AMERICAN EDUCATION: Its Men, Institutions and Ideas

Advisory Editor, Lawrence A. Cremin

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Reviewed by John Calam

American Education: Its Men. Institutions and Ideas is a bold enterprise for several reasons. Made up entirely of previously printed works, it risks the usual charges of duplication or omission. A reprint set of 117 volumes, all released simultaneously, calling for ten linear feet of sturdy bookshelf, clad in spartan covers, and averaging \$11 per volume (some go as high as \$40), returns from the bindery at its peril. As a great books package, moreover, American Education's prime appeal must accept for the moment a limited constituency. When "great book" editors such as Robert M. Hutchins and Mortimer J. Adler proffer Homer, Shakespeare, Newton, or Freud, readership waits in every home and college that ever endorsed the humanities. Lawrence A. Cremin, on the other hand, presents Tewksbury, Seybolt, Dexter, and Dabney, strangers to all but the historically initiated. Even John Dewey and Horace Mann, although household names to multitudes of American educators, are not going to find, through reissue of their books, a best-seller audience previously overlooked.

For all their intrepidity as reprint venturers, however, Arno Press and its distinguished advisory editor are well aware that singly or in sets American Education titles are largely destined for libraries or historians given to acquiring rarities. It is, therefore, with this latter perspective that one best recognizes what a splendid point of entry these books will provide forthcoming generations of writers and teachers. From the pages of this generous collection, in fact, emerge many of the crucial questions American educators have pondered since the Jamestown settlement. Should America's schools Americanize? In his Lectures on Education (1855), Horace Mann proposes a quality of child training worthy of republican government. Written more than half a century later, Isaac B. Berkson's Theories of Americanization critically examines such high abstractions as democracy, the melting pot, and multiple culture. Dare the school build a new social order? In a 1932 statement bearing this very question as its title, George S. Counts castigates a progressive education aloof from, among other things, the "issue of human slavery." A not unrelated discussion, From Servitude to Service (1905) includes W. E. B. Du Bois's classic reminder that "most men in this world are colored." And Edward Lee Thorndike's monumental Educational Psychology (1913) cautions that where individual differences are concerned, "no two races... do not overlap mentally, whatever be the trait measured."

For the educator in quest of certain aspects of his intellectual origins, access to American Education will thus save a good deal of preliminary searching. He will find at his disposal names and titles bound to evoke at least faint memories of a far-off lecture, and at most that irrepressible urge to become a revisionist. William C. Bagley on determinism, Philip R. V. Curoe on the educational attitudes of labor, Abraham Flexner on the American college, G. Stanley Hall on adolescence, William Heard Kilpatrick on educational experimentalism, and Harold Rugg on child-centered schools are typical cf those hard-to-find, out-of-print educational giants of their day that Arno Press has wisely seen fit to restore to circulation. Collectively, these books demand undivided attention to important facets of American education from colonial times to the early twentieth century. Any set that does so renders a distinct service to those whose lot or inclination it is to struggle with America's current educational problems.

What we have in American Education is an American bookshelf, 1970, of paramount importance. Thanks to Arno Press's initiative and Lawrence A. Cremin's wide knowledge of the field, a nuclear literature has been placed within reach of readers whose institutional budgets or purchasing habits can accommodate it. Editorial comment, granted, appears minimal and repetitive. This is no great loss, however. Professor Cremin's interpretive work, amply footnoted with reference to most of American Education's nearly six score volumes, is readily available elsewhere. Reference mechanics, admittedly, go no further than original tables of contents and indexes. There exists no grandiose cross-reference apparatus to help a Jack Horner speechifier pull out a plum. But, again, here is no special difficulty. American Edu*cation* is simply a basic library. It lays no claim to being the library. But, by showing the way, the publisher may well succeed in prompting researchers to blow the dust off more and more forgotten books on education. If rediscovery of this sort leads to enthusiastic authorship, the American educational bookshelf circa 2000 should positively creak with fresh, significant work.

