movement affected directly only a further small percentage, and the 'nests' established by the Wandervogel did no more than serve the activities of the sponsoring clubs. The spread of Wandervogel ideas through all kinds of youth organisations brought with it the clamant need for a network of hostels on a

national scale, for the use of German youth organisations. The Jugendherbergen arose to satisfy that need.

The immediate forerunner of the Jugendherbergen was the hostels association of the Upper Elbe district, an association whose activities ranged on the frontier and over the border into what is now Czechoslovakia. This association was for the benefit of students and of pupils from secondary schools; beginning in 1884 with its first hostel, it rapidly extended its scope, so that by 1913 it had a network of 640 hostels, not confined to its district of origin but spread throughout the whole country. The War cut down its activities and narrowed its range through the constriction of Germany's frontiers, so that by 1921 the number of hostels was down to 269. This organisation can be considered as in some measure the prototype of the national system of Jugendherbergen, but its work was with only a small section of German youth, namely, University students and secondary school pupils. Other organisations of a similar nature are to be met with in different parts of Germany. As time went on the secondary schools took an ever greater interest in such activities and organised excursions for their pupils as part of their school work, notably in cities located near wild, romantic country, for instance in Dresden, with its easy access into Saxon Switzerland and the wilder grandeur of the borders of Czecho-

slovakia, and in the industrial west, where there is access to Westphalia and the Sauerland.

The conception of a national system of hostels which would provide for all classes of German youth, was quite a different matter. Before long, the spread of the excursion habit was to be such that the mere provision of sleeping accommodation for the vast multitude of wanderfolk would demand organisation on a national scale. But even in 1909, before the full impetus of Wandervogel aims and methods was as yet evident, and before the need for hostels accommodation had become so imperative, acuter minds had come to realise that an important national service lay in the establishing of hostels to encourage the cult of the open road among all branches of German youth. The pioneer in this field was Richard Schirrmann, who first put forward a practical plan for extending to the elementary schools those activities which had spread so widely among the secondary schools, namely, country excursions and the use of Landheime. He saw the solution of the problem in the country schools themselves, suggesting their adaptation to provide overnight accommodation for visiting groups of school-children, and foresaw a time when school buildings would be planned as carefully to this end as to the provision of instruction. Special hostels he advocated as the ideal, but the use of country schools he put forward as the only immed-

iate method of dealing with the matter on a big enough scale. His views, published in 1909 in an educational journal, drew wide attention, partly from the cogency of his arguments, partly from the enthusiasm with which they were put forward. An association was formed, and a series of hostels opened for the use of groups of children from the elementary schools. But such a restriction was not inherent in their constitution, the needs of young people just left school were just as great as those of school children, and before long the hostels broadened their scope, becoming fully entitled to the proud name they bear, Jugendherbergen, hostels of youth.

Originating in Westphalia, the movement soon spread in all directions throughout Germany and gradually acquired a national character. Branch associations arose in different states and provinces, and by 1913 the movement had attained to the status of a national service, directed from Hilchenbach in Westphalia but with branch associations throughout the whole country. The quick growth of the service is shown by the fact that in 1913 there were over 21,000 overnight guests at these Jugendherbergen. 'Then came the War with its inevitable restrictions on travel due to the disturbed state of the country, the lack of money, shoe-leather, and food. The time and energy of young people were diverted from recreation and put to practical use in

farming and other necessary war service. But with the coming of peace popular enthusiasm for tramping broke out anew. The first year following the War, 60,000 persons took lodging in the Herbergen overnight. The old hostels for youth that had been neglected were restored to their proper purpose and a magic growth of new hostels appeared in dozens of German cities as well as along the sea-shore, by lakes and rivers, and in remote valleys and mountain forests.*

During the war the hostels associations were but biding their time, patiently preparing for the return of normal conditions. After the War they took their place in the work of national reconstruction: amid all the claims of conflicting social idealisms, the value of the work of the hostels was everywhere acknowledged, with singular unanimity. Whether they sympathised with the ideals behind the movement or not, all had to admit the value of such work in rebuilding the health of the younger generation, health that had been seriously impaired by the privations of wartime. To some it seemed as if this were to take the place of the military training which all young men had been compelled to take before the War and which was now abolished. To others, indifferent to the intrinsic merits of the hostels movement, it was a safe channel into which to divert the exuberance of youthful enthusiasms, keyed to a high pitch in the uncertainty of the postwar

* See Alexander and Parker, p. 40.

world. Executive authority, local, provincial and national, regarded the hostels with favour and gave them considerable material assistance, in the establishing of hostels, in their maintenance and in their work as a whole, while teachers' associations, athletic organisations, trade unions, in fact all kinds of organisations within the community, lent them their hearty support. In November 1919 the hostels associations were reconstructed in the Verband für deutschen Jugendherbergen under the leadership of Richard Schirrmann, the pioneer of the hostels movement, and of Edmund Neuendorff, one of the prominent personalities of the Wandervogel movement, and at this time head of the Prussian Academy for Physical Training, at Spandau. A monthly magazine was begun, 'Die Jugendherberge,' covering the various aspects of the hostels' activities, correlating the work of different districts, acting as a medium for the interchange of ideas, and serving as valuable propaganda.

The hostels association inevitably came to take up a definite attitude in wider social problems, for instance its extension among working-class youth led it to strive for the betterment of their working conditions: the shortening of hours of labour, the fixing of weekly half-holidays and of a holiday period in summer for all young workers, preferably so allocated that all available holiday hostels would be in use throughout the whole summer and not unduly

congested at any period. It also advocated a more general distribution of holiday periods, maintaining that though summer is the traditional holiday period, holidays at other times of the year are hardly less beneficial when properly organised. It set as an ideal a system of holiday organisation for all young workers, run in conjunction with the hostels in such a way as to keep the hostels full to capacity throughout the year.*

The spirit of the times was favourable to the growth of the hostels movement, but material circumstances weighed in the other scale. Certainly the War left a legacy of barracks, camps, buildings of all descriptions, many of which were acquired from the friendly authorities and transformed into hostels, but the stress of economic difficulties reacted unfavourably on the hostels movement as on everything else. When the very means of subsistence were threatened, people could not afford to make any digression from the routine of everyday life. Anything which savoured of luxury had to be abandoned, and even the little amenities of life had to be strictly curtailed. The fact that these are the years in which the hostels movement found its strength, shows clearly the importance ascribed to the wander-life. The importance was indeed so obvious as to

* A system of this nature was organised in Austria after the War, but had soon to be drastically modified.

make it a commonplace - not merely a commonplace in the sense of accepted habit, but rather because the value of such activities was fully and openly recognised. They were recognised as of value for the physical and mental recreation of the young people, in counteracting the privations and malnutrition of the hunger-years, in expanding the horizon of interests, in awakening a love of Nature, and in fostering that deep-seated patriotism which is the only true foundation for citizenship. The National Association of Youth Hostels explicitly recognises this, seeing, in the hostels which it directs, the work which makes possible the practical expression of such aims.*

The idea of a national service of hostels was continually in view, in the beginning more as a desirable aim to be striven for than as a feasible proposition, but an aim becoming ever more attainable with the passage of time. It was one thing to envisage the possibility of such developments and the advantages which would accrue from them, as

* "Denn nach wie vor erstrebt das Jugendwandern, dem unser Herbergswerk durch Schaffung von Stützpunkten die Wege ebnet, eine durchgreifende Körperpflege und Abhärtung, eine Erweiterung des geistigen Horizontes, die Pflege des Volksliedes und der Kameradschaft, das Kennenlernen von Land und Leuten, die Abkehr vom Steinmeer der Grossstädte und die Wertschätzung der Natur und natürlicher Lebensverhältnisse, wie sie der Bauer auf eigener Scholle und der Gartenstadtbewohner geniessen, die Gründung einer nie versagenden Heimat- und Vaterlandsliebe und endlich die so nötige Verschmelzung der heranwachsende Geschlechter aus allen Volksschichten zu einem wahrhaft einigen deutschen Volke." (Brossmer).

Schirrmann had done in 1909; it was another to found a complete network of hostels, linking up with one another throughout the country, leaving no district of natural beauty untapped, no matter how remote or inaccessible, and leaving no centre of population unprovided for. Yet by 1921 there were more than 1,000 hostels belonging to the national organisation, not to mention a great number which stood outside it. The number was steadily increasing, the aim being the establishing of at least 5,000,* so that the work might be adequate to meet the needs of German youth. The peak was reached long before this figure, however. For one thing, as a branch of the social services it was cramped like the others by the stringency of the times. For another this form of social service overlapped with many others, public or private. Many schools for instance acquired country homes, Schullandheime, which served as hostels for their pupils, while directed more explicitly to educational ends. Again, many different types of youth associations acquired country quarters and pursued activities such as those with which Jugendherbergen were associated without being affiliated in any way to the Jugendherberge association. Most of them, however, did become affiliated to the Reichsverband: the loss of a measure of independence and submission to a measure of supervision

* See the proceedings of the 3rd annual conference at Burg Rothenfels in 1921.

was more than counterbalanced by the gain in official recognition, and the benefits of being part of a national system.

Progress since 1924 has been less spectacular than in the years preceding. The struggle for recognition was practically over. The Jugendherbergen had come to stay. Assimilated as part of the social organism they now entered on a new phase, extending their influence through all aspects of social life. Their organisation had settled down on a secure basis and they could now proceed quietly and uninterruptedly with their own work. Changes since 1924 have been chiefly in scale, in the expansion of the hostels service to an ever-widening circle of German youth, in the improvement of old hostels and the erection of new. Even the National Socialist Revolution of 1933 brought little real change to the hostels organisation. Schirrman and other leaders of Nazi views remain, the others have been displaced. The principle of authoritative leadership has been applied throughout the hostels federation, the final control of the federation being vested in the Commissioner for Youth Hostels, responsible to the Department of Youth Activities, under Baldur von Schirach in Berlin. In organisation the hostels have been absorbed and co-ordinated to suit the requirements of the Nazi régime.

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A brief outline, such as we have just given, of the growth of the Jugendherbergen, shows the difficulties, and the dangers, of a statistical record. A bare statistical account of the Jugendherbergen and their use is clearly inadequate, and in some ways misleading, unless accompanied by a qualitative analysis of the various types of hostels. It also fails to take note of the expansion of the hostels movement through all kinds of youth organisations, many of which remained aloof from the National Hostels Association, preferring their own autonomy in their own hostels and preferring to keep their hostels for their own members. The Jugendherbergen cannot be considered as a separate phenomenon, they must be correlated with all those other organisations which also form part of the hostels movement.

A rough summary of the expansion of the Jugendherbergen is useful as a first approximation, however, when its limitations are borne in mind. We may tabulate for instance the progressive increase in the number of hostels affiliated to the National Association, and in the use of the hostels, as measured by the overnight accommodation actually given:*

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|--------------|
| Year | 1911 | 1913 | 1919 | 1921 | 1924 | 1927 | 1929 | |
| No. of Herbergen. | 17 | 83 | 300 | 1300 | 200 | 2195 | 2180 | |
| Year | 1911 | 1913 | 1919 | 1921 | 1923 | 1925 | 1927 | 1929 |
| Overnight Lodgings (thousands) | 3 | 21 | 60 | 506 | 935 | 1400 | 2655 | 4000 (about) |

*See the Reichsherbergverzeichnis, 1930, p. 7.

As regards the youthful membership, its composition has fluctuated from time to time, but since 1922 young people from the three groups (1) elementary schools, (2) secondary schools, colleges and universities, (3) apprentices and young workers generally, have each constituted about a third of the total. It is further significant that of the total membership one fourth are girls, showing, on the one hand, the great strides made in Germany since the War in freeing girls from the purely domestic outlook, on the other, the standing of the Jugendherbergen in the community.

The table we have given serves to show, firstly, the tremendous expansion of the hostels movement in the period immediately following the War, secondly, the consolidation of the work by about 1924. By that year it had become firmly established as a national service on a national scale and was attracting a still increasing proportion of German youth. Changes in organisation were mainly such as were occasioned by the requirements of growth. As the work expanded, the central bureau could not keep directly in touch with the district groups, and branch associations arose (Zweigausschüsse). With the expansion to national proportions it assumed corresponding form - a central bureau, working from Hilchenbach, in Westphalia, and provincial associations for each of the 26 provinces (Gaue), with further subdivision in the case of the larger provinces before we

find the individual district groups (Ortsgruppen). It is these Ortsgruppen which are the units in the management of the hostels: with them lies the initiative in founding any hostel, and with them lies the responsibility for conducting it in accordance with the regulations of the Reichsverband. The only exception to this is in the case of the larger hostels established by the provincial associations themselves - designed not merely for the provision of overnight accommodation, but intended as genuine 'homes of youth' (Jugendheime) and fitted out accordingly. Such hostels are managed through the provincial council and serve as centres for the whole province.

The alpine district of South Bavaria is organised specially, as it is dangerous for casual wayfarers unaccustomed to mountains. Special identification cards are required for admission to Jugendherbergen in this district, registration being effected through the central bureau in Munich.

It will be noticed that the number of hostels increased but slowly after 1924, though the use made of them was still rapidly increasing. This is due partly to the increasing use of the hostels available, but more directly to the replacing of makeshift hostels by hostels specially adapted to the purpose. With the growth of the authority of the provincial councils of the Jugendherbergen,

these came to acquire greater say in the founding and management of the hostels and brought greater resources to the service of the hostels than the individual Ortsgruppen could. At the same time, as the supply of hostels became more adequate to the demand, the National Council could afford to be more stringent in the regulations it imposed on all affiliated hostels. These regulations covered the hostel in all its aspects. The details of internal management were strictly supervised in respect to sanitation and hygiene, in the nature of the sleeping accommodation, in the provision of dayrooms, of cooking facilities, and so on, even in requiring the use of electric lighting to minimise the risk of fire. On matters of general principle the National Council had also considerable say. Thus for instance hostels run in connection with country inns were accepted only on sufferance; whenever a genuine Youth Hostel was erected to serve the district such other hostels were refused further recognition. A great number of them however have continued unofficially as private establishments, particularly in districts popular with wanderfolk, for instance in the Harz mountains. The proprietor of the little Gasthaus considers it worth his while to continue providing such accommodation, partly for the remuneration it brings, small though it be, partly for the custom which it often indirectly attracts. These

private Jugendherbergen reap many of the benefits of the national organisation without being part of it; thus they usually safeguard themselves from undesirable visitors by requiring all visitors to show the identification card issued by the National Association to its members, just as is done at recognised hostels. The use of these hostels is strongly discouraged, both by the National Association and by the local councils, but whatever objections may be raised to them on principle, it must be remembered that they constitute part of the network of hostels which serves German youth, so that in estimating the magnitude of the hostels movement we must extend our statistics to correspond. With the growing strength of the official organisation these private hostels began to dwindle in numbers and in significance. They represented in part a transitional phase before the emergence of a co-ordinated national scheme, and though their numbers were swollen by the hostels which lapsed from membership of the national association through the tightening of regulations, yet their position became ever more precarious.

The network of hostels affiliated to the National Association comprises the most varied types. Suppose for instance the itinerary for a tramping holiday be chosen, and lodging obtained from hostels selected at random from the Hostels Handbook (Reichsherbergverzeichnis), which

contains full particulars of all affiliated hostels. The first may turn out to be a temporary shelter in the village school, the second a country villa standing in its own grounds, lately erected by the provincial association with all modern conveniences, for the service of wayfaring youth. On the third day the D.J.H. sign may point to the outhouses of the village inn, adapted as a hostel. The next evening may find one sleeping in a rough hut which has long served as a clubhouse to local groups, while the following evening may provide a hostel roomy, comfortable, well-appointed, still redolent with the smell of fresh paint and the sharp tang of new wood. The next evening for a change may provide a straw bunk in the hall of the village theatre, out of use during summer; thereafter, a hostel whose chief work is with groups of school children from an industrial town, may lend still further variety.* The chief characteristic of the hostels is their variety, in origin, in structure, in management, in general organisation.

Many of the most interesting are a direct legacy of the War. With the demilitarisation of Germany, training camps were vacated, barracks and army storehouses left empty. Further, with the Inflation, country villas, castles, towers, places of historic interest changed hands for next to nothing. At the same time the effects of the privation

* A sequence actually experienced on a tramping excursion in the Harz in 1930.

and malnutrition of wartime and of the subsequent hunger-years were becoming appallingly evident, the standard of physical development among German children was little short of a national disaster. Weakly, stunted, and under-nourished children were an easy prey to tuberculosis, to all kinds of disease. Medical services, however thoroughly organised, could not meet the situation. What was required was a movement for nothing less than the recovery of the physical fitness of the entire younger generation. The open-air movement received every encouragement - it served to develop physique and remove physical disability while at the same time brightening and broadening the whole outlook on life. All the various youth associations benefited, directly or indirectly, receiving public support and encouragement in their open-air activities where before they had obtained at most a measure of public indulgence. This factor is clearly important in the postwar development of all youth organisations, but above all in the history of the hostels movement. It meant that the public authorities regarded the hostels as performing a valuable national service, and gave them every support. Military barracks and army buildings of all kinds were mobilised for new service, for service as hostels in the upbuilding of the health of the nation. Assistance was given in the obtaining of country villas, castles, old buildings with historic associations such as the stringency of

the times was bringing on the market. The existence of a National Hostels Association was doubly valuable: it made possible the obtaining of castles and historic property and their transformation as centres for youth, such as no purely local association could have effected. In addition, being already firmly established, it was strong enough to direct the current of events to wider service than that of mere physical development, to direct it to the service of the Youth Movement as a whole. It was a valuable ally of the various youth associations and co-operated closely with their National Council, helping very substantially in extending the number of country centres round which the associations focussed their activities. The aim of the hostels association was not the establishment of a network of standardised hostels owing allegiance to a central governing board, the aim was simply the co-ordination of all effort on behalf of the hostels movement which was inspired by the needs and claims of youth. Thus instead of clashing with the youth associations it provided a broader basis for their activities. Hostel activities were mobilised on a national scale; whether originating from the youth associations, from the schools or from public welfare services, so long as their primary aim was the service of youth they could be enlisted under the hostels federation and share in the benefits of a national organisation. Associations of all kinds were encouraged to

seek the establishment of hostels on ambitious lines, and the hostels federation itself also established many magnificent centres. There are many such 'castles of youth' (Jugendburgen) directly associated with the hostels association. Some were founded by a particular youth association, like Burg Rothenfels, home of the Quickborn, an association we have already mentioned. Others are more directly associated with the hostels federation, notably Burg Ludwigstein. This old ruined castle was used long before the War by the youth groups. Their efforts to recondition it culminated after the War in its dedication as a war memorial to their fallen comrades, a memorial embodying the ideals of those it commemorated. It was transformed to serve the combined purposes of Youth Hostel and conference centre, and to house the archives of the Youth Movement, so that it came to occupy a key position in the national system. Many other Jugendburgen might be quoted which became centres for particular districts, for instance Jugendburg Hohnstein in Saxon Switzerland. Their aim was to serve as ganglia in the hostels system, functioning not only as hostels themselves, but co-ordinating the work of the whole region by their very existence - according to Schirrmann, 'Hochburgen für die Lebenserneuerung,' where the youth groups might renew their strength and their inspiration by association with others, whether in formal conference, or through the friendly contacts of an ordinary

visit. Since the National Socialist Revolution of 1933 several of these Jugendburgen have been taken over by the government for the formation of concentration camps for political prisoners, for instance Jugendburg Hohnstein - this of course because these places were eminently suitable for the purpose, not through any lack of sympathy with the work of these youth centres. As we have already remarked, the hostels have continued under the Nazi State with but little real change in their organisation.

* * * * *

The work of the National Youth Hostels Association (Reichsverband der deutschen Jugendherbergen) falls naturally into two parts, firstly the general supervision of the affiliated hostels, secondly the organisation of those who wish to use them. Let us consider the position in detail, say about 1930.

As regards hostels supervision, all affiliated hostels must satisfy the general regulations laid down by the National Council as regards equipment, staffing and general management.* The actual control of the hostels is exercised by the district committee, or by the provincial committee, in the case of hostels founded by that body. In all cases the controlling committee is representative of those organisations, of whatever kind, which brought the particular hostel into

* See the Hostels Handbook, (Reichsherbergverzeichnis).

being, but the regulations of the national association must be satisfied in return for the privileges of affiliation. In addition, the hostels are under the direct supervision of the local official of juvenile welfare, while they come under the same category as other types of guest house in supervision by the public health authorities. Each hostel is in charge of a warden (Hausvater) or more frequently, of a married couple. These are appointed by the local committee and see that its regulations are enforced and that the general conduct of the visitors is in accordance with the principles the hostels stand for. In many hostels they provide the breakfast coffee and serve thick sustaining soup to supplement the lunch visitors are expected to carry in their rucksacks. Cooking facilities are frequently provided, as the ideal is to make the wayfarer dependent on his own resources as far as possible, even in the obtaining of meals. In many hostels light sleeping bags may be obtained, to make the coarse army blankets more agreeable, but such hikers as indulge in these comparative luxuries usually carry their own with them. The hostel takes nothing to do with the credentials of its visitors. The warden examines the identification card issued to members of the association, and checks its authenticity by the portrait it contains. Particulars are entered into the visitors' book, and with the payment of the hostel fee the transaction is completed. In the case of a group of young

people under the leadership of an adult, only the leader need be registered, he being responsible for the group. As regards the behaviour of the guests, the house-father has to see that the regulations of the hostels association are observed, rules which incorporate the regulations of the hostels association, and which often enough, in the case of hostels arising through youth societies, have been framed by the guests themselves. Smoking in the hostel is strictly forbidden, as strictly as the bringing of beer or other liquor into the hostel, even on the part of those fully adult. Rowdy behaviour, particularly after lights-out, is severely dealt with, for the hostel is early astir in the morning. Insubordination may lead to loss of membership, as such cases are reported by the warden to the central board. But apart from exercising authority in this way, the warden can do much to ensure that the general conduct of the guests is in keeping with the high ideals of the hostels movement. He can help them to keep their first fine enthusiasm for the wander-life and to keep a keen edge on their youthful idealism. His local knowledge is always useful and helpful in planning how to make the most of the next day's tramp; his advice and his opinion are required on the most varied topics. He occupies a key position, and occupies it well, as anyone with practical experience of the hostels can testify.

The general supervision of affiliated hostels is an important part of the work of the hostels association, but

not by any means the most important part. Without such supervision the hostels would still run quite adequately under local control, though they would undoubtedly miss the benefits of co-ordination in a national system. But when we turn from the management of the hostels to the organisation of the groups of young people which use them, we find a different state of affairs. Here local organisation is quite inadequate: the fundamental aim of the whole hostels movement is to make the whole country accessible to young people from any part of it. Districts cannot be self-contained, since the wayfaring groups do not confine themselves to their own districts. The smallest units possible are the provinces or states, and even these must work together in close co-operation if the use of all hostels is to be made available to members from remote districts. Besides, the vast numbers of young people depending on the hostels for overnight accommodation must be evenly distributed, otherwise the obtaining of lodgings would be a very haphazard affair. Both in principle and in practice, a closely co-ordinated national system is inevitable.

The general conditions of membership of the Jugendherberge Association are laid down by the National Council (Reichsverband), but enrolment is effected for each province (Gau) through the corresponding provincial association. Membership is open to schools and to youth organisations of all kinds provided their chief preoccupation is with the young people themselves, not, for instance, with political partisanship.

Smaller clubs and groups may also enrol, while membership is extended to individuals as well, juvenile or adult. The enrolment is thus in several different categories. The annual membership fees for these categories vary with the different provinces, since it is the provincial associations which fix them, within the limits approved by the National Council. A broad survey of the provinces gives the following summary of charges, (1930). The annual membership fee for a school ranges from 5 marks to 6.50 marks. In some provinces, for instance in Bavaria, youth associations pay a membership fee in proportion to their size, more usually the charge is independent of size, ranging from about 3.50 to 5 marks. Individual adults wishing to become members pay a sum ranging from 3 to 4 marks, while foreigners may share the privileges of membership for 5 marks annually. When it is remembered that these charges usually include the cost of the hostels handbook for the year, and the monthly issues of the magazine, 'Die Jugendherberge,' it is clear that they are first of all registration fees, and a source of income incidentally. Juveniles, that is, young people who have not completed their 20th year, are also accepted as individual members on payment of half a mark, but as a general rule they do not require to become members directly in this fashion. Young people are usually in groups under an adult leader, and all that is necessary is that the leader should be a member of the association, for he is responsible for his group. He may be a member

through his school, if he be a teacher with a school group, or through the organisation of which he and his group are members. But if it is only a little wayfaring group, organised for that special purpose, he pays only a nominal registration fee, 4 marks, as this is the type of work which the hostels association wishes to encourage. There are further special facilities for students and young people generally, of ages 21 to 25. The charges for accommodation at the hostels are exceedingly low: for an adult the charge is about .50 or .60 marks per night, for a juvenile only .20 to .30 marks. Even with a little added occasionally for light and heating such charges are suited to the leanest purse.

With such a wide system of hostels and such an extensive membership, the booking of accommodation is an important matter. Individual hikers may risk finding lodgings when they arrive at a hostel in the evening; with a group it is different. There are districts specially favoured by holiday wayfarers, and certain hostels are more popular than others, while at weekends and holiday periods there is general congestion. In booking ahead the principle is, first come first served, but certain types of visiting groups have preference over others. Newcomers also take precedence over visitors who have already stayed one or more nights, as the hostels are primarily intended as one-night halts only.

Arrangements are frequently made for the use of a hostel for an extended period, for a week or a fortnight or

even longer, particularly by groups of school children on excursion under the leadership of their teachers. Such arrangements are permitted only when the hostels concerned have sufficient other accommodation to provide for more casual wayfarers. It must be remembered however that a very large number of hostels are only incidentally part of the national service of Jugendherbergen; they belong to some particular organisation, to a school, or welfare association, or youth club, and most of their work is with their own members. Affiliation to the Jugendherberge association need not cramp this work, all it entails is the obligation to provide sufficient accommodation for casual wayfarers as well. To submit to the rules and regulations of the association involves little new, since all hostels, of whatever kind, are under official supervision through the Juvenile Welfare authorities. In point of fact, all types of welfare centres, of holiday homes for necessitous children, or of country homes connected with city schools, all types such as receive any measure of support from public funds, are almost invariably enrolled as Jugendherbergen. Those of less official standing, supported by charitable organisations dependent on public subscriptions, or by associations which, from widely different points of view, set themselves to further the welfare of young people, become affiliated because of the benefits of membership of a national system which has official recognition. It enhances their standing, it widens the range of their appeal, and in

the case of hostels belonging to youth clubs or associations, it widens the range of the activities of their members, since they no longer need confine themselves to the use of their own hostel or hostels.

This question of official recognition has been responsible for much of the change in the outward aspect of the Youth Movement since the War. The associations of all kinds which set themselves to further the outdoor activities of young people found increasing favour with the public authorities, not only because they were helping to raise the standard of physical fitness but because of a widespread sympathy with their aims. The importance of such activities led to their recognition as a new form of welfare work, and as such they came to be more and more incorporated in the public administration. The whole question of juvenile welfare was coming to be regarded from a new angle. It was no longer a matter of the feeding and clothing of necessitous children or the medical care of the physically defective: it was attaining a broad basis - the provision of a healthy environment for all German children, whether normal or subnormal, and of whatever social class. The first step was the recognition by the authorities of the work done by the Jugendherbergen and by all those varied youth associations which fostered outdoor activities. The next was the assistance of such work, by subsidy, direct and indirect, and by the extension of special privileges. Assistance from public funds

brought with it a measure of official supervision, so that we find all welfare work of this kind becoming gradually co-ordinated under official auspices, at the same time transforming all the other public services dealing with juvenile welfare.

This point will require elaboration later when we come to discuss the effect of the Youth Movement as a whole in transforming the social services as they affect young people. Here we are concerned only with the Jugendherbergen. The assistance given from public funds in the founding of new hostels varies according to need. Some hostels may derive such help indirectly, others may be founded entirely out of public funds and be under official control to correspond. All types can be found: at the one extreme the hostel which keeps its own autonomy, apart from its membership of the Jugendherberge association and the privileges and responsibilities connected therewith, at the other, the welfare centre established by the city for the benefit of its children, under the control of the city authorities, but affiliated as an ordinary member of the Jugendherberge association for the benefit of outside visitors. The standing of the Jugendherberge association is indicated in a great variety of ways: the permission to use country schools as hostels, the training of student-teachers as excursion-leaders during their period in college, the subsidies granted from public funds in the founding of hostels, the representation of the

association on federal and provincial committees, for instance, on the Federal Council for Physical Education - these facts are significant of the position the Jugendherberge association occupies as the official director of the hostels movement, and, more broadly, of the importance attached to the hostels in the context of German life. The Jugendherbergen do valuable service in many unobtrusive ways. They provide a favourable medium for the growth of folk movements of all kinds, and in particular they have had a big share in bringing about the widespread revival of folk-song and folk-dance. They cordially support all organisations whose interests are in any way parallel to their own, for instance, the association for the upkeep of forest paths and byways. One kind of service performed by the Jugendherbergen may be dealt with more fully, namely, frontier service. The value of those wayfaring excursions which the hostels make possible, in stimulating patriotic feelings and in intensifying nationalist fervour, gives the Jugendherbergen of the frontier districts a special significance. This factor has played an important part in the development of hostels in particular areas, notably in Silesia, in East Prussia, and in the scattered district organised as Gau Grenzmark, which abuts on Poland. On the Danish frontier also we find a similar situation in a somewhat more peaceful atmosphere. There, German Jugendherbergen are to be found on both sides of the border, in Denmark as in Germany, usually run in connection with

German schools. Their work has an added importance, which is fully realised, the preservation and peaceful penetration of German sentiment in a district formerly German. A counterpoise is the work of Denmark's folk high schools - possibly the most outstanding feature of Danish education, and not without its importance on the frontier from this point of view. Frontier service is a definite function of the Jugendherbergen, though a secondary one. Thus, for instance, the 1925 conference of the Jugendherberge association was held at Allenstein in East Prussia, a locus not at all adapted to the convenience of delegates as regards travelling, but serving to draw national attention to the frontier question, and to further hostels activities in frontier districts.

It is often said that the establishment of a national system of hostels specially adapted to the needs of young people meant a backward step from the first fine enthusiasm of the Youth Movement. The Youth Movement began in the response to the call of the countryside: the charm of the excursion lay in the sense of adventure, the romance of the unexpected. To begin with, the little wayfaring group depended on the kindness of farmers and country people for accommodation; it was brought into close intimate contact with country life. With the standardisation of hostels this intimacy has been gradually lost, the group trudges from hostel to hostel, passing through the countryside without becoming more than superficially acquainted with it. The fine new

hostels too, complete with all modern conveniences, are apt to coddle the young people, and make them discontented with hostels less well equipped, whereas before, the uncertainty of finding shelter, even a rough shakedown in a barn or out-house, only served to add a further glamour, and did much to cultivate hardiness and independence of outlook. Under the present system youth is pampered and spoiled: that aspect of the Youth Movement which the hostels serve has degenerated so that it no longer represents the free unfettered activity of youth. It has become a branch of welfare work, organised on youth's behalf.

Such is the very general accusation brought against the hostels association. It contains elements of truth, but it fails to do justice to the situation. In the first place it neglects the important fact that the movement is now on such a scale that a return to the simplicity of pre-war conditions is quite out of the question. In providing for millions, organisation is inevitable. Only by thorough and efficient organisation can overnight accommodation be provided for the millions of young people who wish to go on excursion. Rules and regulations must be laid down and enforced if excursions on such a scale are to be other than an intolerable nuisance. Rules and regulations must necessarily cramp the liberty of the individual and give him less scope for self-expression, but they are formulated in the interests of the body of wayfarers as a whole. It is even

true to say that the organisation of the hostels has passed from the young people themselves, but it must be remembered that, apart from mere routine organisation, the inspiration of the work of the Jugendherberge association springs direct from the outlook of youth. The hostels are first of all means to an end: their function is to make country excursions possible for groups of young people by providing overnight accommodation, and by acting as foci round which their activities may be centred. The great variety of such hostels, in origin and in type, means great variety in efficiency and in service, so that some are much better equipped than others. Favouritism is rife, as groups naturally gravitate to those hostels which are most conveniently situated, or which are most comfortable. But this question tends to solve itself: favourite hostels are apt to be congested, while on the other hand, poorly equipped hostels are neglected so that they must improve their equipment or ultimately lapse. The standards of the national hostels service have steadily risen and are, in the main, thoroughly satisfactory. The question of coddling does not really arise: in the existing financial stringency hostels may be well appointed, but seldom extravagantly so.

The Jugendherbergen are a means to an end, the means which has enabled young people to respond by millions to the call of the country life, the call of the Wandervogel, the call of the Youth Movement. The Jugendherberge association

has been the chief factor in making the Youth Movement a folk movement, in making the new outlook available to young people in the mass; it has opened to them the book of Nature, and shown them the way into their own kingdom.

A general analysis of the Jugendherberge organisation does but scant justice to the fresh, vivid atmosphere in which the hostels carry on their work, a holiday atmosphere in which the restraints and inhibitions of city life are forgotten, where all is frolic and fun. To appreciate the glamour of hostel life we must get closer to it, must mingle with the little groups as they wander from hostel to hostel, and share their experiences in forest and moorland as in the intimacy of the hostels themselves. The recounting of such experiences is not necessary here, however. The life of the Jugendherbergen appeals strongly to the foreign observer, whether he be concerned with it as a significant feature of the postwar scene, or, more discursively, as a bright and attractive pattern of colour in the German kaleidoscope. There is thus any number of books, magazines, and periodicals, containing articles which deal with the everyday life of the hostels.

For a fuller insight into the working of the Jugendherbergen, reference may be made to the official handbook of the association (Reichsherbergverzeichnis), which is issued annually at a cost of one mark. It contains full particulars of all the Herbergen throughout Germany which are affiliated

to the central organisation, and is indispensable to all wayfarers. In addition to giving a detailed analysis of the individual hostels and the accommodation they offer, it includes a synopsis of the organisation of the whole network of hostels, the constitution of the national and provincial committees, the regulations to which the hostels must submit, and the regulations for membership for those who wish to use the hostels, whether banded together as societies, or becoming members as individuals. A series of additional articles in the handbook seeks to elucidate the principles on which the movement is based and to deepen and intensify the enthusiasm which inspires its activities. Interesting sidelights are thrown on a great variety of topics, showing the attitude of the Jugendherbergen in social questions, and the standards it sets in social and individual morality.

A more intimate acquaintance with the everyday work of the hostels may be obtained from the monthly issue of 'Die Jugendherberge,' the official organ of the Jugendherberge association. This magazine is definitely a publicity organ, not a source of income - magazine subscriptions are included in the full membership fee, usually the cost of the annual handbook also, and additional circulation is small. The purpose of the magazine is to keep the members in touch with the work of the Jugendherbergen in all its bearings, and to serve as a forum for the most varied points of view on all aspects of the hostels movement. The same function is served

by the great number of provincial and local magazines published by the branch organisations: in the mass they attain formidable dimensions, even in the midst of the immense flood of publications associated with the Youth Movement as a whole. They give an admirable commentary from within on the work of the Jugendherbergen and on the aims and significance of the hostels movement. If their idealism does seem at times somewhat strained and bombastic, they give a true enough picture of the tremendous enthusiasm and vitality in which the Jugendherbergen subsist.

