

Reading in Waldorf Schools Begins in Kindergarten and Avoids Clouding the Mind's Eye

Arthur Auer

Universal Literacy: A Recent Experiment in Evolution

Learning to read abstract alphabet symbols and words is a recent activity for most groups of people on the planet—a new experiment in evolution. For more than 100,000 years, through physical, hands-on interaction with the world and through oral communication, young *homo sapiens* have successfully sculpted the neural circuitry of a healthy intelligence without this skill. For most of the 5,000 years since the invention of writing, most human beings have not had the opportunity or the social need to learn to read. Only in the last hundred years or so has a significant percentage of the earth's population learned to read and write.

Because of the recent advent of literacy as a human convention, there has scarcely been the time biologically for primary neural mechanisms to evolve specifically for reading and writing. The brain has had to rig various secondary set-ups to accommodate this new unnatural function. According to neuroscience, the brain is resourceful and can “co-opt one structure that might have evolved for an entirely different purpose and apply it to another function altogether.”¹ As one neuroscientist points out, however, there is in this co-opting and improvising process an overlooked cost to acquiring literacy (see below).

It is no wonder, then, that children learn to read in a variety of ways—some by sight, others by sound, or others by a combination of different modes that depends on how the brain accommodates this new skill. It is also not surprising

that learning to read has been characterized as one of the most complex neurological acts a human being may undergo. And yet millions of children today pick up this symbolic deciphering with apparent ease. Many appear to teach themselves. In contrast to these successes, however, the mystery remains of that significant minority which does not so easily take to this modern innovation—the so-called dyslexics, the “dys-readers.” How do we account for their experience? What may their plight teach us?

Reading Embraces a Host of Activities

Reading in Waldorf schools begins in kindergarten and nursery. Early childhood teachers create a loving environment in which young children strengthen their ability to “read” the world. In so doing, they simultaneously “write” into their neural networks the full set of sensory, motor, verbal, and mental skills that belong to the repertoire of reading. As kindergartners listen attentively to a

fairy tale, they learn to aurally differentiate and decipher the meaning of sounds, words, sentences, and whole stories; simultaneously they begin to exercise the sequential inner imaging necessary for remembering and for good comprehension skills; and, above all, they are learning to devote increased attention to words.

Through rhythmic artistic activities such as singing and recitation, kindergartners act out, articulate, practice, and “write” into themselves the language sounding around them. Through painting, they “read” colors and

shapes on the two-dimensional surface reality of a page. This ripens their vision for surface, the necessary precursor for a more awakened, focused

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vision that they develop only later around age eight for reading small print. Further, in this process kindergartners use large “pencils with bristles” called paintbrushes, to put down strokes of color and strengthen the eye-hand coordination so vital to writing. In drawing with stick crayons, they start to more graphically and abstractly delineate their figures as a meaningful picture writing that tells a story through colorful images and movements.

Both painting and drawing involve hand activity that provides children with a major mode for “writing” experiences into their brains and bodies. Children “read” and interpret the things of the world constantly by grasping them first manually and then verbally and mentally. All of the fine hand motor and gross motor body movements and activities of a Waldorf school kindergarten contribute to this internal inscribing process, sculpturally shaping images in beeswax or dough into loaf forms or making those delicious mud pies; all the handcrafts and rhythmic activities such as sweeping and hammering at a little work bench; and singing and reciting rhymes with rhythmic hand clapping, gestures, and sequential stepping. According to Steiner’s research, we learn to grasp the contours of language and sentences with our legs and to modulate inflection and the plastic formation of words with our arms and fingers. Our whole body becomes the organ for the sense of word. That is why the art of eurythmy, which starts in early childhood and continues through grade school and high school, may be seen as the quintessential, unifying activity of Waldorf education:

When we let children do eurythmy, what are we actually doing then? Instead of giving them sticks of crayon with which to write an “A” or an “F”—an activity with which they have a purely cognitive connection—we let the children write into the world, through their own human form, what constitutes the content of language. The human being is not directed to abstract symbols but allowed to write into the world what can be inscribed through his or her organism.²

A Joyful Waldorf School Moment: Embracing Books, Writing, and Reading in First Grade