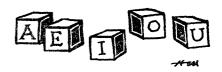
"Free Schools"

Continued from page 79

ing comic books. Inside, in the large front room, a group of children may be painting pictures or working with leather or looms. In a quiet, smaller room, someone else is having a guitar lesson. A room toward the back of the building is reserved as the math center; a couple of teachers are math enthusiasts, and many of the older children pick up from them their own excitement for the subject.

In the playground behind the building is an Indian kiva built by students and teachers learning about the culture of local Indian tribes. The Southwest is a multicultural area, and the Community School has tried to draw on all these cultures. There are Indian and Spanish children enrolled, as well as white, and each is encouraged to respect and learn from the cultures of the others.

But despite its efforts to reach into the Indian and Spanish communities, the Santa Fe Community School remains essentially a white middle-class school. The Chicanos and Indians, mainly poor or working-class, tend to shy



away from such experiments, partly because their cultures are traditionally conservative with highly structured roles for adults and children, and partly because the poor cannot afford to take a chance on the future of their young. Middle-class whites can always slip back into the mainstream if they choose. But for the poor, neither the acquisition of such intellectual tools as reading and writing nor a place in the economy is guaranteed.

These fundamental differences show up clearly in the community schools operated by and for black people. Black people on the whole bring their children to these schools, not merely because they believe in freedom for self-expression or letting the child develop his own interests, but because their children are not learning in the public schools, are turning sullen and rebellious by the age of eight, and are dropping out of school in droves. The ideology in many of these schools is not pedagogical, but what one school calls "blackology"-the need to educate the children in basic skills and in pride of race. In the black schools there is

Answer to Wit Twister, page 64: redfin, finder, friend.

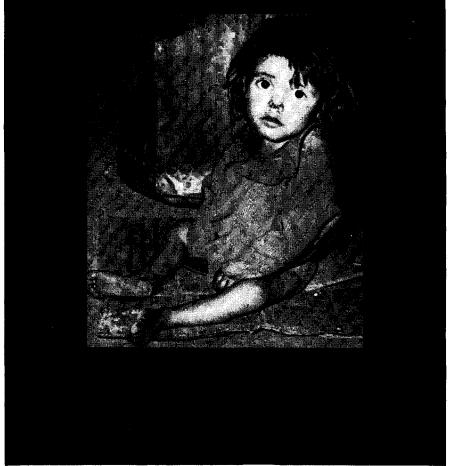
much more emphasis on basic intellectual training and much more participation on the part of parents. By and large, parents are the founders of these schools; they are the main source of inspiration and energy. They have the final say in selecting both teachers and curriculum, and their chief criterion is: Are the children learning?

As in the white schools, classrooms for the younger children are frequently patterned after the Leicestershire model. But the approach is deliberately eclectic, providing closer guidance and more structured activities for youngsters who need it. The academic progress of the children is carefully observed and quietly but firmly encouraged. "We want teachers who will try a thousand different ways to teach our children," said one mother.

Equally important is a teacher's attitude toward race. Although some schools would like to have all-black faculties-and in a number of cities. parents are in training to become teachers and teacher aides-they must still hire mainly whites. "When I interview a teacher," said Luther Seabrook, principal of the Highland Park Free School in Boston, "I always ask, can you think of a community person as an equal in the classroom?" Many teachers cannot, either because of racial bias, or because of notions about professionalism. Even after a teacher is hired, the going is still rough where feelings run high on the part of blacks and whites, but there is a determination to confront these problems directly through open discussion and group sessions.

The same approach applies to daily work in the classroom. Teachers and aides are encouraged to talk openly about their successes and problems in weekly planning sessions, to admit mistakes, and to try out new ideas. Such sessions are frequently the keystone of the teaching process in these schools. They are the times when teachers can get together and evaluate what has been happening in the classroom, how the children have responded to it, and how the teachers have responded to the children. "It's a tremendous place to grow," one teacher remarked. "You're not tied to a curriculum or structure, and you're not afraid to make mistakes. Everyone here is in the same boat. We get support from each other and develop our own wavs of handling things."

There is little doubt that the youngsters prefer the community schools to traditional schools. The humane and personal atmosphere in the small, open classrooms makes a fundamental difference. The children work together writing stories or figuring math problems, working with Cuisenaire rods or an elementary science kit. They are Yesterday Rosalba became a Foster Child.



