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Education and Living: Volume 1

Ralph Borsodi

EDUCATION

AND

LIVING

PART I and PART II

EDUCATION AND LIVING

BY

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THE SCHOOL OF LIVING
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CREATING:

THAT IS THE JUSTIFICATION OF SUFFERING,

THE DIGNIFICATION OF LABOR,

THE SIGNIFICATION OF LIFE.

—MOTTO OF THE SCHOOL OF LIVING

WHEN we lie down worn out,
other men will stand young and fresh.

By the steps that we have cut they will climb;
by the stairs that we have built they will mount.

They will never know the names of the men who made them.

At the clumsy work they will laugh;
and when the stones roll by they will curse us.

But they will mount, and on our work;
they will climb, and by our stairs!

No man liveth to himself,
and no man dieth to himself.

—*Olive Schreiner*

Part I. EDUCATION

Part II. MIS-EDUCATION

Part III. RIGHT-EDUCATION

Part IV. RE-EDUCATION

APOLOGIA PRO VIVENDO

No man knows better than I that this book represents an ambitious undertaking. For it is nothing less than an effort to explain not only modern man's failure to achieve the good life, in spite of his startling scientific progress, but also to outline the manner in which he might learn how to live like a normal human being.

The studies which led me to undertake this work began in 1920 when the Borsodi family moved from New York City to a country home in Rockland County, New York. That shift from urban to rural life led me to question the validity of the whole pattern of life to which America, the industrial nations of Europe, and now the whole world, is devoting itself.

EDUCATION AND LIVING is really a report upon an experiment in adult re-education which began fifteen years ago, in 1933, when I was asked by Miss Margaret Hutchinson, Dr. Elizabeth Nutting, and Mrs. George H. Wood, all of Dayton, Ohio, to act as consultant for the Production and Homestead Unit Committee of the Community Chest of that city. These interesting self-help cooperative experiments came into existence—as a result of ideas based upon my book, THIS UGLY CIVILIZATION—for the purpose of dealing with unemployment during the worst of the great depression of the 1930s. THIS UGLY CIVILI-

ZATION was written in 1928 and published in the summer before the crash of the New Era in October 1929. Some details concerning the Dayton experiments will be found in the first edition of my book, FLIGHT FROM THE CITY.

The point which makes it necessary to recall this almost forgotten incident is the fact that whereas nearly everybody connected with the Subsistence Homestead movement, the development of which was much influenced both by my own ideas and the Dayton experiments, thought of the homestead projects as unemployment relief and housing, I insisted that the effort to establish people on homesteads would prove disappointing unless it was recognized that it represented first of all a problem in adult re-education. Because of my insistence upon this idea, the sponsors of the Dayton experiment enlisted the cooperation of many of the faculty members of Ohio State University, who gave generously of their time to the problems of the project.

I am sorry to have to record two failures in connection with the Dayton experiments. Firstly, my own almost complete inability to make those who took part in it understand what I meant when I said that the problem which not only faced them but faced the entire nation, was not economic but educational; that what they thought a social problem, was in reality an ideological problem. Secondly, my own inadvertent contribution to the eventual failure of the experiment. The people in the city of Dayton were unable to finance the projects. Dayton was one of the worst victims of the great financial disaster which had spread from Wall Street—then still the economic center of the nation—to the remotest regions of the modern world. So I went to Washington and persuaded the New Deal, through Harry Hopkins, Harold Ickes and, above all, M. L. Wilson, to finance the projects. Of all the men in places of power with whom I dealt, Dr. Wilson alone understood what I meant when I said that the Dayton homestead plan was different—that it

was essentially educational in nature. But "M. L." was finally as hopelessly enmeshed by the politics and bureaucracy of big government as everybody else is who tries to make government something other than a necessary evil. As a result he was unable to save the projects when red-tape, absentee bureaucratic dictation and politics began to ruin them.

In 1934 Harold Ickes broke the solemn agreement into which he had entered on behalf of the United States with the various Dayton homestead units, and because they accepted "federalization" I broke with the Dayton sponsors of the projects and returned to Suffern. My taste, however, for my work with large corporations as a consulting economist on marketing and distribution problems, had been spoiled. I determined that the idea which lay at the heart of what I had tried to do in Dayton was too important to be lost. As a result a few friends whom I enlisted joined with me in establishing a research and experimental sociological laboratory which we called the School of Living. Among those who helped most in the beginning were Dr. Harold Rugg, of Columbia University, Dr. Warren Wilson, of the Town and Country department of the Presbyterian Church, and Mrs. William Sargent Ladd. Others who served on the original Board and helped launch the School were Clarence E. Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, Msgr. Luigi Liggutti, of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Van Alan Clark, B. C. Dunlop, Samuel D. Dodge, W. C. McKinney, and Mrs. Elizabeth MacDonald. Note must also be made of the assistance rendered by the first staff, Doris Pelton Webster and Earl and Eleanora Gordon. Above all, I must record the contribution to the work of the School rendered by my wife and the other members of my family. The School really originated in my home; it grew out of experiments in living in which my whole family participated; its launching as a separate institution was only made possible be-

cause of the help which they gave to what must often have seemed to them a mental aberration of an otherwise sane and conservative professional man.

Subsequently the work of the School was immensely enlarged through the generosity and support of Seward Collins, Richard Crane, Graham Carey, and Chauncey D. Stillman. If I were to list all those who helped, to a great or less degree, I would have to fill many pages with names. I hope that they will all accept this as an acknowledgment of my debt to them. Very special mention must, however, be made of the patient and truly inspiring help which has continued to this day of my assistant at the School during its most difficult period, Mildred Jensen Loomis. Without her encouragement during the long period of travail in writing this book it would never have been finished. Finally I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Shirley Miles for her clever drawings and her endless typing of manuscript.

At the School of Living, a wide variety of experiments and researches were conducted by a staff of as many as forty persons. Nearly $300,000 was spent under my direction before the outbreak of World War II in 1939 made it necessary to end our experiments and inquiries.

What, now, was the central idea which emerged from the School's activities? It was not, as so many people think, instruction in country living and in folk arts and handicrafts; nor the development of a better method of dealing with unemployment; nor the solution of the housing problem. *It was the scientific validity of decentralization*—of the truth of the conviction slowly burned into my consciousness after the Borsodi family

moved to the country that the progress and centralization for which modern industrial man had been taught he should live, was based upon a tragic error—a tragic misunderstanding of the true meaning of science—and that a whole new program of education has to be developed which would substitute for the prevailing mistaken objective in living, an end or aim which was right, proper and, as I have come to think of it, *normal.*

The School's experiments and researches were really explorations of the concept of Normal Living.

In 1941 I finally began a summation of what I had learned from my study of the experiments. That work has occupied most of my time for the past eight years. But the work has grown to such dimensions that in submitting this book to the public, I feel it necessary to call attention to the fact that this opening volume of what has grown into a projected trilogy, while complete in itself, is not the whole of the report I have promised to make. In reading this volume, EDUCATION AND LIVING, it will help if the reader has at least some outline of what is to follow in EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY and finally in EDUCATION AND IMPLEMENTATION.

The essence of what I have learned and shall try to report in these three studies, is this:

1. EDUCATION AND LIVING

THE manner in which man lives and the manner in which individuals attempt to solve the problems of living, depends upon three things—their *educations*, the *ideologies* they accept, and the methods they use to *implement* their ideas. My studies of education—using the word in its broadest sense and not restricting it to mere schooling—show that man can be taught to believe anything and to adopt every conceivable pat-

tern of living; that education is the instrument by which he can be made, or makes himself, what he is. Man's patterns of living are not predetermined by inexorable forces; they are humanly determinable. In this first volume, which concerns itself primarily with the potentialities of education, the significance of this fundamental truth for dealing with the problems of our times, are outlined. The crisis of modern man—the threat to civilization of World War III, of Fascist and Communist revolution, of the resurgence of despotism, of inflation, depression and unemployment, of physical and mental degeneration—is due to mis-education. Only right-education can save civilization. This fact constitutes a challenge to educators, a challenge which unfortunately they have failed to accept.

II. EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

BUT education, important as it is, should not constitute man's ultimate *end* in life. Education is too largely *means;* too largely method. When treated as purpose—as it is in schooling, in scholarship and in pure science—it results in frustrating rather than in realizing the possibilities of life. *The ends and purposes of life are embodied in the ideologies which human beings accept or in which they believe.* The whole of the study which I am calling EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY constitutes an exploration of these bodies of ideas and the development of a method for choosing among the thousands of ideologies which exist or may be formulated, those which can be used to teach men, individually and in groups, how to behave, and how to deal with the crisis facing them, like normal human beings.

III. EDUCATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

THE final study in this trilogy faces the fact that *not only are ideologies implemented but that man's life individually and socially depends upon the implementation of his ideas.* If, therefore, man does not live the good life; if he fails to solve

the problems with which he is confronted, it may be due to his mis-education; it may be due to the invalidity of his ideologies; it may be due to errors in implementation. Implementation acquires its enormous importance from this, that errors of implementation may negate the greatest truths which man has discovered or upon which he has stumbed. In sum, to solve the problem of living like a normal human being, of dealing with the threat to civilized life, of organizing a humane social order, men must not only be rightly educated; not only must the ideas which they adopt be in accord with norms of living, but so must be the methods and instruments which they use in practicing or implementing them.

The second and third volumes of this work should be completed within the next year, *deo volente.*

This first volume does not purport to be a definitive and complete statement of the norms which should govern individual and social action. The entire accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind would have to be carefully studied and integrated in order to produce such a canon. All that I have tried to do in writing it has been to establish the validity of Normal Living as goal and subject matter of education, and to outline a methodology for integrating what millions of unknown men and women have contributed to the art of living and what the great creative workers in art, science and philosophy have bequeathed to us in our total cultural accumulation. It will prove, I hope, the frame of reference within which those who accept the idea will erect a structure to be constantly enlarged and improved as further discoveries make it possible to formulate more and more definitive norms.

I appeal not only to educators but to everybody interested in the crisis which our civilization faces, for consideration of

the educational movement advocated in this book because I believe that adult re-education is the only hope for mankind. Centralization is fastening itself everywhere like a vise upon modern man, and in doing so is dragging down into the gutter the most precious values in the whole of mankind's cultural inheritance. If anything is to be saved out of the wreckage; if something is to be saved with which to begin building a better world both for those of us who may survive and for future generations, it will only be saved if dedicated educators take the lead in saving it. It will not be saved by the financiers and big business men who are devoting themselves exclusively to the expansion of industry, nor by the planners, politicians and public officials who believe that the government should intervene in everything mankind does. Least of all by the socialists, communists and revolutionists who believe that the totalitarian state is the answer to all the problems of mankind and who mistake their sadistic impulses for genuine public spirit. Love may save civilization, but hate certainly will not. Civilization will only be saved if we turn for guidance to the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind, and insist that the teachers and leaders of mankind do the job which they really should be doing—*teaching mankind how to live.*

RALPH BORSODI

SUFFERN, NEW YORK, APRIL 1948.

PART I

EDUCATION AND LIVING

EDUCATION

I am done with great things and big things, great institutions and big success, and I am for those tiny invisible molecular moral forces that work from individual to individual, creeping through the crannies of the world like so many rootlets, or like the capillary oozing of water, yet which, if you give them time, will rend the hardest monuments of man's pride.—William James.

CHAPTER I.

EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

Popular education and certain faiths about popular education are in the mores of our time. We regard illiteracy as an abomination. We ascribe to elementary book learning power to form character, make good citizens, keep family mores pure, elevate morals, establish individual character, civilize barbarians, and cure social vice and disease. We apply schooling as a remedy for every social phenomenon which we do not like.—William Graham Sumner.

NEARLY half a century ago, in 1899, when it was still the custom to refer to what we now call "Progressive Education" as the "New Education," John Dewey published a series of lectures under the title THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

Almost at the very beginning of the first chapter of this famous book he said, "Whenever we have in mind the discussion of a new movement in education, it is necessary to take the broader, social view;" that is, to view it from the standpoint of the general public interest and not merely of those interested in the technical problems of teaching and school administration. Then, in order to disarm those critics who were thinking of the "New Education" as merely the "fad and frill" of one individual, he said, "The modification going on in the method and curriculum of education is as much a product of the changed social situation, and as much an effort to meet the needs of the new society that is forming, as are changes in the modes of industry and commerce."

EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY

SINCE the point of view with regard to education which I shall discuss in this book is also a product of precisely the same "changed social situation" which resulted in the development of "Progressive Education," I am going to quote in full the words which John Dewey himself used in describing the educational problem created by the substitution of our present Industrial ideology* for the Agrarian ideology which formerly prevailed in America:

> It is to this that I especially ask your attention: the effort to conceive what roughly may be termed the "New Education" in the light of the larger changes in Society. Can we connect this "New Education" with the general march of events? If we can, it will lose its isolated character, and will cease to be an affair which proceeds only from the over-ingenious minds of pedagogues dealing with particular pupils. It will appear as part and parcel of the whole social evolution, and in its more general features at least, as inevitable. Let us then ask after the main aspects of the social movement; and afterwards go to the school to find what witness it gives of effort to put itself in line. And since it is quite impossible to cover the whole ground, I shall for the most part confine myself to one typical thing in the modern school movement—that which passes under the name of manual training, hoping that if the relation of that to changed social conditions appears, we shall be ready to concede the point as well regarding other educational innovations.

OUR INDUSTRIAL IDEOLOGY

I make no apology for not dwelling at length upon the social changes in question. Those I shall mention are writ so large that he who runs may read. The change that comes first to mind, the one that overshadows and even controls all others, is the industrial one—the application of science resulting in the great inventions that have utilized the forces of nature on a vast and expansive scale: the growth of a world-wide market as the object of production, of vast manufacturing centers to supply this market, of cheap and rapid means of communication and distribution between all its parts. Even as to its feebler beginnings, this change is not much more than a century old: in many of its most important aspects it falls within the short span of those now living. One can hardly believe there has been a revolution in all history so rapid, so extensive, so com-

*When an ideology is referred to in this book, the reference is to nothing more mysterious than some specific *body of ideas*. The capitalization of ideologies is deliberate and will make clearer what I have in mind when I refer to an ideology.

plete. Through it the face of the earth is making over, even as to its physical forms; political boundaries are wiped out and moved about, as if they were indeed only lines on a paper map; population is hurriedly gathered into cities from the ends of the earth; habits of living are altered with startling abruptness and thoroughness; the search for the truths of nature is infinitely stimulated and facilitated and their application to life made not only practicable, but commercially necessary. Even our moral and religious ideas and interests, the most conservative because the deepest-lying things in our nature, are profoundly affected. That this revolution should not affect education in other than formal and superficial fashion is inconceivable.

OUR FORMER AGRARIAN IDEOLOGY

BACK of the factory system lies the household and neighborhood system. Those of us who are here today need go back only one, two, or at most three generations, to find a time when the household was practically the center in which were carried on, or about which were clustered, all typical forms of industrial occupation. The clothing worn was for the most part not only made in the house but the members of the household were generally familiar with the shearing of the sheep, the carding of the wool, and the plying of the loom. Instead of pressing a button and flooding the house with electric light, the whole process of getting illumination stood revealed in its toilsome length, from the killing of the animal and the trying of the fat, to the making of wicks and the dipping of candles. The supply of flour, of lumber, of foods, of building materials, of household furniture, even of metal ware, of nails, hinges, hammers, etc., was in the immediate neighborhood, in shops which were constantly open to inspection and often centers of neighborhood occupation. The entire industrial process stood revealed, from the production on the farm of the raw materials, till the finished article was actually put to use. Not only this, but practically every member of the household had his own share in the work. The children, as they gained in strength and capacity, were gradually initiated into the mysteries of the several processes. It was a matter of immediate and personal concern, even to the point of actual participation.

We cannot overlook the factors of discipline and character-building involved in this: training in habits of order and industry, and in the idea of responsibility, of obligation to do something, to produce something in the world. There was always something which really needed to be done, and a real necessity that each member of the household should do his part, faithfully and in co-operation with others. Personalities which became effective in action were bred and tested in the medium of action. Again, we cannot overlook the importance for educational purposes of the close and intimate acquaintance got with nature at first hand, with real things and ma-

terials, with the actual processes of their manipulation, and the knowledge of their social necessities and uses. In all this there was continual training of observation, of ingenuity, of constructve imagination, of logical thought, and of the sense of reality acquired through first-hand contact with actualities. The educative forces of the domestic spinning and weaving, of the sawmill, the cooper shop, and the blacksmith forge, were continuously operative.

No number of object-lessons, got up merely as object lessons for the sake of giving information, can afford even the shadow of a substitute for acquaintance with the plants and animals of the farm and garden, acquired through actual living among them and caring for them. No training of the sense-organs in school, introduced for the sake of training, can begin to compete with the alertness and fulness of sense-life that comes through daily intimacy and interest in familiar occupations. Verbal memory can be trained in committing tasks, a certain discipline of the reasoning powers can be acquired through lessons in science and mathematics; but after all, this is somewhat remote and shadowy compared with the training of attention and of judgment that is acquired in having to do things with a real motive behind and a real outcome ahead. At present, concentration of industry and division of labor have practically eliminated household and neighborhood occupations—at least for educational purposes. But it is useless to bemoan the departure of the good old days of children's modesty, reverence, and implicit obedience, if we expect merely by bemoaning and exhortation to bring them back. It is conditions which have changed radically, and only an equally radical change in education suffices. We must recognize our compensations—the increase in toleration, in breadth of social judgment, the large acquaintance with human nature, the sharpened alertness in reading signs of character and interpreting social situations, greater accuracy of adaptation to differing personalities, contact with greater commercial activities. These considerations mean much to the city-bred child of today. Yet there is a real problem: how shall we retain these advantages, and yet introduce into the school something representing the other side of life—occupations which exact personal responsibilities and which train the child with relation to the physical realities of life?

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN SOCIETY

WHAT is the meaning to the school and for the teacher of the change involved in this great shift from a predominantly Agrarian to a predominantly Industrial society? In effect John Dewey says: Given so radical a change, the role of the school in society requires it to make whatever changes in organization, curriculum and methods of instruction may be

needed, no matter how revolutionary, in order to adjust children properly to the changed conditions under which, by the fatalism of evolution and the rise of manufacturers and financiers to the leadership of society, they are doomed to live.

This I deny. I deny it firstly because it assumes that the teacher has nothing to teach which may transcend the assumptions of the particular ideology which those whom he is teaching are expected to accept. I deny it secondly because it is a doctrine which relegates the school to the same role in society to which it is relegated by Marxism, Fascism and National Socialism. If John Dewey was justified in substituting Progressive Education for what he called the "Medieval conception of learning" because of a change in our national ideology,† then the Marxists in Russia were justified in substituting a Proletarian conception of learning for the Bourgeois conception of education; the Fascists in Italy were justified in substituting a Fascist conception for a Democratic conception of learning, and the Nazis in Germany were justified in completely making over the whole system of German education, burning so-called Jewish or "non-Aryan" books, and substituting an Aryan conception of learning for the Democratic conception of the Weimar republic.

PAGAN, CHRISTIAN, AND MAHOMEDDAN EDUCATION

THIS kind of justification for the institution of new conceptions of education is, of course, very old. It is a justification used not only by those seeking to assure the adherence of people to new political ideologies and the new governments established to implement them, but also by those seeking to assure the adherence of people to new religious ideologies and the churches established to implement them. The evangelists of Christianity, when it was new, and the founders of Christian churches, justified their destruction of Greek and Roman learning upon precisely the same ground as that used by the Nazis

†It is true that John Dewey has since qualified in many ways the doctrine so explicitly accepted by him in SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, but the doctrine still lives and, if anything, in an even more uncompromising form than that accepted by Dewey so long ago.

in Germany in their destruction of Christian and Jewish learning. Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine explicitly instructed the emerging Christian world to have nothing to do with Pagan learning. A new education, they said, of a purely Christian character, must be organized to supply the needs of Christians. The aim and object of the new education must be to equip men to interpret the Holy Scriptures and to understand the most subtle truths of Christianity. The Christian fanatics of Alexandria may have been over-crude in the method they used for abolishing Pagan teaching; but they were perfectly logical, considering the importance they attached to salvation, in going to the extremes of barbarously torturing and murdering Hypatia in order to destroy completely the Neo-Platonic schools of that great city and to prepare the people for the change from a Pagan to a Christian ideology.

Thereafter the city of Alexandria, which had for so long acquired its importance as the second city in the Roman Empire because of its pre-eminence as a place of Pagan learning, acquired fresh importance as a center of Christian theology and church government. Arianism was formulated in the city where Hypatia had taught pupils from all over the world, and in Alexandria, Athanasius, the great opponent of both heresy and Pagan teaching, worked and triumphed. There is, however, an element of poetic justice in the account of the treatment of Christian Alexandria by the Arabians under 'Amr. It is true that the story of the destruction of the great library by the Arabs is first told by Bar-hebræus, (Abulfaragius), a Christian writer who lived six centuries later, and that there is some doubt about its authenticity. It is considered highly improbable by historians that many of the 700,000 volumes collected by the Ptolemies remained at the time of the Arab conquest, when the calamities of Alexandria from the time of Cæsar to that of Diocletian are considered, together with the disgraceful pillage of the library in A.D.389 under the rule of the Christian bishop Theophilus, acting on Theodosius' decree concerning Pagan monuments. But the story according to Abulfaragius illustrates so perfectly the point of view of those who believe that new ideologies justify the destruction of old forms of learning, that it is worth quotation:

> John the Grammarian, a famous Peripatetic philosopher, being in Alexandria at the time of its capture, and in high favor with 'Amr, begged that he would give him the royal library. 'Amr told him that it was not in his power to grant

such a request, but promised to write to the caliph for his consent. Omar, on hearing the request of his general, is said to have replied that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could be of no use, since the Koran contained all necessary truths; but if they contained anything contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed; and therefore, whatever their contents were, he ordered them to be burnt. Pursuant to this order, they were distributed among the public baths, of which there was a large number in the city, where for six months they served to supply fires.

THE IDEOLOGY OF MARXISM

ACCORDING to the Marxists, who are the protagonists of the great change from Capitalism to Socialism which is spreading from Moscow all over the world, there are two kinds of education; two kinds of morality; and even two kinds of science, one spurious, which they call Bourgeois, and the other genuine, which they call Proletarian. Upon the basis of their theory of the class struggle, they develop the theory of "class" education, of "class" morality, of "class" science. According to Marxism, the main purpose of Bourgeois education, Bourgeois religion, Bourgeois morality, and even Bourgeois science is to justify and defend the role of the Bourgeoisie. In addition to saying that Bourgeois politicians, editors, clergymen and educators have twisted everything they have said, printed and taught, into a justification of Capitalist society and Capitalist modes of production, the Marxians believe that Bourgeois physicists, chemists, biologists, and of course economists and sociologists, have no consideration for objective truth.

It is true that there is nearly always some bias in the thinking of every individual and that there are also group prejudices which affect even scientific work. But it does not follow from this that so-called Capitalist scientists have no regard for objective truth. Lenin himself, however, said over and over again in the most categorical manner that impartial science is impossible in a Capitalist society.†

†"Marxisms," AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM, Marx, Engels, p. 71; Eastman's edition of Marx, CAPITAL AND OTHER WRITINGS; Lenin's COLLECTED WORKS, Vol. LV., p. 122.

But the problem of bias is not solved by substituting a new kind of bias, of whatever kind, not even Proletarian, for Capitalist bias. It is solved by positing an entirely different doctrine—one which denies that there are two kinds of truths, scientific or religious, Christian or Pagan, Capitalist or Communist; a doctrine which insists that there is only one genuine body of truth slowly accumulated by mankind; and that all ideologies, even though called truths, which are in conflict with these eternal truths, are suspect and probably spurious.

Let me give a specific illustration of the logical application of the Marxian idea, not in Russia, but nearer home, in Mexico. The famous Article 3 of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, as amended, provides:

> The education imparted by the State *shall be a socialistic one* and, in addition to excluding all religious doctrine, shall combat fanaticism and prejudices by organizing its instructions and activities in a way that shall permit the creation in youth of an exact and rational concept of the universe and social life. Only the State—Federal, States, Municipalities—shall impart primary, secondary and normal education.†

Neither the Nazis in Germany nor the Fascists in Italy could have applied more rigorously this mistaken idea about the role of the school in society than writing into the basic law of the land such propositions as that the school must impart a special kind of education—in this case a "socialistic" (Marxian) education—and that the state must have an exclusive monopoly of all schooling.

THE IDEOLOGY OF FASCISM

LET us now consider the parallel case of the school in Italy and the Fascist ideology. The educational system of Italy was transformed between 1920 and 1930 by Giovanni Gentile and Lombardo-Radice in order to adjust the children of Italy to life in a Fascist society. The new ideology for which they had

†A REVOLUTION BY EDUCATION, George I. Sanchez, translator, 1939; pp. 102-103.

to be prepared represented, if anything, a greater change than that involved in America from an Agrarian to an Industrial ideology. For:

> Fascism sets up an organic and historic concept of society with a life and scope of its own over and above that of the individual. Society thus becomes the end and the individuals the means or instruments that may be employed to attain the ends. Liberty is a concession from society or the state; the highest ethical value lies in the pre-eminence of duty. Hence sovereignty rests not with the individuals or their elected representatives but with the men capable of rising above their own immediate private interest and of realizing the aspirations of society as a whole, as a unity, and in relation to its past, present and future. Fascism seeks to rescue the state from the individual and to emphasize authority, social obligations, and subordination to a hierarchy that constitutes the government.†

In speaking of the reforms introduced by Gentile, Kandel says:

> The essence of the reform does not lie, however, in the provision of schools but in the complete change of spirit. Hitherto the emphasis has been on teaching the minimum essentials in the fundamentals of education. Knowledge as an end has been abandoned and in its place is put spiritual education. The aim of education is to create an environment for the development of the spirit of the pupil in agreement with the spirit, the history and the destinies of his country. The function of instruction is not to impart facts and information from books but to put the pupil in a position to realize himself through contact with the life of the people and the traditional values of the nation—moral, religious, civic and national.†

With hardly much more than the change of a few expressions and the substitution of "Industrialism" for "Fascism," every word of this might be applied to the great reform in education which we owe to John Dewey.

THE IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM

LET me give one more illustration to establish my point, this time from the program to promote the National Socialist ideology as prepared by Dr. Bernhard Rust, director of the German Ministry of Education, and outlined in his manual of "Education and Instruction, Official Publication of the Reich and

†NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION IN ITALY, I. L. Kandel, "Essays in Comparative Education," Teachers College, Columbia University, 1930.

Prussian Ministries of Knowledge, Education and National Culture."‡

The German school of the Third Reich is an integral part of the National Socialistic order of living. It has the mission, in collaboration with other phases of the Party, to fashion and mold the National Socialistic Being according to party orders.....

The school should always follow life, never try to set the pace for life. Life precedes the school. If schools follow the dictates of the Party, they will find their proper place.....

The chief purpose of the school is to train human beings to realize that the State is more important than the individual, that individuals must be willing and ready to sacrifice themselves for the Nation and Fuehrer.....

National Socialistic ideology is to be a sacred foundation. It is not to be degraded by detailed explanation or discussion. It is a holy unit that must be accepted by the students as a holy unit. It must be taught by teachers who fully comprehend the true meaning of our sacred doctrine.*

I have admittedly selected extreme illustrations of the application of this mistaken principle, but I have done this deliberately; first, because so many of the reformers of society and defenders of popular new ideologies have this identical conception of the role of the school in society, and secondly, for the purpose of showing the dangers involved in the principle. Let me add that I wish to direct attention to the question of the proper role of the school in society, and not to the relative pedagogic values of Medieval and Progressive methods of education. Questions of that sort are outside of the main province of this book.

EDUCATION AND THE STEWARDSHIP OF THE TEACHER

I believe that in a very real sense all life is education; that every person is an educator, and every relationship and every single event in life educational. Subconsciously this has always

‡ERZIEHUNG UND UNTERRICHT—Amtliche Ausgabe des Reichs und Preussischen Ministeriums fuehr Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchandlung, 1938.

*Quoted from Rust by Gregor Ziemer in EDUCATION FOR DEATH, Oxford University Press, 1941.

been recognized. Why do we feel that a mother who does not teach her children to be neat and clean and mannerly, is failing in her duty? Isn't it because we feel unconsciously that *she is a teacher* and that it is her inescapable responsibility to inculcate in them neatness, and mannerliness, and other good habits?

But if we turn from an institution like the home, which is only incidentally an educational institution, to the school, which is nothing if it is not an educationl institution; if we turn from mothers who are only incidentally educators, to teachers, who are professionally educators, our instinctive feeling becomes explicit. Why, for instance, do we feel that those educators who were driven out or who voluntarily left Nazi Germany rather than take part in the destruction of the traditional German system of education, were loyal to a trust which the others betrayed? What is the nature of this trust of which not only the teachers of Germany but all the teachers of the world are stewards? I believe that it is something timeless and eternal; something which no teacher has the right to jettison *no matter how great the temptation to which he is subjected or the pressure exerted upon him by changes in society.* If we analyze the implications of this trust, I believe that we shall be driven to the conclusion that John Dewey was mistaken in basing his argument for Progressive Education upon a presumed necessity for a revolution in education in order to fit children for life in an Industrial society.

The trust bequeathed to our teachers and our schools is *the stewardship of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind.* The school today, as in every generation, stands midway between the past and future. From the past it receives what knowledge and wisdom the past has accumulated; during the present it adds to that accumulation all that is newly discovered, re-evaluating during the process both the old and the new; and to the future it transmits its ever new sum-

mation of knowledge and wisdom for the benefit of the future generations of mankind.† Only those changes in the organization of the school, in the content of the school curriculum, and in the methods of instruction which most effectively enable it to fulfill this trust, are genuine improvements. Progressive education and Medieval education are good and bad, not relative to their respective efficiencies in adjusting the present generation to the change from Agrarian to Industrial society, but in proportion to their effectiveness in implementing the stewardship of the teacher and the school.

To the teacher, truth is a holy trust to be professed unconditionally; it is a trust to which he must give testimony by his works even when it contradicts cherished prejudices and authoritative opinion, and even when teaching it inconveniences and jeopardizes the most powerful vested interests with which he may be confronted.

THE ETERNAL VERITIES

THE school fulfills, or fails to fulfill, its role in society not in proportion to the extent to which it adjusts the individual to the folkways of the society in which he finds himself but in proportion to the extent to which it passes on from generation to generation, the truths—the eternal verities—of which it is the custodian. For truth, unlike the forms of society, is eternal. Truth is absolute or the word truth loses its meaning.