Eurythmy and all of the preliminary writing and reading activities of the kindergarten naturally flow into a Waldorf school first grade and are repeated at a more advanced, formal level, with new mental energies now available at school age. According to Steiner’s research, a child’s life forces have sculpted a major part of the physical body by age six or seven, resulting in a certain surplus. It was his remarkable discovery that this surplus of life energy then becomes ready and available for the mental life of the soul and the growth of imagination. (Plants turn light into life and we as

human beings turn life back into light, the inner light of knowledge.) At school age, children become able to retain the inner mental images that they “sculpt” in the mind’s eye, even when they are separated and abstracted from the immediate presence of sense percepts. This matured capacity for retained mental picturing and imagination is one of the significant factors that indicate school readiness. Children in the early grades gain the mental

power and eidetic ability to re-envision and recall pictures based on a matured memory capacity. They vividly reassemble and remember their experiences, synthesized from different parts of their brain, organism, and soul. All of this is possible because of new life forces that have been released for the next stage of life—a body of formative energy forces that Steiner characterizes as a “life body”:

With the change of teeth ... the time begins when the life body can be worked on through external education. We must be very clear about what works on the life body from the outside. The formation and growth of the life body means the shaping and developing of inclinations and habits, of the conscience, character, memory, and temperament. The life body is worked on through pictures and examples—that is, through a child’s carefully guided imagination.³

Furthermore, as they start school with a new kind of energy, many children manifest an increasing social interest in various aspects of life including society's practical symbols and signs—those little skeleton-like marks that grown-ups use for writing and reading. This interest constitutes an important moment in a child's life. Steiner therefore recommends that the first grade teacher build an intense anticipation and eagerness for formal reading in the first lesson:

Look how grown-ups have books and can read. You cannot read yet, but you will learn to read. When you have learned how to read you will also be able to take books and learn from them as grown-ups learn from them. Adults can write letters to each other; in fact, they can write down anything they like. Soon you will also be able to write letters, because you will also learn to write.⁴

In this first day proclamation, a teacher also creates a mood of reverence for what adults as role models have learned and for the wonder of human hands. Children, you are going to do something today! First graders right from the start plunge into hand activity and letter formation—with the help of action geometry—leading into writing and reading the books they themselves, with gusto, compose and illustrate. Soon parents start to report that children, with joy, are reading road signs on the way to and from school.

Timing and Pace are of the Developmental Essence

If many young children become so eager to read at around age seven, why not quickly focus on real factory-made books and imprint their fine machine print into children's memories and nervous systems? After all, it can be done rapidly and is being done earlier and earlier almost every-

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where. Why do Waldorf school teachers take the first term of roughly four months in the first grade to artistically and rhythmically introduce the alphabet in such an animated, magical way? Why do the children read a carefully crafted selection of verses and sentences that they themselves have rhythmically learned by heart and then written down in their own hand?

Developmentally, we know that the nervous systems and sensory-motor capacities of children gradually ripen step by step. Of primary importance to all reading, writing, and overall language development, for example, is the gradual formation of language areas of the brain. Over the course of first, second, and third grades, these are still shaping themselves significantly. These areas are found on the left side of the brain in 95% of all individuals, left- or right-handed. They need time through the “nine- or ten-year-old change” and beyond to become established. (The so-called “nine-year-old change” is a shift in consciousness that takes place on average between the ninth and tenth birthdays. Children feel their souls as separate from the surrounding world.) How the language arts are approached in the first three grades has a major influence not only on the fine neuroplastic articulation of these speech areas but also on other centers of the brain, centers that are interconnected and share a common and limited pool of precious life energy for development. Recent studies of the brain have shown that language development is far more complex than previously thought and that all kinds of unsuspected functions become involved during language formation.

Recall that reading is “unnatural” and “co-opts” other functions. Overusing energies in one area can lead to shortchanging the proper shaping of others, especially in the highly formative stages of ages six to twelve. (This reallocation phenomenon often demonstrates itself to an extreme in mental handicaps where intense overdevelopment of one capacity is associated

with underdevelopment in another. For example, idiot-savants can have incredible calculating powers but can have difficulty in dressing themselves.)