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proud of their work and show it eagerly to visitors. There is virtually no truancy, and many youngsters hate to stay home even on weekends, according to their mothers.

But perhaps the greatest achievement of these schools is with the parents. They develop a new faith, not only in their children but in themselves. "Now I know," said a New York City mother, "that, even though I didn't finish high school, it is possible for me to understand what they are teaching my child." In changing their children's lives, these parents have discovered the power to change their own lives, as well. Parents who are not already working as aides and coordinators in the classrooms drop by their schools often to see how Johnny is doing. At the East Harlem Block Schools in New York, stuffed chairs and couches and hot coffee put parents at ease, while teachers talk with them as equals and draw them into the education of their children.

Nonetheless, black schools share many of the problems with the community that white schools have. People are suspicious of new ways of teaching, even though their children obviously are failing under the old ways. Parents who enroll their children out of desperation still grow anxious when they see the amount of freedom allowed. In integrated schools, like Santa Fe or the Children's Community Workshop, there is the added problem of race and class, as middle-class parents learn that all the children are not necessarily going to adopt middle-class values and life-styles, that cultural differences are valid and must be accepted.

Some schools are fed up with "parent education"; it takes too much time away from the children. A number of schools already are taking only children whose parents are in sympathy with their aims, parents who won't panic if the child doesn't learn to read until he is eight or nine.

But as a school grows more homogeneous, it faces the danger of becoming an isolated shelter against the reality of the outside world. Instead of educating kids to be strong and open enough to deal with a complex world, the schools may become elitist cloisters that segregate a few people even further from the crowd.

Once again the free schools must ask themselves what they are all about. If one assumes (as many free schools do) that any healthy, happy youngster will eventually learn to read and write, then what is the purpose of school? Is it enough simply to provide one's children with a school environment more humane than the public schools, and then stay out of nature's way?

At a California high school in the Sausalito hills, teachers and students think that that in itself is quite a lot. After going through a typical cycle of kids getting high on freedom and doing nothing for six months, getting bored, and finally facing the big questions— What am I doing? Where am I going?—



"I noticed you didn't follow the movie version very closely in your novel."

students and teachers think they have learned a lot about themselves and each other. But as the youngsters return to studying and start to seek answers to those questions, they find the teachers have little to offer besides a sympathetic ear. Some kids return to the public school feeling better for their experience with freedom. (Feeling, too, perhaps, that it didn't work, that they really do need all the rules and discipline their parents and teachers demanded.) Gradually, those who remain have forced the teachers back to the traditional textbooks as the chief source of knowledge.

The humane atmosphere remains, but missing is a curriculum that truly nurtures the independence of thought and spirit so often talked of and so rarely seen. It takes extraordinary ingenuity to build on students' needs and interests. A few brilliant teachers, such as Herbert Kohl, can turn kids on, meet them where they are, and take them further-can, for example, take a discussion of drugs and dreams and guide it through the realms of mythology, philosophy, and Jungian psychology. But what do you do if you're not a Herb Kohl? According to Anita Moses, you "work damn hard." There are other things, too: You can hire a master teacher familiar with the wide range of curriculum materials available. Little by little you can change the classroom, or the school itself, to make it do the things you want it to do. And little by little, through working with the children and hashing out problems with help from the rest of the staff, you begin to know what it is you want to do and how you can do it.

But even this does not answer the deeper questions-questions that are implicit in every free school, but that few have faced. Is it only a new curriculum or new ways of teaching that we need? Or do we need to change our ideas about children, about childhood itself, about how children learn, what they learn, what they need to learn, from whom or from what kinds of experience? It is clear that our ideas about teaching are inadequate, but is it possible that they are simply false? For example, children can often learn to read and write without any formal instruction. This is not a miracle; it is a response of an intelligent young being to a literate milieu. It is also clear that children learn many cognitive as well as social abilities from their peers or from children but a few years older than themselves. What, then, is the role of the adult in the learning of the child?