This does not mean that any particular statement of the truth need ever be accepted as eternal and absolute. All statements of the truth are relative. At best, a particular statement of the truth may approximate the truth more nearly than another. The mere fact that we are able to state certain truths more scientifically today than Aristotle was able to state them two thousand years ago, does not change the nature of the truths which Aristotle attempted to formulate. It means mere-

†Let me emphasize the fact that its stewardship does not consist merely of propagating the latest additions to that accumulation.

ly that we have made it possible to avoid mistakes based upon inferior or mistaken descriptions or statements of the truth. Educators who are protagonists of the classics are in effect protagonists of eternal truth; they assume that truths discovered by the great minds of all time and described in books which have become classic furnish a sound foundation upon which to base instruction; they are wrong only in so far as they assume that the classic statements of the truth must be accepted precisely as they were first formulated. Right education. it is true, can be furnished by basing instruction upon the newest statement of the truth, provided it is in fact the best statement produced to this day. The Progressive educators who are Instrumentalists, Experimentalists and Pragmatists, are right in assuming that truth must work, but wrong in assuming that because the statement of truth changes from epoch to epoch, that therefore the manner in which all truths are implemented must necessarily also change. Two and two will always make four even though it is written 2 x 2. The nature of the reality which Newton described and called gravitation has not changed a particle even though, since Einstein, it is no longer described in gravitational terms. The shift in the statement of how the planets move from Ptolemaic epicycles to Copernican orbits, has not altered by a hair-breadth the movement of the planets even though the behavior of mankind has been profoundly changed by the abandonment of geography and astronomy in terms of a geocentric universe. Refining, changing, and even discarding an inaccurate statement of a truth, does not change by a particle the truth itself.

If this is true, and I believe that most teachers will agree that it is true, (including the proponents of Progressive Education because it does not involve the question of the merits of Progressive Education as a teaching method), what does this imply as to the true role of the school in society? I turn to John Dewey again for the doctrine which suggests the answer.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

TWO years before he delivered the lectures from which I have quoted at the beginning of this chapter, in 1897, he said in MY PEDAGOGIC CREED, that he believed that "education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform." Then he added that all social reforms—including presumably such profound social changes as that represented by the Industrial Revolution—"which rest simply upon enactments of law, or the threatening of certain penalties, or upon changes in mechanical or outward arrangements, are transitory and futile." I prefer to say the same thing in a slightly different way in order to emphasize a point which was left somewhat ambiguous in John Dewey's classic set of aphorisms. *Social changes can be brought about both by mal-education and right-education, but real social improvement can come only from right-education.* The danger inherent in the doctrine that it is the task of the school to adjust the pupil to the changing world about him, is that it can be used to justify changing the school from an institution for right-education into an institution for propaganda; from an institution for the purpose of instruction in the good, the true and the beautiful, into an institution for the purpose of adjusting people to the ideologies of the moment. Once the school accepts this role, it is rendered helpless to challenge the dominant ideology with which it is confronted. It finds itself forced, if it is not already willing, to implement the leadership of "idealists" engaged in reforming the world by the "enactment of law," of ecclesiastics who are reforming it by "threatening certain penalties," and of business men and engineers who are reforming it by "changes in mechanical and outward arrangements."

THE TRUE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN SOCIETY

THE true doctrine is made of sterner stuff. It demands much more of the teacher. It requires him to sacrifice comfort and position, and to face poverty, and if necessary embrace exile,

rather than to buttress the ideology of the moment if he believes that ideology false. In the final analysis it may require him to drink hemlock with Socrates, or risk torture and martyrdom with Hypatia, rather than abandon the stewardship entrusted to him. For the true doctrine requires the teacher not to follow, but to lead. The true role of the teacher and the school in society is to instruct everybody, both old and young, in the art of living intelligently, decently and tastefully, and in the art of organizing all social, political and economic institutions so that it is possible for people to live that way.

In effect I am saying that the central institution in society ought to be not government, nor religion, nor industry, nor finance, but education; that the shape of all the other institutions in society and the relationship of the people to the state, the church, the factory, and the bank in their respective communities, should evolve from a pattern based upon the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind obtained by the people from study in schools organized for right-education.

The time has come when the organization of education should cease to reflect the "educational" ideas of theologians zealous to further the progress of their own religious denominations; of big business men insistent that their particular conception of "free enterprise" shall dominate instruction; of public officials, political parties and ideological partisans anxious to produce the kind of citizens, subjects or comrades who will fulfill what they conceive to be every man's obligations to their kind of state. Long ago Plato said that philosophers ought to be kings. The time has come to implement that sublime conception. The time has come to end the usurpation of leadership in society—by priests, by soldiers, by plutocrats, by politicians—from which mankind has suffered and continues to suffer so much. The time has come, it seems to me, when our schools should reflect the educational ideals of all the really great teachers of mankind, and of nobody else.

CHAPTER II.

THE SCHOOL, THE TEACHER, AND THE EDUCATED INDIVIDUAL

There can be nothing so absurd but may be found in the books of philosophers. And the reason is manifest. For there is not one of them that begins his rationation from the definition, or explications, of the names they are to use; which is a method that hath been used only in geometry, whose conclusions have thereby been made indisputable.—Thomas Hobbes, "Leviathan."

EDUCATION is more than schooling.

Education, as I shall use the term in this book, will refer to all the influences—all the events and experiences, both physical and psychological—which lead to the acquisition by human beings of the characteristics they display in the course of their lives. It will refer not merely to their objective activities in implementing their purposes but also to their subjective activities in choosing the ideas and ideologies upon which they rely in dealing with the problems with which they find themselves confronted.*

THE EDUCATED INDIVIDUAL

SINCE every human being acquires the characteristics which determine the manner in which he lives as a result of his education, *every human being is an educated individual.* All human

*This conception of education was that used by Henry Adams in his unique autobiography, THE EDUCATION OF HENRY ADAMS, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927. To Henry Adams, education was "from cradle to grave," p. 12. It was not merely an influence to which he happened to have been subjected while going to school and college; it was an inescapable accompaniment of everything experienced in his life.

development, other than that represented by sheer animal growth, is therefore the result of the individual's education.† All the native instincts of human beings are affected by education.‡ Every event and experience in the life of an individual is educational. Every individual is therefore the product of a life-long process of education.*

†I do not want to seem to be underestimating the enormous influence exerted by the individual's genetic inheritance. The individual, it is true, is an organism whose manner of living is a product not only of education—or environment—but also of heredity. But the important thing which has to be taken into consideration is the fact that man is a domestic and not a wild animal. He is not a *ferœ naturæ*. Just as he predetermines, by his activities, the genetic inheritance of animals like dogs, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens; so he predetermines his own genetic inheritance because he has, so to speak, domesticated himself. What man is, therefore, is the product of two kinds of educational influences, one of which ought to be *euthenic* and the other *eugenic*.

Eugenic education, however, is subsidiary to euthenic education because education in *how to breed* the next generation is merely a part of the education of the present generation in *how to live* now. Eugenic education is simply a very important department of complete euthenic education, and has been ever since *homo sapiens* domesticated himself. This was probably well over a hundred thousand years ago; perhaps at the time he ceased to be *homo alalus*. From the moment he began to establish customs, taboos, and civil and religious laws regulating sexual intercourse and marriage, and to replace sheer instinct in mating with conjugal tastes and standards of propriety in those with whom he mated, the breeding of the next generation became a part of the current education of mankind, and a man-controlled, artificial environment replaced the uncontrolled, natural environment which regulates breeding among other animals.

‡The famous wolf-children of India may be used to illustrate this point. In these two well-authenticated cases, the children, raised among wolves, evidently learned only to run about on all fours; after being rescued, they had to be taught to walk upright. Even man's plantigrade posture is evidently an acquired and not an instinctive characteristic. See WOLF CHILD AND HUMAN CHILD, by A. L. Gesell, "Being a Narrative Interpretation of the Life History of Kamala, the Wolf Girl; based on a diary account of a child who was reared by a wolf and who then lived for nine years in the orphanage of Midnapore, in the province of Bengal, India," 1941. Also WOLF CHILDREN AND FERAL MAN, Rev. J. A. Singh and Prof. Robert M. Zingg, 1942. Both published by Harper & Brothers.

*"A little while ago a German court of law had to pronounce judgment on a divorce case. In the course of the lawsuit the question arose as to which of the parents the two-year old child should be assigned. The lawyer appearing for the husband proved that the wife, on account of a whole series of traits in her character, was not properly qualified to educate the child. To this the wife's lawyer objected that for a child who was only in his second year it was not a question of education at all, but only of looking after the child. In order to decide the point at issue the opinion of experts was taken as to the time when a child's education might be said to begin. The specialists who were called belonged partly to the psycho-analytic school and partly to the orthodox scientific school. But they unanimously agreed that the education of a child begins with his first day of life." PSYCHO-ANALYSIS FOR TEACHERS AND PARENTS, Anna Freud,, 1935; p.36.

In much more than a metaphorical sense, *living is education.* For education alone makes human beings live humanly.

In human beings, the manner of living can be accounted for only in terms of *instinctive* hereditary and of *acquired* or learned characteristics. But in *homo sapiens,* instinct, if not properly describable by the word weak, is *plastic and malleable* in the extreme. It is not—as in the case of all other animals—fixed, immutable, automatic, mechanical, and dominant. In human beings even the physiological processes are therefore susceptible of education. Breathing, eating, drinking, defecating, and conjugating may be instinctive activities but they are none the less processes subject to education. A Hindu Yogi would never for a moment consent to the omission of breathing from any system of formal education. The failure to include it in the curriculum, he would say, is certain to result in incorrect breathing—in mis-education and mal-living. Inevitably, every single experience in the course of life and every influence to which man is subjected, including what is variously called culture and civilization; religion, philosophy and ideology; and discipline and education, not only contributes to the education of the individual, it contributes at the same time either to his right-education or to his mis-education; it either adds to or reduces the chances of creating a *normal human being*—a human being with a genuinely *human* character.

A right approach to the problem of both education and living must therefore begin by recognizing that, event by event and experience by experience, the whole of life contributes to the production of what I am calling the educated individual. But it must also recognize that, although every person inevitably becomes an educated individual, this does not mean that every individual will become a rightly educated individual. On the contrary, it must begin by recognizing that the vast majority of individuals never become rightly educated; they

become and remain throughout life the victims of mis-education.

Mis-education is of two kinds. At its best it is wrong education by omission—it deprives the individual of what he should have been taught. At its worst it is wrong education by commission—it indoctrinates the individual with ideas and beliefs which he should not entertain at all. The problem of the school, of the teacher, of education as a whole, is, on one hand, to avoid both these kinds of mis-education and, on the other, to furnish right-education to everybody.

THE LIMITATIONS OF JUVENILE EDUCATION

BUT this is a problem which cannot be solved by restricting planned, though not necessarily formal, education to childhood and youth. Even if the modern common school, high school and college were organized to furnish every child and youth right-education; even if they deliberately eliminated from their instruction all the biases of the commercial, political and religious interests which utilize schools along with other institutions for the purpose of mis-education, they would be unable to create rightly educated individuals. So long as right-education is restricted to the time children spend in school it cannot create rightly educated men and women. What the school would be doing would be more than offset by the influence of homes dominated by mis-educated parents and of a society dominated by an industrial and commercial leadership which mis-educates everybody. The most powerful educative force in the modern world is not the school, nor the church, nor the home. *It is advertising.* The modern world, including the people in it—parents, preachers and teachers—is an advertising-made world. The values, the wants, the tastes, the activities of modern man reflect the influences exerted upon him by the newspapers and magazines he reads, the

radio to which he listens, the movies he sees, the stores in which he shops, the factories and offices in which he works. In comparison with the all-pervasive influence of advertising, the professional teacher and the organized school today exert almost no influence at all. If modern man is to be rightly educated; if he is ever to learn how to live like a normal human being, he must not only be properly instructed by teachers while a youngster going to school but also be rightly instructed by an adequate system of adult education which exerts influence upon him and which will furnish him proper leadership throughout the whole of his life.

THE FOUR FIELDS OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION, in this broad sense, is not a process which can be restricted to the cultivation of the intellect. The problem of education is not the problem of developing merely the thinking powers of human beings. No amount of merely academic education can produce a rightly educated person. Education is a process of cultivation which develops, either rightly or wrongly, firstly the *perceptions*, secondly the *intelligence*, thirdly the *emotions*, and finally, the *actions* of human beings.

If men are rightly educated, their perceptions and experiences do not deceive them; their reason and intelligence is not misused by them; their emotions and impulses are not uncontrolled; their wills do not permit them to act abnormally. If men are mis-educated, their experiences are misunderstood by them; their reasoning is fallacious; their impulses are instinctual; their wills lead them to animal-like and not human behavior.

In none of these four fields of education—in the education of the perceptions, the intellect, the emotions, and the will—can there be right-education without proper instruction, without proper teachers, without proper schools. Man cannot rely upon his culture, his folkways, his customs and conventions,

his traditions, his environment, his heredity, his blood, his instincts for right-education. If he is ever to be rightly-educated, his education must be organized; if he is to learn how to behave like a normal, and whole, human being, his instruction must be equal to the problem with which living confronts him.

INSTRUCTION AND LEARNING

INSTRUCTION is of four kinds. It is *authoritarian;* it is *preceptual;* it is *experiential;* it is *exemplary.* It is not, therefore, something individuals obtain only as children in school. It is as comprehensive as education; as comprehensive, therefore, as life.

Instruction, like education, may be either right or wrong. Mis-instruction results in mis-learning, in mal-education, and in abnormal living. Mis-instruction creates not only the mis-educated individual but also the disintegrated personality, the abnormal person. Right-instruction results in right-learning; it produces a rightly educated and truly normal human being. In a society in which the majority of individuals are mis-instructed and mis-led, not only are the majority of people abnormal but also society itself and all of its institutions become abnormal. Such a thing as a moral people and an immoral society, or a society composed of good individuals but bad institutions, is an impossibility.

Learning, like instruction, is of four kinds. It is the product of all individual *submission, comprehension, discovery,* and *imitation.* The individual learns everywhere and at all times and not merely in schools. Like instruction, it is as comprehensive as education and therefore as comprehensive as life. The individual begins to learn, because he begins to receive instruction, at birth—perhaps even before birth, prenatally, from the very moment of conception. He can continue to learn and continue to absorb instruction to the day he dies. The

moment he ceases to learn, he is intellectually and spiritually dead even though his body still continues to function. Only the complete imbecile never learns; only the most hopelessly insane individual still lives without learning; only in the last and hopeless stages of senility does life continue after learning has ceased.

A society which makes no adequate provision for right-education of adults throughout the whole course of life and in connection with all their activities both when they act personally and privately, and when they participate in group and public action, is committing intellectual and spiritual suicide. It is too bad to have to record the fact, but it is nevertheless true, that millions of individuals in this day and age are engaged in committing intellectual and spiritual suicide, and millions of them have succeeded in doing so.

TEACHER AND TEACHING

WITHOUT a teacher, learning may be acquired in only one way, by self-discovery. Most of the knowledge and wisdom men acquire, however, is not acquired by them through self-instruction; they learn from the imitation of those I call teachers, from comprehension of preceptual instruction, and from obeying commands. Anyone who teaches another by example, by precept, or by command, is a teacher.

A teacher may or may not be a professional pedagogue. He may instruct a class formally in a schoolroom. He may, however, never teach an actual class or group of any kind. He may merely instruct a single person, informally, as an apprentice is instructed by a master. He may give no individual any direct instruction whatsoever, and yet be a teacher. Every writer, every painter, every scientist, is in this sense a teacher if any single human being learns from his work. A teacher may therefore be long dead and still continue to instruct mankind.

In some degree, every individual is a teacher. For men learn

not only from direct instruction and from professional teachers, they also learn from the examples set before them by those whom they admire and emulate; they learn as infants from their mothers; as children from other children; as adults from those whose leadership they accept. The difference between an individual who is only incidentally a teacher and the individual who is by profession a teacher, is a difference only in the extent of the influence exerted by them. And the difference between the professional teacher who has a sense of responsibility for the instruction he imparts and the commercial advertising man who has none, is a difference which has its origin in our misconception of the true nature of education and our mis-education, first, of the teachers and leaders of modern society, and then of the rank and file of people.

THE SCHOOL

ANY institution, organized either partially or exclusively for the purpose of enabling one or more individuals to engage in learning under the guidance or instruction of a teacher, is a school.

A school may or may not be part of an elaborate system of schools such as that represented by our American public school system. If it is an organized institution, (as is a home, for instance); if a teacher is engaged in giving instruction in it, (as a mother may instruct her children, for instance); if its purposes are definitely curricular, (even though the curriculum is implicit and informal, as in a home, instead of explicit and organized, as in a public school); and if as a result it contributes to the education and development of the person, (apart from contributing to sheer physical growth or the mere maintenance of existence), then it is functionally a school, though it is not called a school and does not confine itself exclusively to instruction. Thus defined, all homes, churches, factories, offices, stores, newspapers and magazines, movie houses and

broadcasting stations, hospitals, charitable institutions, political parties and social movements, government bureaus and military establishments, are schools and educational institutions.

A school may be either good or bad, depending upon whether it furnishes right-education or mis-education. Every good school will in some degree help to equip the individual to live normally and humanly. It will furnish him with some of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind; it will imbue him with some devotion to the good, the true, and the beautiful; it will help him to some extent to develop the potentialities of normal human beings. It will help prepare him to understand his experiences; it will help teach him how to adjust himself to events which he may not at the moment be able to control; and, finally, it will help him in seeking to improve, from the standpoint of normal living, both the physical and material world and the cultural institutions by which he is environed. In sum, every good school will in some manner help equip him to live more like a normal human being.

A bad school will fail to do these things well; it may actually influence the individual to do the very opposite of these things. A bad school will teach him to misunderstand his experiences in life; it will equip him with misinformation and endow him with folly; it will warp him mentally and physically; it will contribute to the disintegration of his personality; it will frustrate him; it will teach him to escape from, rather than how to deal with, the problems with which life will confront him. Bad schools may completely invert the rational ordering of his values; may influence him to exalt his acquisitive and destructive instincts; to be immoral, irrational and insensitive; may make him servile instead of independent and self-reliant; egocentric instead of excellent; socially indifferent, or even

anti-social, instead of cooperative; may finally undo the integrative influence of home and family life and advance rather than retard disintegration of his personality.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE TEACHER

THE supreme challenge to teachers today is the production of rightly educated individuals; individuals who will live as human beings are capable of living not only for their own sake but also for the sake of mankind as a whole. For unless the social, political and economic reforms and improvements the world needs are to be superficial and transitory—as, for instance, when alcoholic temperance was imposed upon the nation by prohibition and constitutional fiat—they must be based upon the right-education of individuals. Only if temperance becomes an intrinsic part of the personality of individuals will intemperance cease to be a social problem; only then will it become obvious that resorting to such devices as compulsory prohibition by law is futile and superfluous. If people are not rightly educated, no amount of sumptuary legislation will solve the drink problem. All that legislation and coercion will do is to create new social problems without having disposed of the old. The true solution of all social, political and economic questions must begin, as Confucius sublimely expressed it in THE GREAT LEARNING, with the "cultivation of the personal life." Good habits, good institutions, and all other good things are the by-products of the right-education of the individual:

> Things have their roots and their completion. Affairs have their end and their beginning. To know what is first and what is last is the beginning of wisdom.
>
> Those who desire to create harmony in the world must first establish order in their own communities. Wishing to establish order in their communities, they must first regulate their own family life. Wishing to regulate their own family life, they must first cultivate their own personal lives. Wishing to cultivate their personal lives, they must first set their own feelings right. Wishing to set their feelings right, they must first seek to make their own wills sincere.

Wishing to make their wills sincere, they must first increase to the utmost their own understanding. Such increase in the understanding comes from the extension of their knowledge of all things.

Things being investigated, their own knowledge will become extended. Their knowledge being extended, their own understanding will increase. Their understanding being increased, their own wills will become sincere. Their wills being set right, their own feelings will be set right. Their feelings being set right, their own personal lives will become cultivated. Their personal lives being cultivated, their own family life will be properly regulated. Their family life being properly regulated, their communities will become well ordered. Their own communities being well ordered, the whole world will become happy and peaceful.

From the greatest of men down to the masses of people, all must consider the cultivation of the personal life the foundation of every other thing.†

†For a literal translation see p. 112, James Legge, THE CHINESE CLASSICS, 1883. "Great Learning," might better be translated "Great Wisdom."

CHAPTER III.

ADULT EDUCATION AND ADULT PROBLEMS

The Function of Schools of Living and Universities: *Leadership*

We need education in the obvious more than investigations of the obscure.—Oliver Wendel Holmes II.

WE begin not with *juvenile* education but with *adult* education. We begin not with the problems of children but the problems of parents. It is ridiculous to assume that just because men and women have become old enough to support themselves; to marry and perhaps have children; to participate in business, social and civic life that they are no longer in need of education. In organizing education on this fallacious assumption today, we have in effect turned modern man over to the tender mercies of advertising men on one hand and political demagogs on the other. In making no adequate provision for furnishing adults guidance and leadership in dealing with the problems with which they are for the first time seriously confronted after they become adult; in failing to make adult education our primary concern, we virtually render worthless whatever we have succeeded in teaching them as children in school and college. If no provision is made community by community, *and in every community*, for the education of adults by the wisest and most disinterested individuals society produces, the gap in social organization is certain to be filled by a leadership composed of the most aggressive, the most selfish, and the most short-sighted individuals which society has produced. The leadership of America today is a living demonstration of this truth. Wherever we turn, in the centralized business and the

centralized politics of the nation—the two fields in which the dominant leaders of the nation express themselves—it is not the most thoughtful and the most far-sighted individuals which the nation has produced who furnish people leadership. And when we turn from the actual leaders of modern life to the educated minority who ought to be furnishing the people with leadership, we find them ignoring their real function in society in their preoccupation with the technical specialization to which they feel they should devote themselves.

What are the really important problems of life which adults cannot avoid facing and which I insist the masses of men and women cannot be expected to solve properly without proper adult education?

DEFINITION AND FORMULATION

TO answer this question we must first consider a preliminary problem: *the proper definition and formulation of the problems which every individual has to solve if he is to live like a normal human being.*

It is by no means the least of the great deficiencies of modern education that it has failed to formulate—and help people to face—these problems. It ought to be perfectly obvious that while education is possible without such a formulation, right education is not. With our penchant for the concrete, as against the theoretical, we have taken it for granted that it is sufficient if we equip people to solve the immediate problems with which life in an Industrial civilization confronts them. As a result, both modern education and modern life has come to consist of a startling concentration upon the problem of *how to make money.* Modern man has come to take it for granted that the major problem of man is money, as medieval man took it for granted that the major problem was salvation. Proper formulation and definition of the really important problems of *homo*

sapiens will make it crystal clear that modern man is already the victim of mis-education since he not only thinks but acts upon the idea that the solution of the problem of a large and certain-enough money income represents the solution of the problem of how man can live like a normal human being.

Probably the commonest error which has been made in dealing with this preliminary problem is the assumption that the problems can all be subsumed in a single all-inclusive formula. They cannot. Human life is too complex for such simplification. The living problems of men and women cannot be reduced to the problem of prosperity, as our Democratic-Capitalistic leadership seems to think, nor even to the problem of economic security as a whole, as Socialists and Communists and most of the critics of Capitalism seem to think. This concentration upon economics is simply the modern variant of the error represented by the Medieval Christian effort to reduce them all to the problem of salvation, or the error of the leaders of the Age of Revolution to reduce them all to the problem of the rights of man. Formulas like "Freedom from Want;" "From Each According to Ability, to Each According to Need;" "The Greatest Good for the Greatest Number;" "Love thy Neighbor as Thyself;" "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity;" and "Know Thyself," do not represent solutions of the problems of living because they assume that life can be dealt with in terms of the single idea with which each one deals.

THE THIRTEEN MAJOR PROBLEMS OF LIVING

AS I see it there are at least thirteen *major* adult problems. There may be more. But these I think of as major because, like the elements of which the universe is composed, they are probably impossible of further simplification. And even if such simplification were possible, it would be of no practical value because it would fail to furnish a usable formula for

dealing with the actual and concrete problems with which mankind is confronted.

What are these thirteen problems with which men and women cannot avoid dealing and with which adult education ought therefore to concern itself?

THE TELEOLOGICAL PROBLEM

FIRST may be mentioned the problem of purpose, of *ultimate* purpose in life rather than of the *immediate* purposes of the specific activities to which individuals devote themselves. Unless the question of *"Why?"* in contrast to questions of *"What?"* and of *"How?"* is dealt with, it is perfectly obvious that we cannot be certain that any solution of any problem of living, or any particular pattern of living, or even any single action in life, is right. This problem I think of as the real *teleological* problem.

I do not think it incorrect to say that modern man is taught (both as a child in school and by nearly all the institutions which influence him as he becomes adult) either to ignore this problem or to assume that the acquisition of money—of a sufficiency of material wealth and a high enough standard of living—is a sufficient answer to it. But to even attempt to answer the question of what modern man is taught to make his primary purpose in living, is to force upon us recognition of the importance of giving consideration, throughout the whole course of life, to the teleological problem. Unless the leaders and teachers of mankind help people to face this problem and to test their projects and activities in terms of the answer which they ought to make to it, an essential element in the education of human beings is omitted.

If education, considered as an institution, acts on the theory that vision and purpose is outside of its domain, (as in effect it does today), it simply leaves the shaping of modern man's goals to industrialists and engineers whose answer to the problem is that we should devote ourselves to "Progress;" to the business and advertising men whose answer is the latest in "Things;" to the politicians and trade unionists whose answer is a high "standard of living;" to Militarists, Imperialists, Fascists and Totalitarians whose answer is "Nationalism;" and to Fundamentalists whose answer still is "Salvation." All these leaders and teachers of adults, deal with what I call the teleo-

logical problem. Educators may ignore it, but they do so only by abdicating their real role in society.

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL PROBLEM

NEXT may be mentioned the problem of truth—not truth in the abstract but *truth as a method of validating action.*

This problem I think of as the real *epistemological* problem.

It is not solved even if the teleological problem is solved. To live like a normal human being, man must not only have a purpose in life; he must also be able to validate it, and to validate his implementation of his purposes from day to day.

Consider the political proposals with which individuals are constantly confronted—proposals for taxation, for war and "peace," for conscription and defense, for regulation of business, labor, sanitary practices, and so on, *ad infinitum.* "Are the reasons given for the proposals true or false?"

The problem, however, does not merely affect action concerning grave matters of social and public policy. It presents itself in connection with every act in life, and often the same problem presents itself day after day. We eat white bread; drink pasteurized milk; use refined sugar. "Is it, or is it not true, that white bread, pasteurized milk, and refined sugar, is harmful to health?" We work in factories; we postpone marriage; we live in cities. "Is it, or is it not true, that repetitive work, sexual repression, and urban congestion, are responsible for the neurosis and insanity of our time?" To determine whom to believe, what to eat, how to work, where to live, what to buy, which party to join, whom to support for public office, the individual is constantly faced with the problem of establishing the truth and of adopting some method, or accepting some authority, upon which to rely in validating his actions.

THE ONTOLOGICAL PROBLEM

NEXT may be mentioned what I think of as the real *ontological* problem—the problem of the nature of man and of the relationship of the individual to his environment and to the universe in which he finds himself. No genuinely *human* act of any kind—and certainly not a single act involving *thought*—can be performed which does not reflect to some degree the answer which the individual performing it makes to the question of whether man has, (or has not), the freedom and power to act upon and to reshape his environment; whether he controls it or whether he has to adjust himself to control by it.

What, (if any), responsibility has the individual for the specific acts he performs or might perform? Are his activities dictated by an uncontrollable hereditary endowment, by the uncontrollable stimuli received by him from society and the outside material world, or by the uncontrollable supernatural action of a God or hierarchy of supernatural forces? Or, are there some areas of action in which he can exercise control and for which he is responsible, and others with regard to which there is nothing to do but resign himself to the inevitable? And if so, how is he to distinguish between the two? In a world in which science is constantly increasing his knowledge of the world outside of himself, and presumably increasing his control of it, every problem involving his relationship to that world becomes more important. If men and women are to live like normal human beings, they must be helped by those whose study of natural science, of human nature, and of the relationship of the individual to his environment—human, social and natural—will help the masses of mankind to deal with this problem not merely in glittering generalities but in terms which apply to every important event in life in which they may or ought to take part.

THE ASSOCIATIONAL PROBLEM

NEXT may be mentioned four equally important and closely related types of problems with which individuals are confronted and which grow out of the fact that *homo sapiens* is a social, political and naturally gregarious animal.

First come what I think of as *associational* problems—problems which are not, but ought to be, sharply distinguished from the *grouping* activities of mankind with which modern sociology unfortunately fuses it. What I call associational problems are the problems of association individual-to-individual; of association, for instance, between an individual man and woman as in love and in marriage; between a "boss" and a worker; between a public official and an individual subject to him; between a White and a Negro; between a Christian and a Jew; between a rich man and a poor or destitute man; between a properly educated individual and an ignorant or miseducated individual. It is doubtful if there are any problems confronting men and women as to which there is greater confusion at this time or which are more in need of exploration and formulation under wise leadership. Life consists mainly of time spent associating

individual-to-individual. The notion that the disposition of these problems can be safely left to chance and to such vague guidance as is today furnished by traditional moral and religious injunctions is belied by the disintegration of family life and the disappearance of friendship and neighborliness in the modern urban world.

THE GREGATIONAL PROBLEM

SECOND in these three types of "social" problems are what I think of as *gregational* problems—problems with which men and women are confronted by the organized groups which *homo sapiens* voluntarily and apparently spontaneously forms in order to live in a genuinely human manner. The seething conflicts today between these groups—both *horizontal* conflicts, as in the rivalries of religious groups, (Protestant vs. Catholic; Mahomeddan vs. Hindu), and *vertical* or class conflicts, as in the struggles between big business and labor unions—call for adult education, for guidance, and for leadership in dealing with the group-to-group and the individual-to-group activities of mankind.

THE CIVIC PROBLEM

THIRD in this group of related social problems are what I think of as *civic*—problems which are like gregational problems in that they arise out of the grouping activities of human beings but which differ from any and every form of *voluntary* grouping by virtue of the fact that they involve legal *coercion.* So pressing are the issues with which men and women are confronted in this field that there is universal recognition of the need of leadersip in dealing with them. But there is no adequate recognition of the fact that the problem of when it is proper to resort to the use of law; or more correctly, to the use of legal coercion and compulsion, (if raw fact is not to be disguised), is too important to be left to the partisan, demagogic and venal political leaders of mankind. Unless thoughtful, informed and impartial leadership and guidance is continuously and universally provided in every community by means of real adult education, men and women will not be able to deal with the political and legal problems with which they are confronted in any rational manner.