Each child has its own complex neurophysiological clock and configuration. In my experience, neurological maturity for learning to read varies considerably in children and ranges widely from about six to eleven years of age, with a midpoint around ages eight to nine, a time when most children in Waldorf schools are in what I would call a “take-off stage” of reading. What also has to be taken into account and is often overlooked is that a child's eyes are only physically ready for focusing on print around age eight. Reading before then can overstrain young eyes. According to neurophysiologist Carla Hannaford:

The muscles of the eye ... play an important part in classroom learning. Before entering school, three-dimensional and peripheral vision allow the greatest environmental learning. They integrate the visual with the kinesthetic to understand shapes, movement of natural forms and spatial awareness. When children enter school, they are often expected to quickly develop their foveal focus for up close, two-dimensional paper work. At school foveal focus is necessary to see small, static, two-dimensional letters on a page. The transition from three-dimensional and peripheral to foveal focus is very abrupt and in many cases unnatural. . . .⁵

By age seven or eight, as the frontal lobes of the cerebrum mature, fine motor coordination of muscles throughout the body naturally develops. Before then, we have good peripheral and depth vision, but it is only when the frontal eye field of the frontal lobes matures that accurate enough eye teaming is possible for two-dimensional focus. Eye teaming occurs when the dominant eye tracks across a page of writing and the non-dominant eye follows the movements exactly and blends the information, binocular vision. . . . These fine motor movements ensure ease of information gathering and point to another physiological reason for not starting the reading process until age seven or, preferably, age eight.⁶

The Danish school system, respecting natural brain developmental patterns, does not start children in school until six or seven years of age. They teach writing and reading from a holistic, gestalt processing format and then move to the details later, around age eight, when the logic hemisphere is ready to handle it. Reading is not taught until age eight — and Denmark boasts 100% literacy.⁷

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Given these critical factors of eye readiness and the complex diversity of neural maturity, it makes sense to proceed gradually in the early grades. Waldorf school teachers use rhythms and repetitions of verses, songs, and other artistic activities to help the language experience integrate itself organically into the child's whole being—into chest and limbs, with the head slowly awakening. The chest's rhythmic system of heart and lungs never

seems to tire physically. Because of this, rhythm-based exercises buoy a child's interest and energy rather than wear them out. Such a method allows high quality artistic impressions to gently sink into the neural substrate and allow it to ripen organically:

[W]hen the right time comes, reading will not be anchored too loosely, which can happen, nor too tightly, as if each letter were making a kind of a scratch upon the tender soul-substance of the child.⁸

Overtaxing children's still maturing brains does not necessarily produce healthy neural formations for reading or for other, similar functions. Steiner strenuously objected to what he saw as a “pushing’ of a foreign body [reading] into the child's organism,” causing what he termed “malformations” and “damage by . . . introducing reading and writing . . . in the wrong way. . . . [For him,] what is learned more slowly at any given age is more surely and healthily absorbed by the organism, than what is crammed into it. . . .”⁹ Yet, societies today all over the world increasingly pressure many youngsters into reading print, as early as age three and frequently at age four or five. (I recently spotted a Reading Academy for three-year-olds in Florida.)

In contrast, writing and reading, in my experience of the Waldorf school approach, start only in first grade and reach a “take-off” phase after age eight as the child approaches the so-called “nine-to-ten-year-old change.” The process of learning to read in a Waldorf elementary school involves the following stages:

Initially, class teachers give first graders an extended time to neurologically digest alphabet letters, words, verses, and stories immersed in a multi-sided artistic process.

In first grade and the first half of second grade, students read what they have handwritten in relatively large letters in books that they have made themselves.

From the last half of second grade through third and into fourth grade they are increasingly gobbling down, in groups and individually, numerous printed readers consisting of high quality children’s literature. Having heard so many stories from their teachers directly, books become a vehicle to discover more of the same on their own and satisfy their healthy appetites for more.

In the upper elementary grades, 4 through 8, students rise to a new level: reading to learn. They love to devour and discuss a lot of good literature, literature that depicts moving life-issues. The enjoyment of reading has not been tainted by unconscious feelings of stress and anxiousness, or, even worse, phobia or burnout.