In simpler times, children learned from adults continually, through constant contact and interchange, and through their place close to the heart of the community. Today, the society has lost this organic unity. We live in tumes when children often see their fathers only on weekends. We live in a world that separates work from play, school from the "real" world, childhood from personhood. The young are isolated from participation in the community. They seem to have no integral place in the culture. Too often schools have become artificial environments created by adults for children. How is it possible to forsake these roles?

Young people are trying. Many will no longer accept without question authority based solely on tradition or age. They are seeking alternatives to The Way Things Are. But the venture into unfamiliar territory generates enormous anxieties. The young are painfully aware of their own inexperience; they lack faith in themselves. But who can help them in their conflicts both within themselves and with the outside world? Surely, this is a function of education. But in today's world there are few adults who can do this for themselves, far less for their children. For who can respond with assurance to the anxieties of young people over sex, drugs, and the general peril in which we live? Who knows how to deal with others when the traditional roles are gone?

And yet it should be possible for adults to relate to young people in some constructive way. It must be possible because the young, in their alienation and confusion, and the culture, in its schizoid suffering, demand it. In the words of Peter Marin, former director of the Pacific High School, a free school in California:

Somebody must step past the children, must move into his own psyche or two steps past his own limits into the absolute landscape of fear and potential these children inhabit. . . . I mean: we cannot *follow* the children any longer, we have to step ahead of them. Somebody has to mark a trail.

Is this what the free schools are all about? Few of them have asked these questions. Few will ever want to. But the questions are implicit in the movement. The free schools offer alternatives—alternatives that may be shaped to meet new needs and aims. At least, they offer a first step. At least, the possibility is there.

LITERARY I.Q. ANSWERS

1. barge, h (Ant. & Cleo.). 2. barks, g (To Helen). 3. pinnace, i (Revenge). 4. coaster, f (Cargoes). 5. clipper, a (Ballad of J. W. Sycamore). 6. galleys, b (Paracelsus). 7. schooner, d (Sea Gypsy). 8. ship, c (Shropshire Lad: Reveille). 9. vessel, j (O Captain!). 10. canoe, e (Hiawatha).

"Free University"

Continued from page 82

courses was high. At the University of Minnesota's free university, two-thirds of the seventeen courses were political. including the ubiquitous "Vietnam" and "C.O. and the Law." Seattle's curriculum, the first to include a political course on "Women in Society" (fall 1966), also included "Conservative Libertarian Theories" and "National Unity Through Class Struggle," taught by a "Marxist lecturer, organizer of the Freedom Socialist Party." Other interests were also represented. At Bowling Green, for example, five of the eight courses-an "Alienation Seminar" and four workshops in folk dancing, film production, journalism, and theatercontributed to counterculture on the campus. Seattle's curriculum, which began with nearly equal numbers of political and hippie courses, doubled the hippie ones almost at once. These tended to move in a direction similar to San Francisco State's, into crafts, filmmaking, and toward the mystical and introspective.

Only relatively few of the early free universities survived, and those that did (with the striking exception of San Francisco State) grew large at the expense of service to the wider society. To some student critics it also began to seem doubtful that the free university could or would serve to change the campus. By 1967 it was clear to early enthusiasts, such as Michael Rossman, that, given the intransigence of faculties, "Radical change within the system is impossible. . . ." He concluded that "The free university approach seems a dead end to me: parallel institutions are tremendously wasteful of energy and compete at a disadvantage." In early 1967 also, Carl Davidson, the national vice president of SDS, came to the same conclusion. Though the free universities may be successful especially "in an immediate internal sense," he wrote in a paper called "The Multiversity: Crucible of the New Working Class," he felt dubious about their political effect on the "established educational order":

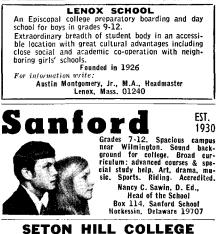
At best, they had no effect. But it is more likely that they had the effect of strengthening the existing system. How? First of all, the best of our people left the campus, enabling the existing university to function more smoothly, since the "troublemakers" were gone. Secondly, they gave liberal administrators the rhetoric, the analysis and sometimes the manpower to co-opt their programs and establish elitist forms of "experimental" colleges inside of, although quarantined from, the existing educational system. Both Rossman and Davidson were probably stating conclusions that others had also come to, for after early 1967 it was virtually impossible to find SDS members or other movement radicals founding free universities. Davidson's remarks are also prophetic, for the free university movement has continued to flourish although under different auspices.

