

Plato, Whitehead, and Dewey as well as he knows the historical documents of nineteenth-century America. He writes with economy and fluency, with grace and a sense of style that is a rare delight.

He knows the tensions that develop between centralized policy-making (which can be creative and health-giving for the body politic) and centralized administration (which at the state and national level can be deadening). He is sensitive to the issues raised by Dwight Macdonald and his dour associates who see mass culture leading directly and only to the degeneration of taste.

Television soap opera, Cremin reminds us, drawing on the work of Edward Shills, is not the warped descendant of Shakespeare and the folk ballad; it has taken the place of bear-baiting and public executions. Put quite bluntly, we stink less than the eighteenth-century. We live cleaner, healthier, and generally more useful lives than any of our ancestors. And we do so in the main as a consequence of popular education. We may never develop a general public that has a taste for formal philosophy, but the basic issues of the human condition do stir our souls. We are concerned, as Plato was, about the making of The Good Society. We are persuaded that it must be the work of all of us. As Cremin puts it, "Ultimately, the case for popular education rests on the proposition that culture can be democratized without being vulgarized."

Popular education is a blend of two potent but unequal forces: the formal instruction of the schools and the informal induction into the ways of society by all the other agencies of life. The newspaper, the street gangs, the church, the family, the library, the mass media, the games that children play, the causes that people espouse, their hates, loves, and prejudices—all of these teach the child for more hours in the day and more days in his life than school can ever command.

It is a uniquely twentieth-century and specifically American notion that the school must, for the sake of order and sanity, preempt some of these informal functions. It must do this because, so runs the argument, industrialism has had a corrosive effect upon so many institutions within society that they have lost much of the salutary educational functions they once possessed.

It was John Dewey who made this analysis most tellingly and who offered as a corrective the enlarged role for the school, which he saw as "society's great instrument for shaping its own destiny."

The consequences of Dewey's decision were far-reaching: greater sophistication was brought to the uses of the school; popular education was infused with new vitality and high purpose. Cremin points out, however, that public educators, with their more sharply de-



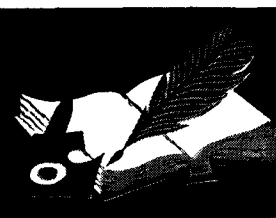
fined roles, almost completely lost sight of the agencies of informal instruction. This loss of vision and contact took place at a time when these agencies, especially the press, the film, radio, and the youth agencies, to name only the obvious few, were entering upon periods of extraordinary development. "And for years," Cremin reminds us, "Dewey's disciples continued to confuse notions of schooling the 'whole child' with nonsense about providing the whole child's education."

When one considers the range of the agencies that educate outside the school, it becomes very clear what the school is uniquely equipped to do and wherein a central purpose of education lies. It is the school's job, Cremin insists, "... to make youngsters aware of the constant bombardment of facts, opinions, and values to which they are subjected; to help them question what they see and hear; and ultimately to give them the intellectual resources they need to make judg-

ments and assess significance." And, it must be added, to act upon these judgments and deal with the consequences.

We are left, then, with the question Plato raised twenty-five centuries ago: how can we achieve the good life? There are, Cremin reminds us, prior questions. We must ask how we can build the good society. We must discover the kind of citizen who can build that society. Those questions lead us around and back to the question of the school and the making of teachers and students. For *The Genius of American Education* is concerned fundamentally with *purpose* in education. That concern makes this book immediately required reading for every school administrator, every official of government who has an assignment that relates in any way to education, every layman who has any community responsibility for the governance of our schools, and all the rest of us who would celebrate with Professor Cremin this faith: "With all its limitations, man's rationality remains his best instrument for comprehending and dealing with his experience ... men will learn to face their problems more intelligently in the future than they have in the past."

New Books



New Life for Old Schools. *Great Cities Program for School Improvement* (228 North LaSalle Street, Chicago, Ill. 60601). 99 pp. Paper, \$2.50. The first report in a study of the updating of outmoded school buildings in fifteen major American cities.

The Dynamic University. By Zakir Husain. Asia Publishing House (Tappin Publishing Company, 119 West 57th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019). 119 pp. \$4.50. A collection of addresses by the Vice President of India, examining the need for reorientating higher education to suit national needs in a developing country.

Society and Education: Readings. Edited by James Rath and Jean Dresden Grambs. Prentice-Hall, 281 pp. Paper, \$3.50. A source book for students' use in courses focusing on the sociological foundations of education.

Children Discover Reading: An Introduction to Structural Reading. By Catherine Stern and Toni Gould. Random House. 226 pp. \$6.95. De-

scribes a new method that has been tested and is being used to teach reading to very young children, including those from culturally deprived backgrounds, and to older children with reading problems.

Prescriptive Teaching. By Laurence J. Peter. McGraw-Hill. 246 pp. \$5.95. Deals with the means of achieving sound educational goals for disturbed or handicapped children; links medical, psychological, and social diagnoses in a synthesized plan for the individual child whether in the classroom or in special education.

Tradition and Change in Education: A Comparative Study. By Andreas M. Kazamias and Byron G. Massialas. Foundations of Education Series, Prentice-Hall. 182 pp. \$4.95. Aims to examine education in a variety of cultures and to point to an interdisciplinary approach to the study of comparative education.

Instructional Materials for Anti-poverty and Manpower-Training

Programs. McGraw-Hill. (Mr. Alan Kellock, Special Adult Education Department). 95 pp. Paper, no charge. A bibliography of over 400 McGraw-Hill books, programed materials, and audio-visual materials dealing with basic education, pre-vocational education, and occupational training of students ranging from functional illiterates to those training to be technicians.

Teaching the Troubled Child. By George T. Donahue and Sol Nichtern. The Free Press (60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011). 202 pp. \$5.95. Describes a program for teaching disturbed children started in Elmont, N.Y., in 1959, and now being adopted elsewhere.

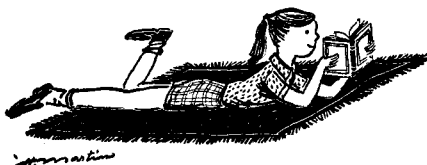
After School Integration—What? Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University (110 West 87th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010). 120 pp. Paper, \$2.50. *Proceedings of the Third Annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education, May 20, 1964.* Examines the problems that will still remain after schools have been physically integrated, and attempts to provide guidelines for their solution.