A Creative Compromise

Interestingly, Steiner’s recommendations for beginning reading in the early grades were a philosophical compromise. For him, the ideal time, developmentally, to learn the abstracting process of reading was around eleven to twelve years of age. This is the stage at which the brain and nervous system actually begin to develop abstract thinking. (Compare Piaget’s stage of “formal operations.”) Children who, for unusual reasons, have not been exposed to reading until age twelve have been known to pick it up very quickly. Steiner realized, however, that such a

delay would be impossible in a fast-paced modern society:

People will object that the children then [at age eleven or twelve] learn to read and write too late. This is said only because it is not known today how harmful it is when the children learn to read and write too soon. It is a very bad thing to be able to write early. Reading and writing as we have them today are really not suited to the human being till a later age—the eleventh or twelfth year—and the more a child is blessed with not being able to read and write well before this age, the better it is for the later years of life. A child who cannot write properly at thirteen or fourteen (I can speak out of my own experience because I could not do it at that age) is not so hindered for later spiritual development as one who early, at seven or eight years, can already read and write perfectly. These are things that the teacher must notice. Naturally you will not be able to proceed as you really should today because the children have to pass from your

independent school into public life. But a great deal can be done nevertheless when you know these things. It is a question of knowledge. And your knowledge must show you, above all, that it is quite wrong to teach reading before writing. In writing, especially if it is developed from the painting-drawing, drawing-painting that I have spoken of, the whole human being is active—the fingers take part, the body is positioned, the whole person is engaged. In reading only the head is occupied and anything that only occupies a part of the organ-

ism and leaves the remaining parts impassive should be taught as late as possible. It is most important first to bring the whole being into movement, and later on the single parts.¹⁰

Notice in the previous quotation that Steiner is speaking from personal experience. According to the academic standards of his day, he himself was apparently deficient in some areas such as spelling and writing in the early elementary years. Falsely accused of starting a commotion in school at age seven, his father withdrew him and he was

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taught at home for a time—homeschooled! Spared certain deadening educational methods early on, the development of his mental and spiritual make-up was unhindered:

...When, as is the custom to-day, a child is obliged as early as the sixth or seventh year to learn to read and write, it is torture for the soul that wants to develop and unfold in accordance with its own nature. I can only repeat what I have already told you in my autobiography, that I owe the removal of many hindrances to the circumstance that when I was twelve years old I was still unable to write properly. For the capacity of being able to write, in the way that is demanded today, kills certain qualities in the human being. . . . Modern civilization makes bodies unfit.¹¹

Steiner, in this particular lecture cycle, does not discuss the specifics of the educational practices that make “bodies unfit” nor does he discuss the positive qualities that are sacrificed. In other lecture courses, however, he gives numerous examples of how bad teaching can be correlated with specific illnesses in later life. More important, his educational talks contain many indications of the positive qualities and capacities that he wanted to be fostered by Waldorf school methods.

The Cost of Reading Too Early: Clouding the Mind's Eye

Perhaps the foremost example of such a capacity is the precious quality or capacity of imagination. It is one we know can be killed by deadening school practices. Steiner placed this faculty at the heart of Waldorf education. The ability to form and retain inner images (mental picturing) gives the human being both a memory of experiences and a personal identity as an “I.” Each of us, however, is able to go beyond just making immediate images in response to the moment or recalling memory pictures. We can also evolve images inwardly so that they transcend the present and the past. Mere picture-making in the mind takes wing, so to speak, and becomes imagination in its truest, most developed sense. Through this

expanded capacity we are able to create new configurations of images so that new ideas can come about. We can inwardly imagine something changing into future forms that have not yet existed in physical reality. This future-oriented, creative quality is of the highest universal value to all human beings in all walks of life. In fact, one can argue, imagination makes us truly human.

And we can learn from observing our children. Most children enter kindergarten and the early grades “trailing clouds of glory,” evidence of a burgeoning imagination. They begin to make the transition from picture-formation that is dependent on the presence of sense percepts to picture-formations that can be retained independently in the soul. These are then available to be more creatively evolved. At around age seven, according to Steiner,

Imagination . . . can be killed by deadening school practices.

...the quality that makes a child under seven so wholly into a sense-organ now becomes more inward; it enters the soul life. The sense organs do not think; they perceive pictures, or rather they form pictures from the external objects. And even when the child's

sense experiences have already a quality of soul, it is not a thought that emerges but an image, albeit a soul image, an imaginative picture. Therefore in your teaching you must work in pictures, in images. Now you can work least of all in pictures if you are teaching children something that is really quite foreign to them. For example, the calligraphy of today is quite foreign to children both in written or printed letters.¹²

Teachers and parents, then, need to be aware that the first three grades see a gradual change through a new stage of pictorial thinking that heads gently toward a more intellectual thinking, one that only comes into its own around age twelve. A child's life forces must still be served by a learning process that has a strong motor and sensory component. But it is the new element of imagination, with plenty of colorful pictures for the mind's eye, that becomes the key to a wholesome transition:

Whatever is filled with deep meaning that works through pictures and allegories is proper for these years. The life body will unfold its

forces if a well-ordered imagination is allowed to take guidance from the inner meaning it discovers for itself in pictures and allegories—whether seen in real life or communicated to the mind. It is not abstract concepts that work in the right way on the growing life body, but rather what is seen and perceived—indeed, not with external senses, but with the mind's eye. Such seeing and perceiving is the proper means of education for these years.¹³

It is central to Waldorf education's mission to cultivate, nurture, and restore the imaginative quality with which young children are naturally endowed. Intrinsic to Steiner's educational approach to learning writing and reading is the effort not to interfere with imagination in its natural growth but rather to enhance and strengthen it.

Like childhood itself, however, the capacity of imagination in some educators' and researchers' minds might well be placed at the top of a cultural endangered species list. Recent discoveries in neuroscience are beginning to provide concrete clues about the challenge of fostering this faculty in today's world. There is provocative new evidence that the over-emphasis of left brain language development can and does occur at the expense of right-brain capacities such as imagination. Strong cultural emphasis on the sequential, logical, word-based intellect of the left brain can result in a dimming or even blinding of an innate inner picturing in the mind's eye. As neuroscientist Ian Robertson points out:

Western societies have largely lost the ability to think in images rather than words. ...[M]odern neuroscience backs [this up]. ...[I]t is the nature of words that they tend to transform experiences into a rather bloodless code that can starve our brains of the rich images that wordless imagining can evoke. Language is the great achievement of evolution—an essential ingredient in what makes human beings unique on the planet. But there are costs to the way we have grown dependent on the spoken and written word. Imagery consists of the mental sights, sounds,

smells, tastes, touch, and other bodily sensations that we can re-create with incredible vividness in that private, infinite universe within our skulls. The human brain is the most complex object in the known universe and it has the most incredible abilities, some of which—like imagery—are underused. Imagery is important, but in Western culture, language is king. In school we steadily wrap our children's brains in the “cool web of language” [as the poet Robert Graves calls it in his poem of that title]. It would be terrible if we didn't, but there is a cost to everything. By neglecting imagery we risk the withering of a whole set of quite remarkable mental capacities. . . . Children think mostly in images before word-dominated school clouds their mind's eye.¹⁴

Meeting the Challenge Artistically

If literacy, rooted so deeply in our culture, has a dampening and perhaps even blinding affect, it may seem that a diminution of imagination is hardly to be prevented. And yet that loss or cost is exactly what Steiner's new method strives to avoid. As a practical idealist, he recognized that in order to have a school in modern times, one had to have children start reading and writing in the first grade, but that “we must ensure that, when we do so, we are not hurting them.”¹⁵ He therefore ingeniously recruits some of that “whole set of quite remarkable mental capacities” and what we now describe as right-brain capacities, such as image formation and the experience of emotion—capacities that Robertson says would otherwise wither—and uses them to learn to read. Adverse intellectual effects are thereby balanced out, as both sides of the brain are used to elaborate a many-sided writing and reading ability. For his

method, Steiner enlists a full range of sensory and performance activities including image-filled storytelling, sonorous and well-formed speaking, picture making, action geometry, and beautiful hand-writing (“calligraphy” derives from the Greek *kali-graphia*, “good writing”). All of these form a rich language arts curriculum that culminates in

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reading abstract machine print. For Steiner, there was no better vehicle for this purpose than a variety of arts which exercise fundamental sensory and performance skills and shape the brain profoundly. His approach was intended, above all, to imbue the children's experience with imagination warmed by enthusiastic "hearts-on" and artistic hands-on activity:

The whole process of development is spoiled if the child is led straight away to what is abstract and she is taught to carry out any activity by means of a purely mental concept. On the other hand, a healthy growth will always ensue if actual activity is introduced first and the idea is only afterwards unfolded out of the activity. Reading is essentially a mental act. Therefore, if reading is taught first, and not after writing, the child is prematurely involved in a process of development exclusively concerned with the head instead of with the forces of her whole being. By such methods as these, education can be guided into a sphere that embraces the whole human being—into the realm of art. This must indeed be the aim of all our teaching up to the age of about nine and a half. Pictures, rhythms, measure—these qualities must pervade all our teaching. Everything else is premature. It is for this reason utterly impossible before this age [of 9-10] to convey anything to the child in which strong distinctions are made between herself and the outer world. Hence, when she first comes to school, ...[for example] we shall not merely speak of the plants, but we shall speak of them as living beings, as holding converse with us and with each other in such a way that the child's outlook on nature and man is filled with imagination. ...The more we enable the child thus to flow out into her whole environment, the more vividly we describe plant, animal and stone, so that in them weaving, articulate spirituality is wafted towards her, the more adequately do we respond to the demands of her innermost being in these early years. They are years when the feeling life of the soul must flow into the processes of breathing and of the circulation of the blood and into the whole vascular