By late 1967 and early 1968, the free university movement, renamed "educational reform" and confined to that particular goal, was increasingly a legitimate activity, popularized and supported by the National Student Association, which received from the Ford Foundation in September 1968 a grant of \$305,000 for that purpose. The second and larger wave of free universities was to produce "educational reform" in two interlocking ways: By channeling the energies of students into "constructive" study programs, administrators could at the same time fill in those ever present gaps in the curriculum. Thus, the administration at the University of Iowa initiated a free university, making funds available to a student-faculty steering committee and arranging for some course credit.

Even before 1969, the curricula of free universities had further changed. The proportion of political courses had diminished, few courses called for ac-

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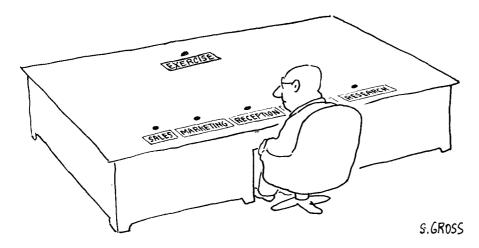
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tivities outside the classroom, and none for political or community organizing. What remained typically had the force of study groups or "clubs" on campus. Dartmouth's experimental college, for example, provided a glossy printed catalogue, and, with enthusiastic support from the administration, courses were "sponsored" by campus groups or fraternities, "coordinated" by students who sometimes invited visiting lecturers, and held in fraternity lounges or homes of town residents. The issue was not change but a way of spending evenings informally engaged in "a provocative educational experience" with a novel mix of people.

On large and small campuses, even in the current academic year, free universities continue to provide relief for students from lecture courses and traditional curricula. Their counterculture still fills their own catalogues more than those of their host institutions. At the staid University of Virginia, for example, fifty-five courses were announced in the fall 1969 brochure of the experimental university. For a fee of one dollar, any student may register in two of these, neither for grades nor credit, but for "learning as personal discovery." The courses range from the currently ubiquitous "Hermann Hesse" and "Modern Adult Fantasy" (i.e., Tolkien) to many activity-centered workshops-drama, poetry, silk-screening, dance, karate, surfing, chess-and two in bartending. Politics of the Right and Left, local problems ("The South Since 1865"), as well as Vietnam are all represented. Except for "Power Structure Research," political courses are reading and study groups. The sharp model of institutional change-fundamental to the vision of early SDS and the founders of San Francisco State's Experimental College and explicit in the rhetoric at least of all early free universities-has disappeared.

It is easy to dismiss the free university movement as politically impotent. Like nonviolence in the civil rights movement, setting a good example on the campus ("blackmailing the institution with quality") has not worked. Habit, self-interest, and power dominate the university as they do the wider society, in spite of rebellions, confrontations, or riots. The faculty and administration are in charge, and they intend to keep things that way. But the university is a different place from what it was in 1962 or 1965, and we would make two claims for the free university movement: first, that it take major responsibility, through the rapid spread of counterculture, for the idea of a student-centered curriculum; second, that it take partial responsibility for raising hard questions about the elitism of universities, which we expect will be central to campus struggles in the Seventies.

If we return again to San Francisco State, we may recall that so long as the Experimental College functioned as a culturally lively but politically quiescent institution, so long as it made no demands on the host institution that might change the college population, there were no problems. Students might determine their own courses, without traditional grading procedures, and receive college credit. But demands from black and third-world students for self-determination, however similar to those already granted to white, middle-class students at the Experimental College-those were impossible for San Francisco State and the entire educational bureaucracy of California to deal with. Once the principle of self-determination is established, it is difficult to keep it from spreading. The principle, moreover, is both educational and political. Black and third-world leaders understood this clearly, and even S. I. Hayakawa understood the reasons for the strike that paralyzed his campus:

If we were dealing with hunger instead of education, you can imagine what would happen if we had a walled city in which the citizens had all the food they needed while outside there were hordes of starving people. We could not open the gates just a little to admit handfuls of the starving and expect the rest to remain patient outside.