Rewarding Creative Behavior. By E. Paul Torrance. Prentice-Hall. 353 pp. \$6.95. Formulates a set of principles by which to create an environment where high value is placed on individual creativity in the learning process.

Learning to Teach in Urban Schools. By Dorothy M. McGeoch and others. Teachers College Press, Columbia University (New York, N.Y.). 140 pp. Paper, \$1.95. The story of four first-year teachers who chose to work in the slum schools of a great city system.

Motives, Values and Realities: A Framework for Counseling. By Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University (New York, N.Y.). 278 pp. \$4.95. Provides a comprehensive theory of motivation to aid in the counseling of normal students.

Dropout Studies: Design and Conduct. By Daniel Schreiber, Bernard A. Kaplan and Robert D. Strom. Project: School Dropouts, National Education Association (1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). 84 pp. Paper, \$2. Recommends adoption of a standardized definition of what a dropout is and a standardized questionnaire to find out how and why he got that way, in order to obtain valid comparisons and eliminate current confusion.



Chicago

Continued from page 87

Leaders of Education; one out of every ten in the *Directory of American Scholars*. In 1962 the American Physical Society chose more Chicago Ph.D.'s for membership (ninety-seven out of 1,138) than those from any other university.

Quite apart from the graduate divisions, the student at Chicago has a choice of seven professional schools—Business, Divinity, Education, Law, Library, Medicine, and Social Service Administration.

The Law School, which takes no more than 140 students a year out of an average of 1,200 who apply, is incontestably one of the foremost in the nation. The Graduate School of Business has a similar prestige and reputation. The School of Medicine is an integral part of the Division of Biological Sciences, and medical students at Chicago have exceptional opportunities. There are 600 scientists and doctors in the Division; however, the freshman class in the School of Medicine is limited to seventy-two students every year.

The Graduate School of Education, established in 1958, is the newest of Chicago's professional schools. But the university from the beginning has won renown for its research in education. Research is translated into direct service through a number of centers in the graduate school—the Reading Research Center, the Urban Child Center, and the Comparative Education Center, which investigates the differences in teaching and learning the world over.

The Laboratory Schools, as the name implies, serve both as a demonstration center for effective teaching—from nursery school through twelve years of pre-college education—and as a research tool for testing and validating educational theory.

What makes the University of Chicago great is neither endowment nor equipment, but men—the faculty. And by this criterion Chicago is, by almost unanimous consent, one of the three or four greatest universities in the world. Twenty-four Nobel Prize winners have been associated with the university in one way or another so far; seven of these were alumni.

Professors at the University of Chicago have several advantages. 1) Salaries are high, as high as at Harvard or California, perhaps even higher. The average salary of a full professor is \$21,094 a year, including fringe benefits. 2) The teaching load is probably lighter than in any other American university, averaging six hours a week, and may be only three. This naturally makes the university a magnet for scholars who are encouraged to give as much of their time

as possible to research. There are some formidable men of learning who never even hold formal classes. 3) No particular teaching rules apply, and the organizational structure is light. A professor has a very flexible position; he can create or drop a course at will. Moreover, Chicago is famous for giving teachers unlimited time for a project (for instance in the humanities) without interference. It will wait ten years, twenty, thirty, for a job to be well done. 4) Academic liberties are enormously respected, contact with stimulating minds is assured, the level of intellectual energy is high, and, above all, the atmosphere is free.

Tenure, I discovered, is a complicated subject. A man starting at the bottom in Chicago, not somebody in mid-passage seized in a raid from another university (raids and cross-raids are a frequent phenomenon today all over the country) will normally serve four years as an instructor, six years as an assistant professor. Then, having completed ten years, he either must leave or become an associate professor and thus achieve tenure, which means that he cannot be fired thereafter except for misconduct.

Chicago does not give sabbaticals. Instead, the man who wants to get away for a year can more or less take leave when his campus commitments are fulfilled.

The University of Chicago was founded in 1890 by the curious impingement of three forces—the American Baptist Education Society which contributed the idea, John D. Rockefeller who contributed most of the money, and the first President, William Rainey Harper, who contributed almost everything else. It opened its doors on October 1, 1892, as a full-fledged university, not a college. This was something unusual at the time, when a university normally grew out of a previously existing college. The original faculty of 103 included eight college presidents, whom Harper enticed from other institutions, as well as other eminent scholars. The student body numbered 594.

Harper was one of the most extraordinary figures in the history of American education. He was a round, short, bristly man who radiated creative energy. At the time of his appointment he was Professor of Hebrew at Yale, and only thirty-four. He had been a child prodigy (he got his Ph.D. at eighteen), Chautauqua lecturer and an intellectual lion-tamer at large. During his youth, which was spent in near log-cabin circumstances, he insisted that he was not a "Christian," but he became converted to the Baptist faith at the age of twenty.

The Baptists urgently wanted a denominational school in Chicago to replace an older university which, founded in 1857, had been forced to close its doors by financial difficulties. For a long

time the new university had a Baptist tinge. The president and two-thirds of the trustees were obliged to be Baptists, and one of the early jokes was that ambitious young deans should turn Baptist as soon as possible. But this Baptist coloration has long since disappeared, and the U. of C. is strictly non-denominational today.

Rockefeller, contrary to legend, was not gulled by Harper into making his original dramatic contribution, which was \$600,000, on condition that \$400,000 more should be raised elsewhere. Relations between these two men were fascinatingly complex. The demonic Harper, a whirlwind, captivated the cautious and rigid man who was the richest man in the world. Rockefeller's bequests through the years became enormous.

Harper, assuming charge of the creation of a new university, was enthralled by its possibilities; after being assured of getting a free hand, he issued an extraordinary manifesto of policy—policy so revolutionary that it provoked the amusement or scorn of almost all the orthodox pedagogues of the time. First of all he announced that his institution would be primarily a graduate school. In addition, he went on to say that Chicago would abolish the old system of four classes and establish instead two colleges, the junior and the senior; he demanded equality of opportunity and treatment for women in the student body and on the faculty—this in an era when women teachers were unknown; a system of exchange professorships by which scholars all over the world would exchange courses with Chicago scholars; a system of extension work by which lectures under the auspices of the university would be given elsewhere in the Middle West together with a system of affiliation with minor colleges; and an extensive correspondence school system. He even said that varsity sports should be played for health and pleasure, “not for the spectacular entertainment” of vast crowds. Obviously, his university was going to be like none other ever witnessed by the eyes of man. Rockefeller backed him fully, and covered immense deficits every year.