All books dealing with the historical development and social significance of the Youth Movement necessarily devote some attention to the Jugendherbergen. Such attention varies greatly with the point of view of the writer. Writers who emphasise the individual and collective self-assertiveness of youth as the predominant feature of the Youth Movement are apt to see in the Jugendherbergen and similar organisations the contamination of the pure springs of youthful idealism by the taint of adult welfare work. They are thus apt to underrate the significance of the Jugendherbergen, apt to do them rather less than justice. Writers who are pre-occupied with the Youth Movement as a social phenomenon can be expected to deal with them more adequately and show them more clearly in their proper setting.* A clearer picture, however, is

* To quote examples: H. Schlemmer ("Der Geist der deutschen Jugendbewegung") deals with the Jugendherbergen only indirectly, while O. Stählin ("Die deutsche Jugendbewegung"), preoccupied with the philosophic aspect, gives them still more/

obtained from writers who are content to describe the hostels and their activities at first hand, without seeking to fit them into a neat and orderly scheme. The hostels handbook and the magazines of the Jugendherberge associations, national and provincial and local, are thus more reliable sources of reference on this subject than the vast majority of the books written on the Youth Movement.*

* * * * *

In this chapter we have been considering the Jugendherberge association as the main directing force in the hostels movement, serving to co-ordinate the work of all kinds of organisations which took to do with the institution or management of hostels for young people. The school is one of these organisations, and clearly one of the most important. Yet despite the close association of the schools with the hostels movement, particularly of those schools most imbued with modern ideas, we cannot regard the hostels merely as a phenomenon of the new education. As we have seen, the hostels have their roots in the social situation as a whole, and

Footnote continued from previous page:

more scant attention. T. Herrle ("Die Deutsche Jugendbewegung") on the other hand, emphasising the sociological nature of the Youth Movement, attaches a greater importance to the Jugendherbergen, though he is somewhat cryptic in his treatment. A middle course is indicated by E. Frobenius ("Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit"), who gives a more discursive survey in less formal terms.

- * A short yet adequate survey of the hostels movement is given by W. Münster in the handbook of the youth associations - see 'Die deutschen Jugendverbände' (Siemering), p. 366 et seq.

have evolved slowly in the work of young people's clubs, apprentice associations and trade guilds, charitable and welfare organisations, as well as in the formulation of new methods in education. To regard the hostels in their educational significance is to consider them from one point of view alone, and even then we must be careful to take the word education in its broadest sense: the educational value of the hostels does not lie merely in the incorporation of hostels activities in the schools system, it lies rather in the way in which the hostels supplement the deficiencies of the school system, deficiencies inherent in any ordinary school system.

New methods and ideals in education are themselves largely conditioned by the social situation. Even the prominent personalities in education, like Gaudig, or Kerschensteiner, are characterised by their insight into how best the educational system may be adapted to meet the needs of a changing world, to embody the spirit of a new age. The "new education" has grown from the same medium as the hostels movement, under the action of the same forces. It is thus not surprising that, throughout, the two have been closely associated, on the one hand, pioneers in the new education are enthusiastic protagonists of the hostels movement, on the other, hostels activities are one of the outstanding features of the new methods in education. The influence of

the hostels movement within the school system will be discussed later; here let us note in passing the broader significance of the Jugendherbergen as an educational medium.

In their very origins, the Jugendherbergen show their educational significance: they derive primarily from the hostels established in the country by certain city schools for the benefit of their pupils, enabling class groups to make an extended stay in the country with their teachers in a natural environment of immense educational value. The inspiration to the founding of the hostels association came from the educational sphere. Schirrmann himself, the leader of the new movement, was a school-master in Westphalia, while the vast majority of his colleagues in the work of the association were members of the teaching profession or engaged in allied occupations. In the founding of the association, educational aims were predominant; it was the recognition of the value of the work done by the hostels in providing a freer, fuller education, as well as in promoting the physical well-being of the children, that gave the stimulus to the co-ordination of such work on a national scale. It was felt that the privileges enjoyed by the fortunate pupils of those schools which owned country hostels, or by the members of those youth organisations which pursued similar activities, should be extended to all young people. At the same time it was realised that it was not necessary, or indeed desirable, that this work should be in-

corporated directly in the educational system. The work was of immense educational importance, but to organise it from that angle would defeat its own end - the school would probably benefit by the infusion of new ideas and new methods, but the freshness and spontaneity of the movement would inevitably degenerate, leaving nothing but another branch of welfare work. The loose federation of Jugendherbergen which finally resulted - conceived in the minds of Schirrmann and his colleagues, and hammered out on the anvil of experience, did its part adequately in linking up the hostels in a national scheme and in representing their interests and outlook as a whole. The apparent looseness of the federation was a genuine source of strength. It brought together hostels which had arisen in the most varied of ways, and which belonged to organisations of the most varied outlook. The national organisation of the Jugendherbergen had much in common with the national organisation of the Jugendverbände. In both we find a great variety of types, the different groups representing the most varied interests and the most varied shades of opinion. Yet the free interplay of these differences within the federation brought with it the recognition of how much the component groups had in common, despite all their superficial differences. It is this fundamental community of outlook which constituted the real strength of the federation, much more than the need of presenting a solid

front to outside interests, or the need of simplifying and co-ordinating their practical activities.

In analysing further the educational significance of the hostels movement we must take the Jugendherbergen in conjunction with all other types of hostels and country homes, some of them more directly connected with the school system. The most obvious examples are the Country School Homes (Schullandheime). The Schullandheim, a country home founded by a particular school or group of schools, is so closely associated with the school that it might be considered a country annexe of the school proper. Besides the various types of hostels, the hostels movement impinges directly on the educational system in other ways. Thus there are many country boarding-schools, notably the new Country Home Schools (Landschulheime), in which the aims and methods of the hostels movement are directly incorporated, so that they can well be considered as a closer synthesis of school and youth hostel. The whole question will require to be dealt with later, when we come to regard the various aspects of the hostels movement from the point of view of the school.

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PART II.

CHAPTER VI.

The Youth Movement and the new education:

(i) The prewar phase.

Educational reform lends itself readily to treatment as a revolutionary process; in the discovery of new aims and ideals, the abrupt rediscovery of ancient truths, the transforming work of individual educators and educational philosophers. But this is at best a partial view. In making a general survey of an educational system, nothing is more striking than its essential continuity. It may be claimed that this continuity is due to an inertia which it has in common with other social institutions, an inertia which allows but lag-gard expression to new ideas, so much so that educational systems are often open to blame as being conservative, and even reactionary. On the whole, however, changes in the educational sphere cannot be justly estimated without consideration of their evolutionary aspect. The educational system is a part of the social organism, and the gradual flux of human opinion and of material circumstance which brings about changes in the social organism brings about changes also in educational outlook and in educational practice. The trouble is, however, that if we seek to analyse those factors which are slowly but inevitably turning the wheels of change, we find ourselves in a welter of apparently discordant forces. We can conclude that the total effect of the interplay of these forces is in a certain direction, but it is often difficult to determine how that particular direction is brought about. Usually we can associate important changes with the work of individual edu-

cators, who have combined a keenness of insight and freshness of outlook in educational matters with the capacity of enthusing their fellows with like ideals, for instance Rousseau, or whose chief work is in seeking to transform the educational machine in accordance with new ideals, like Condorcet in France, or his contemporary Basedow in Prussia. But the work of such men cannot be properly understood apart from its social context. It is no disparagement of the timelessness of their ideals to say that the keenness of their insight, the vitality of their enthusiasm, the forcefulness of their personality, were supplemented by this other factor, namely, that they were giving concrete expression to that which was slowly emerging in the spirit of the age. It is thus only after the lapse of many years that a suitable perspective can be obtained for ascertaining those whose work epitomises the general trend of events, or is genuinely significant in transforming educational opinion and educational practice. That is one reason why the history of the less immediate past acquires a more or less spurious simplicity - certain individuals and certain events stand out as significant of a particular era, or are generally accepted as doing so, but it is only the distance of the years that enables the period as a whole to be brought into focus in this way. Living in the midst of change it is much more difficult to trace the emergence of

new ideas, to discriminate the relevant from the incidental, and to distinguish those individuals or institutions whose work has genuine significance in the pioneering of a new era, or who can be taken as thoroughly representative of a new outlook. From this arises much of the difficulty in analysing the present phase of German educational reform: if we look back on the past we have a certain perspective, if we regard the present we are still immersed in the stream of events.

The history of educational reform in Germany focusses round three main periods: the beginning of the 18th, the beginning of the 19th, and the beginning of the 20th centuries. The first of these is associated with the work of Francke. His work has several important aspects. He established at Halle an educational institution (the Francke Foundation) which in the range of its activities and the breadth of its outlook was distinctive in an era of mediaeval classicism. Parts of this foundation are still flourishing at the present day. Again, his influence in the newly-founded University of Halle was partly responsible for the transformation which appeared at this time in university subjects and methods, and helped to establish the principle of academic freedom which is the corner-stone of the modern university. His third, and not least notable contribution was in the sphere of popular education. Frederick William,

who was greatly interested in Francke's work, accepted his views about the importance of the education of the common people, and made attendance at the elementary schools of Prussia compulsory in 1716-17. His son, Frederick the Great, though less concerned about the religious education of his subjects, was at one with him on the need for universal education. Even in the midst of the wars with which he ushered in his reign he found time to arrange for the support of the village schools under the charge of the clergy, and later, in 1763, he issued general school regulations which made elementary education for all a matter for State control.*

The gradual extension of elementary education to all classes contained little educational inspiration: it was first and foremost a matter of national policy, part of the work of building up a nation. Even the work of Basedow and the Philanthropinists, though directed by a genuine interest in educational problems and educational aims, did not go deep enough in its analysis of the situation. Much valuable work was done in the emphasis on play methods, on the place of practical subjects in the curriculum, on the use of the mother tongue, but though these were effecting a gradual transformation in school practice, what was required was something much deeper, a new outlook on education as a whole.

The apostle of the new era in education was Rousseau:

* Boyd, History of Western Education, p. 298.

his work it was to show that education is concerned first of all with the individual. According to him, education must find its inspiration in the nature of the individual, its methods in his natural environment, and its aim in his preparation for life. In seeking to give practical expression to such views, his difficulty in reconciling individual education with the claims of social education is very evident, and leads to much apparent contradiction. Thus, as Charpentier says, 'he was an individualist when he conceived of man in his uncivilised state, he became a socialist when he conceived of him in the civilised state.' We have on the one hand individualism the predominant note in his educational writings, on the other, the rigorous étatisme of the 'Contrat Sozial.' His influence on education was widespread and profound, possibly because his views were in part at least the concrete expression of ideas which were slowly emerging in the educational thought of the time. His influence has shown itself chiefly in the inspiration of others, who have carried his ideas into the practical business of everyday education. The medium through which the new outlook on education reached Germany was Pestalozzi. An ardent follower of Rousseau's educational views, Pestalozzi's outlook was fundamentally the same as that of Rousseau, but with educational idealism he combined a wide range of practical experience in educational matters. His

main contribution was in giving the new idealism practical expression in a feasible educational system, and in so doing he came to differ in certain important points from his master. Thus while agreeing with Rousseau that true education is always the outcome of practical experience, he had a deeper faith in the educational possibilities of ordinary life and was thereby enabled to combine social claims with those of individual development.* This underlying synthesis of individual and social claims is of considerable importance in explaining why Pestalozzi's views and methods appealed to the German mind of the time: they squared well with the then dominant philosophy, that of Kant, in fact they seemed to be the practical embodiment of the Kantian philosophy in the educational sphere.

Another factor now came into operation. The degradation of Prussia by Napoleon, culminating in the conditions of the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), led to an intensifying of the national consciousness. The recrudescence of national feeling was whipped on by the fiery enthusiasm of Fichte, and directed by him into the only channel of national reconstruction still available, the schools.† The new methods in education found their opportunity. Stein's liberal reforms indicated the advent of a new educational system, but

* Boyd, p. 341.

† Fichte, 'Addresses to the German People,' 1809.

before any real change had been effected the forces of reaction prevailed. Pestalozzi's views were acknowledged as effecting a transformation throughout German schools, but in point of fact only the semblance of his methods was incorporated in the mechanism of the school system, their inspiration, their vitality was lacking. Lip service was paid to the Pestalozzi tradition - even in 1914 his portrait, like that of the Kaiser, adorned the schoolroom wall - but from the actual school-work the spirit of Pestalozzi was absent. After the breath of freedom with which the 19th century opened the schools sank back again into the mustiness of their previous tradition. The freshness of the new ideals became overlaid again with the arid instructional view of education and education degenerated again to a mechanical formalism.

The liberal revolution of 1848 had very little direct influence in the educational field, but in guilds (Burschenschaften) of the period we find the forerunners of the present-day Youth Movement. In their activities, in their aims, in their outlook, they are closely akin to the Wandervogel:* they sowed the seeds which, dormant under the repression of a militarist régime, burst into active life with the advent of more favourable times. The outburst of idealism which characterised the incidents of

* For references in this connection see footnote, Chap. I,

1848 was directed to wider social and political problems than that of education, it was directed against the whole trend of social organisation of the time, but in this major issue it was supporting the cause of educational reform. With the gradual intensifying of nationalist feeling and the slow emergence of Germany as a nation the schools were becoming ever more and more definitely enrolled in the service of the State. The philosophy of Kant, which had dominated German thought at the beginning of the century and which had provided a medium favourable to the new educational outlook, had been superseded by the Hegelian conception of the State as the supreme synthesis of individual life, its aim and its fulfilment. Less attention was paid however to what exactly Hegel meant when he spoke of the State, and his views became increasingly associated with a dominant militarism, demanding the regimentation of all phases of individual life in the interests of the nation. Such an environment was clearly hostile to educational experiment and educational reform. The educational system became a mere machine, characterised by dogmatism in the lower school, classicism in the higher, with a mechanical efficiency throughout, whose highest aim was to turn out trained citizens ready to play their part in the State whose servants they were. The spirit of the new education was by no means dead: it continued with unabated vigour

in the work of Fröbel and of Herbart, who explored further the methods and practice of education in accordance with the nature and needs of the individual, and further developed educational theory on the new basis. But apart from private experimental schools, the school system as a whole was hardly affected other than in a very gradual modification of school practice. The basic idea of the school as part of the mechanism of a nationalist State was an insuperable obstacle to educational progress.

The advent of the industrial era brought new problems, in education as throughout the whole range of social life. The mechanical rigidity of the existing social system was ill adapted to changing social conditions, but it was so firmly established that changes in the social structure had to adapt themselves to it instead, bringing about a position of ever-increasing instability. The new industrial régime demanded the reorganisation of social life and its conception on a new basis, but what actually happened was that the rigidity of the social mechanism was maintained in the same old way and the new factors forced to accommodate themselves to it as best they might.* The new demands made on the school were ignored: it remained a centre of instruction, where German youth was required to attend, to obtain the rudiments of knowledge and to be

* See previously: Chapter I.

trained in citizenship. In the higher schools education was based on the same principles and imparted by essentially the same methods as had been valid fifty years before. As regards the ordinary schools,* the expansion of the bounds of knowledge and the requirements of industrial life did little more than bring a weight of new material into the curriculum. New subjects of study forced their way in without displacing the old, and the nett result was an overloading of teaching hours. To make the most of the time available, the material had to be selected, arranged, and presented by the teacher, in such a way that the pupils might obtain the maximum of information and know it as thoroughly as possible. The personal reaction of the pupil to the subject-matter was quite subsidiary, any attractiveness in the subject or in its presentation was first of all a mechanical aid to the learning process.

The increasing pressure on the school system from without meant an inevitable decline in the spirit of the school: efforts to maintain its mechanical efficiency with old methods under changed conditions could have no other result. To expand the curriculum to meet the new material requirements alone was quite inadequate, and worse than inadequate, for the pressure of the weight of new work put a strain on the whole structure of the school. Previously,

* The rapid growth of trade and technical schools did much to supplement the deficiencies of elementary and secondary schools in this direction, but consideration of these need not concern us here.

subjects, methods and aims had been knit into a comparatively harmonious whole such as corresponded quite fairly to the spirit of the times: the whole structure of the school was the natural outgrowth from its aims and methods. It would be wrong however to maintain that the school system was losing touch with changing conditions merely because of pressure from without, or because of its own lack of elasticity: it had in itself the seeds of its own decay. Conceived in terms which allowed no place to the natural and legitimate claims of the children themselves, it could not but degenerate into a rigid, if efficient part of the machinery of State. The interplay of the personalities of teacher and pupils, vital to all true education, was confined to certain narrow channels. There was no real intimacy between teacher and pupils: the teacher came to be more and more the official whose duty it was to present certain information to his pupils in its most assimilable form, and to drill them in it till they knew it thoroughly. An undue emphasis thus came to be laid upon examinations, in particular on the final examination of the secondary schools. To pass in this examination was of vital importance, not from the point of view of intellectual attainment, but because the concession as regards military service could not be otherwise obtained: this not only meant the reduction of the term of military service to one year and

and its rating as voluntary, it determined social standing in the community and thus conditioned the whole future. The upper classes of the secondary schools were thus crowded out by a large number of pupils, many with little aptitude for their studies, but seeking by all means possible to obtain the coveted 'einjährig freiwillig Dienst,' to which a pass in the final examination would entitle them. It is estimated that before the War about a third of the pupils of the higher classes in city Gymnasien received outside tuition in addition to their school work to help prepare them for the final examination.* Freshness and zest still remained in some measure in the elementary schools, and in the lower classes of the secondary schools; in the upper there was a heaviness, an unreality, an unremitting grind, which made the school little better than a prison. Many types of significant statistics could be arraigned against the examination system: for instance, the appalling number of suicides which occurred every year among young people of 16 to 19 years, or, to take a more general example, the defective eyesight common among the scholars-only a very small percentage was able to complete the school curriculum without recourse to spectacles.

It would be invidious to single out particular aspects of the schools of the Empire - they all convey the same im-

* Herrle, p. 5.

pression of drabness, a grey colourless monotone foreign to the joyous abandon of youth. The whole atmosphere of the schools seemed to foster morbidity, leading to an introspective Weltschmerz rather than to a natural joie-de-vivre. Here and there one finds brighter patches, where human personality triumphed over the niggling detail of official regulations, where the warmth of human relationship enlivened daily routine, but the general impression remains a uniform, military grey. The first requirement of a school is that the children should be at home in it, and neglect of this was at the root of the whole matter. Neither in the school nor in the community as a whole had young people a standing of their own. Youth was regarded as a transition stage, its only value in that to which it led - children were in truth regarded as incipient adults, and that alone. The unreality of the situation is shown by the progressive debasement of the schools of the Empire as such views were carried to their logical conclusion. It is shown also by the reactions of the young people themselves. Denied scope for self-expression and self-realisation in natural ways, they were forced into the unnatural imitation of adult ways of life, in clothing, in behaviour, in habits. In adopting adult modes of self-expression their lack of the corresponding inner impulses led them to adopt those modes which, though distinctive, were yet

superficial. Such superficiality had far-reaching effects: it led to the unquestioning acceptance of the views current in the community about social problems and even about individual behaviour, since the adult point of view had been adopted before adult insight had developed.*

Coming now to the present era of educational reform, extending from the end of last century to the present day, we find a very different state of affairs from that which ushered in previous reform periods. Previously, actual reform was less important than the spread of a new conviction as to the value of education, and the expansion of educational facilities. But now it was no longer necessary to insist on the value of education, and on the necessity for a thoroughly organised school system providing education for all. Such a system already existed, strong in its efficiency, in its recognised methods, in the high standards of academic study it demanded, and in its authoritative government at all levels. ^ø But with its strength it lacked flexi-

* It is not necessary here to enter into a more detailed consideration of the situation. There is no lack of books dealing with Germany's prewar school system, and in the main they give an accurate impression of the general atmosphere in which the schools carried on their work, though perhaps unduly preoccupied with the mechanical efficiency of the educational organisation, as for instance Paulsen, or Russell (see list of references). As regards the wider social issue, the vitiating influence of the schools and of the social system as a whole in denying children scope for genuine self-expression is fully reflected in the literature of the last half-century, not only in social polemics and controversial writings, but also in novels and the popular press, and on the film as well. Pennäler, Backfisch and Verbindungsstudent were clearly not representative of the spontaneous interests of German youth, but though hardly typical the outlook they represented was far too common.
^ø Alexander and Parker.

bility: conservative in its outlook, firmly rooted in old traditions, it lacked the power to adapt itself to changes in the climate of social circumstance. It had become cramped and hide-bound by its own efficiency, incapable of absorbing new ideas as to the nature, function, and methods of education, incapable of moving with the spirit of the times. The contribution of the present era has been the attaining of a deeper insight into the problems of education, by focussing attention on the needs and claims of the young people themselves, and the transformation of the existing educational system in accordance with the new point of view.

The actual beginnings of the movement are difficult to trace: viewing the situation as a whole we find progressive elements showing themselves here, there and everywhere at any given time. The human element cannot be entirely subdued under any human system: teachers and educationists were still capable of thinking out the problems of education for themselves and of striving to give their conclusions practical expression. Reform schools arose from the idealism of the few, sponsored by the more enlightened educational authorities, more usually discouraged, if not bitterly opposed. The views of educational reformers were put forward ever more aggressively, and isolated tendencies to reform gathered strength as they joined forces with one another. Long before the end of last century the new ideals in edu-

cation had obtained a hold within the school system, particularly in those newer parts of it like trade schools or continuation schools which had arisen through social changes and which did not suffer from the paralysing influence of an outworn tradition. But the forces of reaction were firmly entrenched and it was not till Germany was thrown into the melting-pot of War and Revolution that reform was achieved on a national scale.

Amid the confusion of prewar reform movements there are two or three which stand out as significant, partly because they epitomise tendencies which were to find marked expression later throughout all aspects of German education, partly because they grew rapidly to dimensions which made them formidable protagonists of the new outlook. Let us consider in particular the movement which centred round the work of Kerschensteiner and the idea of the Activity School (Arbeitsschule), and the movement of quite different type which centred round the work of Lietz, and the Landerziehungsheime he began.

The idea behind the Activity School (Arbeitsschule) strongly is/reminiscent in many ways of the sturdy, unbending creed of Thomas Carlyle, who, be it noted, derived much of his inspiration from German philosophy and metaphysics. Carlyle's purpose was to show that only in action, only in the straining of all his powers could man achieve fulfilment: in an era of sham and of cheap sentimentality he was the

apostle of a sterner faith, the faith of action, the gospel of work. The new Arbeitsschule which arose in Germany under the aegis of Kerschensteiner has its roots in a similar philosophy. As with Carlyle's doctrines, the principle of work on which the Arbeitsschule is based has often been misrepresented as the mere glorification of manual labour, or of any kind of purposeful activity. But it is rather the recognition that work is the force which has raised man out of barbarism and created civilisation,* and that it is purposeful self-activity which constitutes life itself, the activity of physical action, the activity of thought or of appreciation, the activity of reflection or of contemplation.

To give such a philosophy practical expression in the field of education obviously meant the conception of education in entirely new terms.^ø It meant that the materials of instruction and external material requirements had to take a secondary place, the primary consideration being now the nature and outlook of the individual pupil, the chief aim of education to stimulate and direct his activity in the line of his own true interests. This theory of education demands not only a new use of the materials

* Alexander and Parker, p. 122.

ø For the philosophy of the Arbeitsschule, the writings of Kerschensteiner, notably 'Theorie der Bildung' and 'Begriff der Handarbeit' are of primary importance. The significance of the Arbeitsschule for the development of personality is stressed in the writings of Gaudig. For a short analysis of the theory of the Arbeitsschule, see for instance W. Moog, 'Grundfragen der Pädagogik der Gegenwart,' p. 203 et seq.

of instruction, it demands a change in the whole organisation of the school; a situation must be created which will inspire children to discover their own problems, to feel their way to the solution of these problems without depending too much on outside help, to feel their way also to higher levels of appreciation, to higher standards of thought and behaviour. The function of the school can no longer be conceived simply as that of imparting instruction. The work of the class-room is no longer dictated by the will and bidding of the teacher: it attains a broader basis and touches the requirements of actual life at many new points. In particular the ethical aspect of life can no longer be rigorously excluded from the class work when not fully consistent with religious dogma. A freer, more natural atmosphere pervades the school, an atmosphere in which work is life.*

The development of the Arbeitsschule goes back to the early efforts of Kerschensteiner about 1880 in re-organising and extending the continuation school system in Munich. Continuation schools did not suffer under the paralysing influence of tradition to the same extent as the ordinary day-schools and thus they constituted a somewhat more favourable medium for trying out new educational ideas. The success of the new methods attracted wide attention in

* A comparison of Kerschensteiner in Germany with Dewey in America makes an interesting study. In philosophy and in general outlook they are closely akin.

educational circles throughout Germany. The time was ripe for reform: what was chiefly required was a channel which would divert the increasing volume of dissatisfaction to useful service. Kerschensteiner's views were taken up with enthusiasm, and attempts made to establish schools on the principle of education through activity, in many different cities. Thus from about 1906 we find a notable expansion of 'activity schools' within the ordinary school system, and a notable expansion of similar methods in the elementary schools of many of the more progressive cities.* In Dortmund for instance, the Augustaschule, a large public elementary school in a poor quarter of the city, obtained permission to reorganise after the fashion of an 'activity school,' and despite most unfavourable conditions soon attained a marked degree of success. In Augsburg the Elias-Holl-Schule followed suit shortly after: carrying still further the devolution of school government into the hands of pupils and enlisting the aid of parents in the work of the school. In other cities we find the teachers' associations sponsoring the cause of reform: notably in Leipzig, where within the elementary school system the principles of the Arbeitsschule were thoroughly tried out among the primary classes, in Dresden similarly, and to a lesser extent in Munich, which, although the home of the Arbeitsschule,

* For a fuller discussion of these schools see Alexander and Parker, p. 123 et seq.

has done little, in this as in other ways, to support progressive views in education. The interest roused by Kerschesteiner's ideas, by the principles he enunciated, and their application in the schools, shows clearly that there was a large body of educational opinion throughout the country which was thoroughly dissatisfied with the educational system and only awaiting a lead to make it throw its energies into the work of reform. It must be remembered however that in many places these new ideas merely intensified reform movements already strongly under way. In Hamburg for instance the influx of new ideas from without was much less important than the spontaneous development of a progressive educational system from within. Despite the absorption of the Hamburg schools in the closely federated school system of the empire, they had retained a sturdy independence, a democratic breadth of outlook in keeping with the traditions of the great Hanseatic port. Local authority was comparatively tolerant of educational experiment, for it was safeguarded by the teachers' associations, flourishing institutions which can point to a long and honoured period of service and responsibility.*

Clearly these ^{associations} provided a favourable medium in which progressive ideas might be fully tested by mature experience, and adequately sponsored if approved. As time

* The oldest, and by far the strongest of these associations, the 'Gesellschaft der Freunde des vaterländischen Schul- und Erziehungswesens' dates from as far back as 1805.

went on, the government of Hamburg schools trended ever farther in the direction of management by teacher committee, a system still more amenable to progressive experiment in education. Thus we find the beginnings of parent co-operation and the foreshadowing of the community schools which were to be so striking a feature of postwar education. In Hamburg, if anywhere in Germany, the evolution of the school system was capable of keeping step with the demands of the new era. A further impetus in the direction of educational reform came from the work of Alfred Lichtwark, whose influence, overflowing from the world of art throughout the whole of education, extended from Hamburg all over Germany. The progressive development of education in Hamburg, the establishment of experimental community schools, the extension of welfare services through the schools, the experiments of individual educators - all were interrupted, for Hamburg as for the whole of Germany, by the cataclysm of War and Revolution.

The Landerziehungsheime represent another salient feature of the educational reform of the prewar period, one which differs materially from the others in that it lies wholly outside the ordinary school system. The work of Lietz and his colleagues was confined to private schools, private schools of a new type (Landerziehungsheime), but their work has none the less a profound significance, not

only in its influence on current educational thought, but also in introducing new methods and in foreshadowing a new attitude to education such as was later to become common to private and public schools alike.

Lietz founded the first of the Landerziehungsheime (LEH) towards the end of last century: in revolt against the barrenness of the schools of the day, and deeply impressed by what he had seen of the work of Cecil Reddie at Abbottsholme while on a visit to England some time before, he set out to establish private boarding-schools which would be genuine school communities and which would embody his educational ideals. He did not attempt merely to modify the existing type of school, he founded his schools on a new conception of education. Existing schools were characterised by arid intellectualism and cramped by narrow social conventions. Lietz wished to substitute a form of community life which would encourage the free development of children individually and socially. From intellectualism and from the industrialisation of the present day he turned to the simple village community as the ideal foundation for his schools. There he found the true basis, not social convention and arbitrary regulation, but mutual dependence and mutual responsibility. His schools are self-contained communities, directed to educational purposes but eschewing the methods and organisation of the ordinary school: thus, for instance, the teachers

are not a separate hierarchy as in the ordinary school, they are regarded by the boys simply as older, more experienced members of the community from whom much can be learnt.

In choosing sites for his schools Lietz went to the more remote country districts, where the school community would not be pampered by the amenities of town life, but would be driven in on its own resources, and at the same time drawn into a deep and abiding intimacy with its environment. The environment for each school was chosen with particular care: Lietz and his colleagues were firmly convinced that the setting in which children spend the formative years of their lives has greater influence in shaping their ideas and character than any amount of instruction. This fitted well with the grouping of the children according to age, a basic principle of the LEH. The school for the youngest boys was established in a kindly pastoral setting, the schools for the oldest in remote, isolated communities, while the intermediate groups were located in different types of country districts, at Haubinda on the fringe of the Thuringian forest, in rolling woodland as at Buchenau.

It was this question of grouping which first led to schism. Lietz adhered strongly to the traditional German attitude to coeducation and to grouping by age. According to his view, where there are wide differences between groups of children such as exist between boys and girls, or between older and younger children, it is advisable to separate such

groups from one another within distinct school communities. In founding his schools he gave expression to these ideas. Some of his colleagues on the other hand, for instance Wyneken and Geheeb, maintained the value of such differences as educational factors and desired that the school communities should have heterogeneous groups as the ultimate social units, just as in ordinary life where the unit, the family, consists of members of both sexes and of different ages. In 1906 Wyneken and Geheeb withdrew from the LEH and set up a new school community at Wickersdorf in accordance with their own views. After a time the partnership terminated; in 1910 Geheeb founded a new school, the Odenwaldschule, Wyneken continuing at Wickersdorf. These schools differ from the LEH in many important features, notably in the co-education of boys and girls and the organisation of the community in groups more like those of ordinary family life, also in the emphasis on self-government by the pupils, but fundamentally they are closely akin to the Lietz schools. Other schools arose in the same way, some direct offshoots of the LEH, founded by colleagues and assistants of Lietz who sought to find expression for their own educational ideas, others more spontaneous in origin, but closely related to the LEH in spirit if not in fact.* It is char-

* For instance note the work of Luserke at the Schule am Meer (at Juist on the Baltic), or of Lehmann in the Landschulheim am Solling, or of Bondy at Gandersheim. For a fuller discussion of these schools and their subsequent developments, see next chapter.

acteristic of these schools that each leader has withdrawn with his following of teachers and pupils to some remote village or valley, and there set up his educational community alone. All the schools have arisen round the personalities of their founders. They have grown up individually, on the one hand the Lietz Foundation, on the other the Free School Communities (Freie Schulgemeinden), not at all closely affiliated to one another, despite their community of outlook and of interests. The movement has been of slow growth, its general expansion occurring only in postwar years, but progress has been steady and continuous. The upheaval of War, and later of Revolution, effected no radical change in this secluded part of the educational world. It merely brought, in the end, a freer environment and a new outlook on education favourably disposed to the new types of schools, so that they came to exercise considerable influence in forwarding the new education.

The same general causes as were bringing about a new era of educational reform were also bringing about the rise of the Youth Movement; in fact we may consider the two movements as directed to the same ends and motivated by the same forces, one functioning within the school system and developing from the adult point of view, the other arising more generally from the youthful reaction to the same general situation. In the beginning the Youth Movement was quite

apart from everything typical of school, in the eyes of the young people at least. It constituted a movement of self-education which they had developed alongside, but apart from, their everyday schooling. The two were in direct antithesis, the one a more or less necessary imposition to be endured, the other a free, spontaneous expression of their own interests.* The antithesis has continued in some measure right to the present day; it has been maintained in particular by those who, jealously guarding the freedom and spontaneity of the Youth Movement, have regarded with alarm the incorporation of the aims and methods of the Youth Movement into the schools and into the organisations of juvenile welfare, and the increasing co-ordination of all such activities under official auspices. The true antithesis, however, did not lie between Youth Movement and formal education, it lay between Youth Movement and school system, and only by regarding the school system as final and sacrosanct could the two be kept rigidly apart. But the school system was not so regarded. There was a growing sense of dissatisfaction among all who had to do with education, a groping after new principles and new methods, and the evidences of

* 'Die Schule ist ein von Erwachsenen geschaffenes Gebilde, während die Jugendbewegung ein selbstständiges, von der Autorität der Erwachsenen freies Jugendland erstrebt.' (Schlemmer: 'Das Gemeinschaftsleben der Jugend und die Schule'). Schlemmer insists that the school can never take over the activities of the Youth Movement as a whole. He sees school and Youth Movement as fundamentally distinct, yet always supplementary.

a new era of reform were beginning to appear throughout the whole educational machine. The contact of the new self-education movement with the early stages of educational reform was the direct inspiration of a new phase of the reform era: it brought new methods into the world of the school, it brought a new outlook.*

Even in the earliest stages of the Youth Movement, at a time when Wandervogel activities were in the main regarded as absolutely distinct from formal education such as was given in the schools, the stimulus it gave to educational reform is clearly evident. However distinct in spirit Wandervogel and school might be, yet they existed together in a common environment and inevitably reacted strongly on one another. The Wandervogel groups originated to a great extent within school walls. Groups of school companions formed their membership, while the adult leaders were in almost all cases teachers, whose enthusiasm was

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* The Youth Movement/claimed by Flittner as the source of the second stage of educational reform in modern Germany, e.g. 'Die vollständige Erneuerung der Erziehungswege wurde dadurch dargetan, dass die Jugend sich für ihre Selbsterziehung eine eigene Erziehungsstätte schuf. Neben die alte Erziehungssitte unseres Volkes trat hier mit einem Male eine neue, die von der Jugend selbst entwickelt wurde. Zwischen diesen totalischen Selbstbildungsbewegung und der Reformpädagogik der ersten Stufe knüpften sich Verbindungen, um so leichter als je beide Reformgruppen auseinander hervorgegangen waren. Diese Verbindungen führten zu einem ganzen System neuer Erziehungsmittel, und dieses System befestigte sich innerhalb der Reformpädagogik in der Nachkriegszeit, als nach der vierjährigen künstlichen Pause das erste Geschlecht, das aus der Jugendbewegung ins Erwachsenenalter trat, sich den Schulen und der erneuten Erziehung, zuwandte.' (Flittner: 'Neue Wege der Erziehung und Volksbildung.').

grounded in a firm conviction of the educational value of the movement. The adult members of the association which was formed to safeguard the interests of the Wandervogel had a keen insight into the general implications of the movement, and it is only necessary to consider the writings of Kirchbach, Gurlitt or Blüher to find what stimulus was given to ideas of educational reform by the new educational medium which had been discovered. The work of the Youth Movement brought home to all associated with it the deficiencies of the schools and of the whole educational system. For many, the vague sense of dissatisfaction which had led them to throw themselves with enthusiasm into the work of the Wandervogel groups became crystallised into definite views on the subject of educational reform. For others, already striving in the cause of educational reform, fighting a hard battle against the forces of reaction and the inertia of tradition, this new movement provided a fresh and stimulating environment. It gave a new impetus to their educational idealism and redoubled their energies in seeking to give that idealism concrete expression.