No.

We would have to be prepared to open the gates wide and to admit everyone, or be prepared for a riot. That is the situation now with higher education.

Two recent reports by Lewis B. Mayhew in 1969 and The Hazen Foundation in 1968 call for wholesale reform of the university and recommend abolition of course requirements, departments, attendance rules, grades, lectures, teacher-dominated discussions, and the notion of "objectivity" as an educational tool. Such recommendations, as well as the series of piecemeal reforms that have begun on many campuses, are, at least in part, a result of the free university movement.

If educators will dismiss grading procedures and test scores, disparage current admissions practices as elitist, and call for a sharp reduction in the competitive atmosphere of educational institutions, on what basis are students to be admitted and to be graduated? And to which institution? Who or what will decide whether a student should attend Brown or the University of Rhode Island; New York's City University or Manhattan Community College; San Francisco State or a California junior college?

In New York and elsewhere, the call for open admissions is in part a result of ideas about student-centered education and self-determination. Recall that the roots of the free university movement lie not only in students' dissatisfaction with their education and campus lives but in their recognition of the significant relationship between the university and the society it serves. The Vietnam War clarified the curious, symbiotic relationship between the university and the warfare state. In particular, the concomitant institution of the draft raised questions about the special class privileges of white, middleclass students reprieved from the rice paddies. The institution of educational innovations, currently in process at many elite institutions, will lead to further questions about standards, admissions, and whom the institutions serve. Self-determination is a dynamic principle. Set in motion by the ethic of service, now established as a legitimate element of college curriculum, the campus may once again become a base for activating and organizing communities. With more black and brown selfdetermined and self-confident students coming onto campuses, especially in cities, we expect that there will be many more San Francisco States in the decade ahead.

Liberalism

Continued from page 85

voce, without appearing to disturb the secular norms of the system.

Blacks are treated particularistically and ascriptively, but are held to universalist standards of achievement. The administrative and educational reformers seek to change the treatment; the political reformers, despairing of change in the treatment now seek to change the standards. They thereby endorse a theory of social structure directly at odds with the prevailing liberal theory.

There are those who take comfort from an alleged cyclicality in political tides, which permits them to assume that any stage of the moment will pass in due course. While it is likely true that, if the schools had been more effective in dealing with the needs of black students, the crisis of legitimacy would be less marked, it would be a mistake to view the new political demands as part of a continual cyclical reordering of social emphases. The increasingly explicit rejection of a social theory that is deeply embedded in the nation's consciousness is new, and quite possibly irreversible. That is why the emergence of the new doctrine is greeted with so much discomfort by the liberal community. Even where the new argument is not explicit, there is an almost instinctive hostility to so marked a departure from the American past and the American belief.

There are a limited number of wavs in which the conflict inherent in the several doctrines of reform might be resolved, or, at least, reduced. The most obvious is to make the schools more effective-that is, to operate on the theory that a surplus of effectiveness obscures the question of legitimacy. This is a respectable social strategy, in effect based on the premise that people with full stomachs are unlikely revolutionaries. According to all the evidence of the polls, most Negroes remain persuaded of the viability of traditional integrative theory, and there is no question that a sudden and dramatic improvement in the performance of the traditional system vis-à-vis the Negro community would undermine the appeal of the new parochialism.

I take such a development to be unlikely, especially in the area of education, which is probably the least tractable of the spheres in which we now seek, as a society, to improve conditions for black people. If I am correct in assuming that no dramatic improvement in the effectiveness of the schools is likely, what possibilities exist for a change in the traditional view of legitimacy? To what extent, in other words, is it reasonable to anticipate that the doctrine of the political reformers will gain adherents among white liberals?