At this period the theory of higher education in America was dominated by the German concept of *Wissenschaft*, the scientific method. Harper wanted humanists, men of learning, men who would devote their whole lives to research with full freedom of inquiry. To get good men he paid salaries fantastic for the time—\$7,000 a year to full professors, which was the equivalent of \$30,000 today.

Soon this remarkable innovator and energizer evolved a novel idea which is still one of the most distinctive marks of the university—the four quarter system. He scrapped the old September-to-June

schedule, and established in its place the first all-year-round university. The year was divided into four quarters which were made as nearly as possible identical in the work offered and the professors in attendance; the university was to keep its doors open the whole year, in full blast all the time. By this scheme university education was made more flexible than it had ever been before. A student—even today—may come when his finances permit, leave again, come back, and graduate at any season when his work is complete; on the other hand, he may work all four quarters for three years without interruption and thus get out a year ahead of time. Another advantage is that a student at Chicago takes no more than three or four courses during each quarter.

Harper's program was greeted with contumely and ridicule. One jokester called the new university “Harper's Bazaar,” and there were loud complaints about the “oil money” supporting it. Once a professor at a rival institution was asked the reason for the absence of a humor magazine at Chicago; he replied that there was no need for one because the University of Chicago was funny enough in itself.

But—Harper's idea worked. The university grew apace. More Rockefeller money poured in; more teachers came; more buildings rose. The campus grew up so fast that one of the early deans perpetrated a joke which is still current; “When in doubt lay a cornerstone.”

Harper died, worn out, in 1906, aged forty-nine. The university has never changed much from the pattern stamped on it by this extraordinary and indomitable man. There followed the deflationary, cautious, and comparatively tranquil presidency of Harry Pratt Judson (1907-23), followed in turn by two shorter administrations, those of Ernest DeWitt Burton (1923-25), a theologian, and Max Mason (1925-28), a professor of mathematical physics, who went on to assume the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Then in 1929 came Robert Maynard Hutchins, aged thirty, from Yale, where he had become the “boy wonder” Dean of the Law School at twenty-eight. The university will never forget Robert Hutchins, and discussion of his regime still provokes lively controversy. Hutchins was a brilliantly inspired innovator, lucid, packed with principle, and possessed of enormous charm. He kept the faculty under merciless pressure, and had as little tolerance of opposition as Woodrow Wilson, whom he startlingly resembles in some respects. But he had—and has—a lively sense of humor. Laird Bell, a former chairman of the Chicago Board of Trustees, once offered him \$25 for every joke he did *not* make when he was about to appear before the State Legislature.

But on things that counted Hutchins could be magnificently serious, as well as sound. Once, during a local “red” hunt when Professor Robert Morss Lovett



“He’s a common North American Anglo-Saxon—and I wouldn’t hesitate to identify her as Eastern Mediterranean.”

was under attack by reactionary plutocrats, a fellow professor told him, "Bob, if the trustees fire Robert Lovett, you'll get twenty resignations from the faculty in twenty-four hours." Hutchins replied, "No, I won't. My successor will."

Hutchins's central belief was that "Every student should obtain a liberal education before being permitted to specialize." At the same time he wanted to speed up education so that work in the professions could get under way more quickly. What he sought was "more educated A.B.'s and fewer uneducated Ph.D.'s." He even looked forward, as somebody put it, to the time when Ph.D.'s would really be Doctors of Philosophy. What interested him was ideas, and he stood for culture and the human tradition. Some of his innovations were remarkable—also unworkable. He wanted to do away with rank among professors, forbid them to earn money by their publications, and abolish examinations and required class attendance for students. He felt that education should be something bigger than a mere piling up of credits, and he let more air into American higher education than any university president in fifty years. Brave man, he even abolished football.

The two men who have followed Hutchins as heads of state at Chicago came from different molds and have shown quite different styles.

Lawrence A. Kimpton, an energetic professor of philosophy and a practical man as well, who had become vice president of the university, took over when Hutchins resigned in 1951 and served as chief executive until 1960.

George Beadle, who succeeded Kimpton in 1961 to become the seventh president of the Chicago principality, is a biologist, a specialist in genetics. Beadle, together with Joshua Lederberg and Edward L. Tatum, received the Nobel Prize in physiology and medicine in 1958.

Behind Beadle in the power structure are three major elements: trustees, faculty, and alumni. There have been only seven chairmen of the Chicago Board of Trustees in the entire history of the university, the same number as presidents. The board has always represented the cream of Chicago civic leadership, and never has this been truer than today.

The faculty has considerable autonomous power at Chicago, probably more than in any comparable American university. Beadle is faculty-minded, and so is Provost Edward H. Levi, the former Law School dean. (Provosts of universities are by no means always faculty-minded.) Harper laid it down back in the 1890s that educational jurisdiction is the exclusive domain of the faculty, and this tradition has been pretty well kept up to this day. The trustees do not supervise on the academic level. Money follows policy, not the reverse. The faculty

is unshakable. Even Hutchins had to bow to it, although his bow was angular. Mr. Beadle is fond of saying that he, as president, does not even have tenure, which every senior faculty member has, and one of his favorite anecdotes concerns the newly appointed president of another university who, on arrival, summoned the senior professors and addressed them as "my faculty." The reply came quickly, "Mr. President, faculties have presidents, but presidents do not have faculties."

In terms of endowment Chicago is the fourth richest among private universities in the country; the total endowment is around \$275,000,000, which produces a revenue of something between \$8,000,000 and \$9,000,000 a year. But this is a drop in the bucket, since annual expenditures amount to \$75,000,000, 68 per cent of which goes for instruction and research. Another \$75,000,000 is required to operate the Argonne National Laboratory, and this sum is contributed by the Atomic Energy Commission. These are large sums and the University, like most other universities, is hard put to it these days to make ends meet, let alone find money for new purposes. And, as its fiscal authorities say, "The last million dollars in the budget is often the difference that makes possible exciting new developments."

AFTER ten days in the remarkable Chicago principality I said good-bye to its towers and meadows and tried to analyze my dominating thoughts. Perhaps the single element that best characterizes the university is its incessant search for quality, which goes back all the way to Harper. Between the Atlantic and the Pacific it towers like a lonely colossus, symbolizing the aspirations and achievements of one of the most fruitful areas of our country, the Middle West. Quality aside, this is a school that stands for freedom of expression, freedom to speculate and experiment, freedom for spacious inquiry, freedom to be a gadfly if necessary, and freedom not only to be right but to take a chance on being wrong. It has unlimited reserves of energy and creative talent for dealing with the true business of a university, the pursuit and communication of knowledge, and, having survived a passionate ordeal, it has risen again to become newly typical of what a university should be, an unfrightened and pertinacious community of scholars. It still has its unique atmosphere of vitality and gives forth a sense of endurance as well as youth. My own feeling is that it is still the most exciting university in the world.