With the gathering at Hohemeissner in 1913 and the advent of the Freideutschen, the Youth Movement entered on a new phase. The growth of a new spirit in the movement showed itself in a greater self-assertiveness, and in an increasing awareness to problems of social reform. Two points of view came into ever greater opposition. The one,

continuing the Wandervogel tradition, regarded the function of the movement as that of setting up a new kingdom for youth alongside the old, distinct from school and home, and giving scope for freedom of behaviour and opinion, yet avoiding any clash with the existing social system and preserving the natural reverence for age, authority and tradition. The other was definitely directed towards a new Jugendkultur, and stopped at no half-measures in its opposition to the older generation and in its hatred of the system they stood for. Its leader was Gustav Wyneken, who wielded his influence through the pages of his magazine 'Der Anfang.' Friction between the two sections was inevitable and came to a climax with the Bavarian episode of 1914 which hardened the two groups into active opposition. The immediate result was the virtual expulsion of the extremists at the Marburg Conference of 1914. All the bitterness of the opposing factions is evidenced in their magazines and periodicals, notably in the pages of the Freideutsche Jugend and of Der Anfang.

Whatever may be said about the more extravagant of Wyneken's views it cannot be denied that he did a great deal in bringing the aims and ideals of the Youth Movement to bear on the problems of everyday life. His analysis was in many ways overdrawn and extreme, yet his very insistence forced others to think things out for themselves whether they agreed with him or not. His insistence forced a new

attention on the ideals behind the movement and the principles inherent in it, and on the problem of how to give these ideals and principles full practical expression. Many of his views are in no sense novel, most of them are foreshadowed at least in the writings of earlier leaders of the movement: his contribution is the synthesis of such views into a system, into a philosophy of youth, a 'Jugendkultur.'*

The early stages of the Youth Movement, notably the activities of the Wandervogel, had brought the general recognition of certain basic principles. There was the recognition that youth was not merely an introductory period of immaturity, but a stage of life important in itself and itself to be lived to the full, the recognition of the intrinsic value of youth (Eigenwert der Jugend). Arising out of this, there was the conviction that the activities of young people should not be directed merely by future requirements and the preparation for adult life, but should be inspired by their own natural interests, in other words, that the young people had a right to a life of their own (Recht auf Eigenleben). The question as to what constituted the natural interests and natural activities of young people led to the conception of the kingdom of youth (Jugendreich) as the material embodiment of these. General principles of this

* 'Die Erarbeitung eines neuen edlen Lebensstils der Jugend, der nicht aus einer Anzahl Reformen zusammengestückt werden könne.' (Frobenius, p. 125).
See Wyneken's writings, notably the pamphlet 'Schule und Jugendkultur,' and his articles in 'Der Anfang.'

kind are implicit in the movement from the very beginning, and were definitely recognised by the leaders of the movement.* But the influence of these views in the sphere of social and educational reform was not exerted throughout the movement as a whole, only through the adult leaders. What happened later through the idealism of the Freideutschen and the fiery enthusiasm of Wyneken was that the tacit recognition of such principles as we have mentioned gave place to the overwhelming conviction, not only among the leaders but throughout the rank and file, that life for young people should be entirely based on these principles. Wyneken expressed this point of view in the word he coined, Jugendkultur, and from his earliest associations with the Youth Movement we find all his energies directed to expounding the new gospel.♢ The principles which had found tacit

* Note, for instance, the following by Gurlitt, written years earlier:

'Um Persönlichkeit zu sein, braucht der Mensch noch nicht körperlich ausgewachsen und auf der Höhe aller seiner Kräfte zu sein.'

'Sie hatte es nicht so eilig, alt und weise zu werden nach ihrer Väter Art; sie wollte vorerst einmal jung sein nach der Jugend Art.'

♢ See for instance in the summons to Hohemeissner, issued by Wyneken: 'Die Jugend, bisher nur ein Anhängsel der alten Generation, aus dem öffentlichen Leben ausgeschaltet, angewiesen auf die passive Rolle des Lernens, auf eine spielerisch-nichtige Geselligkeit, beginnt sich auf sich selbst zu besinnen. Sie versucht sich selbst ihr Leben zu gestalten, unabhängig von den trägen Gewohnheiten der Alten und von den Geboten einer hässlichen Konvention. Sie strebt nach einer Lebensführung, die jugendlichem Wesen, die es ihr aber zugleich ermöglicht, sich selbst und ihr Tun ernst zu nehmen und sich als einen besonderen Faktor in die allgemeine Kulturarbeit einzugliedern. Uns allen schwebt als gemeinsames Ziel vor die Erarbeitung einer neuen edlen deutschen Jugendkultur.'

acceptance in the activities of the Wandervogel he carried to their logical conclusions, however extravagant these conclusions might appear, and demanded that everything which had to do with young people be organised from this same point of view. His work led inevitably to the estrangement of the young people from the older generation: all the disabilities under which they suffered, of whatever nature, were imputed to the adult disposition of life. The new self-assertiveness which Wyneken did so much to arouse among the ranks of youth implied not only an insistence on the validity of its own point of view but a considered antagonism to the existing scheme of things as a product of adult outlook, quite out of touch with the outlook of youth. The strongholds of the social system - the school, the Church, the family - were called in question. Wyneken declared war on the school system: the slavery of mechanical routine, the surfeit of unnecessary information, masquerading as knowledge, the outworn principles of teaching method, rooted in the classicism and dogma of a bygone era. But his views were not merely destructive, he had a definite picture of what must take the place of the existing school organisation, how the schools must be altered, remodelled, completely transformed, so as to take their natural place in the service of youth. The 'new school' must serve the interests of youth itself, enabling it to live its own life to the full. The school should be founded in the recognition that the period of youth has

its own intrinsic value, and should seek to further it in its own ends, without such undue emphasis on the later claims of adult life.*

It is not surprising that Wyneken should be so concerned with the application of the new ideals in the educational sphere, for he came to the Youth Movement from the side of education. Originally with Lietz in the LEH, he withdrew with Geheeb in 1906 to found a new school community at Wickersdorf in accordance with their common ideals. There he found scope for his views on education, views which brought him into ever closer association with the various forms of the Youth Movement.^ø From 1913 the whole force of his enthusiasm was expressed through the magazine he edited, 'Der Anfang,' and though he sought to apply the gospel of Jugendkultur to all aspects of social and individual life, yet his primary preoccupation was with educational reform. His conception of education however demanded the complete reorganisation of the social system. Thus though he formulates quite definitely the nature and function of the new school, he considers the proper orientation of its work to be possibly only under a transformed social system. He goes so far as to urge the removal of the restrictions of family life; the cramping restriction of family life on the freedom of

* See for instance 'Der Anfang,' (1913, p. 63):

... 'kein Kampf gegen die Schule, sondern für die Schule.
Nämlich ein Kampf um eine Neue, getragen von dem Glauben
an neue edle Möglichkeiten.'

^ø See Wyneken, 'Der Gedankenkreis der freien Schulgemeinde.'

youthful outlook is in Wyneken's view a relic of more primitive times, when social influence could be adequately exerted only through the medium of the family.

The misfortune was that though Wyneken's educational views did grow out of educational practice, it was practice in a thoroughly unrepresentative environment. Theories and doctrines formulated in the seclusion of a private boarding-school, a self-contained community shut off from the world of everyday affairs, may contain elements of real value in more general application, but they certainly will also contain elements which cannot fit into any complete educational system.* As a consequence Wyneken's contribution to actual practice is negligible compared with his work in exposing the artificiality of the educational system, and in preaching the gospel of youth. Conditions obtained at Wickersdorf which enabled the setting up of an educational community on an idealistic basis. The aim was the synthesis of the classical spirit of ancient Greece with the modern outlook, providing a cultural environment in which youth could exercise to the full its own powers of self-development. Whether these ends were achieved is open to question,^ø though the attempt

* Taking the point of view of the pupils, the hothouse atmosphere of these schools is no preparation for actual life. Moreover the dangers of mass idealism in isolated school communities of this nature are very real, though too often ignored. Precisely the same dangers beset the members of the youth associations as they lost touch with the commonplace.

ø e.g. 'Die Freie Schulgemeinde eine unverschmolzene Verbindung einer platonischen Akademie mit dem Gemeinschaftsleben Jugendlicher.' (E. Busse-Wilson: 'Stufen der Jugendbewegung').

was a courageous one, but two problems remain, firstly, to what extent was this made possible by the narrow limits in which the little community lived, secondly, to what extent is the community justified in claiming that its inspiration is the youthful outlook on life when it is so clearly directed by adults. Consideration of these two problems gives the clue to much that seems extravagant or paradoxical in Wyneken's views; many of his extravagances seem due to rash generalisation from experience in a limited field, while throughout all his work we have the paradox of adult leadership of the most violently self-assertive phase of the Youth Movement. As the apostle of the new era for Youth, an era of freedom and self-responsibility above all, Wyneken found no paradox in his rigid insistence on the correctness of his own interpretation of the situation. He was thoroughly convinced of his own destiny as the leader of Youth, convinced that his views were the conclusions to which Youth must inevitably come if it was to attain fulfilment of its ideals. If others differed from him that meant for him that they had failed to realise the logical implications of the youthful outlook. It is clear however that his analysis lays overweening emphasis on many features which are relatively unimportant, but for which a certain amount of evidence can always be found. Youth is not concerned with the formulation of an explicit philosophy of life distinct from that of the adult, still less is there any

fundamental antagonism between them. The outlook of both should receive due consideration in the disposition of everyday life, and it was the upsetting of this balance which forced antagonism to develop. The neglect of the youthful point of view and the adult disposition of affairs under a defective social system meant that young people were cramped in their natural activities, and forced to develop in an alien environment. But it meant also that youthful vitality, denied natural outlet, should be forced into other channels, and herein lies much of the explanation of Wyneken's influence. In his power over the minds and opinions of the young people Wyneken is quite outstanding, partly by the fire of his enthusiasm, partly by the logical soundness of his doctrines - for nothing is more valid than the conclusions of the rigid doctrinaire, formulated in the realms of abstract idealism, and recking little either of the limitations of practical affairs, or of the many-sidedness of human nature. But the chief source of his power lay in the fact that he was pointing them the way of introspection, directing their thwarted energies to the establishment of a philosophy of Youth. Such introversion was forced by external circumstances; under more normal conditions introspection is not natural to young people, at any rate in many of the forms encouraged by Wyneken, - 'kulturphilosophische Probleme sind keine Jugendprobleme.'*

* See Eliz. Busse-Wilson, 'Stufen der Jugendbewegung.'

Blüher also exercised considerable influence over the young people, notably through his history of the earlier Wandervogel.* Blüher's influence has the same sources as Wyneken's; he is clearly a kindred spirit. It is not surprising therefore to find Blüher acclaiming Wyneken as the directive genius of the movement, nor is it surprising to find both, while exercising a powerful influence on the minds of German youth, becoming increasingly antagonistic to the great majority of those who had to do with the everyday conduct of the various youth groups.

The intensity of Wyneken's convictions not only obscured for him the paradox that he, an adult, should be the apostle of Youth, it also made him overbearing and difficult to deal with. In fact throughout his career Wyneken could not work harmoniously with others for any length of time, firstly in the Lietz Landerziehungsheime, then in the Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf, and later, in the many bitter conflicts he had with former colleagues. Like so many pioneers in all walks of life, his fierce intensity and direct forcefulness despised the powers of peaceful persuasion, despised the subtleties of diplomatic art, despised even to co-operate with those who were going in the same direction as he, unless they subscribed whole-heartedly to his doctrines. He antagon-

* Blüher, 'Wandervogel, Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung.' As Blüher remarks in the preface to later editions of this book: 'dieser Geschichte hat selber Geschichte gemacht.' For a further discussion of Blüher's views, see earlier, Chapter I.

ised moderate opinion and influenced young people to the most extravagant views, yet he did valuable service. He went to extremes, but people with extreme views are useful in overcoming the inertia of popular opinion, which is often unmoved by more moderate remonstrance. Thus for instance the pages of Der Anfang contain attacks on the school system which are vitriolic in their intensity, biassed and unjust in their wholesale condemnation, and quite unprincipled in their generalisations.* Yet such articles played their part in spreading a general dissatisfaction with the school system and in pointing out the lines along which reform was necessary. They did much to prepare the ground for the extensive reforms of the postwar era.

* See for instance, O. Stählin, pp. 20-21, quoting various articles from the pages of Der Anfang (1913-14).

CHAPTER VII.

The Youth Movement and the new education.

- (ii) Synthesis with other reform movements in the postwar era.

The outbreak of war changed the whole situation. The mobilising of the national resources for purposes of war meant retrenchment in education as in all the social services. What was of greater importance, national sentiment was mobilised as well as material and man-power, so that interest in other questions had to take a secondary place. The years of war therefore denote a pause in the expansion of reform ideas, or at any rate a period of restricted activity, in education as elsewhere. The restrictions of war-time barred the way to progressive ventures in education, and the reform movement had to be content with consolidating its position and preparing for a bold and vigorous forward policy as soon as these restrictions should be removed.

The latest and most powerful impetus to educational reform had come from the side of the Youth Movement, in fact the War supervened just at the time when the idealism of the Youth Movement was being directed into the field of education. The fresh enthusiasm of the Freideutschen was a new force in 1914, yet despite the cramping conditions of the following years, and despite the subsequent decline in the Freideutsche organisations, educational thought became gradually permeated with their aims and ideals, and strengthened in new convictions as to the nature and function of education. After the War, when militarism was overthrown and the hand of tradition re-

laxed, the new outlook was free to find expression in action.

This is not to say, however, that the idealism associated with the Youth Movement can be regarded as having achieved a final, definite form so that all we need now consider is the extent of its influence. Such a view ignores the intrinsic vitality of the movement. As we saw previously, the war years were of great importance in the further development of the Youth Movement. They were the years which saw the change from a self-contained movement based on introspection and introvert idealism, to a national movement seeking to transform the whole nexus of individual and social life. Youth was still inspired by the same ideals, but became endowed with a new purposefulness in social affairs. This was for the greater part a natural development from the previous stage. The idealism of the Freideutschen, however theoretical its foundation, was directed to the solution of problems of life, and the weakness of a priori principles was bound to become evident as soon as this idealism was given any degree of practical expression. We might therefore expect the growth of a new realism within the movement in the natural course of events. The rigours of war forced everyone into a greater preoccupation with actual everyday affairs, and resulted in a more practical bias within the Youth Movement, both internally and externally, as regards its own activities and as regards its place in the community. The change within the

Youth Movement corresponded exactly with the change in educational outlook. Before the War, experiments in educational reform had in the main accepted the medium in which the school had to work and the traditional basis on which it rested. Now the efforts of educational reformers were directed by their recognition of the school as an instrument for the reshaping of society, not according to the dictates of state, or church, or school officials, as previously, but an instrument in the sense that through it the education of the individual and his synthesis in a new social order might be effected. Both in the Youth Movement and throughout the whole field of educational reform we find a new social idealism purposefully directed to practical ends.

The gradual orientation of the Youth Movement towards social reform during the course of the War is particularly evident when we consider those features which achieved prominence in the postwar era and which seemed so typical of the new age. We invariably find them foreshadowed long before, acquiring greater importance as circumstances bring them within the range of practical politics. For instance the settlements which arose after the War in many country districts, seeking to establish community life under the aims and ideals of the Youth Movement, are clearly foreshadowed in the war-time issues of the magazines and periodicals of the youth groups*.

* J. Fischer, 'Die soziale und kulturelle Bedeutung der Jugendbewegung,' lays particular emphasis on this aspect of the Youth Movement.

The growth of the settlement idea is evident in the growing enthusiasm with which it is discussed in the pages of these magazines. It records the growth of the conviction among many branches of the youth associations that their aims could be attained only in self-sufficient communities in the isolation of the remoter countryside.* More broadly, it shows one side of the attempt to bring the idealism of the Youth Movement to bear on everyday life. Other features of the post-war scene can be shown in the same way to have originated long before: the growth of a perfervid racialism, the gradual divergence of views as to the relation of the State and the individual, leading to political partisanship and the splitting of the youth organisations along party lines.

Towards the end of the War there arose an overwhelming dissatisfaction with the whole national organisation, and the demand to put it on a genuinely democratic basis. War ended in Revolution, in the overthrow of the old order and the bright promise of a new era. This period therefore brought with it the consummation of part of the work of the Youth Movement; we see it vindicated in its opposition to the old edifice of social tradition and inspired to fresh effort in the work of social reconstruction. The heady exhilaration of revolution gave a new stimulus to social ideals, not only in the abstract, but as a matter of practical politics, and provided an entirely new medium for the further expansion

* O. Stählin, p. 26.

of the Youth Movement.

Till this time the Youth Movement had grown almost entirely within the orbit of the youth associations. It was they who provided it with scope for development and it was through them, directly or indirectly, that the movement came to influence an ever greater volume of national opinion. But the scene was now changed: on the one hand the Youth Associations became involved in issues which contaminated the springs of their idealism, so that they became less representative of the Youth Movement, while on the other, the ideals of the Youth Movement found more general expression throughout the whole national life so that they now found outlet in more natural channels.

If we consider postwar developments in the youth associations* we find certain definite changes taking place, partly in the natural course of their growth, partly as the direct result of the changed climate of social life. The trend from the abstract idealism of the Freideutschen towards a new realism in social outlook was aggravated under postwar conditions, so that the youth associations became increasingly preoccupied with practical problems of social reconstruction. The emphasis gradually shifted from the common basis of their activities to their superficial differences. The inspiration of youthful idealism became overlaid

* See previously, Chapter IV.

in the formulation of creeds of practical reform, and the indoctrination of social and political views of every shade and hue. While continuing to provide outlet for youthful energy and youthful interests, the chief feature of the youth organisations became the partisanship of some particular attitude to life, social, religious or political. Moreover one of the chief binding forces had been removed, the bond of opposition to a common foe. Previously their activities had found a common focus in opposition to the existing social scheme. With the overthrow of the old order attention was shifted to the practical programme of reform and differences in outlook became ever more evident.

But the Youth Movement was no longer dependent on the youth associations as a channel for its influence. In the new freedom brought by the Revolution its aims and ideals received freer play and obtained wider scope for expression. The Youth Movement became in some measure assimilated into the national life, so that hereafter we must deal with it not as a definite movement striving to certain definite ends, but rather as an influence pervading all social affairs from within.

In considering the influence of the Youth Movement in education the nature of the change which occurred at this stage is particularly important. Till the end of the War the influence of the Youth Movement in education was almost en-

tirely from without the educational system. This state of affairs was due in the main to the inflexible rigidity of that system, and to the social circumstances of the times. This is obvious when we remember that the great majority of the adult leaders of the youth groups were teachers or otherwise directly interested in education, and would naturally try to carry into practice in school the same aims and ideals as inspired the youth groups, if it had been at all feasible. The new-found freedom of postwar days meant not only that the new conception of education fostered by the Youth Movement could now be given scope for expression in the school system, it meant also that from now on the inspiration of the Youth Movement was to be present and operative within the school system. In tracing the influence of the Youth Movement in German education since the War we have therefore to change our point of view: the drive to educational reform from without had given place to a far greater drive from within. The influence of the youth organisations in fostering progressive views of education and the educational value of the activities they promoted cannot be lightly esteemed, yet the application of the ideals of the Youth Movement to education now lay almost entirely within the educational system. We must now transfer the focus of our attention from the youth organisations to the educational system itself.

The transformation of German education which occurred after the War was not an abrupt cataclysmic event; as we saw

previously, all the significant features of postwar education in Germany are recognisable as minority movements long before. What brought the transformation was the synthesis of these internal reform movements with the social influences of the new era. Within the educational system there were already pioneers blazing new trails; the work of the LEH and of the Arbeitsschulen for instance was spreading a new conception of the aims and methods of education. Moreover, any well-organised school system adapts itself naturally to changing conditions, and though the evolutionary process was seriously obstructed by the mechanical rigidity of the system, idealistic and progressive tendencies had been finding a measure of expression. Such influences were now strengthened tenfold. The social environment was now favourable to the recognition and wider expansion of educational ideas and methods, which before had had to contend with the inertia of a rigid, mechanical system. The Revolution broke down the barriers. It did more, for it brought a new pressure to bear on the schools in the direction of reform. The Revolution originated in an overwhelming dissatisfaction with the whole national organisation and in the demand to put it on a genuinely democratic basis. The immediate result was a period of chaos, in the schools as elsewhere. The school system had to be changed in accordance with the new outlook. The organisation had to be altered to give equality of educational

opportunity without distinction of social class, and at the same time the new recognition of the worth of the individual required a new emphasis on the point of view of the pupils themselves in the work of the school. Experiments of the most extreme and utopian nature were tried out, their common feature being the attempt to make education a process originating entirely from the pupils themselves. In many cases the movement towards freedom took the form of a laxity almost of licence, but extravagances soon brought their own cure. After a period of ebullience and of flux things settled down again into solid workaday form: the gradual settling down of the more idealistic forms of school government shows that a system of established procedure is always necessary if freedom is to have purpose behind it and be anything more than an aimless self-activity. But the new system was different from the old, the spirit which led the radical revolt was still evident throughout the very structure of the new school. The new education was more consistent with the new outlook in social and individual affairs, and in particular more consistent with the legitimate claims of the young people themselves to be set at the very centre both of educational theory and of educational practice.*

The hammering out of this new education meant a time of conflict, of stress and of strain. There were those who

* For an elaboration of the differences between the old education and the new see Alexander and Parker, 'The New Education in the German Republic.'

envisaged a Utopia and sought to erect an educational system to correspond to their own views. At the other extreme, there were those who, mid the confusion of conflicting ideals and the bitterness of party strife, looked back with longing to the smooth orderliness of the past and sought to restore the educational system to its old form. But this was true not only of education; the situation was similar throughout the whole national life. The hammering out of an educational policy was part of the hammering out of the German Republic as a whole. The stabilising of the various factors in the new social order led to the development of routine and established system in education as elsewhere, and the formulation of a definite educational policy was part of the welding together of a national system.* Hence the importance given to education in the Weimar Constitution, for the reorganising of the German nation was the reorganising of the social order in accordance with the changed times and education was clearly a factor of vital importance in the establishing of a new tradition.

There is another aspect of the situation however. The new environment of the postwar world gave fresh impetus to the reform movement and resulted in the transformation of the educational system, but at the same time education became

* The new trend of public policy is particularly evident in the proceedings of the national conference on education summoned in 1920. The handbook issued by the Zentralinstitut in 1919 in preparation for the conference, 'Die deutsche Schulreform,' and the report of the conference 'Die Reichsschulkonferenz in ihren Ergebnissen,' also issued by the Zentralinstitut, are of special value in this connection.

involved in the hurly-burly of practical politics, in the clash of religious and political faction. Before the War the chief function of the school was the regimentation of the younger generation in the service of the State. The Revolution freed the school from this bondage, but it was not by any means free to achieve its own destiny. The value of the school as a training-ground for religious or political partisanship was fully realised, and, accustomed as the older generation was to using it to indoctrinate young people in desired principles, any measure of genuine freedom was as yet out of the question. The issues of educational reform became entangled with party politics; progressive and modern ideas in education became allied with the more liberal and progressive political parties and their fortunes fluctuated accordingly.* But though the forced association of educational reform with the practical work of social reconstruction meant a new influence from the political side, it did not mean that the schools were to be dominated by State policy as they had been in the past. One of the chief characteristics of the new era was the new insistence on the rights of the individual, one aspect of which was the recognition that the point of view of the children themselves ought to determine the nature of the schools. Moreover, the reform movements which had long been growing spontaneously within the old educational system were rooted in the same discontents as

* T. Herrle.

brought about the Revolution itself, and were able to assert themselves vigorously in the new era as representing the new social outlook in the field of education. The result was that the schools found themselves freer than ever before to work out their own salvation and a complete transformation of the educational system was gradually brought about, in organisation, in principle and in practice. The influence of these internal reform movements can hardly be over-estimated. All the more vital changes in education came from within. When we consider the educational system as a whole in the years following the Revolution we find, as in the Army, in the Law, in the Church, that the final control of policy was still vested in the more conservative elements. That such a transformation should occur in the schools under such circumstances shows clearly enough the strength of the will to reform, shows also the strength and the single-mindedness of the reform movement.*

In dealing with various reform movements prior to the War we found a marked analogy between the outlook of the reformers and that associated with the Youth Movement. Educational reform was not merely a revision of the curriculum, an adjustment of teaching standards and teaching methods, it embodied a new conception of the nature and function.

* The tenacity of the conservative outlook in its control of Germany's social institutions in the stormy years which succeeded the War is well enough recognised nowadays. Earlier it was apt to be overlooked in enthusiasm for individual reforms, but with the backward swing of the pendulum in later years, it has become increasingly evident how little genuinely democratic control was obtained in national affairs.

of education. It drew its inspiration from the same source as the Youth Movement: the one sought to establish education in terms of youth, the other sought to organise the whole scheme of things from the same point of view. Till the Revolution the cause of reform made little headway in the school system as a whole, through the inertia of established routine and the dead-weight of an outworn tradition. And thus we find the Youth Movement progressing in the main outwith the schools though inspired by ideals whose natural outlet is first of all in education. Thus also we find the freest development of educational reform in private institutions like the Landerziehungsheime or Freie Schulgemeinden. The immediate transformation which occurred throughout the school system with the Revolution shows how strong the forces of reform had grown, shows also the rigour with which they had been held under control. The reform movement was now free to follow the course of its natural development, benefiting by the experience of its pioneers and inspired by the access of social idealism which ushered in the new era. The transformation of the educational system which followed is the resultant of many forces and may be regarded from many different points of view. Even when we confine ourselves quite definitely to analysing the part played by the Youth Movement in this transformation the question is little simpler, for the Youth Movement cannot be considered as an external

force now for the first time brought to bear on problems of practical education. Previously, it is true, the Youth Movement found so little scope in the educational field that it had to find practical outlet for its idealism in other ways, in particular through the youth associations, and when its influence was directed into education proper through Wyneken and the Freideutschen it had to be content with theorising and the logical extravagances of the doctrinaire. Insistence on these features explains developments prior to the Revolution, explains also the important part the movement had in awakening the general consciousness to the wider implications of education, to the true meaning of education, but ignores the kinship of the Youth Movement with reform movements within the educational system, and with other social movements incidentally directed to the emancipation of youth. Thus it is that when the Revolution broke the shackles which bound the educational system, the educational ideals of the Youth Movement were free to find direct expression in their natural medium. Similarly, with the breaking-up of the rigid, mechanical control of the social organism, the social idealism of the Youth Movement was free to find direct expression in social welfare organisations. In a sense the Youth Movement lapsed as a separate entity with the freedom of the new era, but though it merged its identity with the other forces of social and individual idealism its influence is none the less potent. It was thrown up as a separate entity in the artifi-

cial conditions of prewar Germany, under natural conditions it remains comparatively unnoticed, one of the chief currents in the stream of social progress.

The educational outlook associated with the Youth Movement is closely allied to that of the various reform movements in education proper. Consideration of these reform movements bears this out. In the prewar years the LEH and FSG movement stood particularly close to the Youth Movement in its general outlook, in fact it has been claimed often enough that these school-communities are the first practical expression of Youth Movement ideals in education.

The leaders of the communities were in many cases prominent in the councils of the Youth Associations and by their speeches and writings wielded tremendous influence over the rank and file of the Youth Movement. The outstanding instance of this is of course Gustav Wyneken, whose influence in directing the Youth Movement to educational reform we have already discussed. Even in the case of community schools whose leaders were not directly associated with the Youth Movement their work has been followed with keen interest as embodying ideals and methods consonant with the outlook of the Youth Movement. The conditions under which these educational experiments were carried out were clearly artificial as compared with the medium in which a national educational system must work, but they showed the feasibility of establishing an educational community in close contact with the spontaneous in-

terests of the young people themselves. Though certainly they were working in an artificial medium yet they did valuable pioneering work for education as a whole, in the methods they developed, in showing the feasibility in practice of the new outlook, and in encouraging its wider application. The root ideas in these communities are precisely those which dominated the attitude of the Youth Movement to education: in the reorganisation of education from the point of view of young people themselves, in making the school a place giving scope for youth's fuller life and self-development, in providing a more natural basis for social relationships within the school, in their practical, almost utilitarian bias as regards material instruction, but above all in intensifying the conviction that the chief aim and method of education is to root the young people firmly in a sound environment, physical, mental and spiritual, in which they can attain to full stature.

We have already discussed the growth of the Landerziehungsheime and of the Freie Schulgemeinden as pioneers of the new education in the years before the War. From their very nature, - self-contained little communities in remote country districts isolated from the course of national affairs - they remained comparatively free from the pressure of outside events, so that War and Revolution passed them by. They steadily increased in number in the more favourable climate

of the postwar world, and gained a greater measure of public recognition, but internally they remained without material change. Their general development as a group need concern us but little: what concerns us here is their kinship with the educational outlook of the Youth Movement, so let us proceed to investigate the theoretical and practical basis of their activities as they stood from before the War till the Nazi Revolution of 1933.

Each of these school communities is centred round the ideals and methods of its leader, yet both in theory and in practice they are all closely similar. In certain features they may vary, notably as regards their attitude to co-education, but, in the main, differences are of emphasis rather than of principle. To note the distinctive features of any one of them is to describe characteristics in some measure common to all.

In the Odenwaldschule, founded by Paul Geheeb, great stress is laid on the principle of self-government and the spontaneous feeling of mutual responsibility which makes the interests of the individual the interests of all. The family-groups and class-groups, in which all the members of the community are associated, function with the minimum of external control, and social relationships develop through co-operation to common ends. Coeducation is carried farther than in almost any other school in Germany and the whole system of

organisation is a notable experiment in educational practice.

To take another example, the chief characteristic of the school community at Letzlingen, founded in 1919, is its practical outlook, the practical realism with which educational problems are tackled. Formal classes are avoided in preference for work arising spontaneously from mutual interests and mutual inclination. The everyday needs of the little community are used to the full as a medium of education, and throughout, special stress is laid on combining practical activities with more intellectual studies. The school community is more pragmatic in its philosophy than most others: it pays little consideration to the ideals of Jugendkultur or to generalised abstractions in education, but in practice it gives full expression to the natural interests and outlook of youth.

The Landschulheim am Solling, founded in 1910 by Alfred Krammer, since 1918 under Theodore Lehmann, is also run on practical lines, and is very similar in organisation to the Letzlingen school. Its organisation has fluctuated somewhat between the individual and the communal points of view, but its practical bias has been a feature throughout.

A school community we may notice with particular interest is the Schule am Meer, on the Baltic, founded by Martin Luserke in 1925 after some ten years at Wickersdorf. This school, like the others, is founded on a definite phil-

osophy. The basic principle in this philosophy is the rooting of the individual in his true environment, by which is meant not merely his physical environment, but his environment of social and racial tradition, his environment as a member of the social organism, the whole medium in which he lives. Luserke sees in the Baltic coast and landscape the spiritual home of the North Germans and the community is so organised as to give free play to the cultural influences of this environment. In his educational practice Luserke lays great stress on the rhythmic basis of life. He is acutely aware that any system of education which does not deal merely with individual aspects of education but conceives it as a whole must take account of the rhythmic interaction of all interests and activities, whether taken in the mass, or in their minutest details. To the arts he attaches a special importance, their function is to provide the rhythmic foundation for the interpretation and assimilation of all the experiences of life, of knitting all these experiences into harmony.* Above all he emphasises the medium of drama as embodying such aims: at the Schule am Meer he has developed dramatic representation of all kinds into an educational medium of the first order, and has played a prominent part in furthering amateur drama throughout Germany.

At other school communities we find a similar emphasis

* Substantially the same point of view as was held by the ancient Greeks of the place of Gymnastik in education.

on the arts: one school may emphasise music, another, drawing and the representation of form, another, dramatics. Quite apart from this variation of emphasis, such interests are always more strongly developed in these school communities than in the average school. The reason for this is that, as at the Schule am Meer, the arts are conceived as the unifying, harmonising influence within the life of the individual, and within the life of the school community.

Other school communities might be quoted, for instance that at Gandersheim founded by Max Bondy, a prominent personality in the Freideutsche Jugend, or those founded on definite social and religious principles, for instance those founded on the principles of the Lutheran or Catholic Church,* those based on nationalist principles, or special foundations like the anthroposophists' social community at Stuttgart. Enough has been said however to indicate that the main ideas which found expression in the school communities, individually and collectively, are ideas which have been operative within the Youth Movement throughout its various phases.ø

* For a full treatment of such Catholic settlements see the special settlement number of the magazine 'Neuland,' which appeared in March, 1932.

ø For further information on these school communities, their theoretical foundations and their educational practice, see:

M. Luserke, 'Schule am Meer.'

M. Bondy, 'Das neue Weltbild in der Erziehung.'

Th. Lehmann, 'Das Landschulheim am Solling.'

G. Wyneken, 'Schule und Jugendkultur.'

For a more general discussion, see:

Alexander and Parker, 'New Education in the German Republic' (Chapters III, IV),

F. Hilker, 'Deutsche Schulversuche.'

O. Karstädt, 'Versuchsschulen und Schulversuche' in the Handbuch der Pädagogik (Nohl-Pallat), Vol. IV.

As a further stage of our analysis of the relations between the school communities and the Youth Movement let us discuss the organisation of one of these communities in greater detail: we will find that not only in their broad outlines but in the details of their everyday life these schools embody the ideals and methods characteristic of the Youth Movement. The Odenwaldschule may be taken as representative of the success which can be achieved by such methods; it has its own distinctive features, but it gives a true picture of the type, both in its internal organisation and in the powerful influence it has exerted on progressive opinion throughout German education.

Paul Geheeb, the founder of the Odenwaldschule, broke away with Gustav Wyneken in 1906 from the work of the Lietz Landerziehungsheime and founded the Wickersdorfschule. In 1911 the partnership terminated, Geheeb starting a new school community on the western fringe of the Odenwald, at the upper end of a pleasant valley which broadens out towards the Rhine plain. The little community soon settled down and proceeded to develop naturally along its own lines, secluded from interference from without, but doing valuable pioneering work for the new outlook in education and coming to exercise an ever greater influence over educational thought.

Normally in describing an educational institution of

any kind, one would begin by giving an outline of its general organisation and daily routine; any theoretical considerations that might arise would be for the most part secondary, in justification of practices which had developed out of actual experience. Here the position is rather different: we are dealing with a school founded on a distinct philosophy of education.

The fundamental principle is that the whole organisation of the community must arise spontaneously from the interests of its members. Special emphasis is therefore laid on arousing a sense of mutual responsibility - responsibility for self, for others, and for the community as a whole. Rules and regulations have to be avoided, so also have all relationships which involve superiority or inferiority, for they are antagonistic to this spirit of free co-operation. Even between teachers and pupils questions of superiority and inferiority must not arise, all distinctions between individuals in the school community are to be associated with the principle of division of labour. In accordance with this, the conduct of the affairs of the school is by conference: general matters are dealt with by the School Council (Schulgemeinde), all the teachers and all the pupils except the very youngest meeting in conference, at about fortnightly intervals. Smaller subsidiary groups meet for specific purposes of general interest, or in connection with special topics which need not or cannot be discussed by all.