THE OPERATIONAL PROBLEM

THE fourth problem I think of as the *operational* problem. To deal with the operation not only of the enterprises which furnish him employment and the civic institutions and political organizations to

which he belongs, but also with the operations of his own personal life and family in any rational manner, the individual has to plan. The problem of *how to operate* is one which confronts men and women everywhere and at all times. Today the enormous accumulation of technical knowledge which we have with regard to this problem is almost exclusively devoted to the conduct of business enterprises. *Business,* of course, is important. But much more important is planing for the local face-to-face *community.* And even more important than community planning is *family* planning. It is absurd to assume that human beings can participate properly in the operation of these various kinds of enterprises without study, and adult education.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

OPERATING and planning, as above defined, is almost certain to be short-sighted without education; instinctive and animal-like rather than rational and human. Without right education, it results in abnormal living. Planning action—humanizing and normalizing living—confronts the individual with *educational* problems. But not merely problems of child and juvenile, and technical and professional training—of preparation for living—but also of education for current adult action. The educational problems of schools and colleges call for consideration, but so do the problems with which individuals are confronted in evaluating their purposes and in integrating their knowledge, their ethical and esthetic values, their possessional and occupational activities. The question of what examples, what precepts, what discoveries, and what commands the individual should follow, call for right education from the cradle to the grave.

THE ETHICAL PROBLEM

RIGHT-EDUCATION, without some adequate method of evaluation, is impossible. But not merely right-education, no genuinely human activity of any kind is possible to *homo sapiens* without evaluation. If human beings are to choose rationally when confronted with alternative possibilities of action, they must learn how to evaluate every type of act performed or which they may think of performing, from at least five standpoints—from the standpoint of ethics, of esthetics, of place and possessions, of time and occupations, and of mental and physical health.

The evaluation of actions from the standpoint of their general or social consequences—from their ultimate and remote consequences and not merely their immediate consequences—and the formulation of rules defining what individuals have the right to do and what they are under obligation to do, I think of as the *ethical* problem. In the evolving and changing world in which we live—a world in which the individual has both to evaluate alternative possibilities of conduct and to evaluate the very codes of conduct with which he is confronted—this problem dare not be ignored, nor can it be assumed that moral education may be discontinued once individuals become adult. If human beings are to behave humanly and to take into account the ultimate consequences of their actions, ethical culture is, if anything, more essential for adults than for children.

THE ESTHETIC PROBLEM

BUT problems of evaluation in terms of his *sensibilities* confront the individual just as much as problems of evaluation in terms of the *consequences* of action. The evaluation, in terms of *taste* and *skill*, of various activities and the tangible creations of human beings, I think of as the *esthetic* problem. Esthetic problems confront the individual not only in the field of so-called "art" and in connection with the restricted number of things conventionally considered objects of art, but in connection with every activity and every object. If human beings are to live beautifully in a world which they make beautiful, right education is necessary so that the problems posed by every activity, every object, and every experience, are esthetically evaluated.

THE OCCUPATIONAL PROBLEM

THIS brings us to what I think of as the *occupational* problem; not merely the problem of how to earn a living nor even the problem of labor and of leisure, but the whole problem of how to spend the whole of each of our days at every stage in the life-cycle from birth to death. That the problems with which individuals are faced with regard to man's work and woman's work, and industrial *versus* home work, are occupational is obvious, but it is not so obvious that the problems with which they are confronted when not working are of the same fundamental order. Work, play and rest are all parts of one related problem no part of which can be rationally dealt with

without consideration of the entire problem of how a normal human being should spend his time. In dealing with such questions as *"What sort of job should I get? Should I spend my 'leisure' time shopping, in going to the movies, in listening to the radio, or in cultivating a garden? Should I take a job or work for myself? Should I live—and 'rest'—in a home, or in a boarding house or hotel?"* the individual is really confronted with the fact that he cannot live like a normal human being unless he studies the question of how he should spend his time.

THE POSSESSIONAL PROBLEM

BUT the individual lives not only in time, but also in space; he is confronted with a situation which requires him to answer questions not only of *how* to act and *when* to act, but also of *where* to act and *what to use* in the course of his actions. All the myriad of problems of *"Where?"* and *"With what?"* constitute an essentially similar type which I think of as the possessional (or spatial) problem. In answering the question of *"Where to live?"* the question of *"What to live in, and what plot to live on?"* is necessarily raised. In answering the question of *"What to own?"* the question of *"Where to work?"* or *"Where to live?"* is also involved. *"Where?"* and *"What with?"* are simply different aspects of an identical problem. And the economic problem, which looms so large today, is really two problems, one of posession and one of occupation.

THE PSYCHO-PHYSIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

FINALLY there is the problem of birth, living and death; of health and sickness, both of body and mind; problems with which every individual is confronted and with which he has to deal in the course of his own life and the lives of those depending in any manner upon him. Every specific problem, such as *"What food shall I eat? Shall I use pasteurized milk? When should I marry? What sort of sex-life should I lead? How many children shall I have? What school of medicine shall I patronize? What public health services should the government furnish? What sort of work should I do in order to escape occupational diseases and avoid nervous breakdowns?"* is a psycho-physiological problem. All of them are problems which cannot be intelligently dealt with unless there is right adult education both with regard to psychology and physiology.

No adequate definition and formulation of these problems is possible in this all too brief outline of what is being dealt with in the second volume of this work. All that I have attempted to do is to make it clear that the real problems with which adults are confronted are inadequately dealt with when compartmentalized and isolated as is the case today; that all the problems of living are susceptible of logical and scientific classification, and that such an *organon** would constitute a basic curriculum for education of a character now overlooked in the course of modern education's preoccupation with the schooling of children. The full definition of these problems, and the ideas and ideologies which attempt their solution, will be dealt with in my forthcoming book, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY, while the problem of putting into practice a genuinely human, and normal, conception of life, will be dealt with in EDUCATION AND IMPLEMENTATION.

UNIVERSAL VERSUS SPECIAL INTEREST

IN dealing with all these kinds of problems, modern man is subjected, for such leadership as he may receive, to the special pleading of protagonists of special interests and of conflicting ideologies. To what institution and to what group in his own community can he turn for informed, enlightened, and disinterested leadership in dealing with these problems? The School? But our schools, from the nursery to the university, are primarily concerned with the education of juveniles; they may contribute to the *preparation* of children for adult life but they do not, as they are now constituted, deal *directly* with actual adult problems. The Church? But the churches are primarily concerned with religion, and with denominational religion at that. To the newspapers, the magazines, the radio? But these are only business institutions, existing for the purpose of promoting their own interests; they further

*The practical value of such an *organon* is suggested by the intriguing lines in Rudyard Kipling's poem "The Elephant's Child:"

I keep six honest serving men,
(They taught me all I knew);
Their names are What and Why and When
And How and Where and Who.

tend to promote the interests of the existing Industrial regime of which they are a part without concern for the ultimate problems with which human beings are confronted.

It is true that leadership, of a sort, with regard to these problems is now obtained by many individuals in forums and in churches; in the meetings of Parent-Teacher Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Women's Clubs, Rotary Clubs, Farm Bureaus, Leagues of Women Voters, Labor Unions, Cooperatives, Business Associations, and Professional Associations like the Bar, Medical Associations, Institutes of Architects, etc. I say "of a sort" deliberately because all such adult education suffers not only from what might be described as philosophical planlessness and philosophical superficiality, but above all from specialization, segmentation and compartmentalization. The institutions which furnish such adult education approach each problem and each issue with which they deal from the standpoint of some special interest. They furnish direction to the individual from the standpoint of the interests of teachers, of business men, of women, of farmers, of labor, of lawyers, of doctors, etc. They encourage all who are subjected to the educational influence which they exert to consider every problem from the standpoint of how it affects a particular aspect of life. Both the private and personal problems of the individual and the broadest social and political problems tend to be appraised from the standpoint of politics only, of business only, of religion or science only; from the standpoint of the coal, iron, textile or chemical industry only; from the standpoint of labor or of capital only; from the standpoint of what it contributes to the particular church, school, profession, party, or group to which the individual happens to belong. The conception of general welfare and human well-being is not merely identified with that of group and special interest; the concept of universality is for all practical purposes extinguished.

When these problems are approached in this way, the individual subjected to such adult education tends to become class and even producer minded. Each tends to think of himself not as a human being but as an individual belonging to a particular group, dependent upon a particular occupation, and therefore properly concerned with appraising every problem with which he is confronted in terms of the particular segment of the population with which he happens to have identified himself.

PRODUCER VERSUS CONSUMER

WITHOUT going so far as to say that individuals ought never to consider the social problems with which they are confronted in terms of a special interest, it is still obvious that the right way to approach them is from the standpoint of the general welfare and permanent interests of mankind. The distinction is particularly clear when the individual as a producer is contrasted with the individual as a consumer. *Every* individual is a human being; *particular* individuals only are farmers, miners, and businessmen. In terms of economics, everybody is a *consumer*, particular individuals only are *producers*.

When dealing with public problems, obviously the consumer interest should take precedence over the producer interest because all human beings have in common the fact that they are consumers. There is really only one consumer interest—the satisfaction of all the needs and desires of human beings. But there is a separate interest for each particular article or service upon the production of which different groups of people depend for their livelihoods. If the quality of bread and butter, of needles and thread, of gasoline and oil, can be improved or the price lowered, everybody is benefited because everybody consumes and pays, directly or indirectly, for every imaginable service and product. But if prices are increased, or the costs of manufacturing some particular thing or service can be lowered without having to reduce its price to the general public, only those who produce that thing benefit directly. In the first case there is a general economic improvement; in the second a differential economic improvement. For this reason, in dealing with social and public problems, the whole interest and not a particular interest only must

be taken into account; the solution of the problems must represent contributions to the common welfare; no producer interest should be given preference over the consumer interest, though they might well take into account the fact that man is both producer and consumer.

PERSONAL VERSUS PUBLIC PROBLEMS

BUT the approach from the standpoint of specialization is just as unsatisfactory in dealing with *personal* and individual problems as in dealing with *public* and social problems. Just as every individual is a consumer, so every individual is an integral organism. His problems cannot be solved by separating mind and body; by separating work and play; by separating politics and ethics; by separating science and art. All such specialization is justified only as a preliminary step toward integration. It is in the integration of what the individual can learn about these various aspects of living that his personal problems are solved.

EVALUATION AND INTEGRATION

NO adult is truly mature until he learns that such questions as we have been outlining are never properly settled until his own decisions with regard to them represent first an evaluation and then an integration of the essential and available knowledge of mankind bearing upon them. And no community can be said to be truly civilized until it has provided itself with an educational institution to which the people of the community may turn for such evaluation and integration under the leadership of an educated elite which has organized itself to focus art, science and philosophy upon their problems.

The fact must be faced that while the modern world has accumulated an enormous body of discrete knowledge bearing upon the solution of every imaginable personal and public problem, *no adequate provision has been made for evaluating it, integrating it, and making it available in the communities in*

which men and women have to deal with their problems from day to day.

LEADERSHIP AND ADULT EDUCATION

WHAT actually influences modern adults in their ideas and attitudes, and then in the manner in which they act or leave other individuals or groups to act for them? That they are not influenced very much by the wisest and noblest men and women in each community, and in the world at large, is perfectly obvious. There is no planned provision in the modern community and in society generally, for exerting such influence upon the people. There are plenty of enterprises, organizations and institutions through which the leaders and protagonists of particular interests—business, labor, and agriculture, for instance—exert influence upon various segments of the population and the population as a whole, and there are ever increasing numbers of political and governmental agencies through which public officials and contestants for public office exert such influence. But the genuine lovers of truth and beauty, of justice and the general welfare; the small proportion of individuals who have been privileged to join the educated minority; those who have, perhaps unwittingly, incurred the obligations resting upon the stewards of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind, these are without any organized forum in which to exert the influence they should be wielding upon their fellows. Whatever there is, is haphazard and concerns itself with some special interest.

I. LIBRARIES AND ADULT EDUCATION

FEW adults, no matter how "literate," turn to books or libraries at the crucial moment when they have to act and dispose of the problems with which they are confronted. They may be guided by one sacred book, by a "Bible," for instance. But it is simple common sense to recognize how few turn to libraries for guidance. The integration of various bodies of knowledge, often so desperately necessary in dealing

with a problem, cannot be effected by mere reading; for one thing, because the reading of good books will probably always be limited to a small minority, and the digestion of what is in them limited to an even smaller minority. Most books are written and published to make money, and most of those read, are read for the same reason as newspapers and magazines—for entertainment.

In a sense what Elizabeth Barrett Browning said will always be true, "the world of books is still the world." But it is a world, by the very nature of the preliminary discipline which must be undergone for initiation into it, closed to the masses of people. Only the disciplined minority in even the most literate community is in the habit of reading the really important books which have been written: only this very small minority turns to books for light on the problems with which individuals and groups are confronted.

Even educated and cultivated people, however, frequently find themselves unable to devote enough time to finding the one book, and the particular reference in a particular book, which deals adequately with each of the infinitely varied personal and social problems with which people are confronted in our traditionless civilization at the moment when circumstances compel them to take some sort of action. The right kind of reference libraries are essential to the sort of adult educational institutions which I believe are needed in every community if mankind is to be helped to deal with the real problems of living in a rational manner. But no library, however complete, without the right kind of librarian, is by itself of much help in solving the problems with which the masses of mis-educated adults blundering about in the modern world, are confronted. Even if by some miracle, all adults could be persuaded to read and re-read the St. John's College list of the "hundred greatest books," they would still be confronted with the problem of evaluating, integrating, and interpreting the knowledge so acquired in terms of their immediate private and public problems. Most people would merely have increased the mass of undigested knowledge which they now possess, and from which they already suffer today.

II. RELIGION AND ADULT EDUCATION

NEITHER are the vast majority of adults in the modern world accepting—even if it was being furnished—the leadership they need

in dealing with these problems, by Religion* and by modern religious institutions. That religious practices in general and church services specifically constitute a form of adult education is unquestionable; in dealing with the moral aspects of individual action as well as the question of the ends and purposes to which the individual should devote his life, Religion is dealing with genuinely adult problems. But that not only Religion in the Western world but Religion anywhere in the world, can rise to the fundamental issues which are threatening civilization today, seems to me doubtful. That our churches have not and are not rising to the occasion is the only question which needs consideration at our hands.

Personally I do not think they can do so. I do not think so firstly because religion has been tried and has signally failed in the great test to which it was subjected by the rise of modern Science,* and secondly because by its very nature Religion cannot furnish modern man leadership in the problem of properly utilizing the new knowledge and power which Science has put at his disposal. So long as religious leadership is genuinely religious—so long as it is actually an exposition of revelations deemed absolutely true—it is by its very nature incapable of assimilating any discoveries of Science which in any way contravene or undermine the dogmas it must hold as absolute. To the degree in which it rates scientific truths as more valid than its own sacred revelations, it ceases to be religious. Between scientific knowledge and revelation, the masses—quite without regard to whether religious or irreligious—have made a choice, and they have chosen to put greater faith in Science than Religion. Men and women today may not be able to say just why it is that they do not turn to a church for leadership in dealing with their social, economic and political problems, but that they do not do so is a patent fact. That the churches do not really influence them and shape their patterns of conduct once they are face to face with the real problems of the world is obvious; that the churches

*Religion is an ideology, (as is also Science), within the meaning of this book. Both are bodies of ideas; both are as truly ideologies of social movements as Communism and Capitalism, and both are ideas which have been organized and institutionalized as fully as have systems of ideas like Feudalism and Democracy. Theology—the technical term for the study of religion—is academic acknowledgement of the fact that Religion is an ideology.

can ever regain the influence which they once exercised upon mankind is rendered doubtful by the fact that they cannot abandon their dogmas without in substance ceasing to be religious.

The fact, for instance, that Catholics in America disregard the teachings of the church about birth control, (in spite of the far stronger hold of the Roman Catholic Church upon its members than the hold of most other denominations), shows how little influence churches actually exert upon the fundamental behavior pattern of men and women exposed to the influence of Science, Industrialism and Urbanism. There is little difference between the decline in the birth rate of Catholic families in America and non-Catholics. When confronted with conflicting religious ideas and teachings, on one hand, and modern ideas such as birth control and modern scientific inventions such as contraceptives, on the other, modern men and women do not hesitate to disregard the teachings of Religion and of their religious institutions.

III. ADVERTISING AND SELLING, AND ADULT EDUCATION

WHAT actually influences adults in their behavior from day to day; in the manner in which they themselves act and permit others to act with regard to the problems with which they are confronted, is for the most part Advertising and Salesmanship.* They are influenced by the newspapers and magazines they read; by the radio broadcasts to which they listen; by the movies they attend; by the displays of the products of modern industry in stores and show windows. The education of our adult population today is left almost entirely to the mal-educators who control these mass-mediums of modern education. Which is to say that the education of modern man, once the young leave school, consists almost exclusively of the propaganda of commercial—or special—interests; of mis-education rather than right-education.

It is not exaggerating the matter a particle to say that the folkways and mores of people today—the manner in which they deal with the problems of living—are manufactured artificially by highly

*Advertising and Salesmanship is an ideology within the meaning of this book. It is not only a distinct body of ideas but also a well organized movement promoted by thousands of able votaries who devote themselves enthusiastically to its development.

trained propagandists who are paid to disregard objective truth. Once upon a time folkways developed slowly over the ages as a result of endless trials and errors. Today not merely public opinion but the common beliefs, tastes and customs of the population are manufactured to order. The things people eat; the clothes they wear; the amusements to which they flock, do not express individual or traditional tastes but rather reflect the effectiveness of the propaganda to which people have been subjected by newspapers and magazines, radios and movies. In the United States, where these instrumentalities of education are commercially controlled, the particular interest which they are used to further is that of "Big Business"—its profit and expansion. In Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy—in any nation in which these instruments are controlled by the government—the particular interest for which they are used is that of the leaders of the reigning political party. It is difficult to say which kind of propaganda makes the average individual less able to grapple intelligently with the problems with which he is confronted.

That these mass-mediums can ever be made into important instruments for right-education, is doubtful. For right-education, except in the case of very exceptional individuals with unusual capacities for self-education and very highly cultivated critical faculties, rarely takes place as a result of the transmission of knowledge through a one-way medium of communication. Even preceptual instruction is relatively ineffective without reciprocal communication between student and teacher or leader and group. It is absurd therefore to think of business or government controlled mass-mediums as proper instruments for adult education. They are at present primarily mediums for amusement; for the entertainment of people hungry for excitement; for those who find escapement from their boredom in comic-strips, pulp-fiction, quiz-programs, and "soap-dramas." When people apply what they have learned from these educational instruments to some specific problem with which they are confronted, they respond, almost tropismically, to the stimuli of propaganda and publicity, advertising and salesmanship.

In sum, if the individual today does not deal rationally and humanly with the problems which confront him, it is because the education of modern man is left so largely to the press, the movies and the radio.

THE ADULT EDUCATION "MOVEMENT"

THE conventional conception of adult education, as a result of which the American Adult Education Movement* lumps together almost every imaginable kind of instruction in every imaginable kind of subject matter is *instruction of adults in contradistinction to instruction of the young.* That this conception is without much significance, except from the standpoint of pedagogic technique, becomes obvious if we ask ourselves what is the difference between teaching adults and teaching children subjects such as reading and writing, which are usually taught children while they are still children? So far as the objective of such teaching goes, there is none. In both adult and juvenile education in reading and writing, the objective is the same—to equip the student for participation in the activities of a literate culture. The difference is pedagogic only. Different methods, different teachers, different text books, even differently sized desks and chairs, are required in teaching the same subject to adults and to children if both kinds of teaching are to be done effectively.

I. DELAYED INSTRUCTION AS ADULT EDUCATION

MUCH of what is called Adult Education today is not true Adult Education at all; it is simply *delayed instruction* in subjects which in the normal course of events all adults should have received while still young. All academic instruction of adults in reading, writing, arithmetic, and other subjects aimed at introducing the individual to the learning of mankind, and all technical and vocational instruction of adults in matters merely preparatory to occupation, are simply delayed instruction in matters in which they should have been trained as children, as apprentices, and as young men and women. All

*I am capitalizing "Adult Education" because here in America, thanks to the American Association for Adult Education, conventional Adult Education is not only an ideology but a highly organized movement. "Juvenile Education" is capitalized for the same reason; it is an ideology more usually called *education*.

such so-called education is simply the correction of deficiencies in the education of the individual as child and youth.

II. INTELLECTUAL ENTERTAINMENT AS ADULT EDUCATION

THE existing distinction between Adult and Juvenile Education becomes somewhat more meaningful in the case of adult courses of instruction in so-called "cultural" subjects. Unfortunately, Adult Education in these fields today is too ofen mere intellectual titillation and entertainment; too often it merely furnishes the individual arresting and undigested information or teaches him to appreciate arts which he is not supposed to practice himself but to leave to professional artists, musicians, poets, writers. At its best, Adult Education of this kind broadens and develops the individual; no matter how old he may be, they introduce him to aspects of civilization beyond those comprehensible by him during childhood. But at its worst, it becomes a species of entertainment to which adults turn when tired of the newspapers, the movies and the radio. In any event, even when conventional adult education does not consist of delayed instruction or of popularizations of art and science, it still fails to grapple with the problems which gives to genuine adult education a significance totally different from juvenile education.

The significant difference between the two has its roots in the fact that the adult has entered upon a phase of his life-cycle in which he has to grapple with problems not present during his childhood and youth. These problems have already been briefly outlined. All of them are problems with which the individual is confronted and with regard to which he has to act only after he becomes adult. They are problems about which he can only learn vicariously while he is a child, reading about them in anticipation of the time when he will actually face them after he has grown up.

III. ADULT VERSUS JUVENILE EDUCATION

FOR the most part, the leaders of modern education have assumed that not only education but what I am calling right-education, is a problem in Juvenile Education. John Dewey, whom no one can accuse of being indifferent to the need for social improvement—to the need of what I think of as re-education—has unfortunately lent nearly all of his genius and great influence to the development of this mistaken idea. What he has to say on this point is worth quoting:

> It is easy for the critic to ridicule the religious devotion to education which has characterized for example the American republic. It is easy to represent it as zeal without knowledge, fanatical faith apart from understanding. And yet the cold fact of the situation is that the chief means of continuous, graded, economical improvement and social rectification lies in utilizing the opportunities of educating the young to modify prevailing types of thought and desire.
>
> The young are not as subject to the full impact of established customs. Their life of impulsive activity is vivid, flexible, experimenting, curious. Adults have their habits formed, fixed, at least comparatively. They are the subjects, not to say victims, of an environment which they can change only by a maximum of effort and disturbance.*

Then he concludes, "Educative development of the young.... is the least expensive and most orderly" method "which may be employed to effect social amelioration." Upon this I have one comment to make: we have been trying the method of child education for over a century. We have spent more for child education than any other nation in history, most of it during the last fifty years. During the past twenty-five years it is not exaggerating the situation to say that the public schools of the nation have been teaching the young very much as John Dewey has suggested. Yet all the social evils of which John Dewey is so conscious have become worse. No one who has any respect for the facts would assert that either the present or the preceding generation of Americans have shown the slightest im-

*HUMAN NATURE AND CONDUCT, John Dewey, p. 127.

provement in their ability to deal with social problems. The generation which plunged us into the depression of 1929 and which prepared the way for World War II, were educated as children in the very schools of which we are so proud!

John Dewey, in the very section of the book from which I have already quoted, makes clear why I think it a mistake to hope for anything from Juvenile Education alone. So important is this that it must be quoted in full. Adults, he says,

> .....may not be able to perceive clearly the needed (social) changes, or be willing to pay the price of effecting them. Yet they wish a different life for the generation to come. In order to realize that wish they may create a special environment whose main function is education. In order that education of the young be efficacious in inducing an improved society, *it is not necessary for adults to have a formulated definite ideal of some better state.* An educational enterprise conducted in this spirit would probably end merely in substituting one rigidity for another. What is necessary is that habits be formed which are more intelligent, more sensitively percipient, more informed with foresight, more aware of what they are about, more direct and sincere, more flexibly responsive than those now current. *Then they will meet their own problems and propose their own improvements.**

I have taken the liberty of italicizing certain key points. These make it clear firstly that John Dewey explicitly rejects the necessity of basing what I am calling right-education upon "a formulated ideal of some better state;" that he hopes to *put over* reform—despite the parents and the adult world—through the agency of child education; and finally that after children are thus properly educated, they can be relied upon to "meet their own problems and propose their own improvements."

Margaret Meade, basing her conclusions upon the most intensive anthropological observation of childhood, comes to exactly the opposite conclusion about the possibilities of reform

*Ibid., p. 123.

through Juvenile Education and sheer schooling of children:

> No child is equipped to create the necessary bridge between a perfectly alien point of view, and his society. Such bridges can only be built slowly, patiently, *by the exceptionally gifted (adult)*. The cultivation in children of traits, attitudes, habits foreign to their cultures is not the way to make over the world. Every new religion, every new political doctrine, has had first to make its adult converts, to create a small nuclear culture within whose guiding walls its children will flourish.....Only by the contributions of adults are real changes brought about; only then can the enlistment of the next generation have important effects.*

I think, however, the record of child education in America furnishes the most complete refutation of John Dewey's hopes: the result of our grand effort at child education has not produced a single generation capable of meeting their own problems and proposing their own improvements. On the contrary, the evidence points to the fact that our reliance upon Juvenile Education has finally produced a generation which, for gullibility, has probably never been paralleled anywhere at any time; which cannot define any social or personal problem at all clearly; and which has only one overpowering aim in life—to drive an automobile; to dress in the latest fashion; to attend the movies as often as possible; and to listen to the radio, no matter how much advertising blather it is broadcasting. There has probably never been a generation of Americans less interested in social reform than the one which came of age with the outbreak of World War II. John Dewey's faith in Juvenile Education and his lack of faith in real Adult Education is due to the fact that he has devoted most of his life to the development of public schooling. If he had spent part of his life in a modern advertising agency, he would have known that it is possible to make adults change their wants and their habits

*The italics are mine, and the insertion of the word "adult." The reference is from "Growing Up In New Guinea," p. 272 of FROM THE SOUTH SEAS; Studies of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies, William Morrow & Co., 1939.

over and over again provided you know what is the effective way of advertising—and so educating—them.

REAL ADULT EDUCATION

IF neither Juvenile nor conventional Adult Education is adequate, how are we to deal with adult problems educationally? My answer is *by furnishing people in every community a new kind of leadership through the agency of a new kind of educational institution;* by establishing schools of living or community universities and, through them, providing such leadership in every community; by organizing the potential leadership of communities—the educated, thoughtful and concerned minority—in such a manner that every individual and group in the community will think it natural to turn to the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind for light upon the problems which they have failed to solve or which they have not been able to solve properly.

Through such study groups and under such leadership, it would for the first time become possible to bring to bear upon these problems integrated, objective, and impartial study of the manner in which mankind in its long history has tried to deal with problems of individual living and the social problems of groups, communities and nations. In such schools evaluation and integration of all knowledge and wisdom would fire the imaginations of the people. Such schools and such leadership would make it possible to escape from the segmentation and special interest with which the problems of living are disposed of today. Evaluation and integration of the data of all the sciences and of the wisdom of all teachers, past and living, on each problem would become possible from the standpoint of the whole human being and the whole of life. A specifically *educational method* and *educational leadership* would develop and deal with individual and social problems on the basis of reason, not superstition; universality, not insularity; of com-

mon welfare, not special interest; of function, not convention; of science, not prejudice; and of beauty, not novelty. An adequately educated and properly led community might still need laws and policemen, judges and jails; it might still need doctors and hospitals and asylums; it might still need social workers and charitable institutions, but it would need them less and less than is the case today. A world composed of education-centered communities might still suffer from depressions and still be confronted by war and revolution, but it would suffer them less frequently, and when confronted by them, both the masses of people and leaders of society would be better poised psychically, and better equipped physically and economically, for dealing with them.

Apart from wishful thinking and utopian dreaming on my part, is there any reason for hoping that such a program of Adult Education might be initiated and, if initiated, that it might realize its objectives? Is there any reason for believing that the leaders of American education might be persuaded to abandon their present preoccupation with the immature minds of children, with the sterilities of specialized scholarship, and with the demands of government and business; that they might be persuaded to lead in the organization of real adult education and the organization of the nation, community by community, so as to make normal living possible? If, for any reason, our leaders in education ignore the signs of the times and refuse to accept this challenge, is there any reason for hoping that the preachers and churches—a group likewise ordained to teach and also equipped institutionally in every community for adult education—might reassert the leadership they lost when secular politics, commerce and industry began to build the world which we now know?

I believe there is. I believe that the dissatisfaction in educational circles in America, the interest in Adult Education,

and the new stir in religion, particularly in the rural regions, perhaps even the broader vision of some leaders in the cooperative movement, furnishes such hope. I believe there is not only the possibility of such leadership for real Adult Education but I also believe that there is ample evidence that Adult Education can bring about such a revolution in modern life as I envision. Not only that, but there is also in the scientific development of advertising and propaganda—a development narrowed in our university schools of business administration to that of business promotion—a technique which, if it were adapted to adult re-education would enable real teachers to compete for the attention of the people with the leaders of modern industry not on merely equal but on superior terms.

My own hope is based largely upon various demonstrations—most of them well known to the historians of education—which prove, firstly, that *education*, in contrast to *legislation*, can be used not merely as a means for preparing people for changing conditions but as an instrument for bringing about radical reforms and profound economic, political and social improvements, and, secondly, that *adult* education, in contrast to *child* education, can be used for dealing with the real living problems of people and not merely for the purpose of enabling backward adults to become as literate as their children.

The Danish Folk School movement furnishes perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of the fact that education can be used to produce social changes which most people think can only be brought about by revolutions or by revolutionary legislative action. Yet there is no question about the fact that the modern Scandinavian economic and cultural revival was due almost entirely to this significant educational movement.

I. THE DANISH FOLK SCHOOL MOVEMENT

THE Danish people had the good fortune to escape the worst effects of medieval feudalism. The Danish peasantry was never quite re-

duced to the misery which led the French peasants into the explosion called the French Revolution. The Danish population always included a substantial proportion of independent farmers. But in spite of this the majority of the peasants during the early part of the 18th century were little better than serfs. They held their farms at the will of great landlords; they enjoyed practically no civil or political rights; they were compelled to work three or four days out of every week for the estate owners who paid them for their labor with a little grain, hay or money. In effect, the majority of them were attached to the land almost like trees and fences; they had to do what they were ordered to do in the same way as the horses and oxen on the same land.