Why Teachers Fail

Continued from page 81

attack. If the teacher is weak, the student may attack openly. Physical attacks on teachers are now common. Verbal attacks in the teacher's absence are legendary. When the teacher is present, attacks may take the form of annoyance, and students escape punishment by annoying surreptitiously — by groaning, shuffling the feet, or snapping the fingers. A "tormentor" was a surreptitious noise maker especially designed for classroom use.

Counter-attack escalates. Slightly aversive action by the teacher evokes reactions that demand severer measures, to which in turn the student reacts still more violently. Escalation may continue until one party withdraws (the student leaves school or the teacher resigns) or dominates completely (the students establish anarchy or the teacher imposes a despotic discipline.)

Vandalism is another form of counter-attack that is growing steadily more serious. Many cities maintain special police forces to guard school buildings on weekends. Schools are now being designed so that windows cannot be easily broken from the street. A more sweeping counter-attack comes later when, as taxpayers or alumni, former students refuse to support educational institutions. Anti-intellectualism is often a general attack on all that education represents.

A much less obvious but equally serious effect of aversive control is plain inaction. The student is sullen and unresponsive. He "blocks." Inaction is sometimes a form of escape. Rather than carry out an assignment, the student simply takes punishment as the lesser evil. It is sometimes a form of attack, the object of which is to enrage the teacher. But it is also in its own right a predictable effect of aversive control.

All these reactions have emotional accompaniments. Fear and anxiety are characteristic of escape and avoidance, anger of counter-attack, and resentment of sullen inaction. These are the classical features of juvenile delinquency, of psychosomatic illness, and of other maladjustments familiar to the administrations and health services of educational institutions.

In college and graduate schools the aversive pattern survives in the now almost universal system of "assign and test." The teacher does not teach, he simply holds the student responsible for learning. The student must read books, study texts, perform experiments, and attend lectures, and he is responsible for doing so in the sense that, if he does not correctly report what he has seen, heard, or read, he will suffer aversive

consequences. Questions and answers are so staple a feature of education that their connection with teaching almost never occasions surprise. As a demand for a response that will meet certain specifications, a question is almost always slightly aversive. An examination, as a collection of questions, characteristically generates the anxiety and panic appropriate to avoidance and escape. Reading a student's paper is still likely to be called "correcting" it. Examinations are designed to show principally what the student does *not* know. A test that proves to be too easy is made harder before being given again, ostensibly because an easy test does not discriminate, but more probably because the teacher is afraid of weakening the threat under which his students are working. A teacher is judged by his employers and colleagues by the severity of the threat he imposes: he is a good teacher if he makes his students work hard, regardless of how he does so or of how much he teaches them by doing so. He eventually evaluates himself in the same way; if he tries to shift to nonaversive methods, he may discover that he resists making things easy as if this necessarily meant teaching less.

Proposals to add requirements and raise standards are usually part of an aversive pattern. A well known educator has written: "We must stiffen the work of our schools . . . we have every reason to concentrate on [certain subjects] and be unflagging in our insistence that they be really learned . . . Senior year [in high school] ought to be the hardest . . . [We should give] students work that is both difficult and important, and [insist] that it be well done. . . . We should demand more of our students." These expressions were probably intended to be synonymous with "students should learn more" or possibly "teachers should teach more." There may be good reasons why students should take more mathematics or learn a modern language more thoroughly or be better prepared for college or graduate school, but they are not reasons for intensifying aversive pressures. A standard is a level of achievement; only under a particular philosophy of education is it a criterion upon which some form of punishment is contingent.

Most teachers are humane and well disposed. They do not want to threaten their students, yet they find themselves doing so. They want to help, but their offers to help are often declined. Most students are well-disposed. They want an education, yet they cannot force themselves to study, and they know they are wasting time. For reasons which they have probably not correctly identified, many are in revolt. Why should education continue to use the aversive techniques to which all this is so obviously due? Evidently because effective

alternatives have not been found. It is not enough simply to abandon aversive measures. A Summerhill is therapeutic not educational. By withholding punishment teachers may help students who have been badly treated elsewhere and prepare them to be taught, but something else is needed if they are to teach. What is that something else, and why has it not yet solved the problem?

A child sees things and talks about them accurately afterward. He listens to news and gossip and passes it along. He recounts in great detail the plot of a movie he has seen or a book he has read. He seems to have a "natural curiosity," a "love of knowledge," an "inherent wish to learn." Why not take advantage of these natural endowments and simply bring the student into contact with the world he is to learn about? There are practical problems, of course. Only a small part of the real world can be brought into the classroom even with the aid of films, tape recorders, and television, and only a small part of what remains can be visited outside. Words are easily imported, but the verbal excesses of classical education have shown how easily this fact may lead to a dangerous overemphasis. Within reasonable limits, however, is it not possible to teach simply by giving the student an opportunity to learn in a natural way?

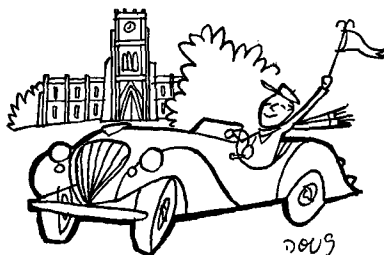
Unfortunately, a student does not learn simply when he is shown or told. Something essential to his natural curiosity or wish to learn is missing from the classroom. What is missing, technically speaking, is "positive reinforcement." In daily life the student looks, listens, and remembers because certain consequences then follow. He learns to look and listen in those special ways that encourage remembering because he is reinforced for recalling what he has seen and heard, just as a newspaper reporter notes and remembers things he sees because he is paid for reporting them. Consequences of this sort are lacking when a teacher simply shows a student something or tells him something.