Some unit is necessary between the individual and the community such as we have in ordinary life in the family, so the community is organised on something like a family basis. Apart from the youngest, those under 9 years, who are housed in a separate building, all the boys and girls are grouped in families of six to eight persons, under the care of a single teacher or a married couple. These groups live together in a relationship not unlike that of the ordinary family, but provide a range and variety within the group seldom met with in the family. Such an organisation as this is particularly effective in that the intimate personal relationships of the family are the best preparation for community life. It is evident from this that the younger the children are when they come to the school, the more easily will they fit into the family group, and into the life of the community.

The families are not all housed together in one large building, nor are all the school houses and workshops aggregated together. The buildings consist of several large well-appointed villas situated in pleasant variety and at easy distances from one another so that the children can go conveniently to different houses at different class periods. The class-rooms are kept as like the living-rooms as possible, but, since the class-groups are quite independent of the family groups, class-groups cannot be spread uniformly

throughout the various houses as they require to be in some measure centralised. Five of the houses are named after Goethe, Fichte, Schiller, Herder, and Humboldt, respectively, and their anniversaries provide occasion for festivals in which the occupants of the individual houses strive to outvie one another. There is a central hall, used for all kinds of assembly purposes, for the meetings of the Schulgemeinde, for anniversary purposes, and for dramatic and musical presentations. To complete the list of buildings there are workshops for wood-work, metal-work, and all kinds of practical crafts, while stables, byres, and other farm buildings are necessary for the care of stock.

What is the attitude to education in the more commonly accepted sense, that of instruction? Here again the methods of the school community are developed from a general principle, namely, that the child develops by coming to grips with his environment: the process is similar in all spheres, bodily, mental, and spiritual, and the word environment is given its widest possible meaning. Instruction proper is conceived as the process of prolonged reaction of the child, later, of the man, to the cultural elements of the environment - its content is partly assimilated, partly rejected, but never finished with in any part. The average school deals with the pupil's talents and aptitudes quantitatively, a real educational institution deals with the individual child

in the totality of his powers, qualitative distinctions indicating the process of instruction for the individual. What conclusions follow from this point of view of the nature of instruction? First of all that the child should be free to choose his course for himself, assisted in his choice by those in the school community who have greater experience. Secondly, classes as such must disappear, a wide flexible system of instruction is required which is organised on an individual basis and admits of frequent changes of subjects by each child: groups arise naturally through the association of children of about the same age working together on the same topic, but these are as different from the ordinary school class in spirit as they are in the spontaneity of their origin. School rooms will be essentially workshops, whether they are for the study of literature, languages, art, or science; they will make available all that is required for study, whether it be books, apparatus, or specimens. Such an arrangement greatly furthers personal activity in the school work, in fact the chief characteristic of such instruction is that it is activity instruction and is subjective throughout.

But apart from such conclusions of a theoretical nature, there is another factor in the situation, namely, that official sanction must be obtained for the course of studies given in the school. Though a private school, un-

less it has full recognition from the education authorities, giving a public guarantee of its standards and qualifying for the admission of its pupils to the state examinations, it will find no pupils. One of the conditions of such recognition is that the teachers must have the same qualifications as the teachers of corresponding classes in the ordinary schools. This however is no hardship, rather the contrary. Even from the point of view of the teachers alone, recognition is necessary to safeguard their interests, and to ensure their standing, particularly since teachers in private schools have neither the security nor the official position of the teachers in the public schools. A scheme has been devised which brings the Odenwaldschule sufficiently into line with ordinary secondary schools as regards courses of study for it to obtain recognition by the education authorities, but till 1931 at least the school was not permitted to give the final leaving examination of the secondary schools, the Reifeprüfung; its pupils had to go to some other secondary school for examination.

In practice lessons are organised in courses of four weeks each. Each child chooses at most three subjects, more usually two, his choice being governed by his aptitudes, his preferences, his age and progress, and also by any future requirements - for instance, he may wish to undergo the final state examination, the Reifeprüfung. In his choice

he is advised by the head of the family to which he belongs. Before the end of each month suggestions are handed in by teachers and pupils for new or continued courses, the pupils applying through the teachers under whom they wish to study. The teachers then proceed to consider the list of courses to be offered and the suitability of the pupils for the courses they wish to take, a measure of adjustment is also necessary among the various subjects, and among the various teachers. The lessons are all in the morning: the first lesson begins at 7.10 and lasts for an hour, the second and third last for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours each, the final lesson finishing at 11.15 when formal lessons are over for the day. The afternoon is spent in practical activities, of which there are a great number available. Opportunity is given for handwork of all kinds, woodwork, metalwork, ceramics, printing, etc., while the everyday needs of the community provide a wide range of activities from gardening and the care of live stock to cooking, laundry, and housework generally. Adequate provision is made for gymnastics and sport, though organised games such as play so big a part in English public schools are largely neglected. A love of the open air permeates the whole school system: not only is there provision for sport and play in the open, in addition one afternoon each week is set apart for excursions into the woods, while every year in spring and autumn the whole school goes off

on hiking expeditions, for a week, or a fortnight, or even longer. Practically the whole school forms into groups of 8 or 10 children under the charge of a teacher, not the family groups but usually groups of playmates. Each group makes its own preparations, carefully mapping out the prospective route and getting everything ready long in advance: the programme usually involves a train journey to begin with, thereafter, hiking from hostel to hostel and final return by train. The older the children the further afield do they go, thus a group of older children may arrange a trip to Holland, or to Switzerland. Such trips are eagerly anticipated and can readily be made the focus for a good deal of class instruction and individual study.

Considerable attention is paid to the aesthetic and artistic side of the school's activities. This is brought into close association with handwork and other practical interests, for instance in periodic performances of Greek and Shakespearean drama, or in the celebrations on the anniversaries of great men, Schiller, Goethe, Fichte, and others, when the school is on holiday. Particular emphasis is laid on cultivating in the children an appreciation of ancient Greece as the fountain-head of European culture: though it is a question of individual aptitude whether a child study the ancient languages or not, yet all the children must be awakened to a consciousness that modern culture has its

origins in ancient Greece, that Homer, Sophocles, and Plato are not merely figures in the dim mists of antiquity.

The children's capacities for musical expression and appreciation are also provided for, both in singing and in instrumental music, while groups of children frequently attend performances of classical music at Wiesbaden, Mainz, or some other city in the nearer distance.

Coeducation is an obvious necessity for a living community like the Odenwaldschule: since education consists essentially in the child's reaction and adaptation to his whole environment, that environment must be as wide and as natural as possible. Any system which did not involve coeducation throughout would be highly artificial. The principle of coeducation must apply throughout the school from top to bottom even in the small groups of work and play. Only thus can the boys and girls come to a natural relationship to one another and be led to appreciate one another's point of view, realising at the same time their mutual responsibilities. This is effected very simply, yet very thoroughly, by the grouping in families, both boys and girls occurring in each family group. The children live happily together and grow up together in free and natural conditions, boys and girls mix freely at work and at play in the affairs of the family as in those of the community as a whole. Even with the oldest boys and girls there is an absence of super-

vision to an extent that the average German educator would consider dangerously utopian. But if we judge the methods by the results they achieve, we cannot but conclude that this school is distinctly superior in the spirit of healthy companionship it helps to establish between the boys and girls, and in the normal sex development it ensures to its pupils.

As regards actual studies, class groups in most subjects are open to girls and boys on exactly the same footing. This does not mean that exactly the same instruction is to be given to both boys and girls: in too many cases the admission of coeducation to schools has led to instruction being organised on the same lines for girls as for boys. This is sedulously avoided: uniformity is not the aim in dealing with the sexes any more than in dealing with the individual children. The education of girls will tend to go along somewhat different lines from that of boys, but the whole can be co-ordinated harmoniously within one system.

Another problem which faces the school community is the conflicting claims of nationalism and internationalism. A German community in a German countryside, seeking education through the treasures of German culture, cannot but develop strong feelings of patriotism in its members. At the same time broad sympathies are cultivated, partly by the study of the culture of other lands, but chiefly by extending mem-

bership of the school community to children of other lands, of such varied nationalities as Russian, English, and Japanese. Such children are frequently difficult to assimilate into the community, because of deficiency in the German language, or because of the difficulties of their early education, but they are welcome nevertheless. There is nothing more potent than intimate personal relationships of this kind in leading the children to a recognition of the common bond of humanity which underlies all superficial differences.

After a general survey of the organisation of the community, certain questions immediately arise. In particular, to what extent does a coherent system result from the application of the educational principles which have been regarded as fundamental, and to what extent do the results actually obtained depend on other factors? Further, what conclusions can be drawn of value for wider application in education generally?

In answer to the first of these questions it must be admitted at once that the results achieved on the practical side are most admirable. The school is a real live community in which each child has his or her part, and a strong social sense binds all closely together. The scope and variety of the school's activities are such that practical interests of all kinds are provided for, a notable exception being the comparatively slight attention paid to organised games. So

far as lessons are concerned the results at least seem to justify the system: if we take even the pupils who undergo the final State examination, the Reifeprüfung, we find that though they have to go to a State school for examination the percentage of passes is extremely high, whether in the examinations of the Gymnasium, Realgymnasium, or Oberrealschule, and that, in addition, the pupils have a practical outlook on life which is high above the ordinary. Still it is at least open to question whether the system of formal instruction is an absolute necessity for the school, whether a more ordinary type of curriculum would not fit as well. One would think that the system followed would lead normally to discontinuity in the child's studies, which in this case is minimised by the methods of activity instruction and by the school's other practical interests. Again it must be asked: how far does the child really choose his subjects of study for himself, as is claimed to be the ideal? The average child is not going to overburden himself in subjects like mathematics; if left to himself he will certainly tend to have a somewhat unbalanced course of study. A degree of guidance is exercised by the head of the family to which the child belongs, but the chief controlling factor is indirect; it can be readily understood that in a school community where there are about 160 scholars and about 25 qualified teachers who live intimately with the children,

the proportion of teachers to scholars is such that the power of suggestion will be very great, though operative quite unconsciously.

This is a question which cuts across the whole range of the school's activities and which is particularly important when we come to consider the claim that the aims and methods of the Odenwaldschule should find a wider application in schools generally. It can well be maintained that almost any system of educational methods can be made successful given a sufficient number of well-trained and enthusiastic teachers. But it is a different matter to consider the application of such methods in the ordinary school where staffing is at the mean between efficiency and economy. Much that is individual in the work of the Odenwaldschule will be found practicable in the ordinary school only in very attenuated form, nevertheless this community school has done valuable pioneer work for many of Germany's new schools and has been a source of inspiration to many teachers who have served in it, or who have seen it at work.

The further claim that the life of the school community constitutes the proper life of all children from their earliest years finds overwhelming objections. The good home is still regarded by most people as the ideal training centre for the child. The principle of separation cannot be granted, - if for no other reason than that the children are

necessary for the continued education of the parents. Moreover, such a system would be quite impossible economically under anything like modern conditions, if the school communities required staffing on a scale at all similar to that of the Odenwaldschule. But though its general application is limited in this direction at least, the school certainly is ideal in serving those children who constitute its membership, children who come to the Odenwaldschule because their parents are travelling or residing abroad, or because of an unfortunate home life, or because their parents are in sympathy with the school's aims and ideals. One cannot visit the school and see it at work without being impressed by the noble conceptions of education which it embodies, and by the happy, healthy, fruitful lives led by the children.

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We have discussed the Odenwaldschule and similar school communities in some detail, because we find that the aims and methods of these schools stand closer to the ideals of the Youth Movement than we will find with any other specific movement of educational reform. The leaders of these school communities were in many cases prominent in the Youth Movement - in the work of the Youth Associations, in the organisation of the Youth Hostels, in the furtherance of all

activities arising from the spontaneous interests of young people, by speech and by propaganda, in pamphlet, magazine and newspaper. The school communities themselves were established from that very point of view which it was the aim of the Youth Movement to impress on the national life, so that to a very great extent we can take them as representing the educational outlook of the Youth Movement. But with this important distinction, that whereas the school communities were set up, so to speak, in vacuo, private institutions detached from contamination by the world of everyday affairs, the educational idealism of the Youth Movement was directed to the transformation of the educational system as part of the transformation of the whole social organism so far as it affected young people. Thus while direct expression could be given to reform ideas in the organisation of the school communities, in the wider educational sphere such ideas had to overcome the inertia of established practice for one thing, and for another had to take their place as only part of the complicated machinery which was bringing about change. In these circumstances we can readily understand the influence wielded by the school communities on educational opinion throughout Germany. They represented the practical expression of educational views which were becoming common in educational circles but which elsewhere could obtain only modified and tardy expression. With the advent of Revolu-

tion the school communities attained further significance: the community schools and reform ventures in education which arose everywhere as of mushroom growth found themselves closely attuned in spirit to these school communities and adopted many of their features, sometimes, it is true, without due consideration of the circumstances which made such practice possible, with unfortunate results. The LEH and FSG also obtained their due meed of official recognition, notably since the conference summoned by the Central Institute for Education and Instruction (Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht) in 1926, which served to co-ordinate their experience and direct their influence in some measure through official channels.

CHAPTER VIII.

Schullandheim and Volkshochschule.

It is not possible, nor indeed advisable, to review every individual reform movement which contributed to the 'new education' in Germany, to see wherein it embodied the methods and ideals of the Youth Movement. To do so would merely obscure the main contributions of the Youth Movement to educational reform under a mass of niggling detail. We have already discussed at comparative length the Freie Schulgemeinde as embodying the educational outlook of the Youth Movement, the reason being that here we have a particular solution to the general problem, a solution for which complications such as arise from social and economic factors or from questions of public policy are at the absolute minimum. Elsewhere, and particularly in the school system as officially directed, we find the progress of educational reform rather more staid, and deriving rather from changes in the general climate of considered opinion than from the direct impact of new enthusiasms and new methods, such as the Youth Movement had brought. As we have seen, the Youth Movement had helped very considerably to bring about these changes in the climate of opinion, but there it is only one of many factors working together. Its influence is perceptible throughout the whole field of educational reform, if only through its intimate association with the many reform elements of the new era. Let us confine ourselves here to those aspects of the educational situation where the influence of the Youth Movement finds its most direct

and most characteristic expression.

On a general survey of this period in German education we find certain specific reform movements which are closely analogous with the Youth Movement in their methods and their aims, and which clearly owe much of their inspiration to the Youth Movement. The most significant of these is the Schullandheim movement. Schullandheime (School Country Homes) definitely owed their importance as educational media to the ideals and methods popularised by the Youth Movement. The ideas behind such institutions can be traced in individual cases long before - historical analogy leads one, with Brossmer,* to the Philanthropinen of the 18th century, and to individual enthusiasts who sought to initiate some such national movement^ø - but the actual growth of Schulheime and the universal recognition of their value can be attributed only to the adoption of the outlook of the Youth Movement: the Schulheim idea can be observed slowly gaining ground within the school system as the principles and methods of the Youth Movement slowly obtained more general acceptance.

The aim of the Schulheim was the facilitating of class excursions into the countryside. It constituted the first real attempt to take the group life of the class with the teacher outside the school buildings and give it a wider natural medium

* See Brossmer, 'Wanderheime der Jugend,' p. 96.

^ø See for instance 'Wanderungen, Turnfahrten, und Schülerreisen,' published in 1877 by Realschuldirektor Bach.

to work in. Individual schools acquired hostels in country districts - old farmhouses or similar types of buildings were preferred - and fitted them for the reception of class groups, so that all the pupils of a school class might be enabled to stay there under adequate supervision with their teachers for a continuous period of a week, a fortnight, or even a month. Special associations and organisations arose with the aim of erecting similar homes in connection with a group of schools or for the use of any school groups which might wish to use them, - the Pädagogische Vereinigung von 1905 in Hamburg is an early example. The aim was to extend the usefulness of the school by broadening the basis of its activities - the Schulheim was to act as an extension of the school equipment and its functioning was to be integrated into the work of the school as a whole. In its early stages the Schulheim movement was developing along these lines as a spontaneous movement of educational reform, notably in Hamburg, Saxony and Baden, when its steady progress was broken by the War. After the 'künstliche Pause' of the War years we find a new situation. Hiking excursions, summer camps and hostels, youth associations of all kinds had taken a place of tremendous importance for the younger generation, the methods derived from the Wandervogel and the outlook we associate with the Youth Movement were now vogue. But from the point of view of education, hostels and vacation homes providing

for an organised system of group excursions were not enough: what was required was a similar situation controlled by the school itself for educational ends. The Schulheime already in existence showed how this was to be done - by the institution of hostels in connection with the schools themselves, where class groups could visit regularly as class groups, not only at holiday time but throughout the school session as part of the normal school routine.

At the same time the movement received tremendous impetus from the side of child welfare. In the years succeeding the War, the welfare authorities established many vacation colonies for children whose vitality had been lowered and physique impaired by the privations of the War years. The need for such colonies increased rather than diminished in the years of social upheaval - the real hunger-years came after the War. Though the welfare authorities were the prime movers in bringing these colonies into being, organisation was effected through the school system, for the same main reason as medical and dental services for children had been effected through the school system, namely, as a matter of convenience. In order that full advantage might be taken of these colonies, their use had to extend throughout the summer, which meant a considerable break in the children's schooling. Moreover, though the primary aim was the physical recuperation of the children, more was required than merely fresh air, good

food, and healthy exercise in a play environment. If the colonies were to serve as centres of recreation in its widest sense they must not only give the children a temporary escape from their everyday environment, they must also provide them with a new appetite for their ordinary activities at home, a new zest for life. For these reasons the educational aspect of the problem received considerable attention: the schools and the colonies came to work in close co-operation. As time went on the welfare colonies took more and more the aspect of Schulheime, for as the economic situation improved and the children attained a more normal measure of health and strength at home, the demands of physical welfare became less pressing and a wider view of the activities of the colonies could be taken. It is clear that such colonies, though originating through the needs of child welfare rather than through a new conception of the function and methods of education, constituted a genuine part of the Schulheim movement.

The influence of child welfare requirements on the Schulheim movement did not act only through these colonies, however. The welfare authorities freely recognised that the Schulheime already in being were doing valuable work of a precisely similar nature through the machinery of the school, and they did a great deal, by financial assistance and by official encouragement, to extend the use of such homes and to facilitate the erection of others. The rapid growth of all types of Schulheime in the postwar years is due partly

to the changed outlook in social affairs, partly to the more general recognition of the educational value of such homes, and partly to the fact that they provided a line of attack against one of Germany's greatest problems - the low standard of health among its young people. In 1919 there was a mere score of Schulheime, in 1929 there were over 200 directly affiliated to the national association, quite apart from the large number of hostels which provided for the reception of school classes without being explicitly directed to that end.

The first Schulheime grew up individually in almost complete isolation from one another. They depended entirely on the schools through which they had been founded or on the local association which had sponsored them. Even after the War those which were established by city authorities for reasons of physical welfare were quite independent of one another, in their origin and in their functioning. The work of the Central Institute* in bringing the varied types together is noteworthy. We mentioned previously how a conference of the leaders of the Landerziehungsheime and the Freie Schulgemeinden was summoned at Berlin under the auspices of the Central Institute in 1925. Arising partly out of this conference, an investigation was made of the Schullandheim movement throughout Germany. The Schullandheime clearly represented in some measure the attempt to give practical expression to views very similar to those which inspired the

* Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht - for a detailed account of the work of this institute see Kandel and Alexander, Chap. XI.

experimental school communities, the Landschulheime, but within the medium of the ordinary school system. The Landschulheime had developed individually and had now been brought together into closer co-operation as the result of the conference, the Schullandheime had arisen in even greater isolation from one another and stood to profit even more by mutual association. A conference was therefore held under the auspices of the Central Institute.* Representatives were present from some 120 Schullandheime and a national union was formed - Reichsbund der deutschen Schullandheime.♢ The association of the various types of hostels in this way has proved of great value, in co-ordinating their activities and in furthering their common interests, in providing a channel for official recognition and support, in extending a wider appreciation of their work in educational circles and throughout the community.

The national association comprises many different types of Schullandheime. The most favoured type is the hostel

* See 'Das Schullandheim,' published by the Central Institute in 1925, which gives a detailed account of the proceedings of this conference, analysing the Schulheim in all its forms, and discussing it from every point of view - its importance for the school, its relations with the home, its importance for physical welfare, and even going into questions of equipment and hygiene, the financing of the Schulheim, and relevant points of law.

♢ For fuller information regarding the Schullandheime, individually and collectively, see the illustrated handbook of the Reichsbund, published in 1930. See also the numbers of the official organ of the Reichsbund, 'Das Schullandheim,' and in particular the number for June 1930, which catalogues the most important books, pamphlets or articles on the subject, some hundreds in all.

run in connection with a particular school, the *Eigenheim*, as it is generally recognised that the educational value of class visits is greatest when the hostel functions as a country annexe of the school proper and is integrated into the work of the school. But while *Schulheime* of this nature are in the majority, the membership also includes local associations which run hostels, *Sammelheime*, for the use of the schools of a district, whether private, like the *Pädagogische Vereinigung von 1905* of Hamburg, or public, like the large welfare centres of Berlin. Further, the association takes to do with all that concerns the excursions of school classes as such, other than simple afternoon outings or day trips: it has therefore close affiliation with the Youth Hostels (*Jugendherbergen*) through the *Reichsverband der deutschen Jugendherbergen*, and with the Youth Associations (*Jugendverbände*) through the *Reichsverband der deutschen Jugendverbände*.*

Most of the *Eigenheime* belong to the secondary schools, among the others, elementary education is represented mainly by special experimental schools. It is easier for secondary than for elementary schools to found and maintain hostels as, quite apart from other considerations, they can bring greater material resources to the work. A good hostel with adequate accommodation for two classes (a minimum of 60

* For the constitution of the *Reichsbund*, adopted as from Oct. 1, 1926, see the handbook of the *Reichsbund*, pp. 383-384.

to 70 children) involves an initial expenditure of anything from 40,000 to 70,000 marks, a large proportion of which must necessarily be raised, directly or indirectly, from the parents of the school children concerned. But though the founding and maintenance of hostels is easier for secondary schools, the upset to class teaching is greater than in the case of the elementary schools, for as a rule only one teacher may go with each class, and in secondary schools the teachers have their specific subjects. Within the Schulheim association there is a section 'Der deutsche Landheimring,' confined to those secondary schools which have hostels of their own, and seeking to further their common interests, for instance in facilitating the interchange of class-group visits by different schools, and generally serving to express the point of view of these schools within the Schulheim movement.

When we turn to the Sammelheime on the other hand, we find considerations of child welfare predominant. Most of these homes originated as a form of welfare work made imperative by the stress of the times. The largest of them were founded by public authorities after the War, through the transformation of former military barracks, training centres and training camps, and were capable of accommodating hundreds of children at a time. The problem was that of building up the health of the younger generation, impaired by years of malnutrition and want, and these welfare colonies provided

one of the chief lines of attack. The problem was most acute for the larger cities, where the influences of environment did not make for health, as in the country, and where slums and overcrowding made matters still worse. In Berlin naturally enough we find the problem on its biggest scale, and from an analysis of the position there and in other cities, for instance in Hamburg, Frankfurt and Cologne, we may find the variety of ways in which these Landheime grew up, their close association with the schools, and their influence on school methods and on education as a whole. Let us deal first with the progress of the Schullandheim movement in Berlin.

All the Schulheime of Berlin arose after the War. The beginning came through individual schools - 14 private Schulheime were in use before the authorities took up the work through the Welfare Bureau (Landesjugendamt). The first welfare centre officially sponsored was that founded at Scheuen, some considerable distance to the west of Berlin, where there had been a military training camp and aviation ground during the War. The existing buildings were adapted and transformed to provide full accommodation for some 460 children. The next colony founded was at Nest, on the Baltic, with capacity for 800 children, then, in the nearer neighbourhood of Berlin, at Zossen, a former military training camp was obtained in 1924. Here first of all do we find organisation along Schulheim lines. At Scheuen and Nest more

stress was laid on the physical benefits obtained by the children in staying for a long period of a month or six weeks: any instruction was incidental and purely of opportunity type, arising out of the everyday experiences of the children. At Zossen however, class-rooms and extra staff were available so that the children might keep the continuity of their school work. The colony at Zossen comprised 14 special buildings each with full accommodation for 2 classes, or a total of 60 children: the two classes might be of boys and girls, arrangements being effective to that purpose. The buildings cost on the average 50,000 marks each. The next centre was established at Zerpenschleuse in 1926 - it was smaller, though its original capacity (for 120 children) was greatly increased by later extensions. To commemorate the centenary of Pestalozzi an ambitious project was undertaken to erect a Pestalozzi Schullandheim, combining educational experiment with welfare work. This centre was established at Hermsdörfer Mühle and completed in 1928, at a total cost of 250,000 marks. The next to be founded was at Birkenwerder: it was smaller, being intended for the use of the auxiliary schools for defective children.*

The work of these Schullandheime is on a colossal scale, but it must not be thought that these country colonies were merely a new branch of welfare work and had little in-

* See 'Das Berliner Schulwesen' (Nydahl), pp. 338-346, also the handbook 'Der Reichsbund der deutschen Schullandheime,' pp. 30-65.

trinsic connection with the school. The close association of all the various types of Schullandheime with one another is significant. In Berlin the organisation of all these types was focussed in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Gross-berliner Schullandheime - an executive committee serving Berlin and its environs, supervising the use of the city (städtische) Schullandheime, of the 21 Eigenheime of the secondary schools, and of a few other hostels and colonies of similar aims. On the council and its committees were represented 7 city departments, 7 affiliated associations (for instance the Youth Hostels Association), 53 secondary schools, 31 elementary schools. Throughout Germany wherever the Schulheim movement was strong there were similar executive councils, in Breslau, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, in Saxony, and in the Rhineland.

Such was the position in 1930. The National Socialist Revolution of 1932 brought a complete transformation in administration, here as elsewhere. All activities among young people were centralised, adjusted to the requirements of the new régime and co-ordinated in one State department under authoritative control. But despite the changes of outward form the work has received no serious set-back. Anomalies have been removed, cumbrous and redundant administrative machinery has been displaced and, though some of the centres which were established under official auspices have lapsed

in the meantime to other uses, the work has gone on with full official approval and encouragement. Regarded broadly, the Schulheim movement is clearly in keeping with the Nazi type of State socialism and bids fair to prosper further, if directed to somewhat different ends.

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More than a passing reference is due to the use made in the postwar years of former military barracks and training camps. Buildings and property of all kinds were available for use as welfare centres after the War, and were in fact suitable for little else, being for the greater part temporary erections serving the exigencies of wartime - training camps, barracks, army storehouses. Many of them had apparently outlived their period of usefulness and were being left to decay, before they came to be conscripted for the service of the children. This is particularly true of the military centres established in isolated districts: for military property in or near the cities there was always a general demand, though even here an analysis of the percentage which was diverted to child welfare work shows remarkable results.

Take for instance the situation in the city of Cologne. The outermost ring of fortifications was transformed after the War so that a first-class road occupies its position, while the barracks and block-houses scattered along it were changed into convalescent homes for school children, into

day-colonies, and into open-air schools serving the city school system. The resulting improvement in the health of the children was so marked that the provision of such centres was further extended. In addition to this, a spacious training ground within the city, formerly used by the troops, was transformed into a children's park, complete with playgrounds and paddling pond. Kindergarten children soon came to regard it as their own - every fine day in summer 2,500 children of the Cologne kindergartens arrived with their teachers and spent the day there, the midday meal being specially prepared for them in a nearby school. In addition to this, two large buildings within the city, formerly in military hands, were transformed as Youth Hostels - together providing full accommodation for more than 1,000 young people, and splendidly equipped throughout. All this was of course possible only through the active encouragement of the city administration. What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that the city authorities, here as elsewhere, worked through the school system in all their efforts to promote the welfare of the school children.* This has had a profound influence on the whole educational system, but particularly on the elementary schools. It has given an opening to reform methods, and by expanding the range of school interests and school activities

* The providing of Youth Hostels is of course no exception, for school children using such hostels almost invariably are in class groups.

has given the school a greater significance in the lives of the children.

In other German cities the position is similar, though of course with strong local variations. In all cases we find the school system the medium through which new services are established to promote the physical welfare of the school children, and in all cases we find resultant changes in school methods and in educational outlook. In Cologne the outstanding feature is the chain of open-air schools at the periphery of the city. In Hamburg there are two large day-colonies on the Elbe and a large number of Schullandheime serving the city schools. In Dusseldorf a school garden scheme plays an important part in city welfare work. In Frankfurt we find these activities centred mainly in Wegscheide, a welfare colony serving the whole of Frankfurt and large enough to earn the name Kinderdorf (children's village). Wegscheide is in a measure similar to the large Schullandheime founded by the welfare authorities of Berlin such as Scheuen and Zossen; like them it was originally a military training camp located in the remoter countryside, like them it was transformed to the service of school children. Wegscheide however is not only representative of the larger type of welfare colony, it shows with particular clearness the relations between welfare colony and school system for Wegscheide is the main welfare centre for all the schools of a city.

Wegscheide lies about 40 miles out of Frankfurt, high up among the hills. In wartime a training camp, it was acquired in 1920 by a Frankfurt association founded for the purpose, and transformed into a permanent camp for school-children, with full accommodation for 1400. The camp was organised on a class-group basis, the children visiting with their class teacher in groups of at most 30 for periods of four weeks at a time. The general plan proved so satisfactory that little real change occurred with the passing of the years so that any one year from 1923 to 1931 may be taken as representative of all. The summer season during which Wegscheide is in use is divided into five periods, each of four weeks. One of these, being a holiday period, is organised on a rather freer plan than the others: holiday groups come from all parts of Germany, from Berlin, from Hamburg, from Erfurt, from distant provinces, many of the groups being sent by the welfare associations of cities and towns. During the other four periods Wegscheide is monopolised by the Frankfurt schools, the aim being to give every Frankfurt child a month at Wegscheide before he leaves school, unless in special cases. Each year all the boys and girls in their last year of the elementary school have the opportunity of going with the class-group to Wegscheide - on the average about 94 per cent. actually go. The children of the same age attending the intermediate or secondary schools also have the opportunity of going, even

though their school should happen to have a Schulheim of its own. The expenses of the excursion are kept at the absolute minimum, a considerable percentage being paid by the city, both directly, and indirectly in the assistance of necessitous children. As regards general organisation, the plan on which Wegscheide is run is that of the village community, the class-group being the unit just as the family is the unit in the life of the ordinary community. The plan is adhered to even in details such as the election of an Oberbürgermeister by the teachers from among their number. Each monthly period is distinct in itself - at the end of each period the population of Wegscheide disperses and an entirely new population arrives. Though the class-groups are on excursion as class-groups with their teacher during school time, instruction at Wegscheide is limited to three periods each day and is much less formal than in the school. The periods may be chosen by the teacher for almost any time, morning, afternoon or evening, and the lessons may be given out of doors if convenient. As a rule the lessons are directed to helping the children to make the most of their new environment. Detailed regulations are not required at Wegscheide, thanks to the unit being the class-group, not the individual. The different groups establish contact with one another as groups, not only as individuals, for instance in wet weather they pay more or less formal visits to one another's huts and entertain one another, forgetting

very quickly the inconveniences of being confined indoors. An element of discord existed at first through the holiday groups which arrived during the holiday period having different flags and banners, in many cases indicating associations with divergent social and religious views. The difficulty was overcome by instituting a Wegscheide banner to be used to the exclusion of all others. In this and in many other ways we see the value of Wegscheide as a medium of social education, quite apart from all other considerations. The class-group during its stay takes on a firmer character than it could ever achieve in school. The children meet each other here under new circumstances, they work together in decorating their temporary home, they play together in the woods, on the hill, by the stream, they eat and sleep together. The companionship of play, the healthy rivalry of the sports ground, the intimacies of their common experiences - all these combine to produce a real community and to make Wegscheide an important medium of social education.*

From the types we have already discussed it is evident that schemes of welfare work were reinforcing the influence of the experimental schools in bringing about a new attitude to the whole problem of education. Welfare schemes had to work through the schools, and inevitably took in some measure the aspect of Schulheime proper: though different in origin, the one enforced by the physical needs of the children, the other

* See the booklet 'Das Kinderdorf Wegscheide' by F. Jaspert, (1929). Articles on Wegscheide are also available in a large number of books and periodicals such as deal with the newer aspects of German education.

inspired by a new outlook and a new idealism, yet in their functioning there was little intrinsic difference, and the distinction between the types became increasingly trivial. We find this reflected in their administration. Welfare colonies were supervised through the various departments of youth welfare, Schulheime through the school system, for instance in Hamburg through the Jugendbehörde and Oberschulbehörde respectively. But the intimate connection between the two types made such a distinction increasingly impracticable. In 1939 Jugendbehörde and Oberschulbehörde in Hamburg were superseded by one authority, the Landesunterrichtsbehörde, and though this was strictly according to the usual Nazi procedure in establishing central authoritarian control, at the same time it removed a great deal of dissatisfaction with the constant overlapping of the work of the two departments.

Even from the beginning the demands of child welfare went hand in hand with educational experiment. Let us take a further glance at the situation in Berlin. There the problem of child welfare had become acute long before the War, through the extreme expansion of the city and the falling standard of health among the poorer classes. Auxiliary schools for defective children had been long established; but these did not meet the case. Between the children who were definitely defective and those who could be classed as normal there was a wide range representing children in need of some form of health

treatment. The need could not be met by any institution which neglected school work, inasmuch as the extra work required to make up lost ground at school would nullify much of the benefit obtained by the children. The problem in Charlottenburg was particularly urgent, through the mushroom-like growth of this suburb towards the end of the century. In 1904 the 'Schule am Walde' was opened - an experimental school for physical defectives of normal mental calibre, to serve as part of the Charlottenburg school system.* In 1910 it changed its locale but apart from the expansion of its services as additions were made to it, it continued to perform the same function. Until after the War it was the only school of this kind in Berlin.

The school was organised as far as possible on the lines of the elementary schools, but with two main considerations: firstly the physical welfare of the children, secondly, the full use of the environment, for the school is situated in the midst of the pine woods. It was begun as a special elementary school for delicate children, the children to sleep at home but spend the whole day at the school. Subsequent additions made provision for overnight accommodation so that, taking the position in 1932, there is capacity for about 300 children, of whom 30 stay at the Waldschule for a long continuous period, mainly because of the combination of delicate health and poor home circumstances,

* See for instance Frobenius, p. 374, Nydahl, p. 321.

and 50 others stay for long periods but return home at weekends, the rest travelling daily. Since 1921 the school has been open winter and summer, though with smaller numbers and modified organisation during winter time. The selection of the children is made in March by the school doctors. All the physically defective children in the Charlottenburg schools are examined and allocated to the Waldschule, or to a sanatorium if necessary. While at the Waldschule they are periodically examined and their progress reported. The costs of their stay are kept as low as possible, and are paid by the parents of the children so far as they are able. These children, however, are drawn mainly from the very poorest stratum of the population, so free places must be allocated to some and direct assistance given to many others before they can meet the small charges made. The whole financial organisation in the founding and in the upkeep of the Waldschule shows clearly the forces mobilised in its service. The organisation as a school is of more significance here: with its emphasis on open-air activity and open-air lessons, on nature study, handwork, gardening, on practical subjects and activity methods, it is entitled to rank with the experimental schools which were the pioneers of educational reform for the elementary schools as a whole.