In 1788 villeinage was abolished; in 1834 the peasants were given their first political rights; by 1848 the earliest beginnings of the transformation into modern Denmark began to make their appearance. But it was only when the teachings of Bishop Grundtvig began to take effect that the present revival in Denmark really began. By the 1870's the influence of the educational movement started by Nikolaj Fredrik Severin Grundtvig, (1783-1872), pastor and bishop, poet and historian, but above all, teacher and philosopher, began to make itself felt. In 1851 Kristen Kold opened the first Folk School. It was Kold's conviction that a word *from the inmost soul* of the teacher, if delivered in such a way as to penetrate the understanding and carry conviction, could do more to influence the lives of people than any other instrument which might be used. When some farm hands asked him rather skeptically what good it would do them to attend his school, he answered:

> At home we used to have a grandfather's clock which would go for a week when wound up, but I shall wind you up so that never in your life will you stop again.....When I am inspired, I can talk so that my audience will remember it even beyond the grave.*

Kristen Kold believed in face-to-face instruction in the classroom. Kold demonstrated the real possibilities of the lecture system. The objective at which he and all his many followers aimed was the improvement of Danish culture and civilization through the revitalization of the Danish peasantry.

*DENMARK, THE CO-OPERATIVE WAY, Frederic C. Howe, p. 127.

From one of the poorest, most ignorant and most hopeless of nations, Denmark gradually became one of the most prosperous and one of the best educated nations of Europe. It is one of the beacons of hope for the unhappy industrialized world in which we are living. Without the Folk Schools, the Danish revival would have been impossible. A simple set of figures furnishes eloquent testimony of the potentialities of this sort of education. Before 1850 the majority of peasants in Denmark were tenants. By 1919, as a result of the initiative generated by the Folk School movement, more than seven-eighths of all tenancy had been abolished.†

Danish Census	Per cent Tenancy
1850	42.5
1860	30.8
1885	14.5
1905	10.1
1919	5.7

It is our proud boast here in America that we have the most expensive and presumably the best system of education in the world. How does our record compare with that of Denmark? The census figures on tenancy furnish a startling commentary on the relative virtues of the two kinds of education. Neither the old academic education which prevailed during our nation's period of agrarian ideology, nor the new Progressive Education introduced with the coming of the industrial ideology, seems to have helped the rank and file of the farmers of America to maintain their economic independence. Quite the contrary, in a population originally composed of one of the highest percentages of independent farm owners in the world, the new urban, industrialized, and centralized education has simply speeded up the process of depriving the people of their stake in the nation—their ownership of the land.

U. S. Census	Per cent Tenancy
1880	25.5
1890	28.4
1920	32.4
1940	35.7

Unfortunately, the census gives us no figures on tenancy further back than 1880. Between 1880 and 1940, our system of education

†Ibid. p. 180.

was such that the proportion of tenancy in the United States increased by forty percent. During a similar period, Danish education was such as to decrease tenancy by more than sixty-five percent.

It may be objected that in such an evaluation of the record of American education I am ignoring what has been done for our urban and industrial populations. Of course I am. I think that one of the things most wrong in American education is that it has devoted itself so completely to the urbanization and industrialization of the people. Education for urban life is incomplete and truncated education. It lacks *universality* in the sense in which Lester F. Ward used the word universality when he said in his DYNAMIC SOCIOLOGY:

> A system of education which falls short, even in the least particular, of absolute universality, can not proceed from any true conception of what education is for or what it is capable of accomplishing.

As I see it, our real educational problem is not one of conditioning the people so that they will be able to endure living in great congested metropolitan centers, but of teaching them how to substitute normal ways of living for those which are abnormal. The remedy for the ills of congestion is not to make congestion pleasant. Our huge urban population is like a cancer on the body politic. The problem posed by the existence of this disease does not call for the perfection of new systems of education which will make the cancer endurable; it calls for the elimination of the cancer.

II. THE OBERLIN DEMONSTRATION

No better illustration of not only the potentialities of adult education but also of its practicability as an instrument for the solution of living problems can be found than that furnished by the case of John Frederic Oberlin, (1740-1826). In 1766, when Oberlin became the Protestant pastor of the parish of Waldbach—a remote valley in the Vosges on the border of Alsace and Lorraine—it was still the barren, poverty-stricken and depopulated Waldbach which had never recovered from the ravages inflicted upon it by the Thirty Years War over a century and a quarter before. In 1709, in what had been before the war a typical busy, medieval countryside, there were only four inhabitants in the village of Solbach, nine at Waldbach, nine at

Fouday, and nine at Belmont. Using his church not only as a place for worship but also as a school for living, Oberlin transformed the whole valley inside of a decade. He persuaded the villagers—not the government—to build roads and bridges and so re-connected the five villages in his parish with the outside world; he introduced new crops and new methods of agriculture; he persuaded them to build new and better cottages for themselves and barns for their livestock; he revived industrial arts and crafts which had been permitted to fall into decay; he founded an itinerant library, established schools in each of the five villages and established perhaps the very first of all infant or "nursery" schools. So startling was the transformation of the community, (achieved through what I call education for living), that Oberlin, a Protestant pastor, was permitted to continue his work in spite of all changes of social regime, changes which included dominance of the region at one time by the Catholic Church and at another by the anti-religious French Revolutionists.

Those who are tempted to belittle the significance of this illustration of the possibilities of social reform through education in contrast to politics, (in which most of mankind today is pinning its faith), should consider the history of the Oberlin case and ask themselves why it was that an apparently obscure Protestant pastor received a gold medal from the French Royal Agricultural Society; why he was honored by the Czar of Russia; why he was decorated with the ribbon of the Legion of Honor; why a university was named after him in far-away America? They will then, I think, recognize that education can deal not only with the problems of children but also with the problems of the adult world—problems which we have been taught to think properly the province of "practical" businessmen, financiers, engineers, politicians, and even soldiers; problems which, however, it is obvious they are not solving but merely dealing with in whatever manner best promotes the special interest which each happens to represent.

III. THE ANTIGONISH DEMONSTRATION

ADDITIONAL evidence of the possibilities of the kind of Adult Education I am suggesting is furnished by the very remarkable educational movement which was started in Nova Scotia nearly forty years ago. For many years it could hardly have been considered a "movement;" it was a mere idea. Yet its history as a whole furnishes

ample ground for hoping that adult education through the right kind of University Extension can be used to revolutionize the personal, social and economic life of people in the modern world.

In 1902, Dr. J. J. Tomkins became an instructor in St. Francis Xavier University, a very small institution located in the very small town of Antigonish, N. S. He became interested in the farmers, miners and fishermen who lived in the region around the University. Their living conditions were deplorable. He thought he might inspire the young men studying at the University to become the leaders of a movement which would help these people. But the educational system was such that about all it did to these young men was to equip them better to exploit their fellowmen. He became so discouraged, and perhaps so irritating to his associates in the University, that in 1923 he was demoted and became a mere parish priest. Light then began to dawn; he started to work with adults and not students. Slowly and painfully the people began to study and then to help themselves. Their call for leadership became so strong that the movement finally enlisted the support of the University, which established an Extension Division to supply teachers to the people. What transpired "is something in the nature of a miracle," according to Bertram B. Fowler.§ Under the leadership of educators, using adult education—and neither business nor government—as their means of organization and implementation, these impoverished people became their own bankers, their own merchants, their own wholesale distributors of their produce; even their land developers and building contractors. They learned how to help themselves family by family, and through cooperatives which they organized, group by group and community by community.

Had the condition of these people not been poor almost to the point of desperation, it is possible that they would never have endured the painfully slow process of re-education with teachers to whom the problem was as new as it was to the "students." Had the University been a large one instead of a small one, it might never have been able to turn from its routine work sufficiently to sponsor such an apparently insignificant local movement.* Above all, had

§God Helps Those, Bertram B. Fowler.

*That a large American university can turn to Adult Education and deal with genuinely adult problems is to some extent illustrated by the case of

not some teachers stepped out of their classrooms; had not a few of them glimpsed a vision of some other kind of education than that of training the immature mind, leadership for the Antigonish movement would have been lacking. But because Father Tomkins was to persuade a few educators to help in this task, he succeeded in revolutionizing the conditions of living of these remote victims of modern Commercialism and mis-education.

IV. THE CHINESE MASS-EDUCATION DEMONSTRATION

HERE in America, experts in education have been fumbling about with Adult Education for over a generation. Millions of dollars have been spent in promoting Adult Education programs of all kinds. Yet when one of the leading exponents of the movement talked to Pearl Buck about it, he sighed and said sadly, "The adult education movement is dead. I don't know how to put life into it." For the discouraged leaders of this great organized activity, the work of Dr. James Yen and the Chinese Mass Education Movement ought to be a demonstration of the fact that it is possible to utilize adult education for the purpose of revolutionizing the life of a whole nation.

the University of Wisconsin. In his autobiography, Robert M. LaFollette credits what used to be called the Wisconsin Revolution to the inspiration and guidance of that University:

"I was merely expressing a common and widespread, though largely unconscious, spirit of revolt among the people—a movement of the new generation toward more democracy in human relationships. No one thought it out on sharply defined terms, but nearly every one felt it. It grew out of the intellectual awakening of which I have already spoken, the very centre and inspirational point of which in Wisconsin was then, and has been ever since, the University at Madison. It is difficult, indeed, to overestimate the part which the university has played in the Wisconsin revolution. For myself, I owe what I am and what I have done largely to the inspiration I received while there. It was not so much the actual courses of study which I pursued; it was rather the spirit of the institution—a high spirit of endeavor, a spirit of fresh interest in new things, and beyond all else a sense that somehow the state and the university were intimately related, and that they should be of mutual service.

"In no state of the Union are the relationships between the university and the people of the state so intimate and so mutually helpful as in Wisconsin. We believe there that the purpose of the university is to serve the people, and every effort is made through correspondence courses, special courses, housekeepers' conferences, farmers' institutes, experimental stations, and the like to bring every resident of the state under the broadening and inspiring influence of a faculty trained man.....It is not, indeed, surprising that Dr. Eliot of Harvard, after an examination of the work done at Madison should have called Wisconsin "the leading State University," for in every possible way it has endeavored to make itself a great democratic institution—a place of free thought, free investigation, free speech, and of constant and unremitting service to the people who give it life." LA FOLLETTE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences, 1913.

James Yen was born into what is known in China as an old scholar family. Some countries have had aristocracies of birth and some have aristocracies of wealth, but China has for centuries had an aristocracy of scholars. As a young man he came to study in America; he learned what Yale teaches its students. Then during World War I he went to France to help in welfare work for the armies of Chinese laborers or "coolies" who were there as China's contribution to the war effort. To enable them to write to their families in China, he worked out a simplification of the complex Chinese language which later became the basis for the whole scheme of mass education that followed. It was in effect a sort of basic Chinese; it substituted one thousand characters for the five thousand separate characters which up to that time had been considered the *minimum* even for ordinary reading and writing. The response of the coolies to his efforts was such as to determine him to devote all that he was and all that he had to the education of the plain people of his country.

He began in Peking, but soon moved to a little district called Tinghsien, in Hopeh Province. When he began it was merely one of thousands of similar districts composed of mud and dust villages with which China is dotted. For six years Tinghsien was a human laboratory, and here he worked out the pattern of Adult Education which has since spread into nearly every section of China. His ideas, as recorded in Pearl Buck's moving account* of his work, began to realize themselves:

> The first school was really experimental. After we learned the "what" and "how" we would start three or four demonstration schools in centrally located villages. To these the teachers of the old-fashioned schools and other literate members of the community were invited. Once they saw how practical the teaching material was and how simple the teaching method, they would start classes of their own and teach the illiterates in their respective communities without pay. These schools, taught and supported by the people themselves, are the "People's Schools." The responsibility of staffing and financing the experimental schools and the demonstration schools is ours. But the responsibility of staffing and financing the "People's Schools" falls upon the people. In Tinghsien, we conducted only two experimental schools and six demonstration schools for the whole district. But the people of Tinghsien ran 472 "People's Schools," that is, one for every village, all supported by themselves.

*"Tell the People; Talks with James Yen about the Mass Education Movement," Pearl S. Buck, "Asia," January, 1945.

We soon began to see that when the minds of the people were liberated they wanted more and needed more. *We realized that literacy alone was not enough.* Literacy isn't education—it is only a tool for education, a means to the whole end. *The people had to get an education which involved the whole of their life.* And life in China for them is very unsatisfactory. So their education, if it is of the right kind, should be not so much to fit them *for* life as to *re-make* life. Later.....we tackled public health, agriculture, economics and local government.*

So the program did not stop with literacy; it did not stop with what is really a *juvenile* problem; it went on to deal with at least parts of three genuinely *adult* problems of living; it became a four-fold program: (I) literacy; (II) public health; (III) agriculture and economics, and (IV) local government. If you stop at literacy—as we have here in America to a very great extent—Dr. Yen told Pearl Buck:

Then that would bring disaster. There begins the downfall of education. I say sometimes that non-education is better than mis-education. Now when these people want a better living and a better life, that is wholesome. But if you only instill into them a lot of new ideas and new desires and don't equip them with real knowledge or real skills to satisfy their new desires, then all you have done is to make a disturbance in the community of a very undesirable kind. People have come to me and said, "Mr. Yen, you educate these farmers; maybe they will want to be white-collar workers—and they won't want to farm any more." "Well," I say, "that is mis-education then." When you have created a desire on the part of the people for better living, if you have caused a really divine discontent, which is so wholesome and fine, then you must immediately follow it with something practical. As we found out, we had to have the literacy program related definitely with a larger, broader program of life-betterment. You don't have to take the people away from their environment—from the farm—you educate them right there on the farm. You don't need to send them back to the farm, because you have never taken them away. So many well-meaning philanthropists take boys and girls away and put them into luxurious buildings and teach them and then wonder why they don't want to go back. We never did that. We taught them right where they lived.†

V. THE COATES DEMONSTRATION

EVIDENCE of what can be done *educationally* in contrast to what has been done *politically* in dealing with the problem of law-enforcement—seemingly a problem calling for strictly political treatment—is furnished by the Coates experiment with adult education in North Carolina. In 1928, Albert Coates, Professor of Law at the University

*Ibid., pp. 54-55. The italics are mine.—R. B.
†Ibid., p. 60.

of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, made an analysis of his job of teaching criminal law to aspiring lawyers. His instruction had been based on a casebook of Supreme Court decisions. His investigations revealed that during a period of thirty years only four cases in every thousand handled by a lawyer were dealt with by the Supreme Court. He decided that he was teaching one hundred per cent of his course out of four-tenths of one per cent of the necessary knowledge. The rest was law and government as practiced in the city halls and county court houses in North Carolina. He found that most of the other state colleges teaching government were teaching similar generalities out of equally sterile textbooks and that civics courses were even further removed from reality.

As a result he laid aside his professorial gown; joined a police force; listened to complainants as they submitted their charges; went along when arrests were made; attended the trials; learned how inaccessible were the laws governing procedure; ferreted out the accumulated experience of hundreds of public officials—unwritten practices and techniques—and he concluded, "We teachers of government had been laying books end to end—but they had been laying experiences end to end." Then he went back to the University, called in local law-enforcement officials to help him instruct his students, *and incidentally each other.* He led panel discussions in which officers on every level from township to the FBI exchanged their hard-earned tricks of trade.

On May 6, 1932, as the outgrowth of these experiments, three hundred representatives of all groups of city, county, state and federal officials came together to form the Institute of Government. Out of the meetings of the Institute grew guide books, a laboratory to answer problems from all over the state, and finally joint sessions for cooperation. Throughout all these activities, the Institute remained nonpartisan and nonpolitical—it lobbied neither for nor against anything no matter how good or bad, either in the legislature or out of it. But it did find the facts; it distributed them; it brought together officials, citizens and schools in an integrated program for government improvement. According to the FBI, as a direct result, the state of North Carolina furnishes the nation's outstanding example of improvement in law-enforcement processes.

According to Dr. Coates, a similar program with similar results

can be launched anywhere in the country. "It doesn't matter who starts it," he told an interviewer, "as long as the basic idea is education rather than reform. People dislike being reformed. In fact, few reform governments get re-elected more than once. But most people like to learn—officials, voters, children, teachers—and once they learn the right way of doing something, it's no longer so easy to get away with the wrong way." Dr. Coates added that some of the things that the people of America must learn is that our form of government is by its nature intended to be administered by beginners who do not always have beginners' luck.

More than common honesty and common sense is required in public office. A hundred thousand dollars lost through honest inefficiency is as great a burden to the taxpayer as a hundred thousand lost through conscious fraud. Knowledge is no guarantee of character, we are told—but neither is ignorance—and the best of governmental systems may be wrecked by men who do not understand it. And finally, as Dean Pound has warned us, we can avoid federal centralization under the conditions of today only by learning and practicing local cooperation.*

Civics, of course, represents only one of the many problems with which people have to deal. But it is one with which they have dealt notoriously badly. Here is a method—involving adult education—which can be used not only to contribute to the solution of this one problem but which can be used to deal with every one of the problems with which adults are confronted. If, instead of treating the civic problem as a specialty, which is possible only at a university and impracticable in every community, the civic problem was merely one of the parts of a total program of adult education, there is every reason for believing that improvement in the conditions of living would be even greater than when adult education is restricted to one special field.

VI. THE SCHOOL OF LIVING

A final experiment in the education of adults in adult problems must be mentioned. In 1934 the School of Living was organized and opened under my direction. It was located out in the open country about five miles from the village of Suffern, N. Y. The School was intended to be, and still is, a research institution rather than a school

*"Don't Shoot Your Sheriff, Teach Him!" J. P. McEvoy, "The Reader's Digest," October, 1943.

pure and simple. But in order to prosecute its researches into the principles and practices of living, it has conducted all sorts of experiments in adult re-education. The fact that it is located only thirty-five miles from the metropolis of New York—perhaps the most magnificent product of the madness of industrial civilization—added to its difficulties. Yet among the hundreds of men and women who have come to the School from New York and other centers of urban miseducation, the astonishing thing is not that many of them grasped only in a superficial manner the essence of what the School represented; the astonishing thing is how many have almost completely re-shaped their pattern of living as a result of what they learned at the School. Bearing in mind that most of them come to the School for only a very short visit, (the two-week Seminars in the Summer on the Principles of Normal Living being the longest as a rule), the result has often been amazing. It has demonstrated the possibility of influencing in a most fundamental manner mature men and women. All over the United States there are today individual families and groups of people who have changed their values, their habits, their ideas, and who have established themselves in the country as a result of the influence exerted on them by adult education of the kind I have been trying to describe. The idea of co-operative land acquisition has brought together whole groups of people who otherwise could not, or would not, have dared to establish homesteads of their own.

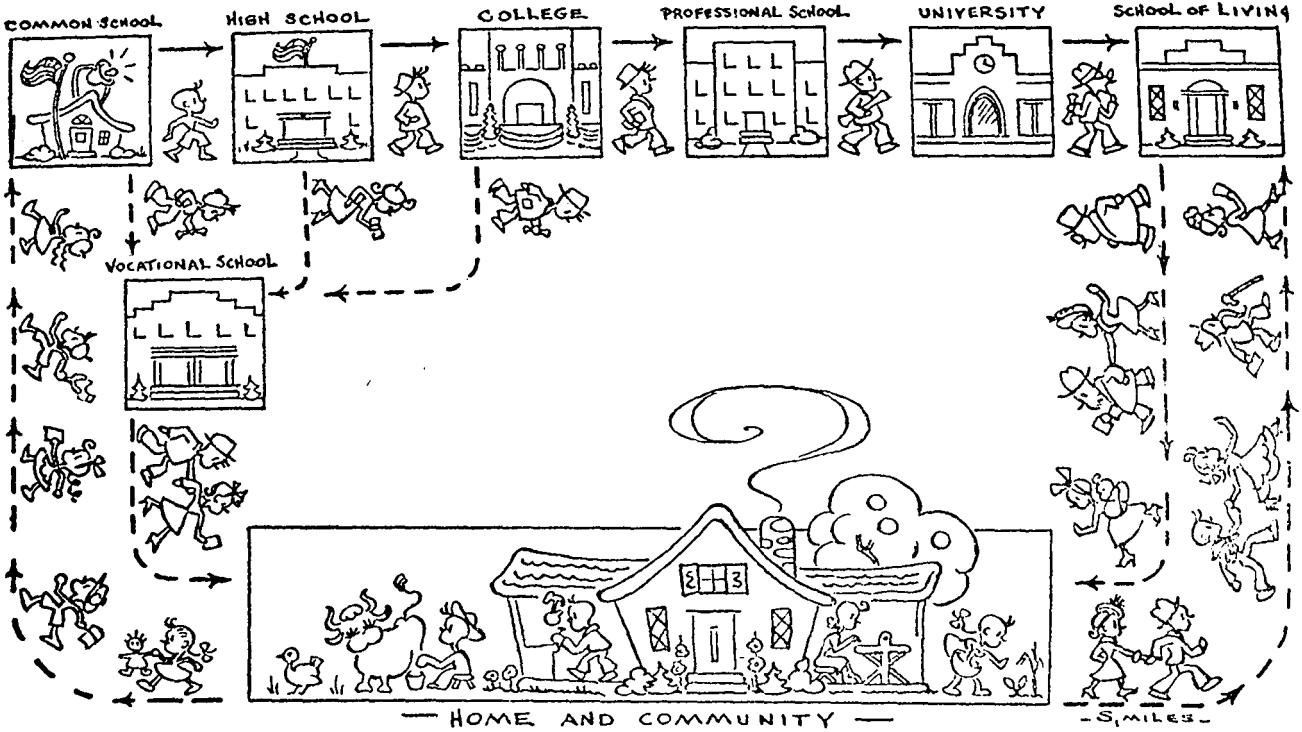
Many of those who came to the School were the most unfavorable material for such education which it would have been possible to find in the United States: New Yorkers with what I call the suburban complex, to whom the idea of goats, pigs, and other livestock was funny, and the idea of handling manure or killing and eviscerating a chicken, revolting. Yet many of these people who wanted help in solving the problem of establishing a country home have to an amazing extent rebuilt their whole lives. On the whole, the experiment demonstrated the possibility of fundamental re-education for at least a saving leaven of the people of even the worst of our great metropolitan centers.

For Schools of Living to function in the communities of the nation as I think they might, (and as our experiments at Suffern

show they might), they must be extension institutes. You may ask, *extension from what?* My answer is, *from* universities; *from* repositories of what is universal and perpetual in truth; *from* the fosters of art and the stewards of the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind, *to* the local communities of the nation. The professional panel of every School of Living, whose members will naturally constitute most of the corporate fellowship of each school, must not only be university trained but each member must also become consciously an extension agent of his university. Since the members of each panel will be living, and probably practicing their professions, in their local communities they cannot, of course, be in residence in any university; they will be, so to speak, serving "in extension," returning to their university periodically there to be refreshed and reinvigorated with new ideas and by other personalities. This kind of extension would enable the average community to escape the provincialism and insularity of which so many of them are now the victims.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

WITHOUT some such adult educational institution in every community, it is obvious that no planned provision has been made for the education of people once they have graduated from public schools. Examination of the accompanying diagram will make the gap in our present system of educational institutions apparent. At the bottom of the diagram is the home and local community—not only the foundation but the beginning and end of education. From their homes the children go to the common school, high school and college, going as far along the road of disciplined learning as they are able to go. All—regardless of the vocation to which they will devote themselves, whether gainful and professional or entirely commercial—must go through some sort of vocational school before they take up their life as adults. A minority passes on from college



THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATION. The arrows indicate the movement of *children* from their homes and communities into schools and back again, and of *adults* back and forth between their local School of Living and their work and homes, all engaged in one great common undertaking—*learning how to live like normal human beings.*

to professional school. Practice of a profession should make fellowship in a university obligatory. The very right to display a "shingle" in any profession should require a lifetime of fellowship in study. From the university, the educated minority returns not merely to make a living out of their professions but to furnish leadership to the community through its School of Living. And back and forth between the School of Living and their homes and places of work passes the adult population of the community as long as each individual lives, all engaged in one great, common undertaking—utilizing the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind in learning how to live.

As it is today, most of the young people of a community upon graduation from school drift into the chaos of modern industry. Each community goes to the trouble and expense of schooling—and each home makes the sacrifices needed to prepare—the young for living. But instead of equipping the next generation for building upon the foundation which the present generation has established, each individual and every new family is expected to establish itself anew elsewhere. Instead of a small minority of the young leaving the community which has raised them, the overwhelming majority make a bee-line for the biggest city in which they can find themselves a job.

Not only is there no planned provision in the community for continuance of education after graduation from school, there is no organized institution which relates the rank and file of the people of the community to the minority who have been privileged to obtain high and professional educations. In most communities, the educated minority joins the business group socially and economically; it has no relationship to the community at-large except insofar as it renders professional service for a price. This is a condition bad for both the people and the educated minority. The establishment of Schools of Living would complete the circuit of systematic education from birth

to death; it would relate the professional, university-trained minority organically to the community on an educational and not a commercial basis. The local educated elite would thus become the resident extension staff of the university. Not only the social but also the cultural life of the community would eventually be transformed by such a reformation. For the first time there would be organized provision for the use of education both in preparing the young for life and in solving the problems which adults face throughout the whole of life. The leadership of education would challenge the leadership of business and government. In the community at large, the educated minority, as teachers, and the universities, as institutions, would receive a challenge worthy of the stewardship entrusted to them.

THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

TO some extent, of course, the university of today fulfills that role in society to which it would have to be assigned in such a society as I am envisioning. But if the re-orientation of universities which I am suggesting is to be realized, it would be necessary to:

Call them to the leadership of society; transform them into fellowships of leaders—not merely teachers—of the people, leaders entrusted with the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of mankind and dedicated to the solution of the living problems of humanity, family by family, group by group, and community by community;

Make them completely independent of every interest which may introduce biases into their studies, their teachings, and their function of leadership, including the political influences to which universities cater when they are dependent upon public funds for their support;

Regionalize them. Universities now persuade students from all over the world to come to the particular cities in which they are located; they should rather bring universal knowledge and universal vision to the particular region where they are located;

End the appalling waste of brains and money now devoted to research into the minutiæ of existence because of the lack of something more useful and more challenging on which to work;

Distinguish more clearly between the functions of the university itself and the professional and technical schools attached to it. Since these schools ought to be controlled by the members of particular professions which have graduated from them, they will unavoidably reflect the specialization and segmentation which the university itself must avoid;

Organize them so that the integrating center of all the special fields of art and science is a combined school of education and philosophy. This would enormously broaden the role of schools of education and transform schools of philosophy into schools for educational action.

In sum, the university would take over the leadership of society, region by region, from the special interests of business, insurance, manufacturing, advertising, labor unionism, etc., and bring to bear upon the solution of the individual and public problems of people what the very word university suggests: universal knowledge and enduring wisdom. In short, I propose simply the implementation of the definition of a university quoted in a recent study of adult education: "a self-governing association of men for the purpose of study; an institution privileged by the state for the guidance of the people; *an agency recognized by the people for resolving the problems of civilization.*"*

*THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING, James Creece, p. 158, American Association for Adult Education, 1941.

For many years I have been suggesting to teachers and leaders of education in America that adult education of the right kind is the hope of a world in which civilization is being shaken to pieces by forces with which no other institution is properly equipped to deal. Usually they tell me that I do not know what manner of men comprise the bulk of the teachers of America. No man knows better than I, if I may be permitted to paraphrase what Socrates said to Crito, "what mean manners of men" teachers today can be. But no matter how mediocre and visionless many of them no doubt are, there is in even the poorest specimens some reflection of mankind's great accumulation of knowledge and wisdom. Some trace of this saving grace is to be found in most teachers, preachers, writers, artists, scientists, doctors, lawyers, and other professional men, all of whom are teachers in fact if not in name. They cannot equip themselves for their professions, or practice them very long without learning at least enough to respond to leadership. It is not what they are at present that counts. It is not the feeble light which flickers in their hearts at present which is important. It is what the best of them already are and what the poorest of them might be led to make of themselves which counts. Let us not assume, therefore, that the educated minority of mankind cannot discharge the great responsibility which I am insisting they assume. If they cannot discharge this responsibility, then nobody can. Let us not look at them as they now are but rather fix our vision on Education itself. Let us not therefore look only at the poorest of Athena's children but rather at what Athena inspires the best of them to become. If we examine the possibilities of education fully and then decide there is no hope, then we can reject this leadership about which I am talking. But if education be what I think it is, and its proper utilization the hope of the world, then we should follow education as a beacon; we should see

to it that all teachers become worthy of the cause in which they have enlisted and win for the University and School of Living that central position in society to which the crisis we face is calling them.

If once we see the possibilities of such a movement, hope will surely rise in our hearts.

CHAPTER IV.

JUVENILE EDUCATION

PART I.

THE FIRST SIX YEARS—*Character-Building:*

The Educational Function of the Home

A child's education should begin at least one hundred years before he was born.—Oliver Wendel Holmes.

EDUCATION of children is necessary because preparation of the individual for living is necessary. If children are to act like normal human beings when adult, they must be prepared in advance to deal with the conditions of living with which they will be confronted. Every child will be called upon later in life to carry on various kinds of adult activities. The purpose of juvenile education is, on the one hand, to make certain that he acts like a normal child while young, and on the other, to make certain that he acts maturely when adult. Right preparation of the child for adult life requires right-education from the moment of birth.

But if right preparation of the child for adult life requires education from the moment of birth, more is required than is provided by even the most perfect organization of the instruction which can be furnished to children in classrooms by professional teachers; right organization is required of all *four* of the methods of instruction which the long experience of mankind has shown can be used.

I. THE AUTHORITARIAN METHOD

STUDENTS can be given *commands* and learn by *submission* to authority. Authoritarianism is a method upon which parents and other teachers of the young tend to rely too exclusively. It is the method of the drill sergeant; the method upon which military educators rely almost entirely. It conditions the student to acceptance; it aims at obtaining from him responses which are not merely habitual but which are almost as automatic as are his basic instinctual impulses. That there are areas of instruction in which it needs to be used is unquestionable. Every human being ought to acquire certain habits—habits of cleanliness, for instance; habits of safety in using knives, tools, machinery, fire, electricity, automobiles, guns; habits of courtesy and consideration for others; habits which the experience of mankind has shown essential to his own well-being and that of the health, safety and happiness of others. There is no reason why the teacher should hesitate to use the authoritarian method in so far as it is genuinely the most effective method of assuring proper behavior and the acquisition of habits which make for normal living.

II. THE PRECEPTUAL METHOD

OR they can be instructed *preceptually* and learn by *comprehension.* Preceptual education, however, is universal; it is not restricted to classroom education. But certain subjects, as we shall see, can best be taught preceptually in a class by a trained teacher. For systematic preceptual instruction, institutions like our public schools are probably most effective.