The present tempest in America has led to some shifts in the conventional liberal perspective. In particular, the notion that the nation is best governed by a highly centralized bureaucracy has begun to lose respectability, and it is perfectly possible that the commitment to a secular bureaucracy will, similarly, weaken. There are liberals arguing for suspension of the civil service regulations in specific instances, although this deviation from tradition is countered by the continuing commitment to national standards on key policy issues. It is, however, folly to predict a major ideological transformation, since the sources of such transformations remain so mysterious.

There is some logical relationship, it would seem, between the developing doctrine of participatory democracy and a parochialization of social theory. Obviously, the more power one provides to people to make their own political rules, the more likely those rules are to be particularistic rather than universal. At this stage in the movement toward participatory democracy, however, it seems no more warranted to predict its eventual victory than to suggest that its limits will be set by its threat to the secular tendencies of the system.

We are left, then, with one mode of reconciliation, which is, admittedly, a rather academic mode, worth more as solace than as program. It is to accept the fact that the social system has never, in truth, been nearly so secular in its operation as the norm of universalism implies, or as many American liberals generally suppose. The evidence for this view is somewhat speculative, but interpretations of three different sectors lend it weight.

First, we have the evident persistence of ethnic identities as not only a psychological phenomenon, but as reflected in the economy. Different groups have established themselves in different sectors, and their persistence as identifiable groups, in the face of a social ideology that is chilly toward them, suggests that they cannot lightly be dismissed as an aberrant anachronism. As Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan assert, "The ethnic group in American society [has become] not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form."

Second, we might argue that the political system itself has not been nearly so secular as is assumed. Such an argument has genuine validity in the case



"You can fool some of the digital components some of the time, but you can't fool all of the digital components all of the time."

ot black Americans, who have obviously not been encompassed by the doctrine of universalism. The current challenges to American political institutions, and especially to universities. suggest that the argument may be valid in other spheres as well. We may read those challenges to say that we have developed elaborate institutions, which profess their neutrality, but which in fact operate to the advantage of particular groups within the society. Moreover, institutions play favorites independently of the good will of those who manage them, since the rules of the game and institutional inertia conspire to overwhelm modest efforts at reform. What is obvious with respect to Negroes is no less true, if less obvious, in general: The structure of the system, which is to say, of our institutions, and the rules according to which they are managed preserve, in many ways, a reality of particularism and of ascription elaborately disguised by a mythology of universalism and achievement orientation.

Third, we may turn to educational history. For, once again, despite the prevailing myth that education is a secular institution, we can, and should, read the history of the schools as an example of creative tension between the particular and the universal. The standard compromise has been to create largely parochial structures while emphasizing fundamentally universal content. On the face of it, this seems an implausible development, since our conventional sociology informs us that there is necessarily an identity between structure and content. But if we view the two tendencies, after Talcott Parsons and E. A. Shils, as representing a continuing dilemma, we can see how they may have been played off against one another, in a constant process of trading-off. Unable or unwilling to commit itself wholly to the one choice or the other, the society has managed, however improbably, to sustain both together.

The operational implication of this form of choice is, if it is to be continued, first, a recognition that we may yet have the best of two worlds, or, at least, avoid the worst of either. We may assume that there is a cyclicality to these affairs, and that the balance, most recently heavily weighted toward the universalist norm, needs to be adjusted to favor the particularistic.

Put somewhat differently: The fear of Balkanizing the society through endorsement of community schools would be warranted only if so many other institutions, and especially the mass media of communication, were not on the side of nationalizing, hence secularizing, education. If we add together all the secular educational inputs, a school system based on more parochial claims may seem less threatening to the traditional ideology, and more a way of preserving some balance between consensus and diversity.

Further, we must emphasize the degree to which universalist doctrine is fundamentally prescriptive rather than descriptive. Liberals who insist on applying universal norms are unable to make exceptions for black people without undermining their fundamental ideological commitments. They therefore either reject current Negro demands, or rise to defend community control of the schools as if it were everywhere a helpful doctrine, a position few of them seriously entertain. The obvious resolution of this problem is to recognize the exceptional position of the black community-exceptional because of history, exceptional because of current needs, and exceptional especially by virtue of the growing degree of community consciousness. It is difficult, of course, for liberals to accommodate such exceptions, to recognize that what may be good, or appropriate, or legitimate, for one group need not be a secular standard for all groups. But such recognition is bound to be less tortured than the continued rejection of the demands, on the one hand, or fatuous endorsement of the demands as a new and comprehensive norm for the entire educational system, on the other.