The Waldschule has been throughout a part of the school system, and represents the way in which the schools

tackled the problem of child welfare as it confronted them.* Let us consider some other examples where the schools were less directly concerned.

During the War and in succeeding years many holiday playgrounds were opened in the woods near Berlin for the benefit of city children. The work has expanded since then, so that now there is a ring of eleven such playgrounds, each catering for a particular section of the city. Let us take that at Wühlheide as an example.

Situated in pine woods about 15 miles from the centre of Berlin, it was taken over as a holiday play-centre in 1916. Buildings were erected capable of sheltering and feeding 3,500 children and all necessary equipment was installed. The tract of land used was surrounded by a high fence so that the children could be adequately supervised. The organisation has remained practically the same through the years. Before the school vacation the children are given the opportunity at school of obtaining day tickets for visits to the play-centre, and are allocated to 4-week periods. The charge for the day-

* A close parallel to the case we have discussed is the Waldschule of Elberfeld. Situated, as its name implies, in the woods near Elberfeld, this school receives physically defective children for continuous periods of 8 weeks, many of the children staying on for two or three such periods. The children are thus kept completely apart from those whose health and physical welfare require no such specific treatment and matters are simplified for the city schools. Moreover the caring of the children under modified school conditions is of great benefit in keeping them more in step with normal children as regards their schooling.

ticket is almost nominal and even that may be waived in the case of necessitous children. All preliminary arrangements are made through the schools. As regards transport to and from Wühlheide, the children assemble at the schools and are conveyed by the suburban railway, no extra charge being made for train fare. They leave Berlin about 7 a.m., spend the whole day at Wühlheide and set out on their return journey about 5.30 p.m. Food was for many years prepared on the premises at Wühlheide, of late years it has been brought ready cooked from the municipal kitchens. The children are divided into seven groups, for purposes of games and competitions, and for organisation generally. About a mile away from the playground there is a large paddling pond and one group goes there each day under supervision. The helpers, apart from the director and the kitchen staff, are mainly probationer teachers, obtaining useful experience and adding to their qualifications.

During school time these play-centres have been used by school groups - according to school regulations one afternoon in the week must be devoted to gymnastic and physical exercise or sport under some such conditions as obtain at the play-centres. Under the Nazi régime such activities have been greatly intensified.

Another example we may quote as arising out of the same set of social circumstances is the Gartenarbeitschule Neu-

köln. In 1915 Albert Heyn founded the Kriegsschulkolonien - combining experimental school with war service in the raising of garden produce. In 1920 these were definitely incorporated within the Berlin school system: in the succeeding years we find 8 elementary schools and 6 advanced divisions identified with the work. The schools are organised on experimental lines and go beyond most experimental schools in that they produce goods for outside consumption (Produktionschule). The political aspect is more prominent here than in the school system proper, for the whole experiment is socialist to the core. Political influences can be traced, however, throughout the whole educational administration, notably in those branches of it which were connected with welfare work, for instance with the sending of children to the holiday play-centres which we have just discussed. Widespread dissatisfaction with this form of democratic government did much to prepare the way for the autocracy of the Nazi régime.

The synthesis of such influences as we have been dealing with - the new opening for educational experiment, the new emphasis on physical welfare, and the favourable inclination of public policy - is well shown in the history of the Schulfarm Scharfenberg. A Wandervogel group at the Zelle Realschule and a literary society at the Humboldt Gymnasium combined, with three teachers as leaders, and took over a

woodcutter's hut in the Stolper Forest for use at weekends and in summer. The idea of a permanent school developed, and one was finally started by Emil Blume with official approval and recognition. A country house standing on the Scharfenberg Island on the Tegeler Lake near Berlin, which had come into the hands of the city authorities was then standing vacant. Through the good offices of one of the Youth Welfare supervisors it was made available to this new school community, which soon settled down in its new home: the buildings were renovated and additions made for the teaching of practical subjects, the gardens and the whole estate were once more put in good order. Everything was done by the members of the little community themselves. In actual organisation the school differed little from many of the experimental private schools like the Freie Schulgemeinden which we have already discussed. As with them the aim was to build a close knit community with responsibility devolving on pupil and teacher alike. As regards the curriculum, art, literature, history and geography were not taught as separate subjects but were integrated together in a general course. The requirements and aptitudes of the individual also received greater consideration than was customary in the ordinary schools and an elastic curriculum permitted different types of secondary schools to be represented in the final leaving examination. The school may be regarded from many aspects as ranking with

the Freie Schulgemeinden; it is of particular significance here in that its history shows that it originated in the same medium and followed the same general development as the Youth Movement, so that we are entitled to regard it as an embodiment of the spirit and methods of the Youth Movement.*

To sum up this discussion, there are three points to bear in mind in considering the evolution of the Schullandheime and their present organisation. Firstly, the fact that group excursions and country homes of various kinds had become a commonplace even before the War is due to the Youth Movement. Secondly, the tremendous expansion of social and educational activities based on these excursions and homes is due to the synthesis of the methods and idealism of the Youth Movement with the social necessity of the postwar years. Thirdly, the spread of Schullandheime of all kinds and their organisation through the schools provided a fulcrum for every reform of note within the school system^ø The work of the Schullandheime brought a deeper appreciation of the meaning of education and of the function of the school. It brought the conviction that the school should be not merely an instruction centre but a genuine community, fostering social responsibility and social feeling in the children. It brought the recognition that education must concern itself

* For a fuller discussion of the Schulfarm Scharfenburg see for instance Nydahl, pp. 135-186.

^ø This point is discussed more fully in the next chapter.

with the whole environment of the children and must therefore be brought into close contact with all branches of the social services in so far as they affect the children.

Let us take a final glance over the present form taken by the Schulheim movement. Its various branches depend upon the physical condition of the children they serve. At one extreme are the sanatoria and convalescent homes (Erholungsheime, Genesungsheime). Next we find the large welfare colonies run in close connection with city schools for the benefit of necessitous children, and effecting widespread changes in school methods and in school outlook through the efforts to take full educational benefit from the group visits. Distinct from these again we find the schools which have Schulheime of their own, so that class excursions are still more directly integrated into the work of the school. Continuing, we next find the experimental schools which were founded to incorporate even more fully the methods and principles represented by the Schulheim and the class excursion, by making the school itself a synthesis of ordinary school and Schulheim. The Landerziehungsheime and the Freie Schulgemeinden are private institutions of this order, and there is a large number of experimental schools which may be regarded from this point of view, schools which have been founded in connection with the ordinary school system by progressive authorities, as for instance the experimental schools (Versuchs-

schulen) of Hamburg, or the Schulfarm Scharfenburg which we have just discussed. All these varied types may be claimed as representing some aspect of the Schullandheim movement when we consider the educational situation from this particular point of view.

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Let us turn from the Schullandheime to another outstanding phenomenon of postwar Germany, the Volkshochschulen (Folk Colleges), and the adult education movement they represent. The name Volkshochschule is a generic term used to cover a great number of different types of institutions for adult education, ranging from University extension courses at the one extreme, to residential centres of communal life at the other. Before the War there were University extension courses in many cities, as in England, but primarily intended for middle-class youths whose secondary schooling had been cut short by financial circumstances, to allow them to follow up their intellectual interests. After the War these colleges, of which the Humboldt Academy in Berlin is an example, extended their membership among the lower classes, and to both sexes, at the same time widening the range of study they made available. Corresponding changes occurred in the rural Folk Colleges, such as had been modelled on the Danish Folk High Schools originated by Grundtvig as far back as

1851, and intended primarily for the sons of middle-class farmers.* But changes such as these are relatively trivial. Extension courses and adult education centres became one of the main foci for the new enthusiasm for education which gripped the nation in the enthusiasm of the postwar period. Folk Colleges of all kinds sprang up overnight all over the country - by the end of 1919 there were about 250 Volkshochschulen almost all erected in that year. Some of them were as ephemeral as the enthusiasms which inspired them, others were founded on a deeper insight into the value and significance of such work in building a new, democratic Germany. They arose from the enthusiasm of the few, directed through the most varied channels, through a young people's organisation or a University, through a social welfare committee or a library committee, through a political or religious faction, or through an association specially formed for the purpose. In the actual organisation teachers and educators naturally took the lead, being familiar with the details of school management and more fully aware of the potentialities of the movement. But whatever the origin, and whatever the method of organisation, the ventures depended for life and meaning on the youthful enthusiasts who

* See for instance the work of B. Tanzmann in connection with adult education centres of this kind in Schleswig-Holstein.

constituted their actual membership.* In no case can these adult education centres be considered a direct extension of the school system, though there they clearly filled a gap, the sequence Grundschule (primary), Volksschule (elementary), Fortbildungsschule (continuation) and Volkshochschule (Folk College) for the greater part of the population corresponding to the sequence Grundschule (primary), Höhere Schule (secondary) and Hochschule (university), for those who required a more intellectual education. This idealised view has clearly had considerable place in the minds of those responsible for the new ventures, as witness the insistence on the name Volkshochschule, (people's university) emphasising that though the same standards of intellectual study could not be set, yet in their organisation, in their methods and in their outlook they were of university type. But we must not interpret this as meaning the stiffening of class distinctions in education: two parallel systems of education rising from a common stock, the Grundschule, one system for the masses, and another for the classes. In point of fact these adult education centres have arisen largely on the initiative of members of the educated classes, desirous of extending the facilities of culture to all who could profit by them, to all, in so far as they were capable of appre-

* Enthusiasm at times led to extremes, for instance in the attempt to found a Jugendhochschulgemeinde at Frankfurt am Main in 1921: inspired by aims theoretically most admirable, it was found in practice that there was no unity behind the movement, not even enough to initiate a practical programme and set the work going.

ciating and apprehending them. The colleges have tried to attract the working classes as much as possible without limiting their general appeal. People of the lower middle classes constitute the bulk of their membership, the normal proportion from the working classes being about one fourth of the total enrolment. Many of these education centres have admitted women on an equality with men, sometimes in the same classes, but mainly in special courses dealing with their own particular interests. Such centres, however, are the exception rather than the rule. As regards age distribution, the Folk Colleges aim at serving young people of from 18 to 25 and restrictions are introduced to this effect wherever possible, notably in the residential colleges. But the more usual type of adult education centre has as a rule one third of its membership under 20, one third from 20 to 30, and the rest older still. The vast majority of students have had no more than an elementary school education, but nevertheless the range of previous training is very great. This would serve to explain one important feature of the Folk Colleges, wherein they differ from all the standard types within the educational system: they do not demand a uniform standard of attainment from the students in any course, they do not demand an exact basis of previous knowledge on which to build. But this is not only because of the difficulties of enforcing any such

standards, it is chiefly because criteria of this nature have little real significance for the genuine Folk College. To a certain extent the Folk College gives expression to the reaction against specialisation, and to the conviction that though such specialisation is necessary and inevitable in the preparation for a career, education for life requires that things be dealt with in a wider context. It must be remembered that the Folk Colleges were spontaneous experiments in a new form of education, in their beginnings entirely voluntary and free from state control, free to develop methods and standards in keeping with the ideals which inspired them.

The official standing of the Folk Colleges is significant. The first ventures were quite independent, but before long state recognition and assistance was given, mainly in the lending of school accommodation. This was naturally followed by recommendations as regards methods and organisation, compliance with which would condition official approval. Official interest was directed mainly to University extension work and the provision of courses of similar type for youths of 18 and over, but we find the official recommendations emphasising that the education provided should be of a liberal and cultural kind, not materialistic or utilitarian even in dealing with practical subjects. And even there we find the common practice commended, that the

studies should proceed by lectures with discussion in tutorial groups and that the students should have an active interest in the affairs of the college as a whole, by having adequate representation in its management.* As the years passed and the Folk Colleges settled down to normal functioning it was to be expected that they would attain a fuller measure of official recognition as part of the educational system. But this did not occur. The Volkshochschulen have never become incorporated in the educational system. They stand to lose much by this. Their teachers are not civil servants as are the teachers in the elementary and secondary schools, their work is not paid on a definite scale, with full pension schemes and government safeguards, they have not the same sense of security in their work. On the other hand, the voluntary nature of the organisation makes it freer, more adaptable, and more open to the impact of fresh enthusiasms. They have a more intimate place in the social system than can be at first realised; they have established contacts with all branches of social service. Through their independence of official control they are peculiarly fitted to work with all kinds of voluntary organisations. Thus most Folk Colleges, residential or otherwise, offer facilities to clubs and youth associations to register and obtain

* In Prussia, for instance, permissive powers and assistance in the matter of accommodation were granted in February, 1919, followed in April by recommendations as to general organisation.

the privileges of the college for all their members. In 1923 for instance the Humboldt Academy in Berlin enrolled 135 societies in a total membership of 6,500, thereby almost doubling the number of persons it was enabled to reach. An arrangement such as this is economical for the individual and helps to raise college membership, but what is of greater significance, it extends the influence of the colleges by bringing them into close and intimate co-operation with many youth organisations.

Regarding the Folk Colleges as a whole there are two basic principles which represent different aspects of their work and which are always to be found, in varying degree. Firstly, the Folk College stands for the dissemination of knowledge, not by passive acceptance under lecture-room conditions, but so far as possible by criticism and discussion in tutorial round-table talks, in collective study groups (Arbeitsgemeinschaften). Secondly it stands for the self-development of its members individually and socially, for the widening of the horizon of their interests, the quickening of their enthusiasms, and their closer identification with their whole cultural environment. From this point of view the subject-matter dealt with is relatively trivial: it gives the starting-point, showing the line of the student's interests, and it constitutes the material medium in which the work is carried on. These two basic

principles serve to balance one another: any particular Folk College will be found to emphasise one at the expense of the other. The intellectuals blame the extremists of the other group for their sentimental idealism, the others lay forth the defects of taking the intellect alone as guide. The more intellectual type is best represented by the institutes for adult education established in towns and cities, the other has as its stronghold the residential colleges, the Volks-hochschulheime.

It is evident that the Folk College, like the Schul-landheim, the Freie Schulgemeinde and all similar educational experiments, is not merely striving for better principles of education in the narrow sense of instruction, but that it is much more concerned with the attainment of social values, and therefore finds in communal life the situation which best permits expression to its ideals. The advance of the Folk College movement has been marked by the founding of homes, where the students live and work together for periods of two, three, or four months. From small beginnings the number of Folk College Homes increased rapidly in the years after the War, so rapidly that by 1925 there were 52 such homes, thirty of them sponsored by Protestant organisations, two by Catholics, three by socialists, five by other political parties, and only twelve free from any obvious political or religious bias. In most cases however the teaching of these institu-

tions remained liberal enough to attract students from other sects and parties.* After 1925 there was a slowing down: the first wave of enthusiasm passed and was succeeded by a period of steady effort, less spectacular but probably more fruitful.

The spread of the Folk Colleges is practically simultaneous with that of the settlements (Siedlungen), which we dealt with in a previous chapter. In fact they are closely analogous throughout. Both represent the reaction against the same set of social circumstances, and in this reaction take very similar form. On the whole the settlement is more definitely antagonistic to the existing social order and less hopeful of redressing its deficiencies for the life of the individual by short periods of intensive communal life such as the more idealised Folk Colleges provide. Further, it is not so preoccupied with the educational aspect of its work, it tries to function as a complete social organism. The Folk College on the other hand, while embodying views in education rather different from those which obtain throughout the school system, stands or falls by its work as an educational medium: its educational activities constitute the reason for its existence. A glance at the various types of colleges bears this out. There are colleges near industrial centres where the teachers hope to give young people from the cities some intellectual resources that will

* See Alexander and Parker, pp. 223-224, also Frobenius, p. 380.

ameliorate the devitalising effect of factory work. There are rural colleges which endeavour to give the country youth a broader outlook, without detaching his interests from their roots in the soil. And again there are political colleges and summer schools which aim to indoctrinate students with radical and communist theories. In practice even more than in theory, however, Settlement and Folk College have many points of similarity. One significant feature we may mention here is the fact that both are commonest near Germany's revised frontiers: institutions such as these settlements and colleges can exert greater influence on popular feeling in awakening patriotic sympathies than could be done by more direct methods of propaganda, and so have received special facilities for development in districts near the border.

In the residential colleges, as in the other type, there are two schools of thought always represented, the intellectual school which sees its duty to be the dissemination of knowledge by methods appropriate to the age and outlook of the students, and the non-intellectual school which sees its duty to be the enrichment of life as a whole. It is decidedly the latter type which attracts the juvenile adult, which appeals to the restiveness of later adolescence, and it is significant that colleges emphasising this point of view are commonest in the districts which were the strong-

hold of the Youth Movement - Thuringia and Saxony.* Colleges of this type have much in common with the more romantic aspect of the Youth Movement, and many of them appear like more grown-up versions of the youth associations (Jugendverbände) - in their emphasis on the recreative element, their encouragement of group excursions, folk-dancing and folk-song, and their insistence on handicrafts and practical subjects of study.

The influence of the Youth Movement is apparent throughout the whole course of development of the Folk Colleges. Even before the War, many of the youth associations directed their energies to popularising the idea of the residential Volkshochschule, the Jungdeutschen for instance, as can be seen from the proceedings of the Lauenstein Conference of 1911, reported in the magazine 'Jungdeutsche Stimmen.' After the War came the 'Volkshochschulrummel' - the sudden popularity of Folk Colleges and their founding in all parts of Germany. This may be attributed to the sudden eruption of the forces of social idealism which had been pent up during the War years, and which overflowed into all available channels immediately the barriers of repression were removed. To deal with the question in such general terms, however, is to neglect the individual factors which had made this social idealism cumulative, which had determined the direction in which it was to be applied, the aims

* For amplification of this point see the numbers of 'Die Blätter der Volkshochschulen Thüringen und Sachsen.'

it was to serve, and the methods by which these aims were to be achieved. One of the most important of these factors is the Youth Movement.

In many ways the liberal type of Folk College may be regarded as a new form of expression taken by the Youth Movement in the freedom of the postwar period, a form of expression corresponding to its enlarged outlook as to its new-found freedom. Many of the leaders of the Youth Movement hoped to direct the energies and enthusiasms of the Youth Movement into the work of the Volkshochschule and into allied activities, hoping to take advantage of the freer atmosphere of the new era to extend its influence far beyond the boundaries within which it had previously been restricted and make it a real revitalising influence throughout every aspect of German life. The records of the conferences held by the youth organisations, the articles in their periodicals, and the pamphlets issued on the subject show how intensely keen their leaders were on applying the spirit and methods of the Youth Movement throughout the whole social organism, and in particular, how keenly aware they were of the possibilities of the Volkshochschule in this connection. Note for instance the summons issued to the Freideutschen by Wilhelm Flitner, calling them to the work of the Volkshochschule, a summons which is significant in that it is appealing for their co-operation, not in the establishing of residential Folk Colleges, closely consistent as these are with

the ideals of the Freideutschen, but in the work of the city institutes for adult education, trying to arouse among the 'bewegte Jugend' the conviction that even the city evening school is a fitting vehicle for their interests.*

Most of the recognised leaders of the Folk College movement owe their inspiration and their enthusiasm to their earlier connection with the youth associations, or with the Youth Movement in some of its other forms, whether it be through their work as actual leaders of these associations, or less directly. To this category belong men like Weitsch, Buchwald, Ernst Förster, and Wilhelm Flitner, to name a few of outstanding influence. The same may be said of the large number of enthusiasts who have carried on the work of the Folk Colleges from the beginning of the movement right till the present time: the majority of them are teachers and educationists whose outlook on education has been transformed through their connection with the earlier phases of the Youth Movement, and who see in the Folk Colleges the medium in which their ideals may take practical shape.

Considering the position of the Volkshochschule as regards the Youth Movement on the one hand, the educational system on the other, our conclusions may be summed up as follows. Firstly, the widespread influence of the earlier stages of the Youth Movement did much to bring about the

* See the pamphlet by Flitner 'Die Aufgabe der Freideutschen Jugend in der Stadtabendvolkshochschule.' See also Flitner's other writings, notably his more comprehensive work 'Laienbildung.'

congenial atmosphere in which the expansion of the adult education movement was possible. Secondly, the lines along which the movement for adult education actually developed were determined largely by the transformation of educational and social outlook which the Youth Movement had brought, so much so, in fact, that we are entitled to consider the Volkshochschule of the postwar years as from certain points of view a new phase of the Youth Movement. Thirdly, the methods and technique which have been developed in the various types of Folk Colleges, and the aims they seek to achieve, have had considerable influence throughout the whole educational system, raising new questions as to the validity of existing standards and giving fresh impetus to all kinds of educational reforms, individual and collective.*

* For a more detailed analysis of the individual Folk Colleges, see the magazines issued in connection with the colleges, 'Das Volksbildungsarchiv', 'Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft,' and more local periodicals. A comprehensive survey of the Folk College movement appears in 'Soziologie des Volksbildungswesens,' compiled by Leopold von Wiese. Reference may also be made to the writings of Weitsch, Picht, von Erdberg and Flitner, notably 'Schriften zur Methodik der Volkshochschule' (Weitsch), 'Die deutsche Volkshochschule der Zukunft' (Picht), 'Das Volksbildungswesen' (von Erdberg), and 'Laienbildung' (Flitner).

CHAPTER IX.

The influence of the Youth Movement within the
ordinary school system:

(1) Changes in school practice.

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So far we have confined our attention to specific reform movements in education which have grown up alongside or in conjunction with the ordinary school system, but not as part of it. We have dealt for instance with the Landschulheim and the Freie Schulgemeinde, with the Schullandheim, with the Volkshochschule, briefly investigating their connection with the Youth Movement. Let us now turn our attention to the ordinary primary, elementary, and secondary schools, and see to what extent the great changes which have occurred there can be attributed to the influence of the Youth Movement. In tackling this more general problem we shall find it more profitable to view the position from within the school system rather than try to appraise it as a whole from without. There are certain definite changes within the school system we can correlate very closely with the influence of the Youth Movement. In this chapter let us discuss the more obvious changes in school practice which we can attribute to the adoption by the schools of the methods and interests characteristic of the Youth Movement.

First of all let us deal with the adoption by the schools of the group excursion as an educational and recreational medium, and with the transformation this has effected in the character and spirit of the schools. We shall find that this will lead us on to a further discussion of the Schullandheime, not however from the same point of view as

in the preceding chapter, but from the point of view of the school-groups using them.

As we mentioned previously, school excursions originated mainly through the needs of physical welfare. The privations and malnutrition of the times had lowered the standard of health among the children to a dangerously low level, and it was everywhere realised that something must be done through the schools to rectify matters, partly by relaxing the demands made by the school as regards the number of hours of instruction, partly by directing the work of the school to recreation as well as to formal instruction. In the different states, similar methods were followed. In Prussia, regulations were issued in 1920 decreeing a weekly half-holiday for all types of schools for purposes of recreation, and also a monthly full-day excursions, primarily in the interests of physical welfare. These holidays were not holidays from school, but holidays within the school - an important distinction. In many cases such regulations merely gave formal recognition to practices already long established, but the change from official sanction to official requirement is highly significant. It indicates the new trend of public policy: the school was no longer to remain aloof from the children's outside activities and interests but was required to concern itself with their physical welfare.

The school excursions were not merely recreational,

even in their inception. Their educational value was fully recognised, in providing materials for use in the school-room, in bridging the gap between the school and the general environment of the children, and in fostering a more natural relationship between teacher and pupils. Enthusiasm for the Schulfahrt in its various forms increased to an almost incredible degree, partly because such activities were genuinely expressive of the new outlook, partly because facilities for such activities were already everywhere in being, through the expansion of the Youth Movement.

Even in its simplest form - the simple afternoon excursion of the elementary school class - it reaches out its influence throughout the school work. Let us consider an example by way of illustration. Here is a class of about 40 children of a school in Essen. The children are in their fourth school year, that is, about 10 years old. They have made an excursion yesterday by rail to a village well out of the city and have come back to school to-day full of new and interesting experiences, experiences moreover which have a common basis for the whole class. The teacher proceeds to make the most of this in the classwork. First of all he makes sure that all the children have a firm grasp of the general sequence of events by going over the whole journey in outline with the class - the departure by train, the stations passed en route, the type of landscape, the arrival,

the crossing of the bridge over the river, the climb up the hill, the rest in the wood, the return by the old monastery. Meanwhile two boys have been preparing the sand-box - a long shallow box about 7 feet by 4 feet, half full of sand. The class gathers round and directs the building of a rough relief map of the neighbourhood visited, two or three boys being chosen as builders, the teacher supervising operations. The relative position of railway and river gives a beginning, the railway station, the bridge, and all other points of importance are then put in with due regard to scale, using cardboard models and strips of coloured material for effect. The tour is now repeated step by step, and at each step more information is gained towards building the map: the general slope of the hill, the outline of the wood, the relative position of monastery and village, all are topics for animated discussion. The work goes on till the map is, within its limits, complete, and it then stands handy for purposes of reference till the sand-box is required for something new.

But the excursion is not only applied in the school work so directly as this, it finds application in practically all the regular school subjects. Thus the children always bring back wild flowers with them, which can be used in nature study and in drawing. In composition, topics for exercises suggest themselves. Even in arithmetic, problems can be formulated involving distances, train-fares, etc.

Indeed it is not a question of searching for ways of using the excursion in the class-work, it is a question of choosing only the most simple and natural ways as they crop up.

Simple day excursions such as this formed the foundation of the Schulheim movement. Just as the merry rambles of the early Wandervögel blossomed forth into a vast system of clubs and hostels which extended to the remotest corners of the land, so these little school-class expeditions developed both in numbers and in type: they became a common feature of the schools throughout Germany and in so doing took many new and more ambitious forms. The natural development from the afternoon ramble was the hiking expedition of several days, feasible only in the case of older pupils. For younger pupils the counterpart was a visit of several days' duration to a country hostel of some kind. Development along these lines was rapid, because much of the machinery was already available. The Jugendherbergen were available for use on hiking expeditions, and modified arrangements could be made in many cases for the reception of groups of younger pupils. The only really satisfactory solution of the problem however lay in the Schulheim, a country home or summer camp run permanently in connection with the school and acting in a very real sense as an extension of the school equipment. The variety of such Schulheime is enormous - at one extreme is the cottage in the hills or in the woods which can house only one school-class at a time, at the other is

the children's village, organised by some association for the use of all the schools of a city. Considerations of physical welfare have been of great importance in the founding of these Schulheime, so that they have played a big part in enlarging the outlook of the school, moreover their establishment and management have often done much to bring the parents of the school children into active co-operation in the work of the school. We must return to this topic later; in the meantime let us consider the activities of the Schulheim in their relation to the school itself and see how they have modified and extended school practice.

Here is a Schulheim belonging to a city elementary school,* founded and managed by the school. The building is a plain, wooden structure, furnished simply, yet adequately for all requirements. School classes visit throughout the summer with their teacher and extra helpers, usually for periods of a fortnight. Except during the vacation periods, when there is naturally nothing of the nature of school instruction, the groups go definitely as school classes. Let us look at the different classes and see how those of different age occupy themselves.

The youngest class we find here is of third-year children, that is, children of about 8. The usual practice in schools is to begin school excursions at this age: chil-

* Versuchsschule Telemannstrasse, Hamburg.

dren of 6 or 7 require too much looking after. Often enough however schools which run a Schulheim of their own may send the children right from the very first class. The young ones when they first go have very little idea of how to look after themselves, they have much to learn in dressing themselves, in keeping their cupboards tidy, and in little routine jobs. The regular course of the day gives them plenty to think about and to keep them occupied, and no regular instruction of school type is necessary. To the city child all is new - the woods, the slow smooth stream in which they love to paddle, the cows at pasture on the meadow. They see the farmer as he milks the cows, they help him bring in the milk and see him send off the milk-cans to the station. They see the whole process by which milk reaches the city. All the instruction is of this type - opportunity instruction - and the teacher is kept busy answering their questions and feeding their insatiable curiosity. And what about the benefits which accrue to the school-work when the class goes back to its more normal existence? We saw previously how the results of a day's outing could be applied, the common experiences of a fortnight or a month at a Schulheim will clearly find much wider application. There is one particular feature which is found almost everywhere and which seems to have particular value: on returning from a class-excursion each child prepares a little booklet recording what he or she found interesting. The work is done in the school. Each

boy and girl starts with an ordinary copybook, decides what is to be put in, with what sequence, and then proceeds to transform the familiar copybook into an artistic souvenir of the excursion. The children work as individuals, though naturally they are always comparing notes and borrowing one another's ideas. The teacher acts only in an advisory capacity. Several pages of the booklet are taken up by a carefully written record of the incidents and memorabilia of the trip, the writing being usually confined to the centre of the page and a decorative scrollwork painted round about. The children take great delight in designing decorative effects and in harmonising bright colours. On other pages great variety may be found; newspaper pictures, camera snapshots, even postcards may be found pasted in, or perhaps there is a map showing the neighbourhood of the Schulheim, or of the way to it by railway from the school. Very pleasing and artistic effects are obtained, and many of the booklets show real taste both in conception and in execution. They are also of very real value as an index to the minds of the children, for individual differences are very noticeable - one little souvenir may be as systematic as a railway time-table, another a mere series of impressions, one may concentrate on things seen, another on things done.

Excursions of the higher classes of the school have invariably some ordinary class instruction associated with them, so that from year to year they develop more and more into student excursions. Thus even with the children of eleven there

is some degree of preparation for the excursion, instruction in advance so that the topics can be carried forward at the Schulheim without delay. The amount of regular instruction given at the Schulheim varies considerably according to the school. A common arrangement is to have three periods of instruction daily, usually in practical subjects, at whatever time may best suit the class. If convenient the class is conducted in the open air. In the case of the very highest class of the elementary school, this is divided up into small groups long before the excursion, each with a topic to study together, for instance the topography of the district, its geology, its botanical resources, questions of drainage and water supply, and so on. Materials for study are put in their way so that they have a good grounding in their topic by the time the excursion comes along. Needless to say they are not expected to devote their time exclusively to this topic while at the Schulheim, it merely furnishes something on which they can profitably concentrate.

Among the secondary schools we find a much wider range of activities of this nature. The organisation of the secondary schools is such that they are better able than the elementary schools to carry out ambitious projects, besides, there is not the same need of meticulous supervision when dealing with older pupils. We thus find a complete range of walking tours of all kinds, the afternoon ramble, the excursion of two or three days, the hiking expedition of a week

or a fortnight. Then as regards Schulheime we invariably find that wherever they occur they are more elaborately planned and equipped than the Schulheime of the elementary schools. The secondary schools however have always preserved a more intellectual bias throughout their curriculum so that the place of the Schulheim in the work of the school appears to be less direct than in the case of the elementary schools. But to consider the Schulheim as something really outside the school curriculum is wrong. The Schulheim is a vital part of the school wherever it appears. The fortnight's stay of the class at the Schulheim diffuses a new spirit through all its work, no matter how slight the connection with class studies may appear, while the physical and mental stimulus given to every pupil makes study go with a new zest.

The practice of the secondary schools as regards their use of the Schulheim is similar to what we found for the elementary schools. The main emphasis during the class-visit is laid on physical recreation, and on the quickening influence of the novel environment. A certain amount of class instruction is given, and with the older pupils a certain amount of study is knit into the excursion. Variations arise more from differences in equipment or in the age of the visiting group rather than from the following of different principles. The secondary schools however show greater variety than the elementary schools in their development of

hiking excursions and of Schulheim interchange.* If we look back even as far as the beginning of the century we find that many of the secondary schools rounded off their course with a vacation trip to some distant province or abroad. The trip was undertaken with a view to enriching the artistic and aesthetic experience of the pupils,^ø in the case of foreign travel with a view to promoting a livelier acquaintance with the language and customs of another land, but it had a still deeper significance. The value of this modified 'grand tour' in safeguarding the pupils from a narrow parochialism, in extending the range of their interests and in broadening their outlook generally, far outrivals any benefit on the artistic or aesthetic side. The spread of Wandervogel ideas and the influence of the LEH and similar schools have transformed the spirit of such excursions. They have been assimilated as part of the national system of educational excursions, which spreads through elementary and secondary schools alike. In general we may conclude that the point of view of the secondary school has been brought notably closer to that of the elementary school in the similarity of their activities and outlook while on excursion, or in residence at the Schulheim. The secondary school however has always preserved a more in-

* For illustration of the various types of excursion see for instance Alexander and Parker, Chapter IV.

^ø For instance a trip might be made 'in the footsteps of Goethe,' centring in Weimar.

tellectual bias so that actual school practice has been less affected than in the case of the elementary school. As we go further on, to the universities, we find the influence of the Youth Movement still less evident. The functioning of the universities was very slightly modified by the Youth Movement. Within the lecture-room little change occurred, but among the student body the growth of a new spirit is indisputable. The duelling corps were still strong but they had lost their claim to represent University youth - since the War the Wandervogel type has been more characteristic. Student associations as a whole have been strongly permeated by the idealism of the Youth Movement, in fact, from the time of the Freideutschen on, they constituted one of the main channels through which the influence of the Youth Movement was directed into the national life.

So much for the basic elements of the educational system - elementary, secondary, university - as regards the influence of Schulheime and cognate activities on methods and practice. One question remains outstanding, the question of the preparation of teachers for leadership in this work. In Germany nothing is left to the enthusiastic amateur: any activity which achieves recognition, in education or elsewhere, is made a subject for systematic study. So it is with the Schulheim and the

class excursion. Mere participation in such activities after appointment as a teacher is not considered sufficient, the student at college is given specific training in these new methods, while the aims and ideals they express are built into his whole outlook on education. This is particularly evident in the training of the elementary school teacher. The secondary school teacher has his pedagogical training only after completing his special course of University study, and it is closely associated throughout with actual practice in school. The entire training of the elementary school teacher, on the other hand, is through the Pedagogical Institutes, so that the emphasis throughout the whole course is on training for teaching rather than on factual and intellectual preparation. Besides, class excursions and all they connote mean more to the elementary than to the secondary school, they are vital to the everyday work of the school. Let us investigate the course of training at the Pedagogical Institutes to see what specific preparation is given for the future leading of class excursions.

Difficulty arises in that these Institutes differ quite considerably amongst themselves. Though all are imbued with the same ideals, yet different colleges have different organisation and different methods. In Hamburg, for instance, where the Pädagogische Institut is part of the university, particular stress is laid on the new social

outlook of the school in child welfare services, and the wider conception of education such services have brought. Convalescent Homes (Erholungsheime), Day Colonies (Tageskolonien), and Schulheime are all knit together in one system which ranges from the care of the physically defective in country homes to the educational excursions of class groups*. The students follow the ordinary university term in their curriculum, but they have to give two service periods from vacation at some part of their course. One of these is a six weeks' teaching practice (Schulhelferdienst), the only long continuous period they have in school, the other consists of four weeks' service at some Erholungsheim or similar institution. This period of social service (Sozialhelferdienst) is usually put in by the students during the summer after their first session, as their period of school service may not be put in till later in their course. The arrangements for the allocation of students are made through the college in accordance with the particular line of their individual interests. There is a wide variety of homes to choose from: Erholungsheime, Tageskolonien, Schulheime, special schools for the physically defective, even kindergartens. Preference is given to the homes which are less directly connected with the schools in order to emphasise the element of social service, so the Erholungsheime claim

* See the appendix, in which a detailed discussion appears of the Schulheim movement in Hamburg.

the greater proportion of the students. At the end of his four weeks' work at the home, each student prepares a lengthy report, which may be on any appropriate aspect of social welfare, and may be associated with some special topic he is studying in college.