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system—indeed into the whole human organism. . . . It is of incalculable benefit to the child if we develop this element of feeling in writing and then allow a faint echo of the intellect to enter as she re-discovers in reading what she has already experienced in writing. There is then a gentle accompaniment from the intellect. . . . Between the ages of seven and nine or nine-and-a-half it is essential that the teaching shall make a direct appeal to the element of feeling. The child must receive the various forms of the letters into her life of feeling.¹⁶

The beginning reading process for six to eight year olds is not allowed to prematurely separate a child's consciousness of oneness with the world, as naturally happens further on at age nine or ten. In the first grade, cognitive intellect is present, but in the right age-appropriate proportion as a "gentle accompaniment," a slowly ripening seed for future unfolding around ages eleven or twelve.

Germinating intellect is balanced by the "breathing-enhancing, blood-warming" effects of inner visualization and the dynamic gross motor forces of eurythmy and other activities. Whole body movement and engagement are artistically congealed into the smaller, more academic format of fine motor painting, drawing, or writing of letters born from living pictures:

...And if we then do not take recourse to abstract symbols when we teach reading and writing [in grade 1], but do this through pictures, we do not distance ourselves from the real being when we must activate it, we do not let the human being get fully away from it. Through effort and practice we employ the whole of the human being. . . . When we teach eurythmy, when the movements contain the things the children are to learn in writing, we bring these two parts—body and soul-spirit—closer together. And in the children's artistic activities, when the letters emerge from pictures, we have one and the same activity—now, however, tinged by soul and spirit—as in eurythmic movements or in listening to singing, a process in which the children's own

consciousness is employed. . . . Children whose writing and reading activities are balanced by something else will grow into full human beings.¹⁷

Steiner's method calls for a balancing of multiple intelligences—volitional, emotional, and intellectual—that allows the truly human to incarnate as fully as possible. In addition to stimulating imagination, Steiner's method also enhances listening and hearing—abilities he sees developing into the creative resource of true inspiration in life and a quality of attentive openness. And when he describes the ability to “flow out into the whole environment” and be one with it, he is pointing toward another important human capacity, one that he calls intuition. He characterizes this as the ability of a person to project her consciousness into the world—into other beings and other things—in a loving, interested way. For Steiner, how we learn to read—and how we learn other subjects in our formative years—can either isolate us from or connect us with our surroundings and our fellow human beings.

Endnotes

1. Ratey, 2001, 280.
2. Steiner, 1996a, 126–128.
3. Steiner, 1996b, 23.
4. Steiner, 2000, 49.
5. Hannaford, 1995, 104.
6. Ibid, 106.
7. Ibid, 84.
8. Steiner, 1996c, 117.
9. Steiner, 2004, 62–63.
10. Steiner, 1995, 26–27.
11. Steiner, 1981, 191–193.
12. Steiner, 1995a, 23.
13. Steiner, 1996b, 23.
14. Robertson, 2003, 2–3. Robertson beautifully reminds us of the richness of the inner world of imagery or imagination; that it includes not just the visual realm but also “sounds, smells, tastes, touch, and other bodily sensations.” See also his *Mind Sculpture*, 1999. For additional insights into the concept of the “mind's eye” in psychology today, see Todd Feinberg, *Altered Egos*, 2001.
15. Steiner, 1995b, 76–77.
16. Steiner, 1995a, 138–39.
17. Steiner, 1996a, 126–128.

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Arthur Auer, M.Ed., is Coordinator of the year-round Waldorf Teacher Training and Internship Program at Antioch University in New Hampshire, where he teaches curriculum, drama, sculpture, and philosophy of education. He was a class teacher for 18 years at the Pine Hill Waldorf School in Wilton, New Hampshire.