III. THE EXPERIENTIAL METHOD

OR they can be furnished *opportunities* which promote *self-instruction.* Many things can best be learned from discoveries which individuals make for themselves; learning becomes the result of reflection upon experience. Life, of course, furnishes every individual experience. Furnishing the student good books is furnishing one important kind of experience for learning by discovery and self-instruction which life left to itself might not provide for him.

IV. THE EXEMPLARY METHOD

AND finally they can be instructed by *example* and learn from *imitation and practice.* This is the method which the Greeks called mimesis. Of all the methods of education and means by which hu-

man beings acquire their characteristics, this is the most fundamental and far and away the most important. Many of the most important things which every single individual must learn in order to live like a normal human being can only be taught by setting him a proper example and inspiring him to imitate (but not necessarily duplicate) the behavior of his exemplars. This is especially the case in teaching fundamental personality characteristics.

Proper preparation of the child for living is impossible without proper exemplification. The child cannot be prepared for normal living by any amount of merely formal, preceptual instruction in a schoolroom no matter how perfectly the school itself is organized. And it is folly to expect the average child to discover for itself as a result of its own consideration of its experiences, in the early years of its life, what it must know and how it must act if it is to live like a human being. While education by sheer command and submission, actually unfits it for life. To prepare the child to live normally, it must be provided in its earliest years with the fundamental characteristics of a normal human being. These fundamental personality characteristics the child can acquire in only one way—from the example set by the behavior of its intimates; by the behavior of fathers and mothers and other members of the family; by playmates and neighbors as it grows and begins to move in and around its home. The continuance of this natural system of character formation by example—before the industrial revolution—was apprenticeship. In apprenticeship, the master and mistress succeeded the parents as the exemplars of the growing individual; the apprentice learned not only the techniques of his craft but also the manner in which he was to conduct himself from the example set for him in his master's home. He continued to learn by imitation even though he received little in the way of formal instruction.

No day school can furnish an adequate substitute for what I am calling example, in preparing the child for living. It cannot teach the child how it shall dress and clean itself when it awakens in the morning; how to conduct itself when eating; how it shall behave in countless minor and major fields of action ranging from manners at table to associating with members of the family, playmates, and other persons. Even in boarding schools, where provision may be made for the exemplification of some of these methods of behavior, there

will still be missing the most important of all the things to be learned by example—love, the normal love of parents for their children and of children for those who love them. Right preparation for living requires right home life; the way to ensure proper development of the fundamental personality characteristics is to educate parents properly. The child cannot be properly prepared for living, the modern world is discovering, by taking this phase of child education out of the hands of the family—urging both parents to obtain employment in industry and shifting the task of character building to a formal school, even when the school-system is supplemented by all sorts of child-welfare agencies.

JUVENILE VERSUS ADULT EDUCATION

IF the child is to be properly prepared for living, it is obvious that we must have two quite distinct systems of education, one for the young and one for the adult; one for children and one for parents. If we analyze the nature of the things which need to be taught in preparation for life, and the nature of the problems with which adults are confronted as long as they live, it becomes evident that it is possible to determine the proper function and to assign an appropriate role to each of a number of distinct educational institutions if the individual, first as a child and then as an adult, is to be adequately equipped for living intelligently, decently and tastefully. It will become obvious that the neglect of the function for which each of various types of educational institutions are best fitted or the assumption of a function by one type of institution for which it is by its nature not fitted at all, is injurious, first, to the individual, then to the institution, and finally to society as a whole. I insist, therefore, that in order to answer intelligently the question of the role of the formal school in society, we must ask whether there are educational functions which institutions other than a formal school—institutions like the home, for instance—can better perform than a school. If we find that there are such functions, then we must include homes, and perhaps other in-

stitutions as well, among the recognized educational institutions of society, and discontinue assigning functions to the formal school which it not only cannot fulfill properly but which lessens the efficiency with which it fulfills the functions it is really best fitted to fulfill.

THE MOTHER'S "SCHOOL"

THAT the home should be included in any truly "national" and complete system of education is not a new idea, startling as it may seem to those who are convinced that the home should shrink into a sort of extra-mural dormitory for school children, and that the educational process should begin only when infants are old enough to attend a nursery school or kindergarten. The function of the home as an educational institution was very elaborately developed in the comprehensive scheme of the great educational reformer John Amos Comenius.* In his system, Comenius planned four kinds of schools: (1) the mother's school in every home; (2) the national school in every parish; (3) the gymnasium in every large town; (4) the university in every province. In addition to the obvious things the child was to learn at home—to walk and to talk, for instance—the mother's school was to teach the child the beginnings of many subjects, quite simple in themselves, which become difficult problems in education only when we begin to deal with them academically. The child from its earliest infancy to its sixth year was to be taught some of the basic concepts of metaphysics in connection with notions of something, nothing; it is, it is not; where, when; like, and unlike; of physics or "natural history" in connection with water, earth, air, fire, rain, ice, snow, stones, iron, trees, plants, etc.; of astronomy in connection with the heavens and daily motions of the sun, moon and stars. It was to be taught a little geography, chronology, history, arithmetic, geometry, statics, mechanics, dialectics, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, music, domestic economy, ethics, and a very little politics. In its first six years, it should, of course, have learned moderation, cleanliness, veneration, justice, love, silence, patience, serviceableness, propriety, and religion. At the end of its sixth year it was to be ready for entrance into the parish or common school. Because his total scheme included

*Comenius, (Komenski, 1592-1671), worked out his theory of education in his "Didactica Magna," ("The Great Didactic").

the home and was not exclusively confined to the institutionalized school, he wanted home teaching systematized; his whole scheme included "normal" education for mothers. Reflection upon the tasks assigned by Comenius to his "mother's school," raises the question of whether any nursery school, no matter how modern or progressive, can fulfill effectively the role which he assigned to the home.

CHILDHOOD

THERE is no difference of opinion among educators, psychologists and sociologists about the fact that the fundamental personality characteristics—manners, skills, beliefs, tastes, and virtues—tend to be permanently fixed during the earliest and most plastic period of human life. All that the individual learns after emerging from childhood is superimposed upon and refracted through what he has learned almost unconciously during infancy and childhood. Later we shall consider in more detail the question of where the individual should spend that childhood, whether in a mere home or a specialized institution. For the moment it is sufficient merely to enumerate the characteristics which the child usually acquires, and the most important "subjects" it ought to master, at home in its own family and in the immediate neighborhood of its home.

This assumes, of course, that all children should be raised in normal homes and not in the city-apartments which masquerade as homes today. To be furnished the kind of instruction by example which the child should receive in the first years of life, it has to live in a home surrounded by enough land for trees and gardens, and equipped with livestock and out-buildings, shops, and machinery to furnish experience in every important phase of living. Since the city home cannot furnish these things, and since every child is entitled to the educational influence exerted by them, the city home and the city family is incapable of fulfilling properly the educational function of the home and family.

Among these fundamental characteristics which I believe the child can best acquire in the home—and not in any kind of school—are the following:

I. EMOTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

FIRST, the fundamental emotional characteristics of a normal human being. Of the many traits and habits which every child acquires during the all-important first years of its life, probably the most important are those which are emotional in nature. If an infant is deprived of the experience of snuggling against its mother's breast as it nurses and the feelings of love and security this engenders, it can never entirely replace the loss. The consequences of this form of mis-education affects it for the rest of its life. Every child has to feel that it belongs somewhere and to somebody, not arbitrarily as it belongs to its schoolmates, but in the very nature of things. It can only acquire this in a family where it is loved and is inspired to feel and to express its love in return. No nursery school, no matter how expertly staffed, can furnish a substitute for this experience. If a normal affectional pattern of behavior is not established during these formative years, not only is the child deprived of a proper foundation for organizing and controlling its activities but the foundation for a neurotic personality is laid. Not every home, of course, furnishes children love. But in the very nature of things no formal school with its arbitrary, fugitive, and crowd relationships can furnish it. Love is not a matter which can be reduced to the formality of a curricular subject. As modern man "progresses" from reliance upon the home toward the institutionalization and centralization of all life, he tends increasingly to deprive the modern child both of the experience and the discovery of love at a time when both are desperately needed. That the modern world should show an enormous increase in the number of neurotic and psychotic personalities follows from the progressive deprivation of modern children of the experience of loving kindness during the early years of life.

THE VIRTUES

SIMILARLY, no proper foundation for the virtues which every individual is supposed to acquire is built merely by forcing him to observe rules and regulations or persuading him to comply with them as a matter of self-interest. To be law-abiding is generally considered

a virtue in our culture, but many a law-abiding person in America is not a person of goodwill; more and more people observe the law not because they genuinely believe in law but only because they believe it profitable to do so or dangerous not to. If a proper feeling for the virtues of the culture for which the individual is being prepared is to be developed in him as a child, he must be raised from his earliest years in a family with a genuine love for virtue. *Cleanliness* develops naturally in a home with a proper respect for the body; *dutifulness and obedience* where there is filial and familial love; *respect for sex* where there is married love; *good faith and loyalty* where friendship is practiced; *courage* where the risks of life are accepted; *prudence* where sensate pleasures are temperate indulgences; *cooperation* where there is love of group play; *diligence* where people enjoy their work; *punctuality* where there is love of achievement; *tolerance* where there is neighborliness; *patriotism* where there is love of one's native land; *initiative* where the arts and crafts are loved and practiced; *sympathy* where there is love of mankind; *veracity* where there is love of truth and perfection.

II. PERSONAL HABITS AND ACQUIREMENTS

SECOND among the fundamental personality characteristics which can be better acquired by children in the home than anywhere else are those which constitute a foundation for what I think of as *personal habits and acquirements* as distinct from social habits and social conduct; *hygienic habits*—those which have to do with eating, exercising and excretion; *occupational habits*—habits which determine the time spent in working, playing and resting; the *fundamental skills*—walking, sitting, standing and body posture generally; speaking, counting, drawing and other rudimentary forms of the symbolic disciplines; using toys, appliances, implements, tools and machines at the table, in the nursery, kitchen, workshop, and garden; crossing roads and streets; riding in vehicles; handling animals, plants and the soil; and finally the minimum standard to be acquired of *good taste*—in food, clothing, furniture, decoration, the home grounds, and works of art and craft. Good taste is a relative matter. But less than the common standard of taste in the society in which the individual will live, is always bad taste. If the home is one in which the standdard of taste is vulgar and below the common taste, the problem is parental; it is one of adult rather than child education.

III. SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

THIRD are what I think of as the fundamentals of social behavior—the social habits for which foundations can best be laid in the home; the manner of *associating* with other children, older persons and groups of various kinds; of caring for property and *respecting the property rights* of other persons and institutions of various kinds; of *discharging civic obligations and maintaining civic rights* at least to the extent of law-observance and learning what are its natural rights.

IV. BASIC BELIEFS AND COMMON LORE

FINALLY the child is not properly prepared for living unless it acquires in its home the basic beliefs and the common lore of its culture—the words with which to designate things and knowledge of the nature of the objects with which it is surrounded; facts and ideas with regard to its environment including animals, plants, the earth, the cosmos; with regard to the nature of evidence; with regard to other children, parents, relatives, neighbors, strangers; with regard to daily occurrences like meals and bed-times and special events like marriage, birth and death; with regard to individual rights, law, the police, penalties for law-infraction; with regard to institutions like the home and family, the community and state and nation, the school and church, and institutions like money, business, agriculture, industry and banking.

The characteristics which it will thus acquire will reflect its own family's interpretation of the canons of belief and behavior to be practiced and observed in the particular culture for which the child is to be prepared and to which it must be able to adjust itself. While the child is still young and before it has reached the age of accountability, this is the responsibility and the right of its parents. It is neither the responsibility nor the right of any other individuals nor institutions which may also be interpreting the culture in which the child will live—certainly not of the so-called captains of industry, of public officials or governmental agencies, nor of busybodies of any kind who self-righteously arrogate to themselves the right to say what kind of life children should be prepared to live; no representative of any institution, not even the school, no matter how well intentioned and well trained, has this right. If any of these groups or institions wish to change the culture from what it is to what they believe it should be, they have no right to begin with other people's child-

ren; they should begin by trying to re-educate parents not children. Theirs is not a problem in juvenile but in adult education.

THE MODERN—URBAN—HOME

TO this John Dewey, in effect, replied in his analysis of the role of the school in society: Granted the greater desirability of teaching these fundamentals in the home than in the school, the fact remains that we are confronted with an urban and industrial society in which neither the home nor the parents are equipped to prepare their children for life in the society in which they will have to live. Some other institution—the public school—must therefore take over the furnishing of the basic education which the family formerly furnished.

Upon this two comments can be made: In spite of the urbanization and industrialization of modern society, it is not yet true that there are no homes left in which this fundamental education is not and cannot be furnished by parents to their children. There are still many such homes and families in the rural regions and in the villages of the nation. There are even some real homes of this kind to be found in the suburbs and perhaps within the largest of our urban centers. And these homes and families should be helped to function normally even though they may constitute a minority of all the homes and families in our industrialized and urbanized nation. Unfortunately, the urban and industrial emphasis in modern education tends to weaken rather than to strengthen them in their task of properly educating children. I ask those leaders of American education, living in great cities and pontifically determining what shall be taught to children today, have they the right to deny a single farm-family the right to decide whether their children shall be conditioned for city or country life?

URBAN AND INDUSTRIAL INDOCTRINATION

SECONDLY, if we assume that all the children of the nation must be taken from home young enough; kept in school long

enough; attend schools during such seasons for as many years as may be desirable in cities; and given courses of instruction and text books which prepare them for industrial life, what we are actually doing is insisting that all of America, including its rural regions and village communities, shall be built upon a single, predetermined urban and industrial pattern. There is no escape from the logic of this proposition: we are insisting, not upon a process of right-education, but a process of urban and industrial indoctrination.

If, however, each home and family is encouraged to furnish its children that part of their educations for which the formal school is not by its nature equipped, then the education of children may be of a million different kinds, varying in accordance not only with parental religious and political faiths, social status and occupations from home to home, but also culturally from community to community and region to region. But if a standardized, centralized school is assigned the task of furnishing the child this part of its education, then what we have is an attempt to force a uniform pattern of living upon everybody and every community. Many modern educators assume, with John Dewey, that the way to deal with the problem presented by the change from Agrarianism to Industrialism—a change actually forced upon America by the leadership of the captains of industry and financiers who are now directing what is vulgarly called "big business"—is to reform the curriculum and reorganize the whole method of teaching children. I maintain not that the technique of instruction which Dewey developed is bad but that his conception of the role of the school is mistaken. To take a child from a farm home and place it in a model, centralized, Progressive school where it is given a training both in the fundamental personality characteristics as well as in academic subjects which prepare it for urban and industrial life, is to commit a species of social crime. To take a child

from one kind of home and community and condition it for life in a totally different kind of life and environment, no matter how perfectly the process of transformation be effected, is to doom to frustration not only the child and the rising generation but also the parents and the older generation—it imbues the parents with despair for their children and the children with contempt for their parents. Both are driven to escape into atomistic urban isolation.

FAMILY RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

IF the family has primary responsibilities in the matter of the child, the family has corresponding rights in the matter of its children's education. Neither state nor church, nor any institution like the school which is in theory representative of society, has any right to determine what the personality of any particular child shall be. If anybody has that right, it is the right of the natural guardians of the child—the parents. It is an impertinence for a school system to assume that it has the right just because it can furnish better academic training than can the parents of the average child.

NURSERY SCHOOL

NURSERY schools may be needed in the modern world to act *in loco parentis* for children who come from broken homes which cannot furnish them a proper nursery environment. There are, no doubt, enormous numbers of such homes in our disintegrating civilization. But if there are too many such homes, the condition calls for a drastic social reformation. It does not call for the assumption by the school of a function which does not properly belong to it. It does not call for a school program which treats all children as though they came from abnormal homes. The problem of the abnormal home is not solved by any such procedure; it is merely evaded. The

nursery school is an institution, like the hospital, which should be restricted to dealing with the members of exceptional and pathological, and not normal, families. Its only real reason for existence is to serve the modern home as a crutch serves a person already crippled.

Those who believe in nursery schools—and in school life rather than family life—should guard against the temptation to rationalize their faith by assuming that every home is reactionary and all parents incompetent. To use the school system to drive a wedge of so-called progress between parents and their children is to demoralize two generations. In the act of trying to educate children in matters which come within the role of the home, the school puts a premium upon parental irresponsibilty and deprives both parents and children of life experiences which are necessary to the fullest development of their personalities. The final result is bad for the child, bad for the parents, bad for society—and even bad for the school.

CHAPTER IV. JUVENILE EDUCATION

PART II.

FROM SIX TO TWELVE—*Introduction to Learning:* The Function of the Common School

> *A parent gives life, but as parent gives no more. A murderer takes life, but his deed stops there. A teacher effects eternity; he can never tell where his influence stops.—Henry Adams.*

IF the function of the home is one which no formal school can fulfill as well as can the home, (that of preparing the child for life in civilized society by equipping it with the fundamental personality characteristics of a normal human being), then it must follow that the function of the common school must be one which the home, even at its best, cannot fulfill as well as can a formally organized school. The common school should therefore be relieved of the burden of furnishing pupils with the elementary manners of a civilized being, a burden which it has gradually assumed as the family has disintegrated under the impact of Urbanism and Industrialism. Relieved of this handicap, the whole school system would be enabled to fulfill much more effectively the function for which it is by its nature better equipped than the home—that of introducing the young to the accumulated knowledge of mankind, (for the most part enshrined in the great books and "bibles" which record the

thoughts of the greatest men of all time); to the arts and sciences which represent the flowers of civilization, (in part by preceptual instruction in classrooms and in part through field, studio and laboratory experiences and studies); and above all, to the symbolic techniques which would enable them to examine, understand, evaluate, and use properly what they learn from books and from their experiences in life.

DISCIPLINED LEARNING

THE young, even in a high and literate modern culture, may be given every other advantage of civilization but unless they are furnished keys to its accumulation of disciplined learning, they will be unable to live in a truly civilized manner. They may travel about in automobiles and airplanes; they may use marvels of applied science like the telephone and radio; they may live in modern city apartments and enjoy the comforts of modern plumbing, but they will be barbarians nonetheless. The only way to prevent them from living in the moment like mere animals; from concentrating on their immediate environment; pursuing the new and novel; seeking excitement; jumping from sensation to sensation, is to introduce them to the long vistas of history, the wide spaces described in geography, the great ideas by which mankind has lifted itself above the level of all the other primates, and the accumulated sciences, arts and wisdom of mankind. Otherwise current events, newspaper headlines, the latest movies and comic strips will furnish most of the material upon the basis of which they will form their values and think and act. Inevitably they will be provincial; they will take short views; they will seek the expedient; they will find it uncomfortable and almost impossible to take long views; they will be reluctant to act upon principles.

The common school, with its staff of trained teachers, can equip the young with the symbolic disciplines, can introduce

them to history and geography, and to the arts and sciences, better than can the parents in the average family. For even if there were in a family, adults with learning enough and time enough to act as tutors to the children; even if the family were wealthy enough to purchase all the books and equipment which would be needed, it would still be difficult for the home to supply the stimulus which competition and cooperation in class enable the school to furnish to children. With so great an advantage for the school in this respect, there is no danger that the home will try to fulfill the role of the school; the danger is that the school will be tempted to usurp the role of the home. Unfortunately this danger is not potential; in our urbanized school system it is actual.

COMMON SCHOOL VERSUS HOME "SCHOOL"

THIS task—introducing the young to disciplined learning—seems to me the correct role in society of the common school. And the school must not sacrifice the effectiveness with which it discharges its primary function by taking over either the function of the home on one hand or the function of vocational training on the other. This does not mean that it should be organized or conducted without intimate relationship to all the other educational institutions in society. It does not mean that attendance in the common school should involve a sort of retirement to academic cloisters in which the subject matter imparted to the uninitiated child is so far removed from the mundane affairs of living as to take on an almost esoteric quality. It does not even mean that each of the various types of schools which I believe should be in every community must be housed in separate buildings. If it happens to be most practicable from the financial point of view, particularly in smaller communities, all of the schools including even the school of living, might be located in the same building. Ideally it would be best

to plan or re-plan every community architecturally so that its center would be where its *head and mind* (its educational institutions) function and not as is now the case in nearly every city and town, where its *stomach* (its business and financial section) functions. But whether in one building or in separate buildings, each school should be separately organized; their functions must not be confused. The common school should deal with the common educational needs of every individual in the community regardless of status or vocation; the vocational school or schools with the specific needs of the various occupations carried on in the community; the high school-college (really a folk-school) with the inspiring and envisioning of youth; the school of living with both the personal and the public problems of the adults of the community. In combination, all must aim at equipping the child—by the time he becomes adult—for living like a genuinely mature adult in his own community; they must deal primarily with the cultural, occupational and social problems of the families of their own community, confident that human beings equipped to grapple with their own problems properly will also be able to contribute adequately to the solution of the national and international problems which transcend their own communities. The important point is that the educational institutions of the community must aim not at producing rootless urbanites and cosmopolitans equipped to earn a living everywhere in spite of the fact that they do not know how to live normally anywhere, but at producing individuals with roots in their own communities and a vision of life so broad and deep that they are in the best sense of the word citizens of the whole world.

GRAPHICS, MATHEMATICS, LANGUAGE

IF the role of the common school is that of introducing the young to the various fields of learning, then the first task of

the common school is to enable them to master the three major symbolic disciplines—language, numbers, graphics.* If they master these three instruments of civilization, or at least learn how to use them with fair skill, and also learn the essentials of clear thinking by being made, through instruction in logic, somewhat self-conscious concerning their processes of thought they can go far in developing a civilized way of life no matter what occupation they happen to choose or where they happen to make their homes. Without these skills they will be handicapped no matter what they do. Without real mastery of the elementary means of communicating knowledge, they will get from instruction in physical and social science, history, geography, art, ethics, civics, and religion, nothing but a miscellany of undigested facts, figures and formulas. They will develop a superstitious veneration for our modern form of magic, science, but they will have no real understanding of the scientific method. With such mastery, they can matriculate in that great school called civilization, the faculty of which includes the greatest writers, the greatest artists, the greatest scientists, and the greatest teachers of all time.

*It is a notorious fact that our common schools are not notably successful even in discharging this primary responsibility. I am inclined to believe that their failure to equip children properly with the beginnings of the symbolic disciplines is mainly due to the lack of clear definition of their functions and the vagueness of purposes of modern leaders of education. In part this vagueness is deliberate. Our public school leaders, sometimes deliberately and sometimes unconsciously, pander to the democratic dogma of equality. They dare not organize the whole school system upon the obvious truism that only a very limited number of children are capable of succeeding in the upper regions of academic learning. The state officials and the voting public, to whom they have to cater because of their dependence upon them for school appropriations, want every child to obtain the benefits of a "white collar" education. The result is two-fold: on the one hand, the level of instruction in the symbolic disciplines is lowered to a plane which fits all children without regard to the fact that the education of children who might advance rapidly is actually retarded, and on the other, the masses of children, who ought to be given vocational rather than academic educations, are equipped only for routine "dead end" lives in clerical work. A good farmer is an infinitely higher type of human being than a mere clerk. Both can use reading, writing and arithmetic, but the farmer has to have a real vocational education; the clerk does not.

COMMON SCHOOL VERSUS VOCATIONAL SCHOOL

LET me make it clear that I am not assuming that all children are alike or all equally under the necessity of preparing themselves for college. On the contrary, I am insisting that, in spite of the singleness of function which the common school should fulfill, we must provide instruction to children on the theory that they are not alike now and will always be unlike. There are great numbers of children who are incapable of absorbing much more, either because of heredity or environment, than the rudiments of mankind's accumulation of formal learning. Instead of giving an entirely unwarranted importance to the acquisition of the mere fringes of the great disciplines by insisting that every child should be prepared for college, the moment it appears that a child has obtained the limit of what he can absorb of preceptual, abstract, classroom instruction in the common school, he should begin vocational training. By his twelfth year at the latest, and preferably the tenth, every child ought to be learning how to work.

Today our educational leaders fail to realize that it is their responsibility to correct the prevailing notion that vocational education is an inferior species of education to academic education; that a life of craftmanship is necessarily inferior to a life which is suggestive of scholarship. This is one of the worst of the legacies which we can trace to our heritage from Greece; the Greeks believed that the crafts were fit only for inferior human creatures like women and slaves; education was something to be restricted to superior creatures who were equipped for war and political life, for statesmanship and philosophy.

To dramatize and symbolize the importance of work, graduation from vocational school should be a ceremony of equal and perhaps even of greater importance in the life of the community than graduation from high school and college. Vocational education should not continue a sort of appendix to the

school system for the purpose of placating industrial and business leaders who complain about the impracticability of the the things children are taught in school.

In a really normal community, the vocational school would not only fulfill a different function but also a function recognized as equally as important as that of the common school. If both were properly related to one another and to the life of the community—rather than to fitting the young for jobs in factories on one hand and "white collar" jobs on the other—the prevailing folkways would cease to rate education in homemaking, agriculture, business, and the useful arts and crafts as inferior to an education academic in character. If so organized, the boy or girl who does not go through the approved course from common school to college but has instead learned the mastery of work, will not feel that he is a failure. It is a social crime—a crime reflected in the organization and teachings of modern schools—that a master farmer, who may only have the rudiments of formal learning but has made the mistake of working in the country instead of the city, is considered inferior to a man working in a city store or office, or even engaged in teaching school.

LEARNING VERSUS WORKING

THERE is not the slightest question that the time now spent by children in our modern school system trying to obtain mastery of the elementary tools of learning can be greatly reduced. Most of the time of the pupils in these over-large schools is devoted not to study but to shifting from one class to another, or to trying to adjust themselves to the frequent shifts prescribed for them. As it is now, the effectiveness of all the new pedagogic devices like Progressive Education, is largely nullified because prevailing folkways require the school system to find ways of occupying virtually the whole of the children's time

until they are sixteen and even eighteen years old. To fulfill this requirement, time which could be used more wisely and profitably in learning how to work is wasted upon pseudo-study and extra-curricular activities which do not amount to much more than killing time pleasantly.

If our common schools were relieved on the one hand of the educational activities which ought to take place in the home and on the other of the activities which ought to take place in the vocational school, they could concentrate on their essential task, the equipment of the young with the symbolic tools of civilized life. It is exceedingly probable that they could then, as Grundtvig pointed out, give the average child everything in the way of academic training which it will ever need by the time the pupil reaches the age of twelve. Our common schools could then graduate students when twelve fully as well equipped in this respect as the average now graduated at sixteen and eighteen. If this were done, the complex mechanism we call a high school would become an anachronism; its equipment and personnel would be released for what is now entirely missing in our school system—envisioning and enlivening the masses of children who will never become college and university students.

CHAPTER IV. JUVENILE EDUCATION

PART III.

FROM TWELVE TO SIXTEEN—*Preparation for Work:* The Function of the Vocational School

We must hold a man amenable to reason for the choice of his daily craft or profession. It is not an excuse any longer for his deeds that they are the custom of his trade. What business has he with an evil trade? Has he not a calling in his character?
—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

JUST as every home in the community should be a "school" for the children of pre-school age, so every home, farm and other place of work in the community should be "schools" organized to teach the children how to work. For the best vocational school is the place where useful work is performed; it is best because it alone furnishes the individual the experience which leads to the discovery of the necessity, the dignity and the satisfactions of productive and creative work It is in reorganizing the vocational school along this line that hope lies in revivifying agriculture, homelife and the social and economic life of the smaller communities of the nation. For there is too much evidence that vocational training as it is now furnished in the schools trains children not to enjoy real work but to try to escape it. The graduates of courses in home economics do not become homemakers but "professional" home economists,

mostly engaged in teaching or in making money as demonstrators of the products which industry wants homemakers to use; the graduates of most agricultural schools do not become farmers but job-holding agricultural specialists of some kind. They are in effect taught to abandon the vocation which the school is ostensibly organized to teach. As one commentator puts it:

> An astonishing and disconcerting trend (in agricultural education) is disclosed in a recent bit of research by a graduate of one of our agricultural colleges. He found that only 7.7 per cent of the 219 graduates in the class of 1941 have gone back to work on farms, though most of the members came from farms. In the department of field crops and soils, there were 287 graduates between 1904 and 1938. Of these only twelve are now (1942) farming. The United States Department of Agriculture has taken the largest number, and many others have gone into extension service, vocational teaching, etc.*

VOCATION

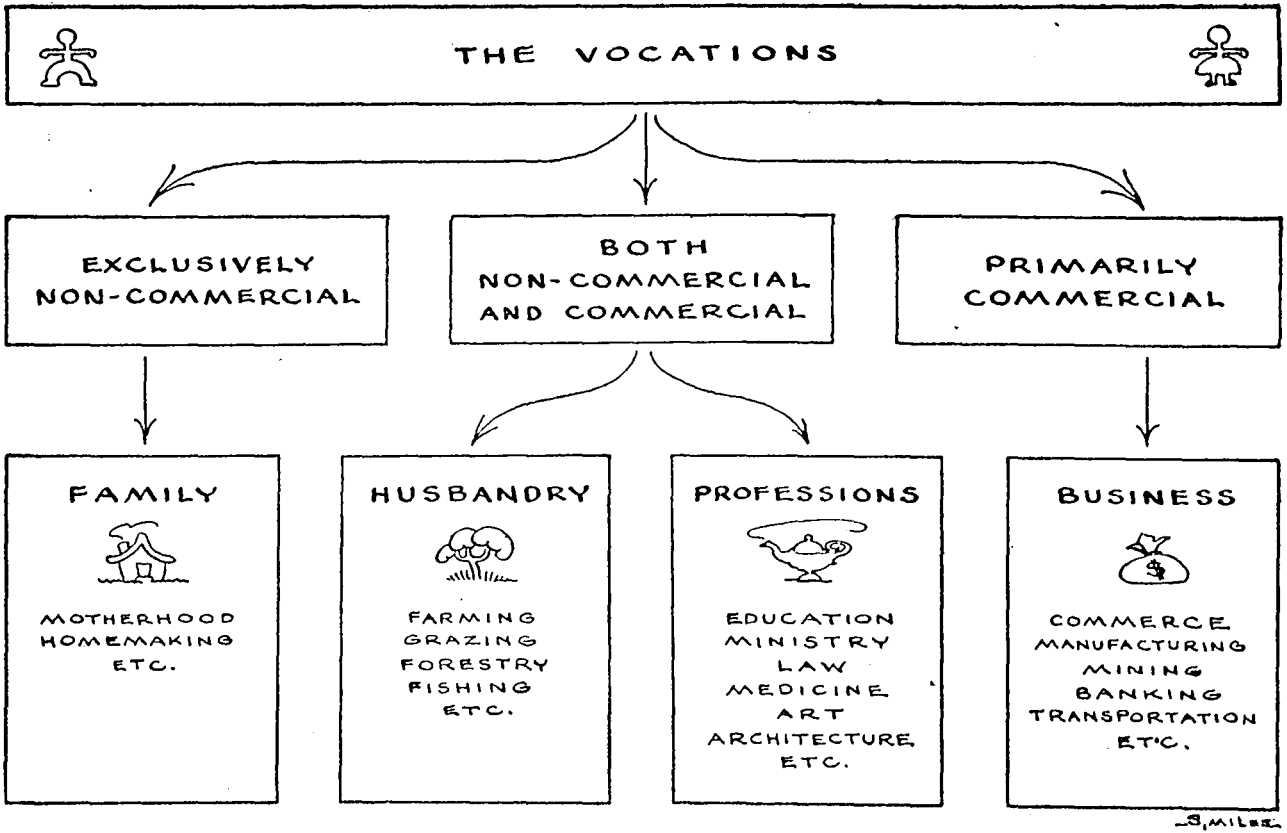
A TRUE conception of the meaning of vocation must include every form of calling; it must include every occupation, employment, business, trade, craft, and profession, not excluding homemaking and motherhood. By derivation, vocation means "calling;" anyone who has been "called" to follow a particular occupation in life must, therefore, doubt the validity of restricting the occupations for which the coming generation are to be prepared to those which enable them to make the most money. For there are very important "callings" which have little, and some nothing at all, to do with money-making.