When the training college is located in a thickly populated, industrial region, class excursions and country homes are regarded first and foremost from the point of view of child welfare. When in a more spacious environment, the educational value of excursions and class visits is more obvious, even though their direct recreational value still takes first place. The Pedagogical Academy at Bonn - one of the teacher training colleges of Prussia - provides a good example. The students are not only instructed in the value of class excursions as an educational medium, they are instructed through making excursions themselves. These excursions are worthy of detailed analysis.

For the duration of the first semester, the summer semester, the whole of the work of each Monday is devoted to practical activities of this nature. In the morning there are three lectures, from 8 to 11 a.m. the first on general history and civics, the second on geography, the third on biology. In the afternoon an excursion is made, connected with the subjects of the morning lectures. The excursion is organised about two foci, on the one hand, geography with geology,

on the other, biology, and part of the lectures in the morning is usually devoted to preparation for what is to be seen in the afternoon. On occasion the excursion may also give opportunity for the study of history or art, but it is obvious that only in special cases will a locality give provision for this in a form which can be readily utilised. The professors accompany the students on excursion, so usually the group divides into two sections, one going with each professor and concentrating on the one set of interests. Later in the afternoon the sections meet and exchange leaders. These excursions show many points of interest: let us give some personal jottings from an actual excursion.

Brühl is a town near Bonn particularly rich in interesting features for excursion purposes: the geology of the district is distinctive and varied, brown coal mining is carried on, the industrial development of the town affords problems of geographical interest, while the Schloss provides for the study of history and art, its gardens and park giving scope also to the biologist. An excursion to Brühl thus figures on the list of student excursions each year. On the morning of the excursion lectures are given in description of what is to be seen. In the geography class the professor gives a general survey of the district from the geological and geographical point of view - the general geological formation, the river terraces, the fault elevating the deep-seated brown coal layers

to the surface at Brühl, the features of the Miocene Age from which the brown coal dates, the distribution and development of the brown coal industry, the industrial history of the district. In biology the professor gives a short description of the flora of the district, enlarging on certain local features. In history, the professor describes the Schloss from the historical, architectural and artistic points of view, expanding to a discussion of the architectural and artistic features of the baroque-rococo period, of which the castle is thoroughly representative. All the lectures are copiously illustrated by lantern slides. In the afternoon the party sets off for Brühl, for this particular occasion keeping in one group, since all the points of interest occur in convenient sequence.*

These excursions usually extend somewhat farther afield and involve a good deal of hiking - not the least of the benefits is the strenuous physical exercise; when one considers that the students have a very heavy programme of classes extending over six days of the week, it becomes obvious that the physical recreation is not a mere incidental. Further excursions might be quoted in illustration. One is specially noteworthy, that made to the Seven Hills near Bonn, to compare their geological structure and their

* From jottings taken on excursion in July 1929. For a fuller analysis of an excursion of this nature see an article by Professor Zepp in 'Die neue deutsche Schule,' Vol. I, Part 2, entitled 'Eine landeskundliche Lehrwanderung der Pädagogischen Akademie in Bonn.'

consequent vegetation; the hills show distinctive features both in general formation and in the origin and texture of the rock. Three times during the semester the excursion is a full-day affair, lasting from early morning till late night, thus allowing the group to go much farther afield. On the average there are nine or ten excursions during the semester, unfavourable weather conditions and special circumstances cutting out some of the Fridays available. The excursions are very popular with the students, if only as a break in their more academic work. The benefits accruing are many and varied, physical, educational, social. The comparative constraint of the class-room gives way to a free and easy camaraderie between students and professors. In short we find here all the benefits accruing from the ordinary school excursion, for the excursion is of precisely the same genre. To regard the excursion in this light shows clearly the educational importance attached to all kinds of school-excursions and shows more particularly the stress laid on the general principle that education arises through the individual being rooted in a healthy native environment. For the youngest children this aim can be achieved by play methods and free self-activity - even there of value for more than physical recreation alone. The older the children the more purposeful the attempt to make intimate contact with that environment, through definite study strengthening and supplementing first-hand experience. The student excursions

such as we have described are themselves of this very type. Not only do they provide useful practice for the leadership of school excursions later, when the students have become teachers, but, what is of greater importance, the students have come to realise the true significance of the excursion. They have established a deep and living intimacy with their environment, physical and cultural, and now realise that one of their chief duties as teachers is to help their pupils to do the same. Many of these students have come to Bonn from distant parts of Prussia, this being the only Roman Catholic training centre in Prussia, and they will probably be going back home to teach. When they do return home they must orientate themselves to a different environment, they must adjust themselves to the Heimat of their pupils. The training received at Bonn cannot be applied directly, the new environment must be studied and learnt thoroughly. This means a lot of hard work, but the student has come to deem this a natural part of his work as a teacher, and moreover his own outlook is such that he feels he must establish himself in his new Heimat on his own account.

* * * * *

It is clear from the foregoing that the influence of the Youth Movement within the school has not been confined to the expansion of methods and the extension of the range of school activities. It has involved a transformation of

outlook as well. There is a new insistence on the importance of the environment for the development of the individual, environment (Heimat) meaning not only the immediate physical environment, but the medium in which life in all its phases is carried on, the whole environment of thought and of feeling as well as the world of sense in which it operates. The school certainly does put a new emphasis on physical education and the cult of physical fitness, and the methods and outlook of the Youth Movement have done much to bring this about. But the issue is much wider. It means the recognition by the school of the Heimat as the basis of education, including such apparently distinct aspects as the physical surroundings, the heritage of tradition and culture, the influences of suggestion in social life.* The new principle is recognised by the enforcement of Heimatkunde (environment study) as an important part of the school curriculum. ^ø We come across it in many

* For fuller information regarding the new attitude to environment factors in education and in social life, see: Argelander, 'Der Einfluss der Umwelt auf die geistige Entwicklung;' Göth, 'Heimat und Schule;' Kunze, 'Die Volkskunde und ihre Pflege in der Schule.' The first of these deals with the influence of environment in social life from the point of view of the social psychologist. The second deals with education in terms of the medium in which it functions. The third, as its title indicates, is more preoccupied with the environment of culture and tradition and its significance for the school.

^ø The principle applies throughout the school at all levels, but it is specially evident in the lower grades of the elementary school. The Federal Act of 1921 on the aims and inner organisation of the Grundschule states clearly that the early stages of education are primarily concerned with bringing the child into a close and living intimacy with the formative influences of his physical and spiritual environment, and that all instruction must be integrated together to this end. The regulations/

forms, more directly in lessons which could be classed as practical geography, less directly in lessons which seek to imbue the pupils with a living intimacy with their cultural heritage (Kulturkunde). Heimatkunde and Kulturkunde are different facets of the same principle, neither is complete in itself: Heimatkunde alone would lack purpose and direction, Kulturkunde alone would be founded on phantasy.

Let us deal first with the more practical aspects of Heimatkunde. These we find inevitably connected with the school excursions and activities of a similar nature, such as we have already discussed. The excursions provide the greatest scope for environment study, and serve as the focus round which all such study can be conveniently grouped. The provision of materials however is not allowed to depend merely on the casual experiences of excursion. First-hand experience of the physical environment is not a haphazard matter, it is reinforced and supplemented by the use of maps and booklets dealing with the neighbourhood. In many cities, booklets of this kind - Heimatbücher - have been prepared for use in the schools. In Berlin for instance booklets have been prepared for school use in certain districts, each

Footnote continued from previous page:

regulations for Prussia, issued in 1921, stress the integration of the activities of the class-group within the medium of everyday experience. In the upper elementary school and in the middle and secondary schools the same principle is applied, though in less obvious form, for as the children grow older the various elements of the cultural environment can be studied separately without their essential unity being lost sight of. For a fuller analysis of the official attitude in Prussia, see Kandel and Alexander, pp. 191-199, and 317-325.

booklet dealing with its own district as regards historical and geographical features, industrial development, and topics of local interest.* In conjunction with this, more use is being made of the museums by city schools. A closer co-operation has been established between the schools and the museum authorities for the arranging of displays and special exhibits which will stimulate the interest of the pupils in their home environment, as it was in the past and as it now is, so that they may trace back the circumstances of the present to their roots in the past.^ø The same change in attitude is noticeable in the maps and atlases used in school. The addition of local section-maps - maps of the neighbourhood of cities, maps showing different types of countryside in detail, alpine, pastoral, moorland - these are as significant in their own way as the detailed analysis of Germany's losses by the Treaty of Versailles, an analysis which occurs in every large-scale atlas. Special local atlases are gradually coming into use in the schools of the larger cities;⁺ in less densely populated regions they are not an economic proposition so specialised equipment of this nature can hardly be expected.

* See 'Das Berliner Schulwesen' (Nydahl), p. 42.

^ø Note for instance the valuable work done among school-children by the 'folk-museum' of Berlin - the Markisches Museum.

⁺ Note for instance the 'Hamburger Schulatlas' (Debes-Schlee) which contains maps on varying scale of Hamburg and its suburbs, with a map of old Hamburg for historical comparison.

An important corollary of all this is the provision of teachers with the necessary information, both local and general, and an extensive propaganda for interesting them in the subject. This is effected through the teachers' associations in various ways, chiefly through lecture courses and rambling clubs. The Zentralinstitut has done yeoman service in this connection, through its permanent displays of school materials in Berlin and in Essen, and the local displays and exhibitions it helps to organise, by acting generally as an intermediary between school and museum or other authorities, and by its publications,* which serve to make progressive developments attain more than local proportions.

The influence of the Youth Movement in the orbit of the school is clearly illustrated by the way in which class excursions and similar activities have become woven into the very texture of the school system. Group excursions are not a casual relaxation from the constraint of the ordinary school curriculum any more than they were casual occurrences in the Youth Movement itself. It was in the excursions of the youthful groups that the outlook of the Youth Movement took its most characteristic expression, it was there that it found its most definite form. So also

* See for instance the symposium published by the Zentralinstitut 'Museum und Schule.' For a short survey of the work of the Zentralinstitut, see Kandel and Alexander, p. 159 et seq.

with the school: much that is intrinsic and of vital significance in the new education finds its most characteristic expression in the class excursion and in the developments arising from it. But to take class excursions as an example, as we have done, is merely to fasten on the most tangible of the applications of Youth Movement methods in the school. If we examine in detail the changes which have occurred in school organisation and in school practice we find the influence of the methods and outlook of the Youth Movement everywhere apparent. Most of these changes can be considered as arising from the application of certain general principles - Heimatkunde (environment study), Arbeitsunterricht (activity instruction), Gesamtunterricht (integrated instruction), and the like. These principles did not originate from the 'Youth Movement,' they were slowly emerging in the educational thought of the time and must be dealt with in a wider context. Thus the insistence on environment in education was part of the new realism* which we find reflected in many different spheres, a realism which demanded the clearing away of all encumbering artificialities which prevented free self-expression and which prevented free access to the sources of man's strength. This 'Bodenständigkeit' is evident not only in educational thought, but throughout the philosophy of the period. In literature we find it in many forms, from the beginning of the century onwards, in the novel as in polemical writings.

* 'Die neue Sachlichkeit' - a phrase which continually recurs in the philosophy of the new education.

The best legacy of this new realism in literature was the cult of Heimatkunst, notably in the novel - the reproduction of the life and atmosphere of the province, a protest against the so-called realism associated with the representation of the more squalid aspects of city life. The movement brought into literature a new vitality, a new intensity of perception, a new preoccupation with the medium in which man really lives, rather than with the medium in which he may be compelled to exist.*

This new realism is the matrix in which principles of educational practice such as Heimatkunde, Kulturkunde, Arbeitsunterricht, have taken shape. The contribution of the Youth Movement was in helping to bring them to the forefront, for educational ideals of this nature have been intimately associated with the Youth Movement from its very inception, and, more particularly, in helping to give them practical expression through the methods it had developed. Take for instance the most obvious practical contribution of the Youth Movement to the schools: class excursions and the use of Schulheime. Such activities as these had as their primary aims the physical welfare of the pupils and the expansion of the horizon of experience and of interests, but their influence ramified throughout the whole school, in drawing teachers and pupils more closely together, in helping to modify school methods and school organisation. The

* See J. G. Robertson, 'History of German Literature,' p. 627, et seq.

methods appropriate to the class excursion reacted on methods within the school proper. They encouraged 'opportunity instruction' as opposed to the routine of set, formal lessons, and stimulated the formation of 'activity groups' for the study of particular topics. They stressed 'activity instruction' from the same reasons as had motivated the pioneer 'activity schools' (Arbeitsschulen). They required 'integrated instruction' as the most natural and profitable method of study which could be associated with the excursion if its spontaneity and vitality were to be preserved.

Take another example of a different type. The enthusiasms of the youth associations for folk-song, folk-dance and folk-drama did much to bring these into prominence.* The Free Community Schools (Freie Schulgemeinden) were chiefly responsible for developing folk influences of this kind for educational purposes and, as we have shown previously these schools represent more clearly than any other the educational outlook of the Youth Movement.[♢] The marked change in public policy as regards the value of folk influences in education was largely due to the Youth Movement, working outside the schools in transforming public opinion, working unobtrusively within the school system to the same ends. Yet it is evident that this change was a necessary and inevitable part of the whole movement of educational reform, from considerations of consistency alone. As with folk-song so with music generally:

* See Chapter I.

♢ See Chapter VII.

the place accorded to music in the new education was partly determined by the influence of the Youth Movement.*

In tracing the influence of the Youth Movement in the schools we must remember that, throughout, the movement was in the closest and most intimate relationship with educational reform in all its aspects, so that the stimulus of its idealism and the practices which it popularised were operative from within the whole reform movement. All the phenomena of the 'new education' developed together. The new insistence on 'integrated instruction' meant not merely the knitting together of school activities for younger pupils into a coherent, related system of experience, it was operative also in the higher schools, as for instance in the new Deutsche Oberschule, where the curriculum was built round a cultural core.[¶] The new insistence on the methods of activity instruction meant not merely the formation of activity groups for practical studies, it meant the furtherance of activity methods throughout the school on a new conception of the nature of the learning process,⁺ it meant a new

* Note in particular the influence of Jöde, his work in Hamburg, and his connection with the Youth Movement. See also Höckner, 'Die Musik in der deutschen Jugendbewegung' (1927).

¶ For the official version of the aims and organisation of the Deutsche Oberschule, see Kandel and Alexander, pp. 84-89 and pp. 570-640. For a more discursive analysis of this new school type, in theory and in practice, see Alexander and Parker, Chap. X.

+ Regarding the place of 'activity instruction' and 'activity groups' in the general organisation of Prussian secondary schools, see Kandel and Alexander, pp. 319-325.

appreciation of the worth of play methods and of methods which are such that instruction arises in a natural manner along the lines of natural interests. The organisation of planned curricula analogous with Dalton and Montessori systems was an extension of the same ideas. The new insistence on environment meant not merely the furtherance of nature study, the study of the neighbourhood of the school and its traditions, it meant the formulation of educational principles such as Heimatkunde and Kulturkunde and their application throughout all the work of the School. Even in apparently remote subjects, as for instance in the teaching of foreign languages, these principles can be traced. In the official regulations for the curricula of secondary schools in Prussia (1925) it is emphatically stated: 'all language instruction must take its beginning from the child's world of observation, experience and interest.'* The same general principle was the basis of the conference held by teachers of modern languages at Hamburg in 1928.ø

One of the most characteristic features of postwar Germany is the phenomenal growth of sports, games, and recreational activities of all kinds - swimming, rowing, athletics, football, tennis, gymnastics, hiking, sunbathing. The whole nation seemed to have discovered a new zest for healthy out-of-door exercise and for the exhilaration of physical well-being, and this is reflected in some measure

* Kandel and Alexander, p. 376.

ø See the report of the Conference: 'Kulturkunde und neu-sprachlicher Unterricht.'

in the schools. There is a strong temptation to regard the growth of outdoor sports and physical activities generally as a phenomenon of the Youth Movement. As we have shown in discussing the history of the Youth Movement, sport and play were predominant in the youth associations from the very beginning, physical culture one of the aims to which they were explicitly directed. The cult of the open-air, sun-worship, even the more extravagant forms of Körperkultur found expression among some of the youth associations long before they became vogue outside so that we are tempted to consider the youth associations as the nucleus from which the new cult of the physical developed. But we are not entitled to limit it within such narrow bounds. The Youth Movement did a great deal to develop a new awareness to the physical enjoyment of life by the new methods and the new outlook it developed, but the whole complex sport movement of postwar days is a product of the social situation as a whole and cannot be dealt with in such a narrow context. To consider the new cult of the physical as a phenomenon of the Youth Movement is to strain the significance of the term Youth Movement beyond its proper limits. In any case we are not concerned with it here except in so far as it found a place within the educational system in the new insistence on physical training, physical welfare, physical education.*

* Any book dealing with social developments in postwar Germany will be found to contain a description of the growth of the nature-cult and of the facilities for sport which characterise the/
the/

The broadening of the school's activities and interests through the extension of physical education came about from a variety of causes. The need for physical training at school became urgent through the damage done to the health of the children by malnutrition and privation during the War and in the years following. The abandonment of compulsory military service also brought pressure to bear on the higher schools to give physical-training a more important place in the curriculum. Above all the schools of the new era were, as we have already remarked, more sensitive to social changes than ever before so that the widespread sport movement had its counterpart within the schools: as Germany became sport-minded the schools became modified to correspond. But the important point is this: that in so far as sport, games, and recreational activities have been incorporated within the school as a vital, integral part of its established routine, it is the outlook of the Youth Movement which is dominant. Sport and games of the ordinary type developed outside the school, and were adopted by the school less enthusiastically than the methods typical of the Youth Movement - the class excursion, the hiking expedition, the stay at the Schulheim. The educational value of sport

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the period. For a general discussion of physical education in the schools, see Kandel and Alexander, Chapter IX, and Alexander and Parker, Chapter VI; here we are concerned only with those aspects in which the influence of the Youth Movement is discernible.

and games was not so fully appreciated as for instance in English schools. In England team games like football and cricket are important educational media, their German equivalent, games like Handball, Faustball, Schlagball, have never been fostered within the schools to anything like the same degree. The development of the team spirit and of the faculty of co-operation with others through organised games has received little attention. In more individual games there is a corresponding difference of emphasis. In English schools the chief characteristic of such games is emulation or competition, competition either with the efforts of others or with one's own standards of performance. In German schools the main emphasis is on rhythmic movement and on physical development;* the popularity of eurhythmics has been due to the possibilities of rhythmic movement as a medium of aesthetic self-expression as well as of physical development. The differences between the two systems are mainly in degree but they reach throughout the whole realm of physical education and indicate fundamental differences of outlook. It is true enough to say that games on the English model have made little real headway within the German schools, and still less headway with German educational theory. In England the more spontaneous aspect of physical education focusses in the playing-fields, in Germany it

* See for instance the regulations for Prussian secondary schools (1926 Decree) as in Kandel and Alexander, pp. 434-440.

focusses in the Schulheim and the Turnhalle.* The class excursion, the hiking expedition, the visit to the Schulheim - these are of primary importance for physical education in German schools. That such should be the case indicates at once the significance of the Youth Movement in physical education.

* Since the Nazi revolution of 1933 the schools have been mobilised as forcing-houses of Nazi thought. As regards physical education the final emphasis has been on field sports of strongly militaristic bias, the aim being to rouse and stimulate the craving for self-discipline in the service of the new Germany. Clearly the previous organisation of gymnastics and class-excursions required little change to make it fit the new mould.

CHAPTER X.

The influence of the Youth Movement on
the spirit and character of the school.

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The influence of the Youth Movement can be clearly traced in many of the more important changes in German school practice which developed during the first quarter of this century. We have already found that it can be closely correlated with new experiments in education, private ventures like the Free School Communities (Freie Schulgemeinden), or semi-official institutions like the Folk Colleges (Volkshochschulen). We have also found that, as regards the ordinary school system, the movement can be closely correlated with far-reaching changes in school method, notably such as have been brought by the adoption within the schools of the practices popularised by the Wandervogel and the early Youth Associations, and which centre round the group excursion and the use of the country home (Schullandheim). Note that these changes are due not merely to influence from without but, at the same time, to growth from within. To concentrate on outstanding changes in school methods and attempt to derive them from, or show their analogy with, the methods of the Youth Movement outside the school is illuminating, but it is apt to leave behind it the reflection that the schools have in the main played a somewhat passive rôle. Such is by no means the case: these changes, viewed in their proper context, are as clearly significant of a genuine transformation from within as they are of influence from without. The methods

we particularly associate with the 'new education' of the postwar period are the direct growth from new ideas as to the nature and function of the school, many of which drew their inspiration and their vitality from the same source as did the Youth Movement. These methods received stimulus and encouragement from the Youth Movement as it developed, but to claim them as in their entirety part and parcel of the Youth Movement is a very different matter. In a sense the term Youth Movement might be used to include the whole reform movement in so far as it affected the standing of young people in the community, but in practice its significance is much more restricted and explicit. By Youth Movement we understand a movement of spontaneous origin among the young people themselves, expressing a new assertiveness as to the validity and importance of youthful outlook as distinct from adult outlook, and seeking to transform their conditions of life to correspond. We are not entitled to claim as part of the Youth Movement every element of the social organism which has worked for the recognition of the youthful point of view, we must confine ourselves to that part which we can associate more or less directly with the spontaneous enthusiasms of the young people themselves. The distinction is difficult to maintain, however, in view of the close interaction between all the various elements of the reform movement. It is

difficult for instance to find any single phase of educational reform which has not received stimulus from the ideals and enthusiasms of the Wandervogel and similar organisations. On the other hand the progress of the Youth Movement owed a great deal to educational reformers who were attracted into the work of the youth associations by the practical embodiment it gave to their idealism; indeed so obvious did this attraction prove that many within these associations feared that the spontaneous basis of their activities was endangered by it. The closeness of the relationship between the Youth Movement and the movement of educational reform is significant of a deeper affinity of spirit: both arose in the same social medium in reaction against the same set of social circumstances, both were inspired by similar ideals and directed to similar ends.

There are certain facets of the 'new education' in which we can trace the direct influence of the Youth Movement. We have already discussed several of these in comparative detail: the Free School Communities and experimental schools generally, the Folk Colleges, and the educational activities which centre round the School Country Homes and the Youth Hostels. In these the influence of the Youth Movement is direct and unequivocal, but in stressing them we tend to overlook the more spontaneous aspect of the reform movement in education. They indicate the main

channels along which the influence of the Youth Movement was directed into the educational system. We must now supplement this by a more subjective view: assuming the main contributions of the Youth Movement, such as we have already discussed, let us try to arrive at some estimate of the influence of the Youth Movement in furthering changes in the spirit and character of the educational system as a whole.

When we compare education in republican Germany with education under the Empire, possibly the most outstanding difference is the new insistence on the community element in education, - it is evident in the broad principles of general organisation and in the details of educational practice, it is evident throughout every phase of the reform movement. The experimental schools which ushered in the new era, whether private ventures like the Free School Communities or experiments within the ordinary school system, were all organised as school communities: the whole organisation of these schools was directed to the binding together of all who had to do with them, not only in common activities and common interests, but in a genuine kinship of feeling and outlook. The success of these schools was due to the clearness with which such aims were envisaged, and to the insight of their leaders as to the working basis on which they could be achieved.

In the later phases of the school reform we find the ideal firmly established that any educational institution, of whatever kind, should be an educational community involving the spontaneous and whole-hearted co-operation of all who have part in it. This ideal can be traced through all the new experiments which opened up new media for educational activity, like the Folk Colleges, or, like the experimental schools, enlarged the outlook of existing institutions. It can indeed be traced through all branches of education, though often enough, as in the ordinary school system, it has made little headway because of the inertia of established tradition.

Private experimental schools, like the Country Home Schools (Landerziehungsheime) and Free School Communities generally, developed their characteristic features in an atmosphere of comparative freedom. We saw in a previous chapter* how the new methods developed by such schools, and the new ideals they set, served to knit all their interests and activities into a harmonious whole. We also saw how closely such experiments reflected the outlook of the Youth Movement, and how closely in touch they were with the Youth Associations and other organisations in which the Youth Movement was finding expression. When we turn to the experimental schools which arose as part of the ordinary school system we find similar ideals and similar

* Chapter VII.

enthusiasms in operation, but under more difficult conditions. City and provincial authorities frequently gave educationists a free hand for educational experiment, on lines closely similar to the Free School Communities, but seldom indeed do we find the resulting schools as free from outside interference as the private schools, or in such complete detachment from external affairs. On the other hand this probably gave them greater influence on the school system as a whole. They were founded for the greater part in cities and provinces of liberal and progressive outlook in matters educational, and in such cases ranked as experiments preliminary to the remodelling of the ordinary schools, as for instance in Hamburg,* and in Dresden, as in Saxony generally.† The special school has certain very definite advantages over the ordinary school in the trying out of new methods - it invariably has a carefully chosen staff, its pupils also are usually

* The history of Hamburg in this connection is particularly interesting - the pioneering work of a group of reformers, the Wendekreis, including notable Jöde, Schlünz and Tepp, the spread of the new ideals and the new methods within the official school system, the founding of experimental community schools, and the gradual transformation of the whole school system to correspond. (See Appendix, 'The Schulheim Movement in Hamburg').

† Their influence of course has not been confined within the bounds of the province where they have arisen: an obvious example is the Arbeitsschule, which originated in Munich but has influenced educational experiment throughout the whole of Germany. (See previously, Chapter VI).

selected, graded, and grouped in somewhat smaller classes than obtain normally, and its material equipment is generally superior. But its chief distinction lies in the fact that it is consciously directed to a new educational ideal such as has not as yet found concrete expression in the work of the ordinary school. When these schools were first begun, in the years before the War, the whole conception of education they embodied was foreign to the ordinary schools of the Empire. It is significant of the rapidity of the changes which occurred within the ordinary school system that, only a few years after the War, many of their most distinctive characteristics were assimilated within the ordinary schools and their aims and methods were to some extent common property. The features which previously had singled them out from the rank and file, and whose worth they had been enabled to test by reason of their special advantages in organisation, had been adopted within many of the ordinary schools, partly through spontaneous changes within these schools, partly through general changes in administrative policy. Previously the experimental schools could be allotted to a separate category within the school system, but now the distinction was no longer one of category, merely one of degree.

In the changed atmosphere of the postwar era the methods which had been explored by the experimental schools, and the educational outlook they represented, quickly met

with more general approval: the climate of social opinion was favourable to a transformation of the national system of education along these lines. Educational reformers hoped, and believed, that the new organisation of national education on a federal basis, guaranteed under the new constitution of 1919, would bring about a national system combining the idealism and enthusiasms of the new era with the experience already gathered by experiment in so many fields. But in point of fact the whole system was never co-ordinated on a national scale. Under the Weimar Constitution, an educational code was to be drawn up for the whole educational system under federal law, leaving to the provincial and local administration the business of translating the code into practice in terms of local conditions. In actual practice however the federal government was loth to assume the authority necessary to bring the provinces into line, and, apart from the regulations actually embodied in the Constitution,* matters were allowed to drift, the provinces being left very much to follow out their own devices. As time passed, federal authority in education became directed rather to reconciling the conflicting claims of the different provinces so as to bring about a co-ordinated system. Thus ulti-

* For instance the law enforcing a common primary school, the Grundschule, for all German children.

mately we find federal authority taking form not as a code defining educational aims, methods, and optimum and minimum requirements, but rather as a general synthesis of the educational outlook of the various provinces, some of them notoriously jealous of their autonomy. As a result, there was little unity of policy and of principle, and even less unity in educational practice. Some of the provinces soon made substantial progress along the lines of the 'new education,' for example Saxony and Thuringia, others, slower in their conservatism, remained doubtful as to what changes in methods and in organisation were necessary in the new circumstances, as for instance Bavaria. The educational machine settled down quietly to the new conditions without a central authority being established capable of dictating change or directing progressive reforms on a national scale; such reforms had to depend mainly on the slow pervasion of the whole system by the methods and idealism which had taken firm hold throughout part of it.

When we survey the system of popular education, say about 1925, we find certain definite changes in school practice and in educational policy which we can regard as the embodiment of the 'new education.' Local variations are exceedingly great: in one city or province the new outlook may be reflected even in the details of adminis-

tration, in another it may be found chiefly in the methods and enthusiasms of a proportion of the teachers, working often under most unfavourable conditions. We find all types of educational institutions enjoying greater freedom for individual development than ever before: the rigid control of education by central authority under the Empire had been superseded by more democratic management and, though the defects of this form of democracy soon became as apparent in education as in other spheres, the control of education was vested as never before in the educators themselves. Educational policy was not only focussed in the schools, more than ever before did it originate through the schools.* Let us conclude with a brief survey of the changed situation within the schools themselves.

Apart from control by central authority, any school is a synthesis of the work of three groups, the pupils, the teachers, and, in greater or less degree, the parents of the pupils. The needs of the children are the reason for the school's existence. The children have to depend on adults to interpret and provide against these needs though in education, unfortunately, adults are apt to stress what

* The control of education by central authority and the regimentation of opinion in the interests of the State have returned with the Nazi Revolution, but in the interval the schools have changed their methods and their whole approach to the problems of education so radically that the situation is in all other respects quite dissimilar from what it was under the Empire.

is required of those educated rather than what is required by them. The spontaneous interests of the pupils are apt to be ignored or even repressed, except in so far as they can be utilised in attaining ends which appear important to the adult. Such, to an extreme degree, was the position in the German schools about the beginning of the century. The frustration of the natural instincts of the young people was evident in the schools as throughout the whole social organism. It was this frustration which led to the Youth Movement, a movement in which the young people themselves became articulate and insistent as to their own outlook. The Youth Movement brought to focus the reaction against the forces of repression, and in its development it brought increasing pressure to bear on the schools, directly through its partial connection with the schools themselves, indirectly through its influence on educational opinion. The activities of the Wandervogel and other youth associations of the new type brought a new self-assertiveness to their youthful members, a new insistence on the validity and importance of youthful outlook in determining youthful behaviour, and in determining what the attitude of the community to its young people should be, throughout the whole range of social organisation, but particularly in the schools. In these youth associations we find the clearest expression of the new independence and self-assertiveness, but similar

developments can be traced in all activities connected with young people. In the schools they found encouragement from those teachers and educationists who realised how little contact the ordinary school had with the real interests and enthusiasms of its pupils and who set themselves to try to rectify matters. This is particularly evident in the new community schools which, as we showed previously, embodied to an unusual degree the educational aims and outlook of the Youth Movement. But it is evident in all the partial reforms which were gradually materialising throughout the educational system. The whole trend of reform was to emphasise the point of view of the pupil, and to organise education anew in terms of that point of view. Wherever we find the reform spirit in evidence, we find the desire to enlist the sympathies and the interests of the pupils in genuine co-operation in the work of the school. This point has cropped up time and time again in our discussion of specific types of educational reform.

There is one aspect of this, however, which we have barely mentioned so far, namely, the increasing part played by the pupils themselves in the management of the schools. The ideal of the school community demands that the children should feel they have some say in the conduct of affairs, and in many of the experimental schools schemes of modified self-government were tried out. With older pupils, such schemes are indeed necessary if a genuine school community

is to result, so we find the gradual adoption of the school community principle accompanied by changes in organisation giving a measure of self-government to the pupils. Such schemes had become familiar by the time of the Revolution and in the hectic idealism of the new era they were often carried to the wildest extremes. As things settled down, more sober views prevailed. A more realistic view of the situation was taken, but the point was still stressed that a measure of self-government should be given to the older pupils, particularly in the secondary schools, and that even with the younger children the school should be so organised that they might feel they had some say in the direction of affairs. The principle was a good one, but it gradually receded more and more into the background. To carry it into practice would have meant the careful fostering of a new tradition of school government, not merely the overthrow of the old one. Neither the pupils nor the teachers were ready to co-operate with one another on such terms. The teachers had to adapt themselves to the new ideas, the pupils had to acquire a feeling of responsibility, and neither of these things could be effected by decree. Let us illustrate the difficulties by a brief outline of the position in a secondary school which tried to establish a modified form of self-government over a period of years.*

* The Carola Gymnasium, Leipzig. For details see Herrle, p. 52 et seq., and the school publications.

Shortly after the War, in keeping with other changes in organisation, a pupils' council was formed in this school. The enthusiasm of the pupils at first ran high, but before long three distinct sections appeared. The first section wished to direct the influence of the council to increasing facilities and opportunity for sport. The second resented the extra claims made by the new voluntary activities which were organised through the council, and complained that this type of self-government was intended merely to give the school a further hold over the pupils. The third, appreciating the new opportunity of finding self-expression in the school, tempered their self-assertiveness with a feeling of responsibility, and did their best to make the scheme work. The council occupied rather an anomalous position: its conclusions were invalid without approval by the teachers, it could neither initiate new enterprises nor effect any practical proposals because of its lack of money, and, throughout, it had no real opportunity of exercising the spirit of independence in which alone responsibility could develop. Difficulties arose, changes were made in the constitution of the council, but the difficulties were not surmounted. Later with a new school session, a modified system was introduced, based on a reorganisation of the uppermost classes into voluntary groups for special activities, for instance music, sport, scouting,

the production of a magazine, as well as for special subjects of study. With this as the core, a new tradition of co-operative effort between teachers and pupils was slowly forming, such as would make the system independent of fluctuations in the personnel of the higher classes. Other factors, however, came into play: with the economic crisis of 1923 all enterprise became impossible, and many of the voluntary activities connected with the school had to be restricted. Finally the reintroduction of afternoon classes cut at the foundation of all such activities by absorbing the time in which most of them were carried on. The leisure interests of the pupils, no longer focussed in the school, could no longer be utilised to bind the school community together: the general organisation of the school soon returned to more stereotyped form.