Rousseau was the great advocate of natural learning. Emile was to be taught by the world of things. His teacher was to draw his attention to that world; but otherwise his education was to be negative. There were to be no arranged consequences. But Emile was an imaginary student with imaginary learning proc-

esses. When Rousseau's disciple, Pestalozzi, tried the methods on his own flesh-and-blood son, he ran into trouble. His diary is one of the most pathetic documents in the history of education. As he walked with his young son beside a stream, Pestalozzi would repeat several times, "Water flows downhill." He would show the boy that "wood swims in water and . . . stones sink." Whether the child was learning anything or not, he was not unhappy, and Pestalozzi could believe that at least he was using the right method. But when the world of things had to be left behind, failure could no longer be concealed. "I could only get him to read with difficulty; he has a thousand ways of getting out of it, and never loses an opportunity of doing something else." He could make the boy sit still at his lessons by first making him "run and play out of doors in the cold," but Pestalozzi himself was then exhausted. Inevitably, of course, he returned to aversive measures: "He was soon tired of learning to read, but as I had decided that he should work at it regularly every day, whether he liked it or not, I determined to make him feel the necessity of doing so, from the very first, by showing him there was no choice between this work and my displeasure, which I made him feel by keeping him in."

The failure of "showing and telling" is sometimes attributed to lack of attention. We are often aware that we ourselves are not listening or looking carefully. If we are not to punish the student for not looking and not listening, how can we make him concentrate? One possibility is to make sure that there is nothing else to be seen or heard. The schoolroom is isolated and freed of distractions. Silence is often the rule. Physical constraints are helpful. Earphones reassure the teacher that only what is to be heard is going into the student's ears. The TV screen is praised for its isolation and hypnotic effect. A piece of equipment has been proposed that achieves concentration in the following desperate way: the student faces a brightly lighted text, framed by walls which operate on the principle of the blinders once worn by carriage horses. His ears are between earphones. He reads part of the text aloud and then listens to his recorded voice as he reads it again. If he does not learn what he reads, it is certainly not because he has not seen it!

A less coercive practice is to make what is to be seen or heard attractive and attention-compelling. The advertiser faces the same problem as the teacher, and his techniques have been widely copied in the design of textbooks, films, and classroom practices. Bright colors, variety, sudden change, big type, animated sequences—all these have at



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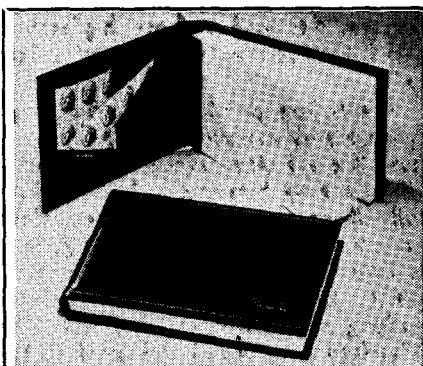
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least a temporary effect in inducing the student to look and listen. They do not, however, *teach* the student to look and listen, because they occur at the wrong time. A similar weakness is seen in making school itself pleasant. Attractive architecture, colorful interiors, comfortable furniture, congenial social arrangements, naturally interesting subjects—these are all reinforcing, but they reinforce only the behaviors they are contingent upon. An attractive school building reinforces the behavior of coming in sight of it. A colorful and comfortable classroom reinforces the behavior of entering it. Roughly speaking, these things could be said to strengthen a positive attitude toward school. But they provide merely the setting for instruction. They do not teach what students are in school to learn.

In the same way audiovisual aids usually come at the wrong time to strengthen the forms of behavior that are the principal concern of the teacher. An interesting page printed in four colors reinforces the student simply for opening the book and looking at it. It does not reinforce reading the page or even examining it closely; certainly it does not reinforce those activities that result in effective recall of what is seen. An interesting lecturer holds his listeners in the sense that they look at and listen to him, just as an interesting demonstration film reinforces the behavior of watching it, but neither the lecture nor the film necessarily reinforces listening or listening in those special ways that further recall. In good instruction interesting things should happen *after* the student has read a page or listened or looked with care. The four-color picture should *become* interesting when the text that accompanies it has been read. One stage in a lecture or film should be interesting only if earlier stages have been carefully examined and remembered. In general, naturally attractive and interesting things further the primary goals of education only when they enter into much more subtle contingencies of reinforcement than are usually represented by audiovisual aids.

It is possible that students may be induced to learn by making material not only attractive but memorable. An obvious example is making material easy. The child first learns to write in manuscript because it resembles the text he is learning to read; he may learn to read material printed in a phonetic alphabet; he may learn to spell only words he will actually use; and so on. This sort of simplification shows a lack of confidence in methods of teaching and often merely postpones the teacher's task, but it is sometimes a useful strategy. Material which is well organized is also, of course, easier to learn.

Some current psychological theories

suggest that material may be made memorable in another way. Various laws of perception imply that an observer "cannot help" seeing things in certain ways. The stimulus seems to force itself upon the organism. Optical illusions are often cited as examples. These laws suggest the possibility that material may be presented in the form in which it is irresistibly learned. Material is to be so "structured" that it is readily—and almost necessarily—"grasped." Instructional examples are, however, far less persuasive than the demonstration offered in support of them. In trying to assign an important function to the material to be learned, it is particularly easy to overlook other conditions under which learning actually occurs.

No matter how attractive, interesting, and well structured material may be, the discouraging fact is that it is often not learned. Rather than continue to ask why, many educational theorists have concluded that the teacher cannot really teach at all but can only help the student learn. The dominant metaphor goes back to Plato. As Emile Bréhier states it in *The Hellenic Age*, "Socrates... possessed no other art but maieutics, his mother Phaenarete's art of delivering; he drew out from souls what they have in them..." The student already knows the truth; the teacher simply shows him that he knows. The archetype is the famous episode in the *Meno* in which Socrates takes an uneducated slave boy through Pythagoras's theorem for doubling the square. In spite of the fact that this scene is still widely regarded as an educational triumph, there is no evidence that the child learned anything. He timidly agrees with various suggestions, and he answers leading questions, but it is inconceivable that he could have reconstructed the theorem by himself when Socrates had finished. Socrates says as much later in the dialogue: "If someone will keep asking him these same questions often and in various forms, you can be sure that in the end he will know about them as accurately as anybody." (Socrates was a frequency theorist!)

It must be admitted that the assignment was difficult. The boy was starting from scratch. In his little book, *How to Solve It*, Polya uses the same technique in presiding at the birth of the formula for the diagonal of a parallelepiped. His students make a more positive contribution because they have already had some geometry. But any success due to previous teaching weakens the claim for maieutics. And Polya's promptings and questionings give more help than he wants to admit.