All the vocations, as a matter of fact, fall into three distinct categories: they are either (I) exclusively non-commercial in character, or (II) partly commercial and partly non-commercial, or (III) primarily if not exclusively commercial, as shown in the accompanying chart.

I. MOTHERHOOD AND HOMEMAKING

So far as sheer numbers are concerned, the largest non-commercial and non-monetary vocation to which human beings are

*FORWARD TO THE LAND, Elmer T. Peterson, p. 70, The University of Oklahoma Press, 1942; p. 70.


THE VOCATIONS
EXCLUSIVELY NON-COMMERCIAL
BOTH NON-COMMERCIAL AND COMMERCIAL
PRIMARILY COMMERCIAL
FAMILY
MOTHERHOOD
HOMEMAKING
ETC.
HUSBANDRY
FARMING
GRAZING
FORESTRY
FISHING
ETC.
PROFESSIONS
EDUCATION
MINISTRY
LAW
MEDICINE
ART
ARCHITECTURE
ETC.
BUSINESS
COMMERCE
MANUFACTURING
MINING
BANKING
TRANSPORTATION
ETC.
J. MILLER

called and to which women alone are called, is homemaking and motherhood. Of all the vocations of men and women, it is the most important, yet it is the occupation held in the lightest esteem in our materialistic, industrialized and money-dominated civilization.

II. HUSBANDRY AND THE PROFESSIONS

TWO TYPES of vocations, husbandry and the professions, partake partly of the character of commercial occupations and partly of the character of non-monetary vocations. In spite of the fact that our schools of agriculture have for nearly a century striven to transform the farmer from a husbandman into a businessman, and that our colleges and universities have consistently striven to justify higher education upon the basis of the higher average money-incomes of college graduates, there is yet some survival of the idea that both are callings with non-monetary implications; that they are not "businesses" pure and simple but also "ways of life;" that they may demand the observance of an ethical creed even when such observance interferes with the pursuit of wealth. All professional associations therefore have codes of ethics.

Unfortunately, the sections of their codes which most modern associations consider most important are those concerned with the problem of how to make the practice of the profession most profitable. But membership in a bar association still requires formal acceptance of a code of ethics. Membership in the medical profession requires acceptance of the Hippocratic oath. Membership in the vocation of agriculture ought also to involve acceptance of a definite code which should include the obligation to return to the soil the fertility which is extracted from it, and to pass on to posterity the land as fertile as it was—and if possibly more fertile than—when entrusted originally to the husbandman.

III. THE GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

THE GREEKS held money-making in contempt, but not even faint traces of that contempt survive in our acquisitive society.

The only way in which a society organized primarily for gainful occupations—for money-making—can escape degenerating into rank Materialism is if not only its mores and folkways but its educational system make the people rate craftmanship, service, and integrity above money-making. That labor and capital today operate upon the principle of "business is business," instead of "an honest dollar's worth for every dollar," is due almost entirely to the systematic mis-education of modern man.

THE ARTS

BY derivation the word art means skill; the arts as a whole are really the skills of mankind. Formal education fails in one of its vitally important tasks if it does not make every individual appreciate the importance of cultivating arts and skills of many kinds, both those which are useful and productive and those which are decorative and recreational. Every work of art is a product of skill. "The artist is not a special kind of man, but every man is a special kind of artist," as Ananda Coomaraswamy puts it. The sharp distinctions which we are accustomed to make between the useful arts and the fine arts tend to make us believe that really beautiful things cannot be made for useful purposes, and that useful work cannot result in the creation of really beautiful things. It is in effect saying that the art of landscaping can be applied only to sterile gardening; that the farmer cannot also apply the principles of landscape architecture to the organization of his fields; and that just because a farm produces useful things it cannot be beautiful. There is no good reason why children must remain all day long in a schoolroom trying to master abstract learning; a few hours only out of the whole day devoted to the study of the symbols used by civilized man would enable the student to master them just as rapidly as if he devoted all his time to them. There is such a thing as mental fatigue as well as muscular fatigue; if half of the day were devoted to studying art, mastering technical and artistic skills, and above all learning how to work, the full development of the person would actually proceed more rapidly than if the two courses of training were completely separated.

USEFUL WORK

WE are so accustomed to the absurdity of having children, including those who have arrived at the age at which children formerly

contributed enough work to the family to be in fact self-supporting, go to school mornings and afternoons and devote what remains of the day to "homework" and extra-curricular amusements, that it is hard to realize how really absurd this is. It may be that in the past the children were expected to become adult too early; it is a certainty that today we are insisting that they remain juvenile too long. What Martin Luther said on this subject is still true today:

Were there neither soul, heaven, nor hell, it would still be necessary to have schools for the sake of affairs here below, as the history of the Greeks and Romans plainly teaches. The world has need of educated men and women, to the end that the men may govern the country properly, and that women may properly bring up their children, care for their domestics and direct the affairs of their households—I by no means approve of those schools where a child was accustomed to pass twenty or thirty years in studying Donatus or Alexander, without learning anything. Another world has dawned, in which things go differently. My opinion is that we must send the boys to school one or two hours a day, and have them learn a trade at home for the rest of the time. It is desirabe that these two occupations march side by side.*

ADULT INFANTILISM

WE are so accustomed today to the prohibition of all "child labor" and the restriction of childhood and youth to school attendance, that we accept the irresponsibilty which this engenders as normal. We accept adult infantilism as natural. Yet the historic fact is that with a less academic system of education—and with vocational education by apprenticeship rather than school attendance—youth becomes capable of exercising the fullest responsibilities of maturity at ages when we think that young men and women should be compelled by law to remain in school.

Here, for instance, in an account describing the extreme youthfulness of many of the shipmasters and supercargos of Boston a hundred years ago, is evidence about the great potentialities of those we think of as "children:"

Mere boys found themselves filling posts of responsibility which could not but *bring the man in them to the quickest possible development.* Edward Everett, in his sketch of the chief marine underwriter of the early days of Boston commerce, has given us this bit of record: "The writer of this memoir knows an instance which occured at the beginning of this century,—and the individual concerned,

*From Martin Luther's "Address to the Mayors and Councillors of the German Cities." Quoted by C. L. Robbins, THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION, p. 19.

a wealthy and respected banker of Boston, is still living among us,—in which a youth of nineteen commanded a ship on her voyage from Calcutta to Boston, with nothing in the shape of a chart on board but the small map of the world in Guthrie's Geography." In the services of Messrs. Perkins, John P. Cushing went out to China, at the age of sixteen, in 1803, as clerk to the agent of the firm's business, a man but little older than himself. This superior in office soon died, leaving to young Cushing's care the conduct of the large sales and purchases, which he managed so well as promptly to win himself a place in the important firm. Captain Robert Bennet Forbes—another nephew of the Messrs. Perkins, and a typical merchant of the somewhat later period in which he flourished—gives this summary of his early career: "At the age of sixteen I filled a man's place as third mate; at the age of twenty I was promoted to a command; at the age of twenty-six I commanded my own ship; at twenty-eight I abandoned the sea as a profession; at thirty-six I was at the head of the largest American house in China."' This was the boy who at thirteen began his nautical life "with a capital consisting of a Testament, a 'Bowditch,' a quadrant, a chest of sea-clothes, and a mother's blessing." To this equipment should be added the advice of another uncle, Captain William Sturgis: "Always go straight forward, and if you meet the devil cut him in two, and go between the pieces; if anyone imposes on you, tell him to whistle against the northwester and to bottle up moonshine." It was a rough, effective training to which boys like young Bennet Forbes were put. If in instances like his own, family influence had its weight,—for his kinsmen, the Perkinses, Sturgises, Russells, and others, were long in virtual control of the China trade,—yet the youths to whom opportunity came were equal to it. We are used to hearing our own age called that of the young man. These Boston boys, and Farragut in command of a prize at twelve, spare us the burden of providing precedents for the future."*

To this evidence about the potentialities of young men, it would be easy to add evidence with regard to young women, for marriage at even fifteen was not uncommon, and by twenty many a young woman was not only apt to be the mother of children but the mistress of a household in which her responsibility for productive activities of all sorts was accepted as natural. The boys served their apprenticeship in trade or on the farm; the girls in the households. The time and energy which by our theories should be devoted to what are disguised

*Boston, The Place And The People, M. A. DeWolfe Howe, Macmillan Co., 1903, pp. 168-172. (The italics in the quotation are mine.—R. B.) On p. 177 there is more evidence in exactly the same vein: "'At the age of eight, in 1821, John Murray Forbes wrote in a letter, 'My adventure sells very well in the village.' A foot-note to the passage in Mr. Forbes' Life explains that the boy was in the habit of importing in the Perkins vessels, with the help of older relatives, little 'adventures' in tea, silk, or possibly Chinese toys. Thus by the time he sailed to China himself, *at seventeen*, he had accumulated more than a thousand dollars of his own."

as "extra-curricular activities," was in those days devoted to the early responsibilities of maturity.

FOR GIRLS: HOMEMAKING

BECAUSE every child must be prepared for a vocation, in the sense in which I use the term, all pupils in school, including those girls who are planning to become homemakers and not to enter the business world, should receive vocational educations. The teaching of home economics should be one of the most important activities of a vocational school; the subject does not belong in the common school at all where it tends merely to supplement and enliven formal learning. It is particularly necessary in this age to give recognition in this way to homemaking and motherhood as a distinctive vocation because today as non-monetary occupations they labor under the stigma of inferiority. No girl graduating from school should feel a sense of inferiority or frustration because she plans to devote herself to marriage, homemaking and motherhood. To correct the mores of modern society in this respect, some very fundamental economic truths should be taught in our schools. The text books and instruction should make it clear that a marriage is a partnership in which the corollary of the husband's enjoyment of half the net product of his wife's labors as a homemaker is her right to half the net product of his earnings outside of the home.

FOR BOYS: HOME MAINTENANCE

BUT homemaking is not the only vocation to which every girl is called; homemaking is also the vocation to which every boy is called. The home being the real basis upon which any good culture rests, it is important that both boys and girls be trained for the task of operating a homestead.

Just as housekeeping may be said to be distinctively the work of the women of a family, so home and farm maintenance may be said to be distinctively the work of the men of the family. Just as every home ought to have an efficient kitchen, so every home ought to have a shop as complete and modern as the kitchen. Every man ought to be able to make repairs on furniture, appliances, automobiles, and the pumps or other machinery used in the home and on the farm. For this reason manual training ought to be transferred from those common schools in which it is a mere diversion from academic work

to a vocational school in which it becomes the center of study. As in homemaking for girls, if the aim of the course of study for boys included equipping the student for success in this universal masculine vocation, it would serve a functional rather than a recreational purpose. And if the vocational school was staffed, as it should be, with local craftsmen—including farmers—in addition to professional teachers, the boys would learn from skilled men who actually practice the various crafts which their "apprentices" will later in life practice in order to support themselves. There are obvious virtues in instruction by those who practice (and not merely teach) a vocation without reflecting on the usefulness of professional teachers.

Every boy ought to be made to take this minimal *masculine* vocational training, even those preparing themselves for college and professional school, just as every girl, even though she may be planning to dedicate her life to a more or less virginal career outside the home. For accidents will happen; the careerist may change her mind and marry, and a knowledge of homemaking then becomes as essential as it is superfluous in careering.

EXPERIENCE

WHEREAS instruction in the home is mainly a matter of example and in academic schooling mainly a matter of precept, in vocational education, command, precept, experience and example are equally important. If anything, in vocational schooling, learning from experience is the most important. It is impossible to furnish this experience to the young in a vocational school unless it is organized so that the members of the various occupational groups in the community are organically related to it. They must be lead to think of vocational education as their responsibility and not as something established for distant industries which the boys and girls raised by the community are expected to serve. They must think of it as the instrument through which they can assure the continuity of the occupations in which the present adult generation is earning its living and upon which the home community itself, (and indirectly society in general), is dependent for its prosperity and security.

THE ANTIOCH PLAN

THERE are many ways in which this organic relationship may be instituted. One form is that developed for Antioch College by Arthur E. Morgan, in which part of the time of the student is spent working in industry and part studying in college. For this plan to work well, there must be mutual responsibility for the instruction of youth by both industry and the school. The school cannot alone make such a plan successful. For it to succeed, industry must cooperate in the task of training the next generation.

But it is my belief that the Antioch plan, even at its best, cannot produce an intimate enough relationship between the occupational groups of a community and its vocational school. I suggest considering the organization of the vocational school on a pattern somewhat similar to that used by the medieval craft guilds in which the masters in each craft regulated the whole of what we call vocational education. In very small communities it would be impossible for each occupation to form a separate organization for this purpose. But even in the smallest communities the numbers of housewives, farmers, and businessmen, are usually large enough to form separate associations of various kinds—Women's Clubs, Farm Bureaus, Rotary Clubs, and Chambers of Commerce. But whether separately organized, perhaps on a county-wide basis, or organized as a single community federation for the purpose of taking over the responsibility of vocational education, it would be the housewives, the farmers, and the businessmen—and not just the professional teachers—who would support, control, and participate in the actual work of furnishing vocational schooling.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION BEFORE THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

THE medieval craft guilds concerned themselves to a very great extent with the enrollment and training of apprentices. No master was allowed more apprentices than he could properly train, while the

methods of training were prescribed in detail even to the tools which should be used and the manner in which they should be handled. The period of training was almost invariably seven years. When the apprenticeship had been served, the apprentice "graduated;" he became a journeyman working for wages and journeying throughout the land working for different masters in order to finish his education. Ultimately he returned to his own community, though sometimes he settled elsewhere, and set up his own establishment as a master with his own apprentices and journeymen. The statutes of the guilds usually provided that only one apprentice could be employed to every two or three journeymen. In the United States, because of the extremes to which we have pushed industrial atomization, the opposition of labor unions, and the irresponsibility of Finance-Capitalism, the concept of apprenticeship—as still understood in less industrialized regions of Europe, Asia and Africa—has virtually disappeared.

Yet the "masters" of the various occupations in the community are by nature undoubtedly the best judges of the kind of instruction and experience which will equip the novice for success in their respective occupations.* If they do not know how to teach, (as may unfortunately be the case in these days), it is because they themselves have not been properly educated, and the best way to correct this deficiency would be to give them the ultimate responsibiity for the vocational education of the generation which is to succeed them and carry on their work and business. If they were to give part of their time to teaching—some of it in the vocational school proper but most of it in the "field" in their own places of work—they could (with the assistance of a skeleton staff of professional teachers) avoid the pres-

*There are many students, even in professional schools, who have not yet "found themselevs," in spite of the more than average opportunity they have had to do so. The head of a large engineering school is reported, in a recent newspaper article, to have said that at least fifty percent of the men in that school do not belong there. Sixty percent of the graduates of a well-known law school stay in clerical positions because they have no real aptitude for the law. Medical schools say that the number of students temperamentally unqualified to become physicians is lamentably large, and seems to be increasing. Normal schools estimate that less than half of their students have any special teaching ability; and fifteen theological schools report that seventy percent of their enrollment have no marked qualifications for the profession they are preparing to enter. Even in the training schools for social work, although this profession has not yet begun to attract in any considerabe numbers persons naturally adapted to it, we find students every once in a while whom we are not justified in encouraging to complete the course.—E. T. Devine, THE NORMAL LIFE, pp. 96-97.

ent appalling waste of money, effort and human lives in having vocational schools whittle students into round occupational pegs when only square occupational holes are available. Homemakers would probably contribute most to the management and work of a really good vocational school; farmers would come next, and so on, occupation by occupation, until we reach such vocations as printing in which there might be only one or two "masters" in a community.

So organized, with the students studying part of the time in school but most of the time working in the homes, on the farms, and in the businesses of members of the various occupational groups in the community, youth would undoubtedly learn—what it has now no opportunity to discover—the difference between work and money-making. But not only would the young not yet engaged in money-making learn the true nature of work; the adults already "in practice" would also develop, as a result of the teaching of their apprentices, a sense of vocation and of profession. The girl who worked in various kitchens in the community; the boy who worked on farm after farm in the neighborhood, and all the apprentices who worked for a number of "masters," would not only learn the techniques used by different men and women in doing their work, they would bring to each home, each farm, and each business in which they were "students," what they had learned in others. To a very considerable extent this would re-introduce the round of working at the same occupation in different establishments which prevailed when the medieval journeyman traveled from town to town and master to master. The more widely the student journeyed for his field work, the more new methods he would bring into all the places in which he worked during his period of vocational schooling. And in place of the one centralized vocational school we now have in each community, all the best managed places of work in the community would become schools engaged in preparing the next generation for work.

CHAPTER IV. JUVENILE EDUCATION

PART IV.

FROM SIXTEEN TO TWENTY—*Vision:*

The Function of the High School and College

Where there is no vision, the people perish.—Proverbs 29:18.

IF THE common school furnishes the child with the elementary tools of learning and the vocational school really prepares the child for work, both the high school and the college are released for a function which neither now fufills—the function of supplying *vision.*

For it is important for us not to forget that the task of any really good system of juvenile education goes beyond equipping the coming generation with keys to knowlege and with methods of livelihood; the school system fails to fulfill its proper role in society and fails to realize its magnificent possibilities unless, along with formal and vocational education, it endows them with vision and equips them with a philosophy of life.

VISION

SOME institution in every community, (and why shouldn't we use the modern functionless high school for the purpose?), must be assigned the task of orienting the young for life in the

kind of world which eventually, as adults, they have to face. Some institution must be found which will help every young man and woman, and not only the privileged few favored by fortune and able to absorb what colleges and universities offer, to adopt a humane purpose in life. For not long after puberty, and rarely after the age of eighteen, the average young man and woman begins to think about the decisive issues of life. Unless their minds have been stunted and their curiosity chilled, and they have been taught to accept and to conform rather than to think, inquire and choose, they want to know the nature of life; they want to know the meaning of the sexual hunger and the impulse to mate which begins to gnaw at their minds and bodies; they want to know what is a man's and what a woman's proper vocation; they want to know what is the proper relationship of the individual to the family, the community, the nation and the world in which they will eventually have to act as adults; and they want an explanation of the mystery and the profound experience of birth and death. Unless the school helps them at this critical period in life to consider what the wisest teachers and leaders of mankind have to offer in answer to these questions, it will graduate them without vision; it will release them to stagger through life, the victims of events and experiences with which they do not know how to cope, because it will have failed to help them form a design for living to guide them in their activities.

A new kind of high school and college—a school which will fulfill the task which existing high schools and colleges consider outside their province—is needed; if properly organized, this new school might do in two years, but in any event in not more than four, what our existing schools for those from twelve to twenty do not achieve in eight. This new kind of school would be less tempted to be "practical" in the crude sense of equipping the young for earning money because it would recognize that

it has a dual task—not merely that of further introducing youth to learning but also that of developing in them a genuinely philosophic outlook on life. It might really produce a generation of mature and genuinely "free" men and women—fit for political and economic freedom because they have been freed from both the vulgar superstitions of the past and the even more vulgar predilection for the material satisfactions of industrial civilization.

AFTER TWENTY—*Mastery:*

The Function of the Professional School and University

Shall I tell you the secret of the true scholar? It is this: Every man is my master in some point, and in that I learn from him.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

MASTERY is as genuine a need in the humblest occupation as it is in the most exalted. It is just as necessary that a housewife baking a loaf of bread, a mother training a child, a farmer tilling his fields, a carpenter building a house, or a mechanic working at a lathe, master their vocations as it is that an engineer building a bridge, an architect designing a church, a physician prescribing for a patient, a lawyer pleading a case, a teacher instructing a class, a sculptor carving a statue, or a painter decorating a wall, shall master their profession. If mastery is more important in the professions than in the trades, it is not because it is more desirable but because more people are usually involved in what the professional person does. What a teacher does, for instance, affects all the hundreds and often thousands whom he instructs and influences; what a housewife or farmer does affects for the most part, only one family. If a agronomist makes a mistake in his findings, he may contribute

to the destruction of thousands of acres of land; if a farmer makes a mistake in tillage, he damages only a single farm. If a parent, seeking to educate his children, permits them to read vicious books, he damages only a few souls; but if an author writes a vicious book, he may damage countless numbers of human beings, generation after generation.

PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

THE FUNCTION of the professional and technical school is not to equip the limited number of students who are capable of graduation with the means of earning more money than they could in humbler occupations; nor is it to supply the number and kind of technicians which a complex industrial economy needs for its operation; it is to make certain first that they acquire mastery of their professions and then that they utilize their mastery to discharge all the obligations to society which the privilege of higher education imposes upon them.

All that has been said about the vocational school is in some measure applicable to both professional and technical schools; substitute the various *professions* for the various *crafts, trades and industries* around which to organize schooling, and you have a *professional* instead of a *vocational* school.

Because of the fact that it would be impossible to maintain professional schools in every community—as is possible with vocational schools—the professions would have to be regionally organized, and each regional professional association would have to take responsibility for the education of its future members. All the practitioners of medicine in a given region should therefore be fellows of the regional medical school; all the lawyers of the regional law school; and so on profession by profession. The members of every profession might then be required by their codes of ethics to give some time to teaching much as physicians today feel obligated to give time to public clinics.

The assumption of this responsibility and continued relationship of the practicing professional man with his regional school would tend to make fellowship in the professional school replace membership in mere local medical, bar and other professional associations.

The effect of such a change would be to transform professional associations from a species of labor union, (mainly devoted to promoting the prosperity of their members, protecting them from the competition of those stigmatized as quacks, and opposing legislation believed inimical to their vested interests), into a fellowship primarily devoted to education, to research and to the development of their professions. The emphasis in their fraternal association with one another would be shifted from profit to service, and from privilege to education. The whole standard of professional life would be raised by the fact that every member of the profession was obligated to devote a part of his time to training young aspirants to his profession. No member could fulfill this obligation without keeping himself abreast of the latest developments in every science and art affecting his work.

PROFESSIONAL AUTONOMY VERSUS PUBLIC REGULATION

IT IS quite possible to think of professional schools so organized as replacing the various state boards which now license doctors, lawyers, architects, public accountants, and other professional men. Why should not the professional schools take the responsibility for the character of the service rendered by those upon whom they confer degrees? Without resort to coercive laws, the mere possession of the right to withdraw a professional title would give the school all the power needed both to protect the public and to discipline its membership.

Today graduation from a medical school and licensing by a state board are prerequisites to the practice of medicine. But

under such a regime as I am envisioning, fellowship in the regional medical school would qualify for practice, while dismissal from fellowship for failure to practice the ethics and observe the standards of the profession would automatically result in withdrawal of the right to use the title and so of the right to practice "medicine." In effect every physician would be a member of the staff of his regional medical school working in the "extension division" when engaged in practice and working "in residence" when studying or teaching in the medical school itself.

Thus throughout the life of every professional man there would be a movement back and forth between extension, or practice, and residence in his professional school, studying or teaching. No member of the professions would ever graduate in the sense in which he graduates today. His diploma would in effect be his certificate of admission to fellowship. He could not feel, as graduates are taught to feel today, that his diploma was a mere prerequisite to engaging in a competition for money making. He would never be freed from the social obligations which are the corollaries of the privilege of a professional education. He would not dare to treat the code of ethics of his profession in a Pickwickian manner. The physician, for instance, would think of himself not as a physician to the sick but as an educator, in the same sense in which Plato insisted in "The Laws" that it was the physician's task to teach health in contrast to the activities of the quack who devoted himself to making money out of the application of quick and easy remedies. The mastery of a profession should mean mastery not only in a technical sense but also mastery for the purpose of contributing to the normalization of life.

PART II

EDUCATION AND LIVING

MIS-EDUCATION

Education is the only sure method which mankind possesses for directing its course. But we have been involved in a vicious circle. Without knowledge of what constitutes a truly normal and healthy psycho-physiological life, our professed education is likely to be mis-education. Every serious student of the formation of disposition and character which takes place in the family and school knows—speaking without the slightest exaggeration—how often and how deplorably this possibility is realized.
—John Dewey, in the Introduction to "The Use of the Self," by F. Matthias Alexander.

CHAPTER V.

MODERN MAN AND MODERN MIS-EDUCATION

We are such stuff as dreams are made on.—Shakespeare

THIS BOOK is in essence an inquiry into the potentialities of education. But it is impossible to make such an inquiry—to consider what a rightly educated minority of teachers might do to solve the problems of mankind—unless we consider much more than the technical problems of pedagogy and education itself. The question of the role of the school and the teacher—and of the educated minority—in society cannot be properly considered in a historical vacuum; it must be considered both in relation to the stream of history and the great crisis which mankind faces in our time; it must be considered in relation to the predominant idea, and the institution implementing that idea, which dominates and therefore shapes the life of modern man and modern civilization. In sum, the teacher and the school must be considered in relation to Industrialism today as it was necessary to consider them in relation to Christianity in the medieval world.

Above all, education today must be considered in relation to the existing state and condition of that species of human being I am calling *modern man.*

MODERN MAN

BUT TO SPEAK of "modern man" as I have been doing is seemingly to suggest that all men and women today are alike; it is to indulge in what is figuratively permissible but scientifically unpardonable. There is no such thing as a uniform "modern man." The use of the term, however, does provide us with an acceptable symbol with which to refer to the determining majority of the men in the United States, in Britain, and in all those nations of the western world which are considered "modern" because they are predominantly industrial in their methods of production.

More specifically, what is the type of individual I have in mind when I speak of modern man?

There are many individuals living today who are not modern, and though they live in the modern world, they are not truly of it. A modern man, for instance, cannot be *by vocation* a husbandman any more than a truly modern woman can be *by vocation* a housewife. For the determining majority of men and women today, including those who are operating farms and homes, do not aspire to be normal husbandmen and housewives. On the contrary, the farmer of today aspires to be a modern man, that is *not* a husbandman, and the average wife of today aspires to be a modern woman, that is *not* a housewife. The aspirations of the average individual today—the accepted idea of what he should be—are to be socially as *urbanized* as the vast majority of modern city men and women; to be educationally and occupationally as *specialized*, and economically and politically as *centralized* and "interdependent." Specifically, the men and women I have in mind are individuals who have acquired the kind of education; do the kind of work and indulge in the kind of play; wear the kind of clothes; eat the kind of food; live in the kind of house; and have the sort of taste, moral standards, and intellectual beliefs of the men and women living in the biggest and most modern of metropolitan cities. Modern man works in a factory, office or store; he does *not* live in the country or in a small town; if not unmarried, he has probably only one child; he has probably been divorced—perhaps more than once; both he and his wife are likely to have money-making jobs outside of what they call their home. "The glass of fashion and mould of form" in the modern world is the New Yorker, the Chicagoan, the Londoner, the Parisian. The real husbandman and

the real housewife today, and all surviving individuals who have not yet managed to become like this modern man, are contemporaries of his; they are not modern man.

Even though the typically modern man, as I am trying to define him, may not represent an absolute majority of the population in any nation—not even in the United States—he reflects the dominant ideologies of the modern world; he shapes the institutions of the whole population and not only those of its metropolitan centers; he creates the dominating climate of public opinion; he represents the dominating aspirations and the accepted state of mind of almost everybody, rich and poor, in the city and in the country, in all those nations which (like Great Britain and the United States) have already been industrialized and in those which (like China and India) can no longer be said to be ideologically Agrarian nor yet wholly Industrial. And even though these typically modern men and women may represent an infinitesimally smaller proportion of the population of the whole world than in industrialized nations like the United States, they nevertheless shape the folkways, the mores, the fashions, the standards of living of people in every region of the world. What people want, not only in modern nations but also in the remotest regions of the globe; the food they would like to eat; the clothes they would like to wear; the houses in which they would like to live; the manner in which they would like to support and amuse themselves; their behavior and standards of morals; their technical skills; their religious attitudes; their literary, artistic, scientific, political, social, family, and personal aspirations, reflect what is accepted and practiced by this dominating minority of mankind. To an appalling extent the man of today is becoming what this determining minority believe that man should be.

And this creature, embodying the ideals of this minority, I insist is an *abnormal** man.

ABNORMAL MAN

IF THERE ARE canons of normality, as I believe there are, even though these norms have not yet been reduced to precise verbal and

*An abnormal man may be either *supernormal* or *subnormal.* Great geniuses are abnormal because they are, at least in some one respect, supernormal, i. e., above the normal; modern man, however, is abnormal because he is in so many respects subnormal, i. e., below the normal. The term abnormal should therefore be considered the equivalent of subnormal throughout this chapter.

numerical formulas, then modern man is abnormal. In order to consider the evidence which is available on this question; in order to answer the question of whether people living under conditions more or less similar to those prevailing in factory-dominated America, are abnormal, we have first of all to decide whether there is any really scientific and objective answer which might be made to the question; whether, in fact, every answer which might be made would not be open to the criticism of either unconscious subjectivity or sheer dogmatism. It is far too easy to assume that what we *feel* to be correct is a sufficient indicator of what is normal.