The pupils as a group have not attained the degree of self-government in the secondary schools that enthusiastic reformers hoped they would attain. Only where we have new schools establishing a new tradition in freedom from official control or outside interference, do we find any measure of self-government in action. Usually it takes one of two forms, it may be on the lines of the family community represented so fully by the Oderwaldschule,* or it may be an extension of the prefect system, safeguarded by an elaborate system for the training of

* See previously, Chapter VII.

the prefects, as at Salem, the Country Home School (Landschulheim) founded by Prince Max of Baden. In the ordinary schools the most we ever find is a body of prefects, functioning in varied ways, but serving for the training of the older pupils and for the performance of certain duties delegated from the teaching staff rather than for help in determining the policy or directing the activities of the school. Even this however forms a valuable link between pupils and staff, expressing the point of view of the pupils in school affairs and promoting the feeling of mutual co-operation, normally so difficult to establish.*

Let us now look at the other group whose enrolment in the management and organisation of the school is so prominent a feature of the 'new education,' the group comprising the parents of the pupils. Before the War there were few schools in Germany where the parents of the children had any real say in school affairs. In some of the more progressive districts a beginning had been made in trying to interest the parents in the work of the school. On the whole, however, the parents had little standing, even as ratepayers; there was as little democratic control in education as there was in other aspects of the national life. Moreover, the school was not conceived in terms which would tend to encourage a real co-operation

* The Cathedral Oberrealschule of Lübeck provides an illustration of how profitable this type of pupil representation can be once it is firmly established on sound lines.

between school and home; the only real connection was the legal compulsion on the parents to send their children to school, to see that they attended regularly, and to pay the specified fees. This state of affairs was becoming modified under various influences, as part of the whole movement of educational reform. It is true enough that in certain phases of the reform movement, for instance in the Country Home Schools and in similar educational experiments, we find little recognition of the place of the parents in education: the reason is that in these private schools the pupils were being separated from their parents for purposes of education, educational communities being formed in which only two groups were represented, the pupils and their teachers. But elsewhere, wherever the attempt was made to expand the horizon of the school's interests so as to provide for the development of the children in genuine harmony with their environment, the first steps were inevitably directed to bringing about a closer association between school and home. Co-operation between parents and teachers was one of the primary articles in the creed of all the experimental schools which developed within the ordinary school system. Many of the most characteristic features of these schools would have been impossible in the absence of such co-operation, while, on the other hand, these features have served to strengthen

further the place of the parents in the school community. In addition to the experimental schools there were many schools even before the War which, though not committed to a reform programme, had parents' councils and parents' committees giving valuable service, and the number increased very rapidly during the War with the opening of relief services through the schools. The parents were drawn into active co-operation with the teachers through the requirements of welfare work rather than through any educational idealism, but the breaking-up of the traditional antipathy between school and home which was thus effected prepared the way for the closer association of the parents in the everyday work of the school. The efforts of educational reformers to enlist the interest and the co-operation of the parents in the affairs of the school were reinforced by the demands of welfare work.*

Parent councils developed from the practice of the individual schools. It was only after they had shown their value and consolidated their position in a vast number of schools that they were given formal recognition in school regulations. Many of the provinces reached this stage immediately after the War. Others however were less advanced, and as a result, in the Federal Constitution of

* To take an outstanding example, parents' associations were formed in connection with Hamburg schools as early as 1908. By 1918, largely through their work during the War, the parents' organisations were complete and only awaiting official sanction to become educational bodies with legal powers.

1919 there is no direct reference to parent associations or parent councils, their recognition is merely implicit in the statement as to the nature and function of the educational system.* Sanction was given for such councils under subsequent federal legislation, but details as to their constitution were left entirely to the individual states. Before long regulations had been drawn up by the states and incorporated in their educational codes, usually giving the schools the option of admitting two or more representatives from the parents to the governing board of the school, or of instituting a parent council for the school along specified lines. In actual practice most schools followed the second of these alternatives. Usually the council was elected by the parents from their number, forming an independent body with its own office-bearers, and with its own point of view in school affairs. It concerned itself with general questions involving the health and welfare of the pupils and with questions of school equipment and school organisation, but had no standing whatever in the class-room or in the details of school administration. In accordance with regulations it held statutory meetings at least every six months: meetings which the headmaster and teachers were entitled to attend in an advisory capacity. It was expected to organise parents' evenings and generally interest the parents in the

* Articles 147 and 148.

activities of the school.

Official interest in parent councils was first confined to the secondary schools where, for a variety of reasons, they could be incorporated in the system of management rather more readily than in the elementary schools. The elementary schools which were run on experimental lines were not cramped thereby, for in trying out new ideas and new methods they were usually allowed a measure of latitude as regards official regulations. In any case it was not long before the councils had established their worth in the secondary schools and in progressive elementary schools, and obtained general acceptance throughout the school system, not only gaining official recognition but becoming prescribed under the educational code of every state. Taking a broad view of the schools as a whole, parent councils proved highly successful, even in their most uninspired form. At the very least, they served to stimulate the interest of the parents in the activities of the school and to facilitate easy and natural intercourse between school and home, forming a useful safety-valve should tension ever arise. They proved very helpful also in exerting influence outside on behalf of the school, for instance in the securing of equipment. Against that, we must set the fact that where these councils did not develop spontaneously but were formed mainly because of school regulations, they

seldom became more than a formal part of school routine. They interfered only too little in the affairs of the school, even where fully entitled to do so. Their meetings were poorly attended, and parent reunions held under their auspices were often as tedious as such things can be.

Examples of this, however, need not detain us: they contain little indication as to why parent councils and parent co-operation ever became a live issue in German schools, they merely demonstrate the inertia of the educational machine, reacting but slowly to the forces of educational idealism or of external circumstance. They afford little clue as to how the genuine interest of the parents was ever aroused in the activities of the school, or, once aroused, maintained. Parent councils of this type lacked spontaneity, and they lacked function. The co-operation of the parents can be enlisted only when they feel that they are needed, when they feel that they have a responsibility by the school. The spirit of helpfulness must be given adequate outlet, or it gets no farther than sentimental benevolence.

Whenever we get down to the basic elements from which developed the genuine co-operation of the parents in the work of the school, we find the influences of the Youth Movement. Two things were essential if the sympathies, the interest, and the active co-operation of the parents

were to be enlisted in the service of the school. The first thing necessary was a change in attitude to the younger generation on the part of both school and home. The influence of the Youth Movement in determining this change can hardly be over-estimated, for, on its objective side, it was to this specific end that the Youth Movement was directed.* Secondly, the parents must be given a definite part to play in the activities of the school so that their interest and their good-will may find practical expression, and bring with it a feeling of individual and collective responsibility in the affairs of the school. Here again the influence of the Youth Movement is significant, for it is in those material changes in school organisation which the Youth Movement brought, that the services of the parents have been above all enlisted. In particular, activities connected with the making of class excursions and the use of country homes (Schullandheime) have been of quite paramount importance in consolidating the position of the parents in the school. If the school embarks on a scheme of class excursions, questions of finance raise many difficulties, for day outings as for excursions of longer duration. The classes on excursion must go in complete class groups, unless possibly in holiday-time, and in

* It is true that many of the more aggressive youth associations were strenuously opposed to the institution of parent councils in the schools, notably in the years succeeding the War, but this was through their intense preoccupation with the subjective side of their activities, and their suspicion lest the older generation should reestablish its old ascendancy by more insidious methods.

the making of financial arrangements the poorer children constitute the problem. Such a problem can clearly be tackled more appropriately by a parent council than by the teachers concerned. Or again, if it is a question of founding a country home, a Schulheim, in connection with the school, then not only must the parents pay the greater part of the cost, directly or indirectly, they must also lend their active assistance. Seldom indeed can a school afford to purchase and equip a Schulheim out of its funds, or by direct levy from the parents; the time and the services of parents and teachers have usually been conscripted in furnishing and decorating, in many cases even in the actual building of the Schulheim, and in its management when completed. Activities of this nature make the parents feel that they have a place of their own in the school; the Parents Association (Elternschaft) becomes not merely a casual aggregation of individuals brought together by the accident of their children attending the same school, it becomes a real community of fathers and mothers working whole-heartedly in the school on behalf of their children.*

* Some experimental schools, notably such as were organised on socialistic lines like the community school at Magdeburg, gave the parents almost as important a place in the school as they gave the children themselves. The school mentioned shows many interesting features in its organisation, for instance it emphasises handwork, crafts and the practical arts, and the Landheim, which stands outside the city in the school park, is a genuine part of the school. The parents share in the handicrafts, some of which are organised for production as economic units, for instance weaving. In many ways the school constituted a nucleus of socialist experiment: schools of this type however have not survived the advent of the Nazi régime without complete transformation.

The more progressive schools such as were identified closely with the Schulheim movement were at the same time those which had their Parents Association most clearly integrated into the life and activities of the school. As a rule it was a matter for the parents to decide whether they sent their children to such schools or to schools which were less progressive as regards organisation and methods. But if they chose the former they had to pay by their active co-operation for the special privileges which their children thus enjoyed: these schools often made fairly heavy demands on the parents, on their time and on their services, in connection with the running of the school or its associated Landheim. If these demands were not met the parents required to take their children elsewhere. There was thus not only an appeal to their idealism but, based on this, a direct compulsion to participate actively in school affairs. The fact that these schools were usually able to keep their ranks full pays no small tribute to the enlightened interest of the parents in the education of their children.*

* For a general discussion of the place of the parents in the 'new school,' see E. Götze, 'Elternhaus und Schule' (1914), and W. Lamszus, 'Elternarbeit in der Schule' (1924).

APPENDIX.

The Schulheim Movement in Hamburg.

The Schulheim movement in Germany is representative of many of the most significant features of educational reform in the present century. As we have shown previously, the system of welfare colonies and country school homes which grew up, partly within, partly alongside the educational system, was closely identified with the later phase of the Youth Movement, and afforded one of the chief media through which the methods and idealism of the Youth Movement found expression. The rapidity of their growth can be attributed to the synthesis of the influences of the Youth Movement with the requirements of child welfare—on the one hand, the impact of the idealism and enthusiasms of the Youth Movement and the adoption of the methods which had been popularised by the youth associations, on the other, the necessity of providing for the physical welfare of the children of cities and industrial towns, a necessity rendered ten times more urgent by the privations and malnutrition of the war years and the hunger years which followed. The influence of these colonies and country homes has ramified throughout the whole school system, effecting changes in school practice and in school organisation, and serving to freshen the whole atmosphere in which the work of the school is carried on. The manner in which all this has come about cannot be adequately explained without a

more detailed analysis than we have so far given. In this appendix let us deal in more intimate terms with the Schulheim movement in Hamburg. Hamburg is chosen because it shows the various types of homes, their development and their influence in education, because it shows all this clearly, adequately, and in manageable proportions. For our purposes Hamburg is a more or less self-contained unit which, while not a true sample of the country as a whole, has a special value for detailed description. The Schulheim movement developed earlier in Hamburg than elsewhere, developed systematically over the first quarter of the century, not merely in the cataclysm of the revolutionary era. Further the movement acquired a significance in Hamburg which was hardly approached in any other part of Germany. In discussing developments in Hamburg let us take 1930 as our point of view in time. By 1930 the significance of the Schulheime for education had become fully recognised, their organisation and their activities had long settled into standard form. Let us therefore give a general survey of the situation at that time, adding a few notes later regarding subsequent developments. Our aim is to illustrate the conclusions about the significance of the Schulheim movement arrived at in previous chapters, and to give a fuller appreciation of the importance of the Schulheim movement per se.

To avoid repetition we shall assume the general characteristics of the movement such as we have already discussed in Chapters IX and X, and concentrate our attention on those points which come more clearly to focus on this nearer view of the subject.

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Taking a general survey of the position in Hamburg in 1930 we find a varied assortment of homes, run by schools, by charitable associations, by political organisations, all with a claim to rank as part of the Schulheim movement. Widely different as they are, they are all concerned in some fashion with providing city children the opportunity of staying in the country for a period, and whether their aim be health, education, or merely holiday recreation their activities have brought them into contact with the schools and with the educational system. These homes are organised in five groups: firstly, convalescent homes and country rest homes for children who are ill or in poor health; secondly, day colonies for children who do not require continual medical supervision but who require holiday recreation - these work without disturbing school arrangements and without taking the children away from home overnight, being situated just outside the city; thirdly, school homes situated in the

neighbouring countryside and used by the schools throughout the school year, the school children visiting in class groups and combining educational and recreational activities; fourthly, the Youth Hostels (Jugendherbergen), those in the city and those in the nearer or farther neighbourhood which are used by Hamburg youth; lastly, youth clubs generally, in the city and neighbourhood, associated with religious or social and political groups. Each of the five groups has its own supervisory committee, regulating its own individual affairs. The furtherance of their common interests, and the direction of general policy, are vested in the central committee (Zentralausschuss der hamburgischen Kinder-und Jugendheime), particularly in dealings with city and school authorities. A measure of financial support is given from the city funds to the individual homes, seldom as an actual grant, more usually in part payment of the expenses of necessitous children, and a measure of official supervision is exercised to correspond. The appropriate city authorities have representation on the Central Committee as well as on the five supervisory committees, while on the other hand the city authorities include representatives of the private societies on their corresponding committees, for instance on the Holiday Welfare Committee of the Oberschulbehörde, the central

executive authority for the schools. It is thus clear that while the individual private societies enjoy a large measure of autonomy in their own institutions the city authorities keep in close touch with all that is going on and ensure that the maximum of opportunity is being presented to the children. The general oversight of the homes is effected through the Central Committee rather than through the city officials, and close check is kept on the individual homes in ensuring their acquaintance with and fulfilment of the official regulations as regards hygiene, medical supervision, and responsibility for the safety of the children. The Central Committee also effects the liaison between the different types of homes and the groups who wish to go: for anyone wishing to take children out of the city environment for reasons of health, recreation or education, it provides the opportunity to investigate the characteristics of the different places and to choose that which is most appropriate.

These five types of homes vary quite considerably in their organisation, in their aims, and in their general methods: let us investigate the nature of the services they render, and, more particularly, their relations with the Hamburg school system, to find how far the machinery of the school is involved, and to what extent they are directed to educational ends.

1. Convalescent Homes and Country Rest Homes.
(Erholungsheime, Genesungsheime).

In this group are included all homes to which are sent children who are weakly or delicate, or convalescent after serious illness. The children invariably stay for a period of several weeks at least, recovering health and strength such that they may be able to meet the claims that will be made on them at home and in school. The work is, in a way, an extension of the city medical services and for many purposes these homes are grouped with others which are purely medical in their nature, sanatoria (Heilstätten), and nursing homes for children. The great majority of children who go to these homes are sent through a central bureau (Zentralstelle für Kinderverschickung), which is associated with the Department of Public Health, and, more particularly, with the schools' medical services. In the notification of cases the procedure is as follows: the teacher who has been delegated to welfare supervision for the school* sends to the central office a report on each individual case, incorporating the recommendations of the school doctor, and stating the home circumstances if, as is usually the case, assistance is desired in the payment of expenses. Funds are available for allocation to this pur-

* The Vertrauensmann - fuller explanation is given later, when we come to investigate changes in school organisation associated with the Schulheim movement.

pose in the form of grants from the city exchequer and from health insurance funds, so that no child is denied treatment only because of home circumstances. In holiday time arrangement is frequently made by the parents direct with the management of the individual home. Things are simpler when no financial assistance is required, though of course in school time it is always necessary to have the recommendation of the school doctor in order to gain exemption from attendance at school.

In the Erholungsheim the emphasis is on physical recreation and recuperation under medical supervision. School and class lessons are allowed to lapse: the children are at all stages of advancement and come from different schools so that the organisation of classes would be difficult. The free open air life of the country home is for city children an education in itself, if rather different in type from the education of city class-rooms. The attaining of health is the chief aim set, but this does not mean that the atmosphere of these homes is that of the sickroom. To see the children running about at play or digging in the sandpile is to realise something of the happy holiday spirit that prevails; it is only on looking at the children individually that one sees the puny build, the wan, pinched faces, and realises the serious purpose behind it all. The most

important part of the home lies out of doors: the meadow, the garden, the sand-pile, the stream and the nearby wood. Indoors the available accommodation contains all necessary to meet the needs and attain the ends desired: light airy dormitories, dining-rooms and day-rooms, hygienic wash and bathrooms, and a special sickroom for emergency. The staff is specially trained in nursing and in work with children, while the children are regularly examined by the visiting doctor.

The length of the stay of the children at the homes ranges from four to six weeks: shorter periods are found inadequate to the purpose, while children who require treatment over a longer period are usually sent to a sanatorium instead. It is not possible to take all the children away in the summer months, so the homes remain open in late autumn and in winter as well. The success of winter treatment is, according to medical opinion, no less than that of summer. While one cannot expect the same increase of vitality from winter treatment, it is in the long run almost as beneficial, because in the summer city children have the parks and open spaces to run about in, while in winter they feel the cramping effects of their environment more, so that the stay in the country or at the seaside in winter has a value of its own.

Many holiday homes now extend to teachers the opportunity of coming with a class group for a stay of shorter or longer duration, for health or educational purposes. In such cases the oversight of and responsibility for the children rests with the visiting teachers, the resident staff deals only with the provision of food and with questions of general management. Many of them thus fulfil the functions of the School Home, being in effect Schulheime as well as Erholungsheime, though primarily the latter.

Such is the nature and function of the Erholungsheime; let us take a glance at their historical development and general organisation.

The first society founded in Germany for the arranging of holidays to the country for city children was that founded in Hamburg in 1874 - the 'Wohltätiger Schulverein.' Its original aim was to arrange for the receiving of city children by the people of the neighbouring countryside in their homes during the school vacation. From small beginnings the work progressed very rapidly: thus, in 1878 only 29 children were found holiday quarters, in 1893, as many as 1875 children were provided for. With the growth of the scheme the advantages of instituting special holiday homes became ever more apparent, and the association gradually shifted the focus of its activi-

ties to correspond. The original system of quartering the children with country people has been left since 1902 to the now separate Vereinigung für Ferienaufenthalt. Special holiday colonies existed as early as 1895: the first definitely associated with the Wohltätiger Schulverein was acquired in 1911 at Wernerwald on the Baltic. This home was taken over for military purposes during the War, but others were obtained in its place to meet the increasing demands. Since the War, the society has had five homes in all, three former boarding houses situated near the North Sea, acquired in wartime, a country house donated to the society in 1918, and a former military barracks given by the city authorities after the war. The city authorities have always given a large measure of financial support to the society, since its work has been directed entirely to the welfare of the poorer classes: assistance was originally given direct from the Poor Fund, later from ^{the} special Pestalozzi Fund.

In 1883 the Wohltätiger Schulverein Hamm broke off from the parent body, finally obtaining a separate country home in 1913. Long before 1913 however other associations had been inspired to similar activities, extending this new form of welfare service throughout the working classes. It was not only the children of the poor who suffered from confinement within the city, the

children of shopkeepers and industrial workers were in a very similar position: their parents could not provide adequately for their holiday recreation because of the claims of daily toil. From this particular stratum arose the Verein für Ferienkolonien von 1904: its activities were broadly similar to those of the Wohltätiger Schulverein, beginning with the arranging of holiday quarters in the homes of country people and leading on to the use of country homes for recreational purposes throughout the greater part of the year. Original differences between these homes and the homes of the Wohltätiger Schulverein have since disappeared.

Other types of associations also interested themselves in recreational homes for children, for instance the Verein für Arbeiterwohlfahrt and the Handelsgesellschaft Produktion (Co-operative Trading Association). Again the Day Colonies at Kohlbrand and Moorwärder provide overnight accommodation for a limited number of children so that they can also claim to be ranked as Erholungsheime, while all the country homes which are run more specifically in connection with the schools can be regarded from the same point of view as well.

The following is the list of societies affiliated to the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Erholungs-und Genesungsheime, with a summary of their homes and activities, (1929):

1. Ferienkommission des Wohltätigen Schulvereins - 5 homes, average 100 beds, open all year, in 4-weekly periods, charge 2.20 to 2.40 m. excluding travelling and doctor's expenses, or 2.50 to 2.90 m., including these, 95 m. or 110 m. for 5 weeks' vacation period, this including travelling, children of 16 years or over paying more.

2. Verein für Ferienkolonien von 1904 - 3 homes averaging 150 beds, open from the middle of March till the middle of November, receiving children for periods of 4 or 6 weeks.

3. Verein Ostseeheim Helenenbad - 70 children, 2-6 weeks, closed during the winter months.

4. Wohltätiger Schulverein für Hamm - home with beds for 70 children, receiving them in fixed periods of 4 weeks except in the winter months. Visits of class groups are also provided for when room is available.

5. Jugendferienheim Puan Klent - primarily a holiday colony for young people just left school, but available as an Erholungsheim throughout the season except in July and August when it is reserved as a holiday camp. The colony has capacity for 270 children and is open from May to October.

6. Israelitische Frauenverein - home with capacity for 100 children, receiving them throughout the whole year for periods of about 4 weeks.

7. Erholungsstätten - Gesellschaft - home for 50 children, receiving them for fixed periods of 5 or 6 weeks throughout the year; also available for the visits of class-groups from schools.

8. Verein für Arbeiterwohlfahrt - 2 homes, one a sanatorium with capacity for 65 children, closed in the winter months, the other combining a domestic school for older girls with a nursery kindergarten, providing for 40 older girls and 40 children from 2 to 6 years old, and open the whole year.

9. Verein für Ferienaufenthalt - affiliated to the national association Landaufenthalt für Stadtkinder and since 1918 local branch of that organisation. Its work is the sending of children for health reasons to families and homes in the country or abroad. It arranges cheap quartering in country homes, having at present about 20 such houses available, and also acts as an agency for schools without a country house, in the arranging of class excursions. Further it looks after children traveling to and from relations in the country or abroad and since 1928 has acted as official agency for transport

arrangements with the railways so far as children's excursions are concerned.

The charges made to the children for residence at the Erholungsheime vary quite considerably, with the age of the children, with the time of the year, and with the individual homes. For the period of school vacation the homes are in greater demand so the fees are invariably increased by about 20 per cent. for this period. The fees of the different homes differ according to their location and according to the amenities they provide, while travelling expenses and doctor's fees are sometimes included in the fixed charge, sometimes dealt with separately. On the whole the charges range from 2.20 m. per day to 3.50 m. per day, exclusive of travelling and doctor's expenses. Assistance in the payment of these fees is in no case given directly through the Erholungsheime: the parents may obtain a grant in necessitous cases through the school or city authorities, but in all cases the fixed charge is paid to the Erholungsheime by the parents of the children. The Erholungsheime have thus nothing to do directly with the investigation into the circumstances of the children for whom they provide.

2. The Day Colonies.

Moorwärder and Kohlbrand Day Colonies are the chief civic agencies of health welfare for Hamburg children. Originally, in prewar days, their aim was to take children from the city streets out to the country during the summer holidays. The former colony, Moorwärder, was founded by the Verein für Ferienwohlfahrtsbestrebungen, an association which came to the work from the educational side, the latter, Kohlbrand, was founded by the Verein für Arbeitswohlfahrt, combining social idealism with political aims. Both colonies stand on the Elbe, Kohlbrand within the city, Moorwärder a few miles upstream - the choice of site was determined largely by the advantages of river transport. As their name implies, they are intended for day excursions only. The children visit in groups over a period of a fortnight or so, arriving from the centre of the city each morning and returning home each evening. All meals for the day are provided at the colonies, which have combined accommodation for about 5,000 visiting children.

Moorwärder Tageskolonie.

Moorwärder Day Colony is directed by the Verein für Ferienwohlfahrtsbestrebungen, an association mainly of teachers of the elementary schools who are interested in this particular work. At present the Verein has a member-

ship of about 250, the annual membership fee being 3 marks. The work of the day-colony is done through three committees, each of five members, one to deal with the selection, transport and reception of children at Moorwärder, another to look after the property generally, and a business committee to supervise finance. Throughout the summer holidays in addition to the staff necessary for kitchen, household and direction, four teachers reside for varying periods in Moorwärder. During the winter, arrangements are made in advance for the following summer as far as possible regarding the allocation of periods to the individual helpers and to the school districts. Where possible the helpers are allocated to their own school groups. Assistants are enrolled, usually university students or secondary school pupils - only about 25 are accepted though the number of applicants is always much larger. None other than the permanent staff receive any pay for their services: assistants get their meals at Moorwärder free and naturally are exempt from payment of steamer fare, but they receive nothing further. The selection of the children who are to visit Moorwärder is made through the individual schools. Financial arrangements may be discussed more conveniently at a later stage, here let us discuss the excursions themselves. For holiday visits the children are banded into groups of about

60 according to school district, each group having a teacher as leader and a student assisting, as arranged long before. The group assembles at the Underground station most convenient to the homes represented, or at a convenient tram-halt, and proceeds direct to the St. Pauli Landungsbrücke or Stadtdeich, according to district, where the steamer awaits them. Both tramcars and Underground give cheap excursion fares to such groups, tickets being issued through the group leader at one penny each, return fare. Two paddle steamers are used for conveying the children up the Elbe to Moorwärder, one embarking the children who assemble at Lombardsbrücke, the other embarking those who assemble at Stadtdeich: the steamers are hired from a private steamship company at a cost of about 30,000 marks (£1,500) for the season's use. The steamers set off about 8.30 a.m. arriving at the private landing-stage at Moorwärder about 9.15 a.m. The children are now free to run about and play as they like for the rest of the day, so long as they stay within the bounds of the colony. They have three meals in the course of the day, plain, wholesome and satisfying, the last just before setting out again for home so that they will need nothing further before bedtime. They are never at a loss for something to do: playing on the sands, paddling in the river, rolling and tumbling about on the grass, running

about at ball-play. On the sports ground we see regular games of football and handball going on, on the playmeadow groups of boys and girls are singing and dancing the old German folk-dances - and here for instance is a happy circle dancing round one of the teachers who is playing a merry folksong on his fiddle; he is hard put to it to make the sound of his fiddle heard among the sturdy young voices. Even in wet weather the fun continues in the shelters, with folksongs and Wanderlieder, games, folk-dances - there is always something to do. Then the parents come to visit the children, not in the morning however: they arrive early in the afternoon so that their visit may cause less inconvenience. On a fine afternoon as many as 200 may be expected. In the evening the steamers call for the children about 5.45, so that all the children are back in Hamburg in their own homes shortly after 7 p.m.

So far we have only dealt with the day-visits in holiday time. Though this is really the primary function of the day-colony its range of activities is very much wider. Use is also made of it as follows:-

(1) In holiday time as an Erholungsheim for as many as 140 children staying at Moorwärder for complete fortnightly periods, sleeping accommodation being available.

(2) In school time as a Schulheim for class-groups, staying an entire fortnight with their teacher.

(3) In school time for class-groups visiting daily up to a fortnight with their teacher.

(4) In school time for class-groups visiting for one day, the statutory monthly 'Wandertag.'

(5) For school Gala-days, held chiefly on Sundays, in which parents, teachers, and children all take part.

(6) As an Erholungsheim throughout the summer for children of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 years.

(7) As a Jugendherberge for casual hikers or groups of hikers.

To discuss these individually would require too much space; there are, however, some points which require amplification. The development of the use of the day-colony as a Schulheim is particularly important from many different points of view. Even from the economic point of view alone it is important, for it is this which has consolidated the position of the Day Colony by extending its working season beyond the limits of the school holidays.

The use made of the Day Colony tends to become more and more evenly spread over the season which extends from

Easter to the end of September, thus while in 1926, 25 per cent. of all day visits were during school time, in 1928 nearly 40 per cent. were made in that period, and the percentage has since increased. Throughout the summer there is a special teacher in residence at Moorwärder whose duty it is to help the visiting teachers with their classes and assist them in making the most of the excursion from the educational point of view. The work done and methods used are precisely similar to those to be found in Schulheime such as we must discuss later. A slight difference arises in that the nearness of Moorwärder to the city allows those children who are staying in class-groups to be at home in Hamburg the whole of the Sunday, which is not possible for Schulheime more remote.

The younger children who are not yet of school age, or have just begun school, are provided for in a separate building, and the work is kept quite distinct. The children range from $2\frac{1}{2}$ years to 7 years, and come either as members of a Hamburg kindergarten or because definitely sent through the Jugendbehörde, the department of city administration which takes to do with child welfare apart from education. The children travel daily for varying periods, the children of the kindergarten coming daily for four months.

As an indication of the scope and variety of the

work of the day-colony and the relative importance of the different branches we give the main statistics for 1929: the first column gives the number of children, the second the number of day-visits resulting.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------|--------|
| Easter Holiday Day-visits | 486 | 1,956 |
| Summer Holidays, First Period | 1,902 | 21,594 |
| Second Period | 2,109 | 22,959 |
| Third Period | 1,166 | 8,744 |
| Day Excursions | 4,635 | 4,635 |
| Class-groups visiting daily | 1,518 | 12,652 |
| Class-groups staying overnight | 1,147 | 10,528 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total: | 12,963 | 83,068 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> |

These are the figures for the use of the colony by school children: the corresponding figures for the kindergarten children, counting by weekly periods, were 1,200 and 6,651 respectively.

As regards the Jugendherberge, lodging was provided at Moorwärder to 222 groups, so that the hostel was used by the 3,425 members of these groups on a total of 4,987 individual occasions.

The charge made for the fortnight's visit in holiday time was 9.50 marks per child for day-visits, or 18 marks per child for a continuous stay, both charges including ex-

penses of steamer transport. The charge to groups of other types was of the same order. The management of the colony has nothing directly to do with the collection of the fees for visits: this is done entirely through the Hamburg schools. Naturally the running expenses of the colony are not nearly covered by these charges, the charges would require to be doubled were it not for the substantial assistance given by the city in contributions from various funds.

Kohlbrand Tageskolonie.

The day colony at Kohlbrand is broadly similar to that at Moorwärder, so let us deal merely with some points wherein they differ. There are certain differences arising out of location: whereas Moorwärder is 40 minutes distance by steamer from the centre of Hamburg, to Kohlbrand it is only ferry-distance, 7 minutes. Kohlbrand thus has the advantage so far as costs of transport are concerned, and the charges made are smaller: the charge for a fortnight's visit in holiday time is 7.50 marks, including ferry, with charges for other visits proportional. On the other hand Kohlbrand does not enjoy the fresh unpolluted air of the countryside as Moorwärder does. Again as regards origins and management: Moorwärder was founded by a private association of Hamburg teachers and developed for the furtherance of adequate holiday recreation for city children, Kohlbrand

was founded by the Verein für Arbeiterwohlfahrt, and directed by political socialism, so that in the development and management of the colony class feeling and political bias have played a big part. Both colonies make the preliminary arrangements for sending the children through the medium of the school, particularly for the visits of class-groups during school time, but in the case of Kohlbrand the district representatives of the Verein are mainly responsible, and the work has not been allowed to develop as an expansion of the activities of the schools to the same extent as in the case of Moorwärder. The general plan of the two colonies is similar, Kohlbrand being on a scale roughly one and a half times that of Moorwärder, so that 3,000 children come at a time during the school holidays. As at Moorwärder provision is made in school-time for the visits of class-groups with their teachers: the rapid development of this branch of the work is shown by the fact that the number of visiting class-groups practically doubled from 1927 to 1928 so that in the latter year 128 class-groups visited Kohlbrand. Again, as at Moorwärder, there is separate provision for young children in an open-air nursery kept apart from the main building, in effect a special kind of Kindergarten.

As regards general administration the Vereine responsible for the two day-colonies are associated in the Arbeitsgemeinschaft der hamburgischen Tageskolonien, in which also

the corresponding city departments are represented. This, as mentioned previously, is one of the five welfare associations which are combined in the Zentralausschuss der hamburgischen Jugend-und Kinderheime so that the work of the day-colonies is co-ordinated with that of similar welfare organisations. Official supervision is effected through two committees of the city council, the Ausschuss für Jugendpflege and the Ausschuss für Ferienwohlfahrtspflege. These work in close cooperation with the Zentralausschuss, a result which is largely due to the system of mutual representation which has been adopted.

3. The Country Homes of Hamburg Schools, (Schullandheime.)

Schullandheime are distinguished from other welfare homes by their origin through the schools and by the close connection they maintain with the functioning of the school. They are not intended merely for weakly, necessitous children, but are really an extension of the school proper, providing for the reception of class-groups for a period of a week, a fortnight, or in the case of some school homes even a month. It is notable how in this instance economic requirements have reinforced educational aims. The value of country excursions and of country homes first received recognition on grounds of physical welfare. But a country home cannot be established on economic lines unless its work continues over the greater part

of the year, and regulations regarding school attendance do not admit of the exemption from school for any period of children who are in reasonably good health. It follows that country homes for normal children must be run in conjunction with schools and must themselves be schools at all times other than vacations. This line of argument, however, must not be carried too far; we must not conclude that school homes are simply the holiday recreation homes for normally healthy children, and that they developed through the schools, and as part of the schools, because they could not possibly develop in any other way. The Schulheim represents the synthesis of educational aims with the aims of physical welfare. It embodies to a peculiar degree the new outlook on education characteristic of the postwar era and has been as closely identified with the educational reform movement as with the requirements of physical welfare.

The visit to the Schulheim has two aspects: its value for health, and its value, more generally, for education. Considerations of health are important since even children who seem to be in normal health must derive all physical benefit possible from their stay in the country. It is just as important to consolidate good health as it is to restore impaired health, and the Schulheim may thus be regarded as the Erholungsheim of children who are of normal physique and in normal health. During the period of school holidays the Schulheim does function purely and simply as

an Erholungsheim: the emphasis is entirely on holiday recreation and the class-group visits are in abeyance. Usually during this time the delicate children of the school receive first consideration, the remaining places being filled by children who are simply on holiday, their parents having paid the increased fees for them. Provision for the welfare of delicate children through the Schulheime by visiting in the holiday period or during school time with the class-group seems more satisfactory than provision individually through the Erholungsheime. In the latter case the children are cutting themselves off from their school class so that they have to make up for lost time on their return, thereby tending to lose something of what they have gained in health and strength. Erholungsheime are very similar to Schulheime in their working, and particularly to those Schulheime which are not associated with any particular school, for, as we found previously, many of the Erholungsheime themselves make provision for the visits of class-groups. In effect, between Erholungsheime and Schulheime we have a complete range, at the one end the Erholungsheim providing for delicate children and receiving a few class-groups chiefly to ensure continuous occupation, at the other the Schulheim which functions as a country annexe of a particular school and deals only incidentally with the welfare of the delicate children attending that school*.

* For a general analysis of the educational significance of the Schulheim, see previously, Chapter IX.

One thing is important if the class visit is to achieve the best results: all the children in the class must go together, none may be left behind. Naturally the children themselves are only too keen to go. The difficulty which arises is in the payment of fees, since with any school class it is almost certain that the parents of some of the children will not be able to pay the full charge. Assistance is given from the city funds in the case of the poorest children, and the running of school banks gets round the difficulty in many cases, but there are many children whose parents, while not in poor enough circumstances to qualify for aid from the city funds, are yet too poor to be able to pay the sum required. In such cases assistance is given from the funds of the school club, derived mainly from regular contribution by the parents. We shall discuss later the general arrangements within the school; the point to note here is that the necessity for sending the class-group as a whole to the Schulheim has been of considerable importance in helping to bring the children, teachers, and parents together into a genuine school community.

Hamburg has an honoured place in the history of the Schulheim movement: in most German cities country homes arose in connection with city schools only after the War, to alleviate the privations and distress of the Inflation period which succeeded the war. But even before 1914 the

movement in Hamburg was well under way, developing not only as work for necessitous children, but primarily as educational experiment. It is difficult to distinguish where Schulheime as such began. Even as early as 1893 a secondary school for girls (Schule des Paulsentiftes) had obtained a home on the Baltic coast which was in full working cooperation with the school, and not long afterwards an elementary school established a similar home. It is not till about 1910, however, that we find any strong consensus of opinion as to the educational importance of such homes for schools generally. Valuable pioneering work was done by the Pädagogische Vereinigung von 1905; after years of endeavour this association founded a home for the reception of school classes with their teachers, a typical old North German farmhouse at Hoisdorf. The experiment was very successful, so instead of continuing to rent this place the society acquired ground nearby and built a special house for the purpose in the following year. In 1913 another house was erected elsewhere by the society: all three are typical North German farmhouses and admirably adapted for the purpose they are intended to serve, so that all are still in use, the first since 1921 as the Schulheim of the Thaer Oberrealschule. This secondary school was one of the pioneers among Hamburg schools, setting itself to the obtaining of a Schulheim as early as 1911.