Yet, on the whole, there is little reason to be sanguine about the ability of the system to sustain the historic compromise between the universal and the particular. It was easier to sustain it when it was not so explicit as it now threatens to become. Once choices are clearly outlined and seen as alternatives, it becomes difficult to avoid choosing. The social change we now witness, save as we successfully—and improbably—opt again for compromise, will lead in sinister, perhaps even catastrophic, directions.

One man's catastrophe is another man's romp, to be sure, but the trouble with catastrophe is that one can never be sure whether what follows the flood is the dove or a swamp. It is most curious that the chorus of social science warning that the mass, undifferentiated, atomized society, i.e., the secular society, is psychologically disabling, socially chaotic, and politically unstable has not led to a more critical questioning of the validity and utility of liberal ideology. It is, to say the least, cynical to undermine the ideological foundations of community and then to express disgust with the results. One does not have to endorse a return to magic in order to support the proposition that communities smaller than the whole should be encouraged.

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(Continued on page 100)

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(Continued from page 99)

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KINGSLEY DOUBLE-CROSTIC NO. 1889

Reg. U. S. Patent Office

By Thomas H. Middleton

DEFINITIONS	WORDS	DEFINITIONS	WORDS												
A. Milton describes Hell as "this wild abyss, / The and perhaps her	<u>1 10 27 77 85 62 101 107 131 187 191</u>	N. Allegiances	189 111 95 60 209 148 108 105 138												
grave." (3 wds., "Para- dise Lost")	194	O. Creating dissension or dis- cord	215 176 205 57 8 34 74 48												
B. Virginity	126 142 165 185 203 211 11 17	P. Greek poet (8th cent. B.C.) who pictured him-	38 43 141 50 204 144												
C. Wraps with bandages	44 90 93 99 109 124 132 137	self as a Boeotian farmer													
D. "Sweet—gently gliding by." (Lorenz Hart, "Man- hattan")	212 22 56 104 66 180 188 30 71	Q. Offensive to a sense of propriety	5 178 192 70 135 24 54 16 83 116												
E. Important island of the Ryúkyus	72 195 199 207 213 37 55	R. Any violent upheaval, esp. one of a social or political nature	167 146 175 123 53 64 127 181 7												
F. Fabricated; without basis in fact (4 wds.)	58 98 145 153 73 154 164 168 184 210 21	S. Crash	82 160 3 23 67 202 118 197 51												
	32 88 89 113	T. Steady	112 59 147 179 158 133 115 69 86 173												
G. He said, "England expects that every man will do his duty."	140 149 157 163 177 196	U. Speedy, by the fastest													
H. Latin poet (239-169? B.C.;	13 29 143 81 45 96	possible means	19 91 106 68 41 174 166 87 75												
"Annales")	13 29 143 01 43 96	V. Engage	162 136 200 117												
I. Flinched, guailed	<u>161 172 40 52 65 79 100 122</u>	W. Talk idly	134 18 102 151 121 26												
J. English poet and dramatist (1882-1937; "Robert E. Lee," "Abraham Lin- coln.")	<u>150 171 206 12 33 152 6 47 63 76</u>	X. Mug, pan, kisser	9 155 84 94												
K. Failing, slipping (3 wds.)	<u>139 169 182 15 20 103 36 39 49 119</u>	Y. Village, Ayrshire SW Scot- land, birthplace of Robert Burns and scene of "Tam	31 4 125 156 198 201 129												
L. Reluctant to give or spend	35 2 170 208 25 42 80 92 110	O' Shanter"													
M. In addition to (3 wds.)	114 120 159 28 46 61 78 130	Z. "to fresh woods, and pastures new." (Milton, "Lycidas")	97 183 128 186 14 214 190 193												

DIRECTIONS

DIRECTIONS

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Solution of last week's Double-Crostic will be found on page 11 of this issue.