Fortunately for us, the data we have, both with regard to the physical and mental characteristics and the manner of living of the people of industrialized America, is enormous. Thanks to sociometrists, psychometrists and biometrists, we can describe the modern American with amazing statistical accuracy. So far as eating habits are concerned, we can make extremely accurate statements on the kinds and quantities of different foods he consumes, down to minute fractions of a pound *per capita.* The statements which can be made about his consumption of clothing, housing, fuel, furnishings, and other goods and services are almost as accurate as those which can be made about his dietary habits. When his plane of living cannot be defined in terms of units of clothing, kinds of furnishings, and size of housing, they can be stated in dollar values. With regard to the manner in which he spends his time, both when he is employed and when he is unemployed, and the amount he earns and can spend in the time he devotes to recreation and recuperation, statisticians can furnish us information with an astonishing degree of exactitude. And the knowledge which sociometrists thus furnish us about his way of living, we find in agreement with the knowledge which biometrists and anthropometrists furnish us about his physiological and physical characteristics, and psychometrists about his mental attributes. But though we know rather accurately how he lives and what his physical and mental condition happens to be, this does not dispose of the objection that this kind of data, no matter how accurate, furnishes us no basis by itself for deciding whether he and his habits are normal or abnormal. What we must have to establish the abnormality of the creature thus delineated is some objective criterion which can be applied to determine whether or not the facts indicate that he is abnormal.

THE BIOLOGICAL CRITERION

BIOLOGY furnishes us one such objective criterion. Biologically we know that any particular characteristic or activity of any organism, including the organism known as *homo sapiens*, which interferes with the survival of that organism or inhibits its ability to generate fertile progeny, is abnormal. If we can establish the fact that any particular characteristic or activity of modern man violates this biological law, we have *ipso facto* established its abnormality. If we can establish the fact that modern man displays characteristics and carries on activities which are violative of this natural law, we have established the abnormality of modern man. There are other objective criteria, as we shall see, but the fact that we have such a basic test is sufficient to dispose of the objection that the whole concept of normality must be subjective and dogmatic. An example will illustrate the manner in which the biological criterion can be used in establishing the abnormality of modern man and his behavior.

MODERN SUGAR CONSUMPTION

WE KNOW, for instance, that the average American consumes 119.2 pounds (in 1929) of beet and cane sugar (sucrose) yearly. In addition to this kind of sugar, he consumes many other forms of sugar—glucose, maltose, lactose. The average man, woman and child today ingests this enormous quantity of sugar in some form of food and drink—refined, granulated or lump sugar, syrup, candy, ice cream, "soft" drinks, jellies and preserves, and pastry of all kinds—every year. All that it is necesary to do to determine whether the consumption of this quantity of sugar is abnormal, and whether the activities involved in manufacturing and distributing it are therefore abnormal, is to use the available vital and medical statistics of the nation to establish the correlation between the ingestion of these quantities of sugar and the incidence of dental caries, diabetes, cancer, heart disease and the other degenerative diseases which flourish and are increasing among these sugar-eaters. The results of laboratory tests on guinea pigs and "poison squads" make it possible to check the statistical studies. Chemistry, and clinical research, make it possible to further verify the indicated conclusions. There is no question about what the findings would be; they would confirm what has already become accepted in dietetics; they would show that the use of the quantity of sugar now habitual breaks down health, shortens life, in-

creases sterility, and by the biological test is abnormal. The health rate, death rate and birth rate of people who have been taught to live on the products of our sugar industries are all adversely affected by this foolish habit profitable though it may be to the financial, industrial, labor, agricultural, and commercial interests which have, in combination, fastened it upon modern man. It would require courage today to teach the people the truth about the abnormality of such behavior. The institutionalization of the prevailing habits of modern man, as for instance in such matters as the consumption of sugar, has gone so far that every effort to teach the truth would meet the fiercest opposition from the entrenched vested interests which are dependent for their very existence on the continuation of the existing patterns of behavior.

"EAT, DRINK, AND BE MERRY"

IF THE excessive consumption of sugar were an isolated and exceptional example of the behavior of modern man, no matter how important it might be, it would not prove more than that his behavior was abnormal in one respect. But this particular excess and abnormality is not exceptional. On the contrary, abnormalities which are profitable to industry are characteristic of modern life. Man today, by his manner of living, in effect says: "Life is only worth living on condition that I want more than is good for me; that I rush about more than is good for me; that I eat, drink, smoke and consume more things than are good for me. If as a result of my excesses I shorten my life—and even foul the very stream of life itself—I am willing to pay the price for what I have been taught to like. My motto is 'Eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die.'"

That modern man is "digging his grave with his teeth" is a byword in modern medicine; that his frantic devotion to the titillations of sex and to making enough money so that he can dress in the latest fashion, ride in the newest cars, live in the smartest house, and in general "keep up with the Joneses" as the Joneses are depicted for him on billboards, newspapers, movies, the radio, and magazines, is turning him into a neurotic, every psychiatrist knows; that his faith in big business and big government is making him embrace dependence in preference to independence, is evident; that the frantic pursuit of pleasure in terms of material satisfactions is shortening his life as well as vulgarizing and barbarizing it, is so obvious that any

statistical evidence to support these conclusions is almost an act of supererogation.

What does he himself think about his way of life? He, of course, likes it. He not only likes it, he is proud of it. He has been conditioned both to like it and to take pride in it. To him modern life and Progress are the same thing. He likes not only the "high" plane of living he thinks modern, but believes it right that it should be made higher and higher. It is true that he does not like the kind of work he has to do in order to be able to enjoy modern life. He suffers as he works in a modern factory, office or store, for the most part subconsciously, from monotony, boredom and fatigue. But he accepts the boredom as more or less inescapable in connection with the repetitive work which is essential in the mass-production of the goods he desires to consume. The more intelligent he is, however, the greater is the extent to which he suffers from this boredom. By cutting work down to a minimum, on the theory that work is necessarily evil, he hopes that some day even this problem can be solved. He will then be able to escape completely from work into consumption.

The evidence indicates that he either likes modern life so much, or hates it so much, that he wants no children, in the first instance because he thinks they may interfere with his enjoyment of it; in the second, because he does not wish to inflict its frustrations upon them. But this fact, revealed by the constantly decreasing birth rate of modern man, is not only an unconscious revelation; it is an unconscious confession of his real feeling about modern life. Race suicide, whether it is the result of a deliberate refusal to bear children or a sterile reaction of his body to the cumulative effects of his abnormal way of living, is proof of the fact that no matter how much modern man may think he enjoys modern life, he does not think it worth while to bring children into the world to enjoy it.

DEPENDENCY, DELINQUENCY, DEGENERACY, DECADENCE

TO ANSWER the question, "Is modern man living abnormally?" with some degree of objectivity and without permitting mere dogma, tradition or prejudice about how it is proper for people to live to enter into the reply, at least four criteria ought to be used—economic, ethical, biological, and esthetic.

I. We can use evidence with regard to dependency because we can assume that *normal human beings are able to and do support them-*

selves. On the basis of such an *economic* criterion of normalcy, any population in which there is a continuing decline in the economic independence of individuals and families and a steadily rising tide of dependence upon other individuals or on charity, public relief, social security, and other forms of parasitism, is on the face of it abnormal.

II. We can use evidence with regard to delinquency, because we can assume that *normal individuals at the very least avoid crime and criminality.* On the basis of such a minimum *ethical* criterion of normalcy, any population in which there is a steadily rising tide of delinquency is on the face of it abnormal.

III. We can use evidence with regard to modern degeneracy because we can assume that *normal individuals of any species, including modern man, must be healthy, fertile, and sane.* On the basis of this *biological* criterion of normalcy, any population with a rising tide of ill-health, infertility and insanity, is on the face of it abnormal.

IV. Finally we can use such evidence as there may be as to our esthetic decadence because we can assume that *both the work (and works of art) and the recreational activities of normal human beings are predominantly creative.*

No matter how much particular bits of all the available evidence may be explained away, taken as a whole it can be explained in only one way: by the abnormality of the way in which modern man lives.

I. DEPENDENCY IN MODERN LIFE

DEPENDENCY, in its broadest sense, is *the state of any individual—without regard to age, sex, or physical or mental condition—who does not in the fullest meaning of the words, support and maintain himself.*

In this broad sense *infancy* and *childhood* are states of dependency because infants and young children do not support themselves—they are unable to produce for themselves what is necessary to their maintenance. *Unemployment* likewise is a state of dependence if the unemployed person is dependent for his maintenance upon others, or upon public institutions which he does not personally support and over which he does not exercise a personal control. But even *employment* under certain circumstances, in this broad sense, constitutes a

state of dependency if the employed person has no alternative method to which he can turn to maintain himself. An employed individual, who may be earning a wage or salary sufficient to maintain himself, may still be dependent and such employment still constitute a state of dependency, if he is incapable of working for himself either because he lacks the necessary capacity or capital for self-employment. The employed person, in short, who hasn't what it takes "to be your own boss," is a dependent. The masses of modern wage-earners and salaried workers, who are seemingly fully self-supporting when employed, nevertheless live in a state of dependency because nearly all of them rely upon the initiative, enterprise, management and the land, equipment and capital of others for the opportunity to earn their livings. Wage-slavery, as a designation of the state of employees who have no other means of obtaining their livings, is not misnamed. The propertyless urban employee of our industrial world—the proletarian of Karl Marx—is as truly a dependent as was the landless serf of the feudal period. The fact that both may be said to be producers of sufficient wealth to support themselves, does not alter this fact. Dependency is not merely the state of a person receiving charity; it is also the state of any individual who is dependent upon others for the opportunity to earn his living. The most significant fact about dependency is to be found not in the fact that some individuals in society receive support from others—we do not ordinarily think of an infant as a dependent though its dependency upon its parents is an actual fact—but in the nature of the association between two individuals one of whom, relative to the other is *dependent,* and the other relative to the first, *independent.*

INDEPENDENCE

THE POLAR opposite of this state of dependence is a state of independence. *Independence is the state of any person who is, or who can, produce his own livelihod without subjecting himself to others.* A *farmer* who owns his own farm and whose operations are not subject to a landlord, banker or bureaucrat, is independent. So is any person, even a *wage-worker* employed by others, if he has the ability and the capital which permits him to work for himself if he is not satisfied with his wages, his hours of work or conditions of labor. If the relationship between two persons, a wage-earner and his employer

for instance, is such that neither is under any compulsion to accept dictation from the other, both persons are independent.*

ACTUAL VS. CIRCUMSTANTIAL DEPENDENCE

THE state which I am calling dependency may be either *actual* or *circumstantial.*

Actual dependency is the state of any individual who is in fact being supported by others; it is a term which I am applying to the state of those who are receiving the food, clothing, shelter and other goods they consume from others. But actual dependency is not necessarily unnatural; it may be either *normal* or *abnormal.*

Actual dependency may be said to be *normal* when it results from the condition of an individual which is in itself quite normal, and when the relationship of the dependent to those who maintain him grows out of the very nature of their association. Infancy, for instance, is a state of actual dependence, but the dependence of the infant is *normal;* it does not arise as a result of the failure or inability of infants and parents to act as they normally should. But whenever an individual in good health, who has reached an age at which it is possible for him to support himself, does not in fact work and produce enough to support himself but depends upon others for his maintenance, his dependence is not only actual but also *abnormal.* If such an individual begs for his living, or obtains his means of livelihood from public relief, or is supported (perhaps at college) by his parents,† his state is not merely that of actual dependency but also that of abnormal dependency. Men and women who are actually dependent but who are nevertheless able to support themselves, or might be able to do so in a normally organized community, are abnormally dependent.

Actual dependency is the state of any person who is actually being supported by others; *circumstantial dependency* is the state of any

*It is no solution of this problem to substitute for dependence upon an *employer,* dependence upon a *labor union* or dependence upon what is called *social security.* The only real solution is independence—independence of the employer, the labor leader, the bureaucrat.

†It may be argued, by playing upon the meaning I am attaching to the word unnatural, that it is perfectly natural for parents to support their children while attending college. Using the word natural as equivalent to normal, I would be perfectly willing to concede that this is true, but would add the point that in a genuinely normal relationship the child would repay this advance during college years by what it would do for its parents when they became too old to support themselves.

person who may be supporting himself but who is as a matter of fact dependent upon others for the opportunity to do so; it is the state of the individual who has no alternative to such dependence. That an unemployed man or woman being supported by the public is a dependent is obvious. It is not so obvious that the state of an employed man who may be earning enough money to support himself, and even a family, may also be one of dependency—of *circumstantial* dependence, however, rather than *actual* or absolute. Some degree of economic interdependence—to use the term which it is now the habit to apply to what I am calling circumstantial dependence—is not only perfectly natural but also highly desirable. Interdependence in the form of the division of labor may be highly desirable, humanly as well as economically, so long as it does not involve any sacrifice of the independence of those engaging in it. This is true also of trade and exchange. But no matter how seemingly desirable, interdependence remains normal only so long as the exchanges between the parties involved are in truth transactions between individuals who are equally free to make them or to refuse to make them with each other. The moment an individual has no alternative to employment, but works subject to the possibility of arbitrary dismissal by an employer, dictation by a union official, or regimentation by a bureaucrat as to his hours of work, his wages or salary, or the conditions of labor, his state is one of what I am calling circumstantial dependency. The assumption which underlies this concept of circumstantial dependency is that normal human beings are persons able, desirous, and equipped with the means of being economically free and independent. If we assume the opposite of this, we have to assume that society should be organized so that some people need not be self-supporting and that they should be taught to live like parasites upon the bounty of others; that there are, in fact, two different species of human beings, one capable of developing into mature, self-reliant individuals and the other incapable of such development; that there are natural masters and natural slaves, as Aristotle argued, and that therefore some people should be taught to be independent and others to be dependents. To some extent, no doubt, mastery and servility may reflect hereditary characteristics but the weight of the evidence indicates that these differences are acquired and environmental—that they are the products of education and the organization of society rather than the

nature of man and that individuals of *homo sapiens*, like those of all other species of animals, are supposed to be able to support and maintain themselves.

Parenthetically, the distinction between actual and circumstantial dependency may be made more vivid for some readers if they bear in mind that actual dependency involves what I called *parasitism* in my book PROSPERITY AND SECURITY, and that circumstantial dependency is substantially the same state which Hillaire Belloc described in his book THE SERVILE STATE and F. A. Hayek in his more recent book THE ROAD TO SERFDOM.

DEPENDENCY IN THE UNITED STATES

THUS broadly defined, to include every kind of dependency, the populations of modern industrial nations like the United States include enormous numbers of abnormal individuals who are neither, like infants nor those who are seriously ill, too young to support themselves or too sick to do so. It includes not only an enormous number but also a steadily growing proportion of persons who seem to be self-supporting but who are in fact dependent and who are not therefore included in the ordinary statistics dealing with defectives, dependents and the unemployed. The statistics deal for the most part with infants and children too young to support themselves who are minors in the eyes of the law; with old men and women who have no savings and are without means of support—who have no families willing to support them; with persons who are crippled or sick and supported by charity or public relief; with beggars, delinquents and criminals who are supported at public expense at least when in jail; above all statistics dealing with the unemployed who are on relief or supported by social security schemes of various kinds.

If one adds together all these actual dependents, including both the normal and abnormal, as I tried to do in my book PROSPERITY AND SECURITY, the startling fact emerges that something in the neighborhood of one-half of the whole population consists of dependents of this character. In 1929, even before the great depression enormously increased the number, 50,823,150 persons of all ages out of a total population of 122,775,046, consisted of dependents whose state was actual and not circumstantial. But since more than half of these consisted of 24,051,999 children under 10 years of age and of 2,685,175 men and women over 70 years of age who were no longer employed,

few of whom might normally be expected to fully support themselves, neither the fact that the proportion is half nor that the absolute number is so large, is most significant.

The fact which has real significance is that Industrialism and Urbanism increases not only the number but the proportion of actual dependents. It is bad enough that modern life is responsible for the fact that millions of city children—children who, in the country, could be fully self-supporting at 10 years of age—are prevented by law from engaging in "child labor;" are incarcerated for as many years as possible in public schools, and are prevented from contributing in any manner to their own support. It is bad enough that the proportion of these modern dependents, (many of whom would be self-supporting if they were properly educated or lived in a normally organized society), to dependents like infants and the extremely old, (who are never self-supporting), is constantly rising. It is bad enough to have to accept the fact that under modern conditions our parasitic school, hospital, jail, and other idle or non-productive population, is constantly rising while our self-supporting and working population is constantly declining. But it is even worse that the proportion of circumstantial dependents in the remainder of the population—the proportion still considered by the statisticians and by the law to be self-supporting—is constantly becoming larger, and that the proportion of the population which is really independent, is constantly declining.

This is the appalling truth. We are organizing life economically and politically so as to constantly increase the proportion of parasites of all ages and to reduce the number of persons who are both self-supporting and genuinely independent, and justifying the process by teaching that circumstantial dependence—"interdependence" we call it—is a virtue essential to Progress. The facts are writ large in statistics which furnish us one of the best indexes of the shift from Agrarianism and its self-sufficiency to modern Industrialism and Urbanism. These statistics are not those dealing with employment in manufacturing but those with employment in transportation and distribution. For the significant factor with regard to an industrial society is not that so large a proportion of the people are employed in manufacturing—actually with a rising technology and with mass-production the proportion engaged in production may decline—but the fact that so large a part of the total population is engaged in trans-

porting, storing and selling the products of our factories and of our specialized agriculture.

We have fairly reliable figures on employment in transportation and distribution going back as far as 1870. It is not necessary to go back farther; if we were to go back to the time a century and a half ago when the bulk of the population was engaged in agriculture, the proportion engaged not only in distribution but in any kind of industry or business, becomes insignificant. Using data originally compiled for THE DISTRIBUTION AGE, ending with the census year of 1920, and adding figures dealing with 1930 and 1940, we get the following:

CENSUS	POPULATION	DISTRIBUTION	PER CENT
1870	38,558,371	1,191,238	3.0
1880	50,155,783	1,871,503	3.7
1890	62,947,714	3,326,122	5.3
1900	75,994,575	4,766,964	6.3
1910	91,972,266	7,605,730	8.2
1920	105,710,620	10,433,102	9.9
1930	122,775,046	13,949,938	11.3
1940	131,669,275	15,977,190	12.1

In 1870 *only three per cent of the whole population* was engaged in distribution. At that time the proportion of relatively independent adults in society must have been still very high, much higher than the figures suggest because most of those engaged in distribution were merchants and shopkeepers in business for themselves. The figures must be evaluated in the light of the fact that prior to the rise of department stores, mail order houses, and chain stores, most merchants were independent, while today most of those engaged in distribution are sales clerks and employees entirely dependent for their livelihood upon employment by others.

Now if the 1940 figures—seventy years later—are compared with those of 1870, the percentage of the whole population employed in distribution had risen to over twelve per cent—a four-fold rise! I do not think this represents anything like the full rise of circumstantial dependency in the United States during these seventy years. But it does represent at least confirmation of the fact that we are confronted not only with a rise in the proportion of actual dependents—children incarcerated in school, unemployed workers, old people with nothing to do—but also a rise in the number of circumstantial dependents who

like feudal serfs, work and support themselves but are not free because they are not independent.

EDUCATION AND DEPENDENCY

TO WHAT EXTENT is this condition chargeable to mis-education? It is my contention that it is almost entirely due to it. We have taught the people of the modern world for generation after generation that progress means industrialization and urbanization. We have trained them for vocations—like salesmanship—which make servility acceptable and dependence seem natural. We have discouraged them from embarking upon those vocations—like farming and homemaking—which could make them independent. We have led them to organize all their projects and enterprises so that what we call interdependence, with its accompaniment of dependence, seems to them natural and desirable. And the result is that, to whatever extent this dependence involves them in frustration, we predispose them to delinquency and degeneracy.

A total of 52,667,710* economic parasites and actual dependents—to which must be added all the circumstantial dependents who are self-supporting—out of a total population of 131,669,276 in 1940, is rather disturbing. Industrial civilization in the United States seems to be constantly increasing the proportion of the population it condemns to parasitism or the loss of their independence.

As the nation goes further and further along its present course, the number of children and young men and women whose period of attendance at school is unnaturally prolonged, is increased; the time when they are permitted to engage in productive labor is postponed by raising the age limit at which gainful labor is forbidden as "child labor." In most States the young are forbidden by law to engage in earning money at ages when, a few decades ago, sturdy boys were fully self-supporting and girls were married and had homes, and per-

*On the basis of the study of the census year of 1930, made in my book PROSPERITY AND SECURITY, approximately 40 per cent of the population consisted of various kinds of actual dependents. As there has been a marked increase in both the industrial and urban population since 1930, it is probable that the proportion of actual dependents in 1940 was greater than 40 per cent. That census year, too, came before the boom generated by World War II began to reduce the millions who were then unemployed and on relief. With the further urbanization and industrialization stimulated by war production, it is very probable that the proportion of actual dependents is much greater now, seventeen years after I made my first estimate, than the figures I am using would indicate.

hape children, to care for. Hundreds of our young people are graduated from school every year to find themselves in a world which has neither jobs in industry nor work in productive homes to offer them.

When grown up, modern life seems to condemn increasing proportions of the total number of men and women to either actual or circumstantial dependence—when not condemned to living parasitically upon some such dole as social security, we codemn them to a loss of the independence essential to genuine maturation and to the realization of the potentialities of human life in normal living.

At the upper end of the life-span, modern life is constantly cutting down opportunities for the employment of the middle aged and old. Modern cities and modern industry have little use for large numbers of gray-haired people, yet with amazing perversity people still insist upon growing old. The work period of women is hardly more than fifteen to twenty years—by the time they are thirty-five they find it harder and harder to obtain employment. For men the period seems to be about ten years longer. What is more, just as we tend to deprive children of opportunities for any productive work in our urbanized homes, so we tend to deprive the aged of the productive work which they used to perform on the old fashioned homestead. Every year as Industrialism takes over more and more domestic and farm activities, the number of "chores" which children might discharge at home decreases; the number of old men who might be gardening and working at home at a pace equal to their strength becomes fewer and fewer, and the number of gray-haired women who knit and sew, threatens to approach the vanishing point. Almost it seems as though we drive the productive half of the population to the breaking point while we condemn the other half to sterile youth, a dependent maturity, and an undignified old age.

II. DELINQUENCY IN MODERN LIFE

IN DEALING with dependency we have been considering the extent to which abnormal *economic* behavior is prevalent in modern life and characteristic of modern man; in dealing with delinquency we turn to the consideration of the extent to which abnormal *ethical* behavior is characteristic of the highly industrialized and urbanized nations of the modern world.

Delinquency in its broadest sense refers not merely to behavior involving breaches of law but to acts violative of society's ethical standards; it includes most acts involving immorality and excludes most crimes which do not involve moral turpitude. It is not necessary to distinguish too sharply between delinquency in terms of number of criminals and number of crimes because of the high correlation between crime and criminals; where there is much crime, there are many criminals. But it is worth bearing in mind that, while every individual who commits a delinquency is a delinquent *de facto*, an exceptional act of delinquency which sets up no habit-pattern, no more makes an individual a genuine delinquent than an occasional proper action makes an individual a genuinely moral person. The concept of delinquency loses much of its significance if it is applied to persons who commit a single delinquency; almost everybody—even those who are in fact habitually virtuous—are guilty of an occasional delinquency. For the concept to have real meaning, delinquency must refer mainly to habitual delinquents; to persons whose character is involved.

Delinquency therefore includes many acts not reported as crimes; many kinds of behavior not considered criminal, and many kinds of persons not considered criminals. All criminals, it is true, are delinquents, but not all delinquencies are forbidden by law. Delinquency, in this broad sense, includes a vast variety of acts of which the following is merely a suggestive enumeration: *crimes* against persons and property, (assaults and thefts, for instance); *violations* of the moral sense of the people of the culture to which the individual belongs, (lying, for instance); *failure* to bear arms in defense of country, and other acts of omission which are in fact (and not by mere convention) impositions upon the rights of others and the public generally; *legal acts of predation* (such as "feather-bedding" by unions); *legal exploitation* (such as in special privilege and monopoly), and *legal extortion* (such as in usury, including the refined usury practiced by "investment" bankers); *illicit vocations* (such as prostitution and gambling); *sexual crimes* (such as rape); *sexual misbehavior*, (for instance bringing illegitimate children into the world and failing to take the same responsibility for them as for legitimate children); *desertion, divorce, and adultery*, (particularly without regard to the effect upon children and all the parties involved); *improvidence*, (as

in leaving widows who are unable to care for themselves and their children, or having children who become orphans and charges upon other families or the public generally).

CRIME

CRIME, of course, is the most obvious indicator of delinquency. If crime is increasing, it is *prima facie* evidence that there is something abnormal in the human behavior of the society involved. As to the fact that criminal behavior has increased in the modern world, and particularly in the great metropolitan centers of which it is most proud, there is no question. As Henry T. F. Rhodes puts it:

> Mass production is something more than an industrial technique. We mass-produce everything from public opinion to motor-car bodies; and we mass-produce criminals too.
>
> This occured before the machines were constructed which have made industrial mass production possible. It began with the concentration of masses of people in small areas. The cause of this was the Industrial Revolution. There were children of the nineteenth century who believed that the streets of London were paved with gold. And it must have seemed as if they were, if for London we read the industrial town. Men and women flocking to the towns really thought, until they got there, that their dreams of wealth would come true. Sim's "Lights o' London" was a true picture of the hopes and aspirations of men and women seeking fortune in the large towns, and their bitter disappointment.
>
> It is modern industrial society which produced the modern slum, the worst of of all mass-produced articles.
>
> Conditions are much better than they were a hundred years ago. The apprentice in a factory does not work fourteen hours a day for a wage of a few pence. Nor can he be hanged for stealing half a crown, as boys could be and were, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But we suffer today for the sins of our forefathers. In the scramble for wealth they created conditions which have not been fundamentally changed. The slums remain; they even grow and fester in our midst. Better conditions, more humane laws, more efficient social services, have not touched the heart of the problem.
>
> In a sense they have worsened it. We have mass-produced slums and education at the same time. The capacity to appreciate and desire better conditions is instilled without there being adequate machinery to satisfy the desire. A picture of the modern elementary school in its normal setting brings out this tragic contradiction. It stands substantially built, with sunny, well-ventilated classrooms. There is cleanliness and good order everywhere. Side by side with it often in the same street stand the miserable tenements and decaying hovels of the poor.
>
> That contradiction is reflected in the mind and heart of the modern underdog. What a contemporary criminologist has called the great struggle of the century has been sharpened by this antithesis. It is the great struggle between the modern

criminal and modern society. The revolt of the criminal against society is often born in the first place of nothing more than a revolt against intolerable conditions.*

In using crime as an indicator of delinquency, it is important to bear in mind the fact that the number of crimes reported to the police, criminals apprehended and prosecuted, and those convicted and committed, in each instance represents a smaller and smaller proportion of all crimes, and an even smaller proportion of less grave delinquencies. Few petty crimes, like the theft of milk and fruit, are reported; the volume of shop-lifting is not reflected in the number of cases detected; unless there is hope of recovery or punishment, crimes of considerable gravity are frequently not even reported to the police. Criminologists generally assume that only two crimes are prosecuted and only five crimes reported, out of every hundred perpetrated. Since all studies of crime begin with crimes reported, and not crimes committed, we have no statistics for the direct measurment of criminal behavior, much less for all types of delinquency. But the actual amount of crime and the total extent of delinquency, and the trend whether upward or downward can be inferred from the statistics on (1) crimes reported to the police, (2) persons arrested for various crimes, and (3) accused criminals prosecuted, convicted or their cases disposed of by probation or commitments.

On the basis of statistics of this sort, *crime—and delinquency—must have just about doubled in the thirty years between 1900 and* 1929.‡ Crime had been increasing, according to most authorities, before the period covered by the statistics on which I base this statement; it has continued to increase ever since that time.

URBANISM AND CRIME

ONE of the principal factors responsible for this rise, has been the trend toward living in larger and larger cities. As the population of the nation has shifted from farms and villages to great metropolitan cities crime has become more and more common. The natural law seems to be, *the larger the city, the greater the delinquency.* This is clearly shown in the following table† which is based upon a summary

‡Recent Social Trends in the United States, p. 1125, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1933.

*The Criminals We Deserve, Oxford University Press, 1937.

†p. 1134, Ibid.

of major offenses classified by size of cities for a period of one year:

	Rate per 100,000 Population
Cities of over 100,000	1,779
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000	1,533
Cities of 10,000 to 25,000	1,014
Cities of 5,000 to 10,000	947
Cities of 2,500 to 5,000	736

The smallest cities have a rate less than half that of the cities of 25,000 to 100,000, and all cities of less than 100,000 have a rate approximately half that of the cities of over 100,000! In the rural areas, of course, the rates are a fraction of those for even the smallest cities. As one authority sums up the situation: "It appears almost impossible to develop criminal types in rural areas.....Cities up to now have offered more fertile fields for crime, and the small town and farm appear unlikely to furnish equal opportunities."* Yet in the face of this, we are constantly increasing the size of our cities, and calling it Progress.

Perhaps the most searching analysis of the relationship of urban life and urban congestion to delinquency, is to be found in Mayo's discussion of Shaw's study of "Delinquency Areas."§ Shaw examined the geographical distribution of the residences of 6,398 male offenders between the ages of 17 and 20 brought before the Boy's Court in Chicago on felony charges in the years 1924, 1925, and 1926. He prepared a special map of this typically modern industrial city on which he drew concentric circles, or arcs of circles, separated from each other by a distance representing a mile, the "Loop" being taken as the center. The rates for each successive zone thus described and moving outwards from the business and industrial center are: for Zone I (nearest the Loop) 25.1; for Zone II, 16.3; for Zone III, 15.5; for Zone IV, 10.1; for Zone V, 7.5; for Zone VI, 5.3; for Zone VII, 4.7; for Zone VIII, 3.8; and for Zone IX, 3.8. This is his characteristic finding in all his studies—a high rate, (25 per cent for delinquents of the same age and sex), near the congested center; a comparatively

*"Urbanization and Criminal Behavior," Marshall B. Clinard, American Journal of Sociology, September 1942, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2.

§This discussion of Clifford Shaw's Delinquency Areas will be found in Elton Mayo's Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization, 1933, on pp. 124-126. Shaw's study of delinquency in Chicago will be found in his "Series VI."

low rate, (3.8 per cent), on the residential periphery of the city.‡ Mayo summarizes Shaw's findings as follows:

1. The first and perhaps most striking finding of the study is that there are marked variations in the rate of school truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals between areas in Chicago. Some areas are characterized by very high rates, while others show very low rates.

2. A second major finding is that rates of truancy, delinquency, and adult crime tend to vary inversely in proportion to the distance from the center of the city. In Chicago the nearer a residential locality is to the center of the city, the higher its rate of delinquency and crime.

3. Another striking finding in this study is the marked similarity in the distribution of truants, juvenile delinquents, and adult criminals in the city. Those communities which show the highest rates of juvenile delinquency also show, as a rule, the highest rates of truancy and adult crime.