After the War the physical needs of the children led to the rapid development of a large number of country homes more or less closely associated with the individual schools. The need was urgent: the malnutrition and bodily and mental stress of the times were leaving their mark on the rising generation and the institution of country homes for the use of city children was absolutely necessary from considerations of physical welfare alone. Thus it is that most of the homes at present in use date from 1919 or 1920. Circumstances have eased somewhat from the stress of these years, but the network of homes still stands, a strong bulwark to the health of the children. With the passing of the years these homes have become more and more assimilated to educational purposes: with the lessening of the immediate physical necessity, the homes have been free to knit themselves into the work of the schools. Further homes have been founded since 1920; a few have lapsed, but there are always new ones to take their place. It is not to be concluded however that the aim is that each individual school should have a Schulheim of its own. The Erholungsheime, Tageskolonien and Jugendherbergen are in most cases able and willing to receive school classes, further, there are special homes founded by educational associations for that very purpose, such as those of the Pädagogische Vereinigung, so that the present facilities for the reception of school classes are quite competent to deal with

the present demand.

The range and variety of the Schulheime makes it difficult to give an adequate picture of them as a whole: they differ individually in origin, in size, and in management. The founding of the homes connected with individual schools has been the work of the parents and teachers together. In odd cases they were due to the generosity of some wealthy patron, more generally the required funds were slowly accumulated by bazaars, concerts, lotteries, and individual subscriptions, with assistance from the Education Authority (Oberschulbehörde). The homes themselves are situated in all directions from Hamburg, on the North Sea, on the Baltic, in the Luneberger Heide. The buildings vary considerably in type - former military barracks, typical farmhouses, country inns and boarding houses, a disused customs-house - all these have been acquired and transformed to the needs of the children. Homes have been specially erected, rambling wooden erections of the most primitive and rudimentary type on the one hand, on the other handsome stone buildings complete with the most up-to-date appliances.

As regards numbers there are in Hamburg 26 schools which have a Schulheim of their own. Of these 20 are elementary schools: boys' schools or girls' schools and in some few cases co-educational schools. Of the remainder, four are secondary schools and two are other schools for girls. In addition there are seven Schulheime not run in conjunction

with any particular school, but established and organised by educational societies for facilitating class-excursions, for instance five managed by the Pädagogische Vereinigung.

The Schulheime vary greatly in size: on the one hand we have the huge colony at Puan Klent which can provide for as many as 280 children, on the other we have the small country hostels which can only provided sleeping accommodation for a class of 30. These are extreme cases, the great majority have a capacity for from 40 to 60 children. Puan Klent is indeed not a true case, it is only incidentally a Schulheim: it is intended primarily as a holiday camp for boys and girls who have not long left school, though it also makes provision for class-groups.

The charges made to the children's parents for the stay at the Schulheim naturally vary according to the provision made there, thus they are usually higher at the Schulheime of the secondary schools which are generally better equipped. At this latter type the charge is in the neighbourhood of three marks per day, at those used by the elementary schools the charge is usually between 1.20 marks and 2 marks per day. In addition to these fees the Schulheim derives income from the funds of the school club, membership fees being payable by parents of all the children attending the school. This income however is not directed to the lowering of the general charge, in the main the school funds are applied in the assistance of poorer

children or as grants towards the extension of buildings or the increase of the amenities of the Schulheim.

By way of illustration let us consider some individual Schulheime in greater detail. An elementary school of experimental type, the Volksschule Telemannstrasse, provides a good example of a school which has acquired a Landheim by its own efforts and assimilated its use to school purposes. The school itself is one of four experimental schools established immediately after the War - definite proposals for such schools go as far back as 1905 and had almost come to fruition in 1914 when the War intervened. Class excursions began with the school in 1919: all the upper and middle classes went in groups to country homes in the neighbourhood of Hamburg or to Lübeck, Rügen, even as far as Thuringia and the Black Forest. In the Inflation Period in particular, advantage was taken of the cheap travelling facilities to take groups far afield, the aim being that each child should go to the seaside and also at some time or other visit a typical mountain landscape. Except for excursions in holiday time the class constituted the group and the means for the journey had to be furnished by the class itself. Arrangements of this nature would not have been possible if it had not been for the close relationship existing between the school and the homes of the children, since the school is situated in a working class quarter and has for its pupils almost entirely children of the working classes. The Parents

Association was founded with the school, was indeed founded as an important part of the school, in the endeavour to knit teachers, children, and parents into a real school community. In the arrangements for class excursions and in similar material ways the parents came to realise that their assistance was vital to the school and as such activities steadily developed and focussed finally in the obtaining and furnishing of a Schulheim the Parents Association became a more and more indispensable part of the school. Quite apart from anything else the establishment of the Schulheim has played no small part in forming the school into a real working community.

The desire for the possession of a Schulheim arose naturally from the class excursions. Even though it meant concentrating on one particular place this would be more than compensated by the greater ease with which arrangements might be made and by the lowering of expenses which might be expected. In May 1923 an old wooden building standing at the harbour was obtained from the city authorities and transferred to Neugraben in sections. There it was re-erected by the fathers of the school children, 78 of them putting it up and preparing it for use, working at it one day from early morning till late at night. In August the place was first used, with tables and benches obtained on loan and with beds obtained from a Schulheim which had lapsed. Meanwhile the work of the parents continued, the fathers doing

all the odd jobs involving joiner-work and painting, and building in a proper stove for heating the premises and for cooking, the mothers attending to all arrangements of a domestic nature, cleaning, tidying and brightening the interior of the new home. In spring the work was resumed, painting within and without, furnishing with tables and chairs, planting birch-trees round the house. In August 1924 came the first donation from the school authorities, 630 marks, enabling the erection of a dining room annexe, with full lavatory accommodation. Till then the school community had met all expenses itself, expenses which it had kept remarkably low by utilising the willing services of parents and teachers. The next question which arose was that of water supply, a well was dug and a pump erected, the full cost being borne by the school. Later improvements were made through grants from the authorities and the work of improvement still goes on: there are always odd jobs to be done, always new problems arising, and the companionship of the work by parents, children and teachers at the Schulheim makes a fast link between school and home. Such co-operation exists not only at the Schulheim, a similar state of affairs exists in the school itself: there is no part of the school's activities in which the parents do not play an important part, as important as that of the teachers and children themselves. Yet it is safe to say that it is through the Schulheim that the parents have found themselves

as part of the school community, in the work of establishing it and in making the detailed arrangements for the visits of the class-groups.

Each year 9 of the 19 classes of the school visit the Schulheim for a fortnight during school time, the period of school vacation being kept as a separate holiday period and not arranged on a class basis. The other classes go to other Schulheime, the highest classes usually going on excursion further afield. All the classes go, even the little ones of six; the fortnight's excursion is included automatically in the curriculum, and the teaching in school is focussed on the excursion both before they go and after they have returned. The educational value of the excursion is given chief place, but its value physically and in holiday recreation is shown by the fact that on investigation one year it was found that 51 per cent. of the children of the school had not been outside the city boundaries for any time during the whole vacation.

Expenses are kept at the absolute minimum, otherwise it would not be possible to arrange for the visits of complete class-groups. To this end, two, three, or four mothers of the children, according to the advancement of the class, go with each group to attend to the kitchen and chores so that hired help may be dispensed with. On the average the children each pay from 15 to 16 marks for the fortnight, this including train-fare.

Such is the position in the Versuchsschule Telemannstrasse, an elementary school of experimental type in a working-class district. The question arises: to what extent can it be taken as representative of schools as a whole in their use of Schulheime? An important point we must first note is that though established as an entirely new experimental type of school in 1919, its uniqueness has disappeared, not through any retrogression on its part to the more conventional type of school, but because since 1919 all elementary schools in Hamburg have been remodelled on the same lines. The whole climate of educational opinion has altered, and with it educational practice, so that any difference between the original experimental schools and the average elementary school is now in degree rather than in type. The practice of all the schools as regards class-excursions and the use of the Schulheim is essentially similar to that of the Versuchsschule Telemannstrasse. There are many factors which lead to individual differences: the possession of a Schulheim or the dependance on outside homes, the distance of the Schulheim from the city, the social circumstances of the parents, the extent to which the parents participate in the work of the school and the cordiality or otherwise of their co-operation with the teachers. Further the secondary schools may be expected to differ from the elementary schools as regards country

homes and their use. As an example of a secondary school which owns a Schulheim let us consider more fully the Thaer Oberrealschule, a boys' school whose curriculum has a practical bias, having as its core the teaching of science and modern languages.

Even before the War this school had a place out in the country at Garstedt, resuming after the War at Langenhorn before settling down in its present premises at Hoisdorf. As mentioned previously the building which is now the Schulheim of the Thaer Oberealschule was first used by the Pädagogische Vereinigung von 1905, and was the first to be taken over for the service of Hamburg children in this connection. A typical North German farmhouse, built at Hoisdorf in 1856, it combined under one expanse of thatched roof barn, stables, and hayloft as well as the farmer's living rooms. Upstairs directly under the thatch were the storerooms for hay, corn, cattle-feed, etc., downstairs at one side was the house proper, while stabling accommodation took up the rest of the space round the central yard, to which there was direct access for carts and waggons through a wide doorway. In 1911 the farmhouse was rented by the Pädagogische Vereinigung von 1905 for use as a country home in connection with the schools, and it is thus the forerunner of all Hamburg's Schulheime. Apart from a change of management in 1915 it continued

steadily in use till 1921, in which year it was bought over by the Thaer Oberrealschule. Considerable alterations had of course been made, from 1911 onwards, to adapt the building to its new function, but in 1921 it was completely renovated and reconditioned, care being taken to preserve the character of the whole. A complete transformation has been effected, but it remains a typical North German Bauernhaus. The central yard has been transformed into a hall, used when the weather is unfavourable for assembly purposes and for meals. In one corner stands the piano, protected by a stout wooden casing made at school by the boys. A four-valve wireless set is also available but its use is restricted to days when it is too wet for out-of-door activities. Along the walls extend the cupboards where the boys keep their belongings - each of the sixty boys is given a lockfast cupboard of his own. As everywhere throughout the building, the simplest and plainest of decorative effects are relied on, the hall itself is planned in a bright colour-scheme in simple style. Downstairs the old farm-kitchen has been enlarged and thoroughly modernised, and bathrooms have been installed, complete even to sprays, while all other available space both downstairs and upstairs has been transformed into dormitories for the children, rooms for the staff, reading-room, emergency sick-room, and so on. In an adjacent building, formerly the farm-servants' quar-

ters, are the day-rooms, of suitable size for classes in school time. Electric light is installed throughout the premises, electricity being also responsible for the water supply by means of the electric pump. Outside there is ample room for running about, a playground for football or handball, as well as the meadow, where there is a small, shallow pond providing opportunity for paddling and bathing. The Schulheim itself stands right in the middle of the village of Hoisdorf and the village and its activities exercise a great fascination on the city children. Another never-failing source of attraction is the forest which extends for miles around, but, needless to say, the boys must obtain permission before they may leave the bounds of the Schulheim to explore what lies outside.

The Schulheim has capacity for 60 children, that is, two school classes. Each of the 20 classes in the school comes at some time or other to Hoisdorf for a fortnight with one of the teachers, during school-time, while in the 6 weeks' vacation there come delicate children recommended by the school doctor and children whose parents wish them to spend part of their holidays in this particular way and are prepared to pay the necessary fees. The Schulheim is thus open 26 weeks in all and is confined entirely to the pupils of the Thaer Oberrealschule, excepting that occasionally exchanges are made with other schools which have also country

houses, for instance some time ago with a Göttingen school.

As regards management, there is a certificated nurse permanently resident at the Schulheim and in charge of all domestic arrangements, having three kitchen helpers. One of the teachers of the school is delegated to supervise the Schulheim generally, but he is not in residence there. The work with the children chiefly devolves on the teachers who come with them from the school and on a special physical instructor at the Schulheim. For classes visiting during school-time formal lessons are compulsory, two or three hours' instruction being given daily. The curriculum is very elastic, however, both in the subjects of the lessons and in the hours at which they are given, so that it is usually a matter of day-to-day arrangement between teacher and pupils, the weather being an important factor. When possible the lessons are given out-of-doors and devoted to practical topics, particularly such as the boys' stay in the country may interest them in. In holiday time there are no class-lessons, in one of the class-rooms stands the Kasperl Theater - the Punch and Judy with which German children love to play - in the other a ping-pong table is continually in use, except in fine weather, when it is put up outside.

In addition to the stay at the Schulheim during school-time excursions are made each year by the same two classes, Untersekunda and Oberprima, comprising boys of 15

and of 18 respectively. Each party goes with a teacher on a hiking expedition for about a fortnight in some more or less distant part of the country, in Thuringia, in the Harz Mountains, even to Bavaria. Elaborate preparation is made beforehand in finding and collecting all available information about the district to be visited, historical, geographical, geological, and biological, such work being extended and completed on their return. It is to be noted that these excursions are supplementary to the fortnight at the Schulheim. The classes chosen are Oberprima, the highest class, and another class which is also completing a stage of its schooling, Untersekunda, so it will be seen that considerable importance is attached to the educational value of the regular class visits to the familiar country home and of class excursions to new surroundings.

The financial problem which arises is not a simple one: the running expenses of the Schulheim are very substantial and charges must be made to correspond, so that it is inevitable that many of the parents will be quite unable to pay the full sum charged to the children for their fortnight's stay, particularly as there are ordinary school fees to be paid over and above. With the boys of Untersekunda and Oberprima the problem is still more difficult since here there is the class excursion to be budgeted for as well. The charge per day at the Schulheim is 2.20 marks,

2.50 in holiday time: the school association investigates all cases where the parents cannot pay the full sum, obtains a measure of assistance from the city authorities in the case of the poorest children and supplements from its own funds as it sees fit. The position is similar as regards the class-excursions. The cast-iron rule is that when a class goes to the Schulheim or on excursion, each member of the class group goes: if home circumstances are such that the boy cannot pay his expenses it is the business of the school community as a whole to see that that does not stand in his way. With the organisation of the school community for such purposes we will deal later.

Just across the road from the Schulheim of the Thaer Oberrealschule stands another Schulheim, the one which was obtained by the Pädagogische Vereinung von 1905 when it first changed its quarters. This association now has five homes in all, situated in different districts. The homes are not connected with individual schools but provide for the reception of classes from such Hamburg schools as wish to use them. Arrangements are made through the association, not through the individual home. The visiting teacher has to take the full responsibility for the group he brings, the permanent staff of the home consisting only of a part-time caretaker. Usually some of the children's mothers go with the group to attend to the cooking and household duties,

though the provision of meals can also be arranged through the association. The homes naturally are not comparable with those of the secondary schools, such as the one we have just described, but they are at least on a par with the other Schulheime which serve Hamburg's elementary schools, in equipment and in general management, and in the reasonableness of the charge made, the average inclusive charge for each child per day being 1.70 marks. So long as such homes as these are available for the reception of class-groups it will not be necessary for each elementary school in Hamburg to go to the trouble and expense of acquiring a Schulheim of its own.

4. The Youth Hostels (Jugendherbergen).

Apart from the special country homes organised by city authorities for the welfare of their children, or run in connection with schools, there are other homes, which are of almost equal importance, the Jugendherbergen. They have developed quite independently of school and of welfare authorities, with the aim simply of helping young people in their hiking expeditions by the provision of hostels where they may obtain food and lodging overnight. From small beginnings a complete network of Jugendherbergen has arisen;

in 1911 there were only seventeen hostels affiliated to the central association, there are now almost three thousand throughout the whole of Germany exclusive of many private hostels managed similarly, and the extent of their use is shown by the fact that each year lodgings are provided overnight in more than four million cases.*

The Hamburg district association controls fifteen hostels, five in the city, ten in the immediate neighbourhood. It is part of the county association, Gau Nordmark, in which there are twelve further hostels. Membership of the district association entitles one to stay at any hostel in any part of Germany except southern Bavaria; it is open to adults as well as to young people, though naturally the membership fees for young people are very much less than for adults. For adults the charge for individual membership is 4 marks, while schools pay 5 marks for affiliation, educational societies and other societies whose activities are with young people, 4 marks. These charges include the cost of the handbook (Reichsherbergverzeichnis), which gives full details of all the Jugendherbergen which belong to the association throughout the whole of Germany, and also the cost of the magazine 'Die Jugendherberge' which is issued monthly. All persons under 21 years of age may

* For an analysis of the historical development and the functioning of the Jugendherbergen, see Chapter V, which is devoted to this topic.

become individual members on payment of .50 m. annually while children in groups do not require membership cards: all that is necessary is that their leader should have an appropriate card, for which the charge is only .25 m. At the hostels the charges are of a similar order: for lodging overnight, children pay .30 m. each, adults .60 m., food being also obtainable at extremely low cost. On the whole the hostels are run on very similar lines to those Schulheime which are not connected with any special school. They are generally much simpler: the sleeping accommodation is invariably rougher, and there is less provision of day-rooms, play-grounds, and so on. This is quite to be expected as the Jugendherbergen are primarily intended for groups which hike from place to place, staying each night in a different Herberge. Their chief use so far as schools are concerned is thus the housing overnight of class-groups on excursion during term, under the leadership of a teacher, or of holiday groups organised in the school for the vacation; indeed the Herbergen are the basis of all such excursions. In addition some of the Herbergen are used by class-groups exactly as Schulheime, the groups staying for a fortnight or longer. Many of the Herbergen make provision for the reception of groups for continuous periods, which makes them still more like Schulheime, since except in holiday time the only groups of

children which can make protracted excursions are school class-groups led by their teachers, and since even holiday groups originate to a great extent in the schools. There is in fact no real distinction in type between such Herbergen and Schulheime which are not connected with any particular school but are run by educational associations, for instance those we have already discussed in the case of the homes of the Pädagogische Vereinigung of Hamburg. A superficial difference arises in that Herbergen are intended primarily for persons staying one night only, there being a definite rule that newcomers take preference over persons who have already stayed a night or more, provided of course they have sent word in advance. This merely means that the Herbergen do not provide for groups staying any fixed period unless they have sufficient alternative accommodation for such other casual visitors. This rules out the smaller Herbergen from receiving groups for a protracted stay, but has little effect on the larger ones. Another more obvious difference is that the Schulheim provides only for school children as such, while the use of the Herberge is not even confined to children of school age. It will be found however in almost all cases where a Schulheim does not belong to an individual school, that it is at the same time enrolled as a Jugendherberge: a room is set aside as a dormitory for casual hikers, frequently

enough the loft, and the use of practically the whole house is made available to them. Such is the case for instance in Hamburg with the homes belonging to the Pädagogische Vereinigung: they are Jugendherbergen as well as Schulheime.

* * * * *

So much for the various types of homes- their origins, development, function, and organisation. Some notes fall to be added regarding their general supervision by the city authorities. Direct control is exercised over all Erholungsheime, Tageskolonien, and Schulheime; there is a code of regulations which covers minutely everything connected with the management of these homes, and their use by the schools.

As regards the arrangements for class-excursions from school during term, the full responsibility lies with the teaching staff of the school concerned. The year's programme of class-excursions has to be submitted for approval to the Oberschulbehörde at the beginning of each year, and later modifications must also be approved. Children of the first three school years, that is, under 9 years of age, are not allowed to make class-excursions of any duration except in special cases. Class-excursions of this kind have to be participated in by the whole class,

if for any reason a section of the class is left behind it must not be transferred temporarily to a higher or lower class, it must be taught separately, or with another class of the same grade. If the group on excursion exceeds twenty in number the teacher with the group must have an assistant, preferably another teacher, to help him with the children. When a class goes to a school home or holiday home under a teacher's supervision the teacher has the full responsibility for the children, not the management of the home. In all other cases it is a matter of arrangement between the school and the home which is visited, in particular where the visiting group is drawn from several schools, as may happen in the case of children sent through the welfare bureau. The transport of the children to and from the home is also a matter of arrangement between the school and the management of the home.

As regards the homes themselves, regulations are laid down about the buildings and their use: questions of sanitation, ventilation, water-supply, heating and lighting are covered in minute detail. Electric lighting is compulsory, except in special cases, and central heating is recommended as minimising the danger of fire. Particular attention is given to the prevention and control of fire; safety regulations are imposed for the building itself, fire extinguishers must be readily available, and fire

drill is compulsory for each new group of children. This is particularly necessary as most of the country homes are roofed with thatch, and run the risk of being fired by lightning, a risk which in this part of the country cannot be ignored. The regulations extend also to the children's meals: the weekly quantities of the various foodstuffs per child are tabulated, and a corresponding diet recommended, though variety is also insisted on.

As regards the personnel of the home it is recommended that the supervisor should have teaching qualifications if possible, and there must be at least one of the helpers at the home with a sound knowledge of first-aid. Medical supervision is compulsory: arrangements must be made with a doctor to call regularly, and to be ready at need. A special room must be set aside as a sick room and may not be used for any other purpose. Before setting out with the group each child must show a medical certificate stating that he is free from any infectious disease and from contact with it at home, and that he has been so for the previous three weeks; he must also be free from vermin.

Special conditions are attached to the giving of financial aid for the foundation of new homes and for the upkeep, improvement, or extension of existing homes. Assistance is given by the city only in exceptional cases,

very seldom in the form of a direct grant, more usually in the form of a loan, security being found for the loan by a bond on the property concerned. In such cases the authorities naturally take a more direct share in the business management of the homes.

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Finally we come to the part played by the schools in the organising of the excursions. In previous chapters we dealt with this question in its general bearings, tracing the influence of the excursions and of the Schulheime on school methods, on school organisation, and on the atmosphere in which the work of the school is carried on. Here we are concerned merely with the manner in which the various types of excursions are organised through the schools, but even this, as we shall find, has the closest possible affinity with the reform elements in the school system. The Hamburg school system was reconstituted after the War on two basic principles, government by committee, and parent participation. These principles were applied throughout the educational system, in the external administration of the schools as in their internal management, and the changes effected by decree in 1920 stood essentially unaltered till the Nazi Revolution of 1933. This is the period in which the Schulheim movement in Hamburg developed to maturity, so, as before, let us view the situation from the standpoint of 1930.

The central authority controlling education in the elementary and secondary schools is the Oberschulbehörde. A separate authority, the Jugendbehörde deals with matters of youth welfare, and with all questions affecting children which are not primarily of an educational nature. The Oberschulbehörde consists of some twenty members, six of whom are representatives of the Schulbeirat, the central council of teachers and parents, three being teachers, three parents; the remaining members are representatives of the City Council, apart from the Director (Landesschulrat), who is a member ex officio. The Schulbeirat comprises two bodies, the Teachers' Council and the Parents' Council, each consisting of 100 members elected every two years by the Hamburg teachers and parents respectively from their number. Of the hundred representatives in each council, 66 are from the elementary schools, 22 from the secondary, 6 from the country districts, and 6 from private schools. Supervision of the individual schools is effected through inspectors, but even here we find considerable difference from the ordinary school system. For the elementary schools there is a chief inspector (Schulrat) and 8 district inspectors, each with some 30 schools in his district (Kreisschulräte). These take over many of the office duties normally performed by the headmaster, and make the way clear for the organisation of the school in its present form. The headmaster is

no longer apart from the teachers, in a class by himself, the school is organised as a community in which the headmaster is simply one of the teachers delegated to certain duties, convener of the school committee. The school community (Schulgemeinde) consists of the teachers (Lehrerschaft), the children, and the parents of the children (Elternschaft). The headmaster (Schulleiter) is one of the teachers, elected from their number by secret ballot, representatives of the parents also taking part in the election; at the end of three years he may be re-elected or another teacher may be elected in his place, in which case he reverts to his previous status. In practice re-election is the general rule, but the principle is strictly adhered to, embodying as it does the recognition that the headmaster is primarily a teacher delegated by his colleagues to certain special duties. This is further recognised by the fact that election to the position of Schulleiter does not carry with it any increase of salary over that of the ordinary teacher, there is only a reduction of the teaching load by about half, in consideration of the extra duties involved. In addition to the Schulleiter, one of the teachers is elected in similar fashion as Vertrauensmann, welfare adviser: he attends to the sending of delicate children to Erholungsheime and supervises the arrangements for class-excursions and visits to Tageskolonien and Schulheime. In particular

he is concerned with the financial aspect of such excursions: he attends to all the subscriptions accruing from the parents to the school fund, and to the giving of assistance to necessitous children from this fund. Often enough he runs a holiday fund to help the children to save money for the class-excursion, while if the school possess a Schulheim of its own he is invariably Heimleiter also. His position is thus very similar to that of the Schulleiter - primarily a teacher, he is appointed by the school community to supervise certain of its activities, receiving no increase in salary by virtue of his post, merely a slight reduction of his teaching load, a reduction which does not fully compensate for the extra work involved. In most of the elementary schools the Schulleiter is also Vertrauensmann, but in the secondary schools, particularly in those which have a Schulheim of their own, the offices are quite distinct.

In the constitution of Hamburg schools great importance is attached to the active co-operation of the parents of the children in the work of the school community. Parents' Councils were no new thing when enforced by the new constitution of 1920: even as early as 1912 they were to be found in 40 per cent. of the elementary schools. Under this constitution the school is conceived as a community of parents, children and teachers. The general

committee of the school community is the Parents' Council (Elternrat), which consists of the Schulleiter, two other teachers, and seven of the parents elected as representatives by the parents of the children attending the school, election taking place every two years. In purely paedagogic matters the parents have absolutely no standing, and it is safe to say that the Elternrat has established its position through the years by its work for the Schulheim and for the various types of group excursions organised within the school. The Elternrat is of particular value in dealing with the problems arising out of sending class-groups to the Schulheim or on excursion.*

The chief problem is a financial one, and arises from the fact that children must be sent whose parents cannot pay the charge even though it be cut to the absolute minimum. The children must be sent, some because they are delicate or weakly and require the stay at the Erholungsheim or the excursion to the Tageskolonie for reasons of health, others because they are members of school classes which are going to stay at a Schulheim during term, in which case the class must go complete. In no case is any child to stay at home from a projected excursion merely through straitened home circumstances. Assistance is given to genuinely necessitous children through the Jugendbehörde since their excur-

* For a more general discussion of the connection between the growth of parent participation in school affairs and the expansion of school excursions see previously, Chapter X.

sion is primarily in the interests of their physical welfare, and funds are also available in the case of class visits through the Oberschulbehörde, these excursions being mainly for educational purposes. The grants are given mainly from the Pestalozzi Fund which the Oberschulbehörde administers. But there is always a large number of children whose parents cannot afford to pay the full charges but are not so poor as to qualify for assistance through the Jugendbehörde, further, the assistance given by the city authorities is seldom enough in itself to remove the deficit altogether. The Elternrat thus not only has the duty, for which it is peculiarly fitted, of investigating each individual case, and recommending deserving cases to the appropriate authorities for assistance, it must also maintain funds to supplement such assistance. For such purposes the Elternrat is empowered to levy a small sum annually on the parents of all the school children, the sum varying according to the school. In most of the elementary schools the annual subscription is 2 marks, collected in 10 monthly instalments, the holiday months being excluded, though it may be larger for some schools which have a Schulheim of their own, for instance at the Volksschule Telemannstrasse which we discussed before, the charge is 4 marks. In the secondary schools it may be very much greater, but the individual cases differ widely. The use

made of the total sum so obtained varies considerably according to the interests of the particular school: a clearer idea of the working of the system will possibly be obtained if we consider one or two individual cases.

The Volksschule Alsenstrasse is an elementary school in a typical city district. In the school the parents of each child pay to the school association (Schulverein), of which the Elternrat is the governing committee, ^{2.40} ~~2~~ marks annually in 12 monthly subscriptions, payment being made through the Vertrauensmann, who in this school is also Schulleiter. For the year 1929 this gave a sum total of 550 marks for this school of 430 children. Further income was derived from the school festivals, held twice yearly: thus at Easter a sum of 280 marks was obtained, half of which went to the Welfare Fund, half to the fund for the purchase of extra school materials. A Holiday Fund is run by the Schulleiter for the children and this is a further help in preparing for excursions: it is of course quite distinct from the Welfare Fund, being really a savings bank. The school has no Schulheim of its own and concentrates its attention on sending groups to Moorwärder Day Colony during vacation and during term. As holiday time comes round each teacher makes arrangements for those children in his class who wish to go to Moorwärder for a fortnight during vacation; the children each pay the 9.50 marks and

obtain the card which entitles them to daily excursions to Moorwärder for the fortnight and which gives them full particulars as to dates, time and place of assembly, and so on. Children who wish to go but whose parents cannot pay the full 9.50 marks inform their teacher and he brings the case before the Schulleiter. The matter is investigated and if the child is not going elsewhere on holiday and if the parents are poor, assistance is given from the Welfare Fund or application is made by the Elternrat to the Jugendbehörde to make up the sum the parent can pay to 9.50 marks. Note incidentally that the Day Colony has nothing to do with this: it charges a flat rate which is paid to it directly in all cases. The class-group visits made during term are for fortnightly periods and are of two kinds according as the group returns home every evening or stays the whole time at Moorwärder. Arrangements for the former are very similar to those for vacation visits. For the latter the charge is naturally higher, 16.50 marks per fortnight for each child, so that the difficulties of taking the whole class as a group are greatly enhanced. In 1930 four class-groups visited Moorwärder thus, 12 per cent. of the cost being paid by the Oberschulbehörde from the Pestalozzi Fund.

As a further example let us consider the Thaer Oberrealschule, whose Schulheim at Hoisdorf we have already described. During term, each class in the school stays for

a fortnight at the Schulheim, which has room for two class-groups at a time: during vacation, children go there who are recommended by the school doctor, with others who wish to spend part of their holidays in this way, and whose parents can afford it. In addition, two class-groups make a hiking expedition for a fortnight during term, but with this sole exception, all such activities are centred in the Schulheim. Organisation through the school is essentially similar to that which obtains for the Volksschule Alsenstrasse, though complicated by the ownership of a Schulheim. In the school, the post of Schulleiter is quite distinct from that of Vertrauensmann, the latter is Heimleiter as well, his duties including the supervision of all the work of the Schulheim. The charges made for the reception of children at the Schulheim are naturally higher than in the case of the elementary school, further, the parents have ordinary school fees to pay so it will be seen that grants will frequently be necessary. There are two ways in which money is obtained to enable assistance to be given by the school. In the first place there are the funds of the school club (Schulverein) derived from the subscriptions of the parents, each family which sends a child to school must be represented on the Schulverein by at least one of the parents; for the first representative the subscription is 6 marks per annum, for each subsequent member represent-

ing the home, 4 marks. This yields to the Schulverein about 4,000 marks each year, of which half is allocated to the maintenance and improvement of the amenities of the Schulheim, and a small sum in addition to the subsidising of class-excursions. The remainder is expended in incidental expenses and in activities connected more directly with the school itself. The second way in which assistance is made possible is by the incorporation of such expenses in the charge made to the children for the visit to the Schulheim, the charge being raised to 2.30 marks per day from the figure otherwise necessary, which is roughly 2.10 marks per day. Thus the parents' subscriptions to the Schulverein are not allotted to the assistance of poorer children to pay their Schulheim dues, as in the case of the Volksschule Alsenstrasse, such funds here are devoted to the maintenance of the Schulheim, thus reducing the dues all round, the dues are then correspondingly increased by including in them the cost of subsidising the poorer children. The effect is virtually the same, the difference is merely in organisation. In other directions the financial arrangements at the Thaer Oberrealschule are similar in structure to those at the Volksschule Alsenstrasse, for instance, a school savings-bank is run on behalf of the children in preparation for class or holiday excursions, while for poor children funds are available in the same way

from the Jugendbehörde and the Oberschulbehörde, though naturally the Schulverein depends less on their help.

These two schools, though wide apart in type, show within their individual differences the similarity of their general organisation for dealing with the children's excursions. Arrangements are made within the schools in all cases, as part of the normal functioning of the school. Whether we consider an elementary school in a working-class district where the parents pay a nominal monthly fee to the Schulverein and send their children to Kohlbrand or Moorwärder, or a secondary school like the Oberrealschule Bodenstrasse, where the parents pay one mark monthly and every pupil visits the Schulheim for four weeks during term every year, we find that the methods of organisation and the principles on which this work is based are fundamentally the same.

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For a general analysis of the Schulheim movement in Hamburg we took a point of view prior to 1933. Long before the Nazi counter-revolution the Schulheime and welfare colonies had established their claims and been accepted within the social organism as institutions whose work was as important in its own way as that of the schools themselves. Their functioning has been affected but little so far by the new conditions, though it is probably too early

yet to estimate adequately the true significance of the impact of Nazi policy and Nazi methods. The new turn of events brought vital changes in public policy and a complete reversal of administrative methods, but the activities of the various homes and colonies continued without hindrance or obstruction under the new régime: they received if anything greater official recognition and support than before, and a new access of enthusiasm is evident in all their work. A new militarism characterises all organised group activities among young people, finding expression in field sports and exercises, route marches, and the like, and this has affected all the colonies, welfare centres, and country homes used by the groups. The imitation of military forms is largely the result of a craving for self-discipline in the service of the State, a craving which is one of the strongest bulwarks of the Nazi system. It finds its most direct expression in militarist activities, but it is evident in many other forms, notably in the labour camps and labour colonies which are such a significant feature of the new Germany: for the younger generation the labour colonies stand at the core of Nazi policy, for this very reason.

In administration there has been a reversion from the democratic methods, operative since 1920, to a centralised and authoritative system of government. As we showed previously, the principle of committee government was car-

ried to extreme in Hamburg schools under the Republic. This principle, excellent in theory, showed grave defects in practice; it lent itself to abuses which became ever more obvious, and helped to pave the way for the counter-revolution. The committee, if it is to function properly, requires in its members a detachment, a disinterestedness which will serve to eliminate lobbying and intrigue for party purposes or for personal advancement. Its functioning in the Hamburg school system roused increasing discontent: there was a growing feeling that competence and efficiency were less liable to receive recognition than under the old system, and a growing sense of insecurity throughout the teaching profession. Immediately the Nazis came to power the committee system was abolished.

Authority was centralised as far as possible and vested in individuals, responsibility was taken from the individual teachers in each school and vested in the headmaster, responsibility was taken from the individual schools and vested in the central executive. The Oberschulbehörde and the Jugendbehörde, whose work had overlapped in many ways, leading to endless friction, were combined in the new Landesunterrichtsbehörde. The whole system of administration was tightened up and adjusted to the requirements of Nazi policy.

Certain minor changes may be indicated to bring some

details in our survey of the welfare colonies and Schulheim more up to date. The militant socialist organisation, the Verein für Arbeiterwohlfahrt, was dissolved immediately the Nazis came to power, and with its disappearance the management of Kohlbrand Day Colony was taken over by the private association responsible for the other Day Colony, at Moorwärder. This latter association had early shown Nazi sympathies. As regards the Schulheime proper, all the different types have become more closely associated with one another than ever before. The whole system of homes has in fact been reorganised so as to provide a greater equality of opportunity to Hamburg children; the schools of the city are grouped together by districts in their use of the homes, though of course secondary schools and elementary schools are still kept apart.

* For expansion of the various topics discussed in this appendix reference may be made to publications such as the following:-

'Das hamburgische Schulwesen, 1914-24,'
(Oberschulbehörde, Hamburg, 1925).

'Erholungs - und Schullandheime für Kinder in Hamburg,
(Oberschulbehörde, Hamburg, 1928).

'Acht Jahre Hamburger Jugendausschuss, 1921-29,'

'Handbuch des Zentralausschusses der hamburgischen'
Kinder- und Jugendheime e.V.'

'Jubiläumsbericht (1925),' Jahresberichte, 1926-31-
Verein für Ferienwohlfahrtsbestrebungen.

'Zehn Jahre Versuchsschule' (Schule Telemannstrasse,
1929).

'Der Reichsbund der deutschen Schullandheime' (1930).