It is only because mathematical proofs seem to arise from the nature of things that they can be said in some sense to be "known by everyone" and simply

waiting to be drawn out. Even Socrates could not argue that the soul knows the facts of history or a second language. Impregnation must precede parturition. But is it not possible that a presentation that has not seemed to be learned is the seed from which knowledge grows to be delivered by the teacher? Perhaps the intellectual midwife is to show the student that he remembers what he has already been shown or told. In *The Idea of a University* Cardinal Newman gave an example of the maieutic method applied to acquired knowledge. It will stir painful memories in many teachers. A tutor is talking with a candidate about a bit of history—a bit of history, in fact, in which Plato's Menon lost his life.

"What is the meaning of the word *Anabasis*?" says the Tutor. The Candidate is silent. "You know very well; take your time, and don't be alarmed, *Anabasis* means . . ."

"An ascent," says the Candidate. "Who ascended?"

"The Greeks, Xenophon."

"Very well: Xenophon and the Greeks ascended. To what did they ascend?"

"Against the Persian king: they ascended to fight the Persian king."

"That is right . . . an ascent; but I thought we called it a *descent* when a foreign army carried war into a country? . . . "Don't we talk of a descent of barbarians?"

"Yes."

"Why then are the Greeks said to go up?"

"They went up to fight the Persian king."

"Yes; but why *up* . . . why not *down*?"

"They came down afterwards, when they retreated back to Greece."

"Perfectly right; they did . . . but could you give no reason why they are said to go *up* to Persia, not *down*?"

"They went *up* to Persia."

"Why do you not say they went *down*?"

"They went *down* to Persia."

"You have misunderstood me. . . ."

Newman warned his reader that the Candidate is "deficient to a great extent . . . not such as it is likely that a respectable school would turn out." He recognized a poor student, but not a poor method. Thousands of teachers have wasted years of their lives in exchanges which have been no more profitable—and all to the greater glory of maieutics and out of a conviction that telling and showing are not only inadequate but wrong.

Although the soul has perhaps not always known the truth nor ever been confronted with it in a half-forgotten experience, it may still *seek* it. If the student can be taught to learn from the world of things, nothing else will ever have to be taught. This is the method of discovery. It is designed to absolve the teacher from a sense of failure by making instruction unnecessary. The teacher arranges the environment in which discovery is to take place, he suggests lines of inquiry, he keeps the student within bounds, and so on. The important thing is that he should tell him nothing.

The human organism does, of course, learn without being taught. It is a good thing that this is so, and it would no doubt be a good thing if more could be learned in that way. Students are naturally interested in what they learn by themselves because they would not learn if they were not, and for the same reason they are more likely to remember what they learn in that way. There are reinforcing elements of surprise and accomplishment in personal discovery that are welcome alternatives to traditional aversive consequences. But discovery is no solution to the problems of education. The individual cannot be expected to rediscover more than a very small part of the facts and principles that have already been discovered by others. To stop teaching in order that the student may learn for himself is to abandon education as a medium for the transmission of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of a culture.

There are other difficulties. The position of the teacher who encourages discovery is ambiguous. Is he to pretend that he himself does not know? (Socrates said Yes. In Socratic irony those who know enjoy a laugh at the expense of those who do not.) Or, for the sake of encouraging a joint venture in discovery, is the teacher to choose to teach only those things that he himself has not yet learned? Or is he frankly to say, "I know, but you must find out" and accept the consequences for his relations with his students?

Still another difficulty arises when it is necessary to teach a whole class. How are a few good students to be prevented from making all the discoveries? When that happens, other members of the class not only miss the excitement of discovery

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LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

Column Two should read: 5 (Fair Annie), 2 (Song of Songs), 7 (Holy Sonnets, x), 8 (Non Sum Qualis Eram . . .), 1 (Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam), 3 (Battle Hymn of the Republic), 6 (Modern Love), 4 (Essay on Criticism), 9 (Ode to the West Wind). Column Three should read: 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, 8, 3, 4, 1.

but are left to learn material presented in a slow and particularly confusing way. Students should, of course, be encouraged to explore, to ask questions, to study by themselves, to be "creative." When properly analyzed, the kinds of behavior referred to in such expressions can be taught. It does not follow, however, that they must be taught by the method of discovery.

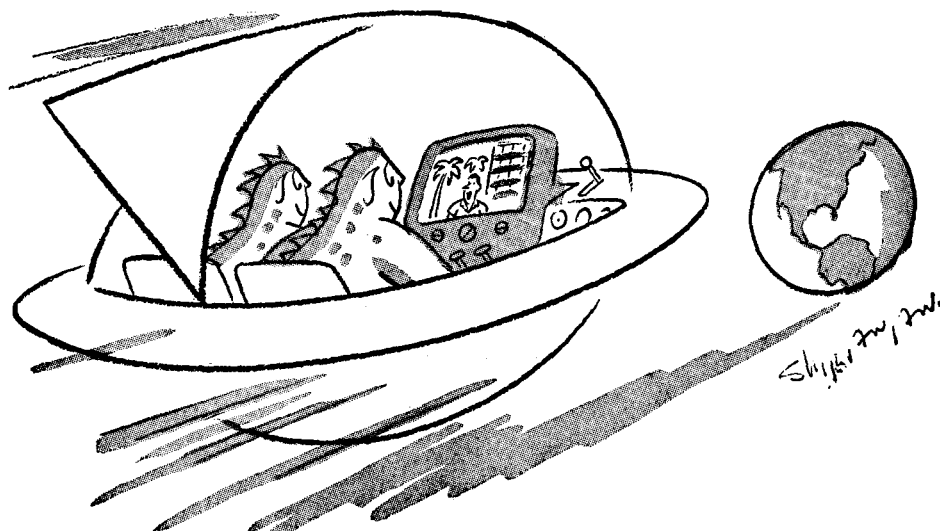
Effective instructional practices threaten the conception of teaching as a form of maieutics. If we suppose that the student is to "exercise his rational powers," to "develop his mind," to learn through "intuition or insight," and so on, then it may indeed be true that the teacher cannot teach but can only help the student learn. But these goals can be restated in terms of explicit changes in behavior, and effective methods of instruction can then be designed.

In his famous four idols, Francis Bacon formulated some of the reasons why men arrive at false ideas. He might have added two special Idols of the School that affect those who want to improve teaching. The Idol of the Good Teacher is the belief that what a good teacher can do, any teacher can do. Some teachers are, of course, unusually effective. They are naturally interesting people, who make things interesting to their students. They are skilful in handling students, as they are skilful in handling people in general. They can formulate facts and principles and communicate them to others in effective ways. Possibly their skills and talents will someday be better understood and successfully imparted to new teachers. At the moment, however, they are true exceptions. The fact that a method proves successful in their hands does not mean that it will solve important problems in education.

The Idol of the Good Student is the belief that what a good student can learn, any student can learn. Because they have superior ability or have been exposed to fortunate early environments,

some students learn without being taught. It is quite possible that they learn more effectively when they are not taught. Possibly we shall someday produce more of them. At the moment, however, the fact that a method works with good students does not mean that it will work with all. It is possible that we shall progress more rapidly toward effective education by leaving the good teacher and the good student out of account altogether. They will not suffer, because they do not need our help. We may then devote ourselves to the discovery of practices which are appropriate to the remaining—what?—ninety-five percent of teachers and students.

The Idols of the School explain some of the breathless excitement with which educational theorists return again and again to a few standard solutions. Perhaps we should regard them as merely two special cases of a more general source of error, the belief that personal experience in the classroom is the primary source of pedagogical wisdom. It is actually very difficult for teachers to profit from experience. They almost never learn about their long-term successes or failures, and their short-term effects are not easily traced to the practices from which they presumably arose. Few teachers have time to reflect on such matters, and traditional educational research has given them little help. A much more effective kind of research is now becoming possible. Teaching may be defined as an arrangement of contingencies of reinforcement under which behavior changes. Relevant contingencies can be most successfully analyzed in studying the behavior of one student at a time under carefully controlled conditions. Few educators are aware of the extent to which human behavior is being examined in arrangements of this sort, but a true technology of teaching is imminent. It is beginning to suggest effective alternatives to the average practices that have caused so much trouble.



"Come on down!"

School Boards

Continued from page 90

tional establishment and the citizenry in philosophical discussion concerning the nature, value, and direction of contemporary education in our society. Rather than concentrating upon the feeding, transporting, and housing of students, this vital dialogue should center about the learning of children. The school trustee must inquire into what is being taught to children, how it is being taught, and why it is being taught. This in no way implies that the school board member must strive to be an educational specialist nor does it imply that he should issue directives about educational policy to the school superintendent. However, it most certainly implies that the school board member must constantly re-examine his own assumptions as well as those of others concerning the educational enterprise and invite others to join him in this endeavor. A properly functioning school board should at all times be devoting some portion of its resources to study of a matter of genuine educational significance.

In all likelihood, this proposed reconstruction of the role of the school board members, will appear naïve to some, "wooly-headed" to others, and even dangerous to a few. School superintendents may resent the intrusion of laymen into such technical matters as curriculum and instruction. Board members may demand to know who will assume responsibility for what we have termed the accouterments of education. Parents may object that philosophical debate has its proper place on the university campus.

Let us try to answer these probable objections. First, learning is not such a mysterious thing that an informed, interested, and intelligent layman cannot grasp some understanding of the factors thought to facilitate or impede it. Moreover, our conception of the role of the school trustee does not assign him the responsibility for determining the content of instruction. Rather, the school trustee invites the superintendent to participate in the re-examination of assumptions concerning the nature of knowledge and the nature of instruction. Secondly, with regard to who will take care of the necessary accouterments of education, the answer is simple enough. The vast majority of such things can be handled quite nicely (as they in fact are) by the staff of the superintendent. A moment's reflection reveals that many of the matters that occupy the valuable time of board members require nothing more than perfunctory approval. Unfortunately, we fail to discriminate between what requires little more than perfunctory approval and what requires careful

discussion. As a consequence, little time and energy remain for searching examination of crucial matters.

Finally, with regard to the possible objection that debate has its proper place on the university campus, one must point to conditions that threaten our entire society. Education must not allow itself to become imbedded in the enveloping fabric of absurdity in our lives but, through example, must demonstrate that meaningfulness is possible. Through insisting that learning and discovery be vital forces in our lives, the school board member can make a desperately needed contribution to his society. He can make this contribution only by insisting that his role in the educational enterprise be a meaningful one. To the extent that he succeeds, he will be taking education seriously and perhaps encouraging others to do so.

Students Speak

Continued from page 83

students regard liberalism with something less than satisfaction. They believe it to be somehow implicated, if only by default, in the heritage of nightmares that compose modern history—Auschwitz, Hiroshima, the Cold War, McCarthyism."

But student radicals do not look to bureaucratic, puritanical Russia or to unindustrialized, overpopulated, and poverty-ridden China as models. Not Marx, but Gandhi and Thoreau are their mentors. Their goal is to eliminate the divorce between the political and the personal; no definite programs, no slogans, only a direct emotional response to hypocrisy and injustice.

This graduating class joins with others throughout the country in facing tasks that require a radical and experimental frame of mind, guided by generous social impulses. We must find workable ideas to replace the myths that have been outrun by technology and social upheaval; we must develop a social vision less shallow than the duty to spend money to keep the economy going; and we must emphasize that although education might *sometimes* produce practical innovations beneficial to our health and material comfort, it should *always* produce greater understanding of the human condition and promise.



The Vagabond Muse

Continued from page 51

was scarcely noticed in the press; there were no buyers. In desperation Davies mailed the unsold books to names in *Who's Who*, asked for half a crown if the recipient thought the book was worth the price, and managed to dispose of sixty copies. Suddenly Davies was a "story." The beggar who could write poetry was taken up by the newspapers and became the novelty of the moment. He was praised by Arthur Symonds, by Edward Thomas, who befriended him, and by G. B. Shaw, who wrote a typically Shavian introduction to his autobiography. All this and much more—the times "when wine and women ruled his mind," Davies's belated marriage, his emotional disturbances, his later years—are skillfully drawn and detailed by Stonesifer, who offers a balanced estimate of the poet's work.

What of the poetry? Davies wrote much too much and did not scruple to repeat himself. He had a talent for spontaneity, a quickly summoned immediacy which, at the best, was artless but, at the too frequent worst, witless. Usually classed as "a nature poet," Davies was not really a student of nature as was, say, Clare or, with a more intense awareness, Hopkins. He was a random onlooker, an interested but not discriminating observer—he thought of himself as a "starrer"—one who regarded all natural things with a careless acceptance. His transcripts of low life and the suffering poor, the so-called "humanitarian" poems, are sententious and prosy; worse, they tend to degenerate into bathos. His was a light and lyrical gift, and he abused it. He wrote not only too rapidly but too glibly; he did not seem able to stop his verse from falling into doggerel, scarcely better than the rhymed prattle of a compulsively talkative child. Many of his beginnings are delightful. For example: "A bee goes mumbling homeward pleased," "A summer's morning that has but one voice," "Forgive me, world, if I outlive my welcome," "When April scatters coins of primrose gold."

Davies is constantly being compared to better poets. This is a proof of his limitations. But it is also a compliment, since the names of Herrick and Blake are those most often mentioned. Like Herrick, Davies is facile, carefree, "cleanly wanton"; unlike Herrick, he misses real grace and elegance; he is charming rather than enchanting. Like Blake he regards all creation with wide-eyed wonder, but he completely lacks Blake's richly unfolding simplicities. Most of Davies's poems are naïve, bland, primerlike, yet the best of them are true songs of innocence.

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SR/October 16, 1965

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(Continued on page 106)

HOUSES AVAILABLE

For Sale

(Continued from page 105)

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By Doris Nash Wortman

DEFINITIONS

WORDS

- A. Maiden name of author of *Comin' Through the Rye*, a novel of 1875.
- B. Marry somebody of inferior rank.
- C. Rebuke.
- D. How Great-grandma put away woolens from moths (2 wds.)
- E. Australian delegate to U.N. from 1946.
- F. City of Czechoslovakia destroyed by Nazis, 1942, but promptly commemorated by renaming an Illinois city a month later.
- G. Prompts, inspires, puts (something) into one's mind.
- H. Adult sardines.
- I. Lucerne; *Medicago sativa*.
- J. Any of several American hawthorns, esp. *Crataegus coccinea* and its allies (2 wds.)
- K. Belonging to the same race; congenial.
- L. Colloq. for very depressed in spirits or health (2 wds.)
- M. Former name of present capital of Turkey (prior to 1930).

94 45 89 31 58 27 1

64 92 73 182 185 162 43 124 75 4

70 128 66 99 153 157 188

144 10 47 136 68 36 33 32 141

95 130 5 166 139

112 98 129 80 184 180

148 87 82 121 52 101 132 154

145 60 174 133 51 93 158 100 117

34 14 176 38 152 109 140

53 3 57 24 135 110 123 164

71 137 59 183 29 122 6

172 13 170 48 127 116 37 103 187

11 169 22 77 56 114

DEFINITIONS

WORDS

- N. How Augustus Moddle signed himself to the girl who threw him over as, "Unalterably" hers (Martin Chuzzlewit).
- O. Describing certain fine, sheer muslin originally made in Switzerland.
- P. Author of *Castle Rackrent*, publ. 1800.
- Q. Omitted to wear; ceased (2 wds.)
- R. Large hoglike creature of the East Indies, with tusks curving up and backward, sometimes domesticated.
- S. Last king of Spain to date.
- T. Extirpated.
- U. Going wrong; misadventure; disaster.
- V. Act of grumbling aloud; a place to do that.
- W. Cowper's judgment on the direction of Man, even though some went eastward and some westward (2 wds.; Hope).
- X. Roadstead in the North Sea, famous rendezvous for ships near Deal (2 wds.)
- Y. Capable of being done.

88 28 143 20 107

35 190 46 106 131 15

142 79 151 26 19 104 90 191 134

167 108 50 40 189 16 156

7 69 97 111 147 150 171 74

55 113 102 84 81 155 18

125 44 181 186 86 161 146 42

65 119 96 85 25 173 39 76 160

54 78 165 179 17 72 138 91

23 63 177 30 21 49 120 159

83 2 9 115 178 12 61 67

41 118 126 8 62 105 168 149 175 163

DIRECTIONS

To solve this puzzle you must guess twenty-odd WORDS, the definitions of which are given in the column headed DEFINITIONS. Alongside each definition, there is a row of dashes—one for each letter in the required word. When you have guessed a word, write it on the dashes, and also write each letter in the correspondingly numbered square of the puzzle diagram. . . . When the squares are all filled in, you will find that you have completed a quotation from some published work. If read up and down, the letters in the diagram have no meaning. . . . Black squares indicate ends of words; if there is no black square at the right side of the diagram, the word carries over to the next line. . . . When all the WORDS are filled in, their initial letters spell the name of the author and the title of the piece from which the quotation has been taken. Of great help to the solver are this acoustic feature and the relative shapes of words in the diagram as they develop. Authority for spellings and definitions is Webster's New International Dictionary, Second and Third Editions.

				1	A	2	X	3	J		4	B	5	E	6	K		7	R	8	Y	9	X	10	D								
11	M			12	X	13	L	14	I	15	O	-	16	Q	17	V	18	S	19	P	20	N	21	W		22	M	23	W	24	J		
25	U	26	P	27	A	28	N	29	K			30	W	31	A	32	D			33	D	34	I	35	O		36	D	37	L	38	I	
39	U	40	Q	41	Y	42	T			43	B			44	T	45	A	46	O	47	D	48	L			49	W	50	Q		51	H	
52	G	53	J			54	V	55	S	56	M	57	J	58	A	59	K			60	H	61	X			62	Y	63	W	64	B	65	U
66	C	67	X			68	D	69	R	70	C	71	K	72	V	73	B			74	R	75	B	76	U	77	M	78	V	79	P	80	F
81	S	82	G			83	X	84	S			85	U	86	T	87	G	88	N	89	A	90	P	91	V			92	B	93	H	94	A
95	E	96	U			97	R	98	F	99	C	100	H	101	G	-		102	S	103	L	104	P	105	Y			106	O	107	N	108	Q
109	I	110	J	111	R	112	F			113	S	114	M	115	X	116	L	117	H	-		118	Y	119	U	120	W	121	G	122	K	123	J
		124	B	125	T	126	Y	127	L	128	C	129	F			130	E	131	O	132	G	133	H	134	P			135	J	136	D	137	K
138	V			139	E	140	I	141	D	142	P			143	N	144	D	145	H	146	T	147	R	148	G			149	Y	150	R	151	P
152	I	153	C	154	G	155	S			156	Q	157	C	158	H	159	W	160	U	161	T	-		162	B	163	Y	-		164	J	165	V
166	E			167	Q	168	Y	169	M	170	L			171	R	172	L	173	U	174	H	175	Y	-		176	I	177	W	178	X	179	V
180	F	181	T	182	B	183	K			184	F	185	B	186	T	187	L	188	C	189	Q	190	O	191	P								

Solution of last week's Double-Croctic will be found on page 20 of this issue.