4. A fourth finding of this study is that the difference in rates of truancy, delinquency, and crime reflect differences in community backgrounds. In this study we have not attempted to correlate delinquency rates with specific social factors, but we have indicated in a general way that there are characteristic social conditions which accompany crime and delinquency.

5. In this connection it is interesting to note that the main high rate areas of the city—those near the Loop, around the Stock Yards, and the South Chicago steel mills—have been characterized by high rates over a long period. It should be remembered that relatively high rates have persisted in certain areas notwithstanding the fact that the composition of population has changed markedly.

‡That this situation is not peculiar to Chicago, is established by subsequent studies of the same sort made in cities ranging in size from 26,178 to 1,099,850 in every section of the nation. In every instance delinquency rises as congestion increases and diminishes as congestion decreases.

				Rate by Zones¶				
City	Size*	No.‡	§	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
Chicago, Illinois	1,099,850	8,141	2.0	10.3	7.3	4.4	3.3	
Philadelphia, Penn.	1,046,964	5,856	1.5	11.6	6.8	4.4	3.5	3.4
Cleveland, Ohio	261,353	4,978	1.5	18.3	10.2	7.8	7.0	5.1
Denver, Colo.	106,713	1,291	1.0	9.4	7.1	4.2	3.7	3.2
Richmond, Va.	81,388	1,238	1.0	19.7	12.2	6.4		
Birmingham, Ala.	26,178	990	1.0	14.1	6.9	6.4		
Seattle, Wash.	42,837	1,529	1.0	19.1	9.7	7.7	6.1	

The above table, which deals with juvenile delinquency rates by zones from the center of each city outwards, is compiled from "Reports on the Causes of Crime," Vol. II, prepared by Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. Mackay for the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, and issued by the United States Printing Office, June 1931.

*Population. ‡The number of cases is based upon juvenile court records for the following years: Chicago, 1917-1923; Philadelphia, 1927; Richmond, 1927-1930; Cleveland, 1919-1921; Birmingham, 1927-1930; Denver, 1924-1929; Seattle, 1926-1929. §Width of zones in miles. ¶The rate represents the percentage of boys 10 to 15 years of age in each area brought to the juvenile courts on petitions alleging delinquency.

In attempting a tentative interpretation of these observations, Shaw says: "It has been quite common in discussions of delinquency to attribute causal significance to such conditions as poor housing, overcrowding, low living standards, low educational standards, and so on. But these conditions themselves probably reflect a type of community life. By treating them one treats only symptons of more basic processes.....In short, with the process of growth of the city, the invasion of residential communities by business and industry causes a disintegration of the community as a unit of social control. This disorganization is intensified by the influx of foreign national and racial groups whose old cultural and social controls break down in the new cultural and racial situations of the city....."

According to Clifford Shaw, delinquency and criminality are symptons of the disintegration of social controls. Since misunderstanding is possible, it is necessary to point out that Shaw does not mean the kind of control exercised by another person, by a court of law, or a legislative mandate. He means the inner compulsion to think and act in a way that is socially acceptable, a compulsion which is imposed upon an ordered community by social tradition. This is the only compulsion that is ever really operative in a social group; courts and their principal officer or legislative enactments are effective only when they express an implication of an accepted and traditional method of living.

In considering all these rather extensive quotations from Mayo, (and also those which follow from Sutherland), allowance should be made for the difference in their vocabulary and that used in this book. It is obvious then that what they mean when they speak of "social control" is substantially the same as what I refer to when I speak of "education"—the influence exerted upon the individual's impulses and actions, (which produce what they call the individual's "inner compulsion to think and act"), by his family, his school, his church, his work, his recreation, his reading, above all today by the advertising and salesmanship which shape his wants, and by every other agent and institution in society which influences him in any way and so contributes to making him act as he actually does.

CRIMINOLOGY

CRIMINOLOGISTS today are in general agreement upon the proposition that criminal behavior is an acquired and not an inherited characteristic; that it is not blood but experience which really influences the delinquent to become what he is. (The opposite of this is also true; good behavior is likewise an acquired and not an inherited characteristic). Lombroso's theory of the born criminal has not been validated by subsequent scientific inquiry. Even though many individuals undoubtedly do inherit a tendency to abnormal behavior,

and therefore to behavior which may become criminal, (which is what is true in Lombroso's theory), whether they sublimate their hereditary deficiencies or actually commit crimes, is primarily the product of what I call their educations.

That every individual, even the individual who is habitually good, has impulses to perform acts which are considered immoral or criminal, is perfectly true. But whether he actually commits the acts which he is tempted to commit, will depend again upon his education. If his family, his relatives, his intimate friends, and the other agents and institutions educating him, do not teach him to restrain such impulses and to transform them into proper actions, he acquires abnormal manners and may perpetrate crimes. The malleability of human nature, in the final analysis, amounts to saying that all the inherited instincts are plastic and subject to education.

Sutherland, without once thinking of the force which creates the delinquent and the criminal as *education*, devotes himself in most of his PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY§ to an enumeration of what I think is education—the examples and the experiences, the instruction and the commands, which influence the individual and so form his acquired (as distinct from inherited) characteristics.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

HE DISCUSSES the influence exerted upon modern man by modern social disorganization, quoting Ching-Yueh Yen to contrast the influence exerted by our industrial civilization with that exerted upon the individual by the integrated and organic social life of Agrarian China:

> In pre-literate and peasant societies the influences surrounding a person were steady, uniform, harmonious, and consistent. China until recently exemplified this situation perfectly except in a few of the coast cities. The individual was surrounded by all of his relatives and this larger family determined his career and his ambitions. His principal satisfactions were found in co-operation with that group, which was considered as extending beyond his own life into the distant future. Within this group he had perfect individual security, for the group cared for him in case of sickness, accident, old age, insanity, or other emergency and this care involved no stigma or disgrace whatsoever. This large family, moreover, was supported by the surrounding community which also was harmonious in its traditional culture. In that situation the behavior of the individual was almost completely predictable, for he had only one patttern to follow and only extraordinary emergencies could induce him to invent a new mode of behavior. The local group had little contact with outsiders, since the community was a self-supporting and self-contained society. Within this group almost no crimes were

§PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY, Edwin Hardin Sutherland, 1939; pp. 69-70.

committed, and the occasional crimes were chiefly confined to crimes committed by members of the group upon non-members. The standards of the outside political society meant little within this group and national loyalty was not significant.*

At present such uniformity is nowhere evident in Western civilization, though the village communities are the closest approach to it. A child is confronted with various cultures even within his own home, for no parent can act consistently in modern life even within his own home; the parent changes from day to day with stimulations, successes, moods, contents of books he has read or lectures he has heard. A great deal of behavior is in the nature of playing a role; when the roles are conflicting, the behavior is inconsistent. Groups outside of the home have standards which are extremely different from those within the home. Dewey has described the conflicts within a community thus:

It is not easy to exaggerate the extent to which we now pass from one kind of nurture to another as we go from business to church, from science to the newspaper, from business to art, from companionship to politics, from home to school. An individual is now subjected to many conflicting schemes of education. Hence habits are divided against one another, personality is disrupted, the scheme of conduct is confused and disintegrated.†

MODERN MOBILITY

THEN Sutherland shows the relationship of our social disorganization to the great rise in mobility in the modern world; a rise which is a natural consequence of the development of the steamship, the railroad, the automobile, the airplane, and other forms of modern transportation; of modern emigration from one continent to another; of modern immigration into cities from villages and rural regions; of the continuous modern occupational mobilitation of enormous numbers of persons—traveling salesmen, for instance; of the restlessness which is such a conspicuous fact in modern recreation—recreation meaning, for instance, "let's take the car and go *some*where;" of the instability and rootlessness of modern industrial and urban life.

The universal and most significant element in the process of social disorganization is mobility. Mobility of persons and of commodities inevitably widens the area within which control becomes necessary and at the same time inevitably weakens the local agencies of control in the communities into which migrants go. This is true, however, only in so far as mobility means change of social situation. (Ibid., p. 77.)

In the United States occasional studies have indicated that crimes are unusually frequent in cities with a large non-resident population, such as the seaports and resort towns, and in occupations which are migratory, such as carnivals and circuses and the old river boats. Hotels suffer loss by theft roughly in proportion

*Ching-Yueh Yen, "Crime in Relation to Social Change in China," American Journal of Sociology, 40:298-308, November, 1934.

†HUMAN NATURE AND CONDUCT, John Dewey, 1930; p. 130.

to the transiency of their guests. One city hotel serving transients suffers a loss by theft of about 25,000 towels a year, and another hotel lost by theft within two years one-fifth of the pictures which had been hung on the walls at the time it opened. These statistics give some understanding of the reason why the word "traveler" in medieval England was used in popular discourse to designate thief. Such statistics, however, are entirely inadequate as illustrations of the significance of mobility, for the important point is that mobility has affected all persons in modern society and not merely those who happen to be non-residents at the time of a crime. (Ibid., p. 79).

The effects of mobility and culture conflicts become more apparent when an isolated country is suddenly brought by mobility into contact with the rest of the world. This happened in China within the last fifty years, and has been accompanied by remarkable changes in criminality in that country. The old social relations and standards of behavior which had been quite adequate for control while the country was relatively isolated have proved very inadequate in the last generation when many foreigners have lived in China and when Chinese have gone to foreign countries, and when in addition the cultures of other communities have been introduced into China through impersonal means. (Ibid., p. 80).

THE TREND TO URBANISM

HE CALLS attention to the influence of Urbanism, and the fact, already discussed in detail, that city life exerts an influence upon individuals which increases the probability that they will become delinquents and criminals:

The number of serious crimes increases with the size of the community. The number of auto thefts known to the police per 100,000 population in 1937 increased from 93.6 in communities of under 10,000 population to 263.4 in communities of over 250,000. The same trend occured in each type of crime, with slight variations upward or downward from the trend, and it has occured in each year since these statistics have been available. The deviation from this trend which appears most frequently is that the rate for cities of over 250,000 population is less than for cities of 100,000 to 250,000. Homicides and rapes known to the police show less consistency than other types of crimes, perhaps because the number of cases is smaller. (Ibid., p. 135).

MODERN HOME LIFE

HE DEVOTES special consideration to the influence exerted by modern home life upon the modern child, and makes it plain that the disorganization of the modern family, the prevalence of broken homes and the atomized and isolated life of so many individuals, exert a type of influence upon modern man which seems to predispose him to delinquency and crime:

The family is potentially the most effective agency of control. It has exclusive contact with the child during the period of greatest dependency and plasticity, and continued intimate contact over a subsequent period of several years. No child is so rigidly fixed at birth that it must inevitably become a delinquent or that it must inevitably be law-abiding. The homes which are close to either extreme in efficiency produce children whose behavior can be predicted with a high degree of precision.

Even in the homes which are regarded as most efficient, trial and error is the usual method of child training. There is no real science of child rearing, and such knowledge as is developed is not available to or utilized by many families. The task of child training was comparatively simple in early society but has become extremely difficult in modern life. First, the number of home regulations has increased. The congestion of population, together with the regulation of life by the clock, make it necessary that children keep quiet at home in order that neighbors may not be disturbed. The protection of furniture, pictures, and windowpanes calls for additional regulations. The germ theory of disease and public standards of hygiene result in additional regulations within the home. Second, the persons in charge of the training of the child cannot be consistent in modern life. In preliterate life both parents were reared in the same simple, harmonious culture, as were also the grandparents, the other relatives, and the neighbors. The result was a steady and harmonious pressure upon the child which formed his character without difficulty and without conflicts. This is impossible in modern society. Parents are in conflict with each other because they have been reared in different environments, have read different books and magazines, have heard different lectures and seen different picture shows that have a bearing on child training. Parents are in conflict with grandparents, with school teachers, and with motion picture actors. Moreover, parents are in conflict, probably more than previously, for the affection of the child. In this situation the simple, harmonious pressure of consistent authorities is impossible. It is not even possible for one parent to be consistent with himself, for his policies vary with the state of his fatigue, worry, hurry, and with the books he has read or the lectures he has heard, since he does not have the support of a consistent culture to keep his policies stable. Furthermore, obedience in the home depends largely upon the prestige of the parents, and this is affected not only by the consistency of the demands made upon a child but also by their status in the community. The poverty, the physical features, the competitive ability and comparative attainments, the language, the social status of the parents in comparison with other persons with whom the child is acquainted, may destroy the prestige of the parents and give the child a conception that he is able to determine his own behavior better than his parents. Consequently it is very difficult in modern life to secure the obedience of a child even in homes which are above the average. (Ibid., pp. 153-154).

Children who get into the juvenile courts come, in more than fair proportion from homes that would be ranked as poor or very poor, but none of the children in some homes of this kind, and not all of the children in other homes, get into the juvenile court, while on the other hand some delinquent children come from homes that are ranked as good or very good. The homes from which delinquent

children come most frequently are characterized by one or more of the following conditions: (a) other members of the family are criminalistic, immoral, or alcoholic, (b) parents separated, (c) crowded housing conditions, (d) lack of parental control through ignorance, blindness or other sensory defect, or absence of one or both parents, (e) parental neglect, (f) home uncongeniality, (g) irritation at home, (h) severity and harshness of parents, (i) poverty. (Ibid., p. 157).

The home broken by death, divorce, or desertion has generally been believed to be an important reason for delinquency of the children. This belief is found even in preliterate tribes, for the Ama-Xosa, a Bantu tribe in southern Africa, have a proverb: "*If the old bird dies, the eggs are addled.*" The reports of juvenile courts and the special investigations, generally based on court records, show a somewhat wide range of broken homes among delinquents. The range is generally from 30 to 60 per cent, but the percentages tend to cluster around 40 per cent. The report of the Child Bureau on juvenile courts for 1931 showed that 37 per cent of the delinquent boys and 53 per cent of the delinquent girls were from such homes. (Ibid., p. 158).

The marital status of the adult person appears to have considerable significance in relation to crime. In 1923 the rate of commitment to prisons and reformatories per 100,000 population of the same marital status, was lowest for the married, next to the lowest for the widowed, next for the single, and highest for the divorced. These ranks, however, are affected in part by age. Divorced persons have the highest commitment rate at each age, and this is true for each of the sexes. Divorced males twenty to twenty-four years of age have a rate of commitment 6.2 times as high as single males of the same age and 6.7 times as high as married males of the same age, while divorced females of that age have a rate 10.4 times as high as single females and 9.3 times as high as married females of the same age. Married males have a lower commitment rate than single males in all age groups except fifteen to nineteen; the rate is only slightly lower in the age twenty to twenty-four, but it is significantly lower in later ages. For females, however, the married women have a higher commitment rate at each age except twenty-five to thirty-four but the difference is not very great except in the age group fifteen to nineteen. These statistics, which are based on commitments to prisons in the United States, are in substantial agreement with the German statistics based on convictions. (Ibid., p. 171).

INSTITUTIONAL LIFE

WHAT Sutherland says about institutionalized children does not speak well for the modern tendency to substitute everything from nursery schools to child welfare bureaus for home life and family training of the child:

Miss Bingham found that of 500 delinquent girls in Waverly House in New York City, 100 had been in orphanages or other child-caring institutions for periods ranging from one to twelve years. Slawson found that 13.3 per cent of the delinquents studied by him had been at one time in an orphan asylum, as compared with 1.8 per cent of an unselected group of New York City children. Thais reports

that of 84 foster children who had reached the age of eighteen who had never been in orphanages, only 18 per cent had not made satisfactory adjustments, while of 96 children of the same kind who had been in orphanages for five years or more 34 per cent had not made satisfactory adjustments. This difference, however, may be attributed to the fact that those who spent this much time in orphanages were not taken into private homes at as early an age. The institutional child does not acquire the feeling of security and self-esteem which comes from membership in a strong primary group, and at the same time is thrown with few inhibitions into association with delinquents and patterns of delinquency. (Ibid., p. 169).

Foster children are often believed to be more inclined toward delinquency than are other children. The truth of this belief cannot be determined, for there is no good comparison of the two groups on this point and it would be extremely difficult to select adequate samples for such comparisons. Armstrong reports that 27.5 per cent of a group of runaway boys had step-parents, as compared with 12.8 per cent of all children before the same clinic in 1929. The belief in the criminal tendency of foster children is based, probably, on occasional observations of foster children who became delinquent and on *a priori* beliefs. The one solid fact which points to a conclusion is that children who are placed in a home at an early age adjust more satisfactorily than those placed at a later age. Those who are placed at an early age are more nearly in the same environment as the ordinary children, but even these children are likely to be somewhat differentiated from other children. (Ibid., p. 170).

That institutional living for adults, as contrasted with family life, creates the same predisposition to delinquency and other abnormalities as it does for children, cannot be questioned. Certainly so far as adult criminals are concerned, the evidence that institutionalization in reformatories and jails, simply deepens and intensifies delinquency and criminality—that it creates recidivists and converts the amateur delinquent into a professional one—is overwhelming.

From the preceding analysis of home conditions in relation to delinquency three principal processes appear. First, a child may assimilate within the home by observation of parents or other relatives the attitudes, codes, and behavior patterns of delinquency. He then becomes delinquent because he has learned delinquency at home. Second, a child may be driven from the home by unpleasant experiences and situations or withdraw from it because of the absence of pleasant experiences, and thus cease to be a functioning member of an integrated group. He may run away from home, or remain relatively isolated from the family even though he continues to eat his meals and to sleep in the home. He does not on this account necessarily become a delinquent. The important element is that this isolation from the family is likely to increase his asssociation with delinquency, which is the primary factor in delinquency. Third, the home may fail to train the child to deal with community situations in a law-abiding manner. This failure may be due either to complete neglect of training or to over-protection. In either

case he fails to develop inhibitions against delinquency, which are supposed to be developed in family life.

A fourth process may operate, although it is probably not very important. This is the persistence in the general community of habits of disobedience formed in the home. This is frequently presented as an important factor in delinquency, either in common-sense terms of the failure of the child to develop habits of obedience or in psychiatric terms of the grudge against authority. Both of these views assume that there is a generalized attitude toward authority. That is questionable, for disobedience develops in a large proportion of the children in the modern home, due to the impossible demands made on them and to the inconsistency in the enforcement of home regulations. (Ibid., pp. 164-165).

THE MODERN NEWSPAPER

THE modern newspaper, prepared by journalists and published by businessmen without consideration for the educational influence it exerts, is another factor, according to Sutherland, creating modern delinquency:

Thomas, speaking of the yellow journal, says:

It is a positive agent of vice and crime. The condition of morality, as well as of mental life, in a community depends upon the prevailing copies. A people is profoundly influenced by whatever is persistently brought to its attention. A good illustration of this is the fact that an article of commerce—a food, a luxury, a medicine, or a stimulant—can always be sold in immense quantities if it be persistently and largely advertised. In the same way the yellow journal by an advertisement of crime, vice, and vulgarity, on a scale unexampled in commercial advertising and in a way that amounts to approval and even applause, becomes one of the forces making for immorality.*

Bingay, the editorial director of the DETROIT FREE PRESS, stated in 1933 that press agents are as useful to criminals as to movie stars or politicians, that the newspapers act without salary as press agents for the criminal leaders, build up their reputations and increase their power with other criminals, with the police and courts, with the politicians and the public. A reporter applied the name "Purple Gang" to a relatively unimportant group in Detroit which up to that time had had no name. The name was used by others, and these gangsters were built up by the label into criminal giants. Their reputation was made by the newspapers. Consequently when a member of this group went to a business man with a racketeering proposition and announced himself a member of the Purple Gang, the business man was afraid to kick him out as he might otherwise have done. In Chicago the newspapers announced that Murray Humphries would be the successor to Capone. The successor was by no means determined, but the announcement in the newspapers helped Humphries secure this position as much as a similar announcement would help an aspirant for a political position. Furthermore, the newspaper accounts contribute considerably to the self-esteem of certain

*"The Psychology of the Yellow Journal," W. I. Thomas, "American Magazine," 65:496, March, 1908.

criminals, for these professional criminals are generally avid readers of the newspapers. When a newspaper carries the story that a certain criminal is the worst, or the best, or the most dangerous, or some other superlative appellation, it is one of the few consolations this criminal will have, in case of conviction, while he is in prison. (Ibid., p. 188).

THE RADIO AND THE MOVIE

LIKE the newspaper, radio broadcasting and moving pictures shape the desires and create the goals of modern man, and Sutherland insists that the sensationalism, vulgarity and pornography with which they are saturated, stimulate delinquency and crime. He quotes Blumer as follows:

> It seems clear that the motion pictures were a factor of importance in the delinquent or criminal careers of about 10 per cent of the male and 25 per cent of the female offenders studied.....Several important indirect influences disposing or leading persons to delinquency or crime are discernible in the experiences of male offenders. Through the display of crime techniques and criminal patterns of behavior; by arousing desires for easy money and luxury, and by suggesting questionable methods for their achievement; by inducing a spirit of bravado, toughness, and adventurousness; by arousing intense sexual desires; by invoking daydreaming of criminal roles, motion pictures may create attitudes and furnish techniques conducive, quite unwittingly, to delinquent or criminal behavior. One may detect in the case of delinquent girls and young women influences similar to those spoken of in the case of young men. Motion pictures may play a major or minor role in female delinquency and crime by arousing sexual passion, by instilling the desire to live a gay, wild, fast life, by evoking longings for luxury and smart appearance, and by suggesting to some girls questionable methods of easily attaining them; by the display of modes of beautification and love techniques; by the depiction of various forms of crime readily imitated by girls and young women; and by competing with home and school for an important place in the life of girls.*

The rising tide of delinquency in which the great increase of juvenile crime as an aftermath of World War II is merely a dramatic incident, furnishes us no occasion for surprise. As man becomes more and more urban and industrial, and devotes himself more and more to the acquisition of higher and higher material standards of living; as he moves farther and farther from nature and the land, and depends less and less upon the home and family, and organizes his life more and more around social and political institutions, delinquency and crime naturally increase.

COMMUNISM vs. CAPITALISM

MARXISTS and Socialists of various kinds may argue that the social evils to which I am here calling attention are not caused by Industrialism but by Capitalism; that they are not caused by the

*MOVIES, DELINQUENCY AND CRIME, Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, MacMillan 1933, pp. 198-199.

factory and the city but by the manner in which industry and modern life is organized. They may argue that it is not mass-production but competition and exploitation which are responsible for the abnormality of modern man. They may insist that the abolition of private property and the substitution of a social system which guaranteed people against all the vicissitudes and contingencies of modern industrial and urban life, would eliminate the abnormal parasitism, insanity and suicide, and criminality to which I am calling attention. But there is only a superficial justification for this argument. There is, of course, some truth in the contention that competition and exploitation is responsible for some cases of individual disintegration; there are, no doubt, many instances in which the inability of the individual to succeed within the framework of the Capitalistic system and to maintain the pace which competitive society sets for him, results in making him dependent, mentally sick, or delinquent.

But there is not a particle of evidence indicating that the substitution of some form of Socialism or Communism would result in reversing the trend toward disintegration which is being here discussed. On the contrary, if subjected to careful analysis, whatever evidence there is indicates exactly the contrary. For Communism is a social, economic, and political system devised for the purpose of pushing the implications of specialization and the division of labor to their ultimate logical end; for the organization of the whole of life around the factory system. Under Classical Capitalism—and even under Finance and Monopoly Capitalism in spite of its restrictions upon the freedom of individuals—the individual still has some alternative to industrial and city life; he may turn to a small business, to a profession, to farming, and to country life if he does not like big business and big city life. But under Communism, he is deprived of these alternatives; he *must* work for the State and he *must* live where the exigencies of industry (or the State) dictate—a dictation which calls for city life for the most part. Nowhere in the world is urbanization more deliberately planned than in Soviet Russia.

It is not necessary to dwell at all upon the subject of dependence. In Soviet Russia nobody, except perhaps those at the very top of the government, is independent. Dependence, servility, and parasitism is universal. As to the prevalence of defectives and degeneracy, there are no statistics worth a farthing since Soviet Russia furnishes the

curious anomally of an idealism which insists that the official statistics should not represent the facts but propaganda favorable to Communism. As to artistic decadence, it is too early to say much, but if the reduction of the artist and of all forms of individual expression to the prescribed orders of a bureaucracy, is indicative of decadence, there is little to be hoped for from Socialism. As to criminality, such evidence as we have indicates that it dwarfs anything which can be found in any Capitalistic nation in the world.

And this is perfectly natural. Under Capitalism, the rules and regulations governing the manner in which individuals work are, for the most part, made by individual and corporate employers, modified by the extent to which laws and labor unions limit them. In addition there is, as I have already indicated, a considerable degree to which the individual may make his own rules by "being his own boss." If the individual violates these rules, he commits no crime; he simply runs the risk of being "fired." He may deserve a reprimand, but he is not considered a delinquent. Continual disregard of all the rules of the game, both those prescribed by industry and those imposed by the competitive system, may make the individual a dependent but they do not make him a criminal.

This is not the case in Soviet Russia. Every rule and regulation in a Communist society is a government rule and regulation; its violation constitutes a breach of law, not merely disregard of the wishes of an employer. For being habitually tardy or for frequent absenteeism, the individual worker in America may lose his job, but in Soviet Russia he commits a crime; he is sent to a concentration camp and condemned to slave labor. The result is that the number of crimes prescribed by law, of violations of law, and of criminals, is infinitely multiplied. In the effort to *force* the individual to conform to the needs of industry and the presumed needs of society, criminals are created by wholesale; whole classes, and not merely occasional individuals, are considered criminal and condemned. And this process is not merely legal, it is social. The failure to conform is a violation not merely of law but of the folkways and mores which the people have been led to accept by every artifice of propaganda; by the great leaders and heros of the State; by the makers of the newspapers, movies, and radio; by the writings, paintings, dramas, and teachings of the professional classes of the nation; by the teachers from nursery

schools to universities, all of whom are required to make the individual feel that failure to obey is a form of immorality justifying "liquidation."

No wonder Socialism requires a constantly expanding bureaucracy to enforce the laws: no wonder Soviet Russia has the largest and most ubiquitous police force in the world; no wonder, at the time I write, that there are estimates indicating that Soviet Russia has between 14,000,000 and 20,000,000 "criminals" in concentration camps alone.*

III. DEGENERACY IN MODERN LIFE

IN ITS broadest sense degeneracy is *the state of any individual who is mentally or physically subnormal and whose ability to act, and general manner of living, is below what should be expected from human beings in their present state of development.* In dealing with dependency and delinquency we were considering the *behavior and conduct* of modern man; in dealing with degeneracy we turn to the consideration of his *biological and constitutional* condition.

A degenerate society may refer to quite a different thing. A degenerate society may refer to a society which has somehow or other come to be led by one or more degenerates, as in the case of Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy, or it may refer to a society composed of a constantly rising proportion of defectives and degenerates. In the first instance, its organized activities and even the ordinary activities of normal persons in the society tend to reflect the ideas of its degenerate leaders; in the second, life reflects not merely the ideas of a few degenerates who exercise leadership but the manner of living natural to defectives and degenerates.

*These figures are from I CHOSE FREEDOM, by Victor Kravchenko, and from NOTHING BUT THEIR CHAINS, by David J. Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, Yale University Press. Kiril M. Alexiev, one time Soviet engineer and diplomat, who fled to the United States from the Russian Embassy in Mexico, confirms these figures. (See "Reader's Digest," April 1947, p. 146).

The tragedy is that once more, as in the case of African slavery, the evil has been rationalized in terms of an utopian ideal. The practice of African slavery was justified by the pretense of saving the souls of savages. Soviet Russian slavery began allegedly as a means of re-educating criminals through labor. Lenin taught that criminals are victims of Capitalist society. To re-educate them he introduced a genuinely humanitaran penal reform, but his good intentions were frustrated by the practice of treating dissenters from official Communist doctrine as criminals.

To distinguish between individuals who are the victims of physical degeneracy and those who suffer from psychic degeneracy, we may call the first *defectives* and the second *degenerates*. Defectives and degenerates may be persons who in spite of their defects support themselves by work which is itself quite normal; they may be supporting themselves by exploiting their defects and degeneracy as beggars or prostitutes; they may be family or public charges unable to support themselves. Defectives and degenerates may be of any age; they may be normal most of their life and abnormal only in old age. They may be of either sex; constitutional homosexuals are, of course, degenerates and hermaphrodites, defectives.

Defectives and degenerates, thus defined, include the blind, the deaf, and the dumb; the feeble-minded, the imbecile, and congenitally and organically insane; the epileptic; the functional psychopaths and neurotics who cannot take care of themselves; drunkards and drug-addicts; sadists, masochists, and chronic sex-perverts; the chronically diseased and permanently crippled without regard to whether their deficiencies are hereditary or caused by avoidable conditions such as produce silicosis, or accidents (avoidable and unavoidable), such as those caused by automobiles; the prematurely senescent as well as the senile insane; those who postpone genital sexuality too long after puberty or marry long after sexual maturity; the sterile, who are sterile either voluntarily through contraception or abortion or involuntarily by reason of psychic or physical defects; mothers who habitually miscarry and produce stillbirths; the deserters of their children, including divorcees and widows and widowers who leave their children to grow up in broken homes or in institutions; mothers who do not bear children early enough, who bear too few of them or bear too many, and do not nurse them at their breasts for something between one and three years, and of course both men and women who do not leave behind them enough children to avoid contributing to race suicide.

It is perfectly obvious that some percentage of defectives and degenerates in any population is unavoidable. There is no evidence which justifies us in assuming that all environmental accidents—including so-called "acts of God"—can ever be eliminated, or that the reproductive process in man can ever be made perfect; on the contrary, the evidence indicates that as long as man evolves either physi-

ologically or psychologically, variations above—and therefore sometimes below—the genetic norm to which he has evolved are natural. But the percentage of defectives and degenerates in a normal society would probably be very small and the rate should not rise. If the rate changes at all, it ought to decline steadily at a slower and slower rate as the organization of living becomes more and more perfect, never reaching zero, however, as long as evolution continues. Since such a continuous decline is normal, a rise of any kind is abnormal, and an indication of something abnormal in the way of life of any society in which the proportion of defectives and degenerates to whole and healthy persons is growing larger.

A whole volume could be devoted solely to the evidence available as to the rise of degeneracy in modern urbanized and industrialized America. But more than evidence is needed. The truth about the matter only emerges if the facts are carefully analyzed. It is true, for instance, that medical and hygienic progress has reduced the proportion of blind in America, but it has not reduced the proportion of persons suffering from eyesight deficiencies. On the contrary, modern man is definitely less able to see normally than primitive man. Similarly, there has been marked improvement in the degree to which modern man suffers from certain types of diseases. But as the prevalence of infectious disease has steadily declined and the deficiencies for which they are responsible declined with them—the amount of blindness due to an infectious disease like gonorrhea, for example, has declined—there has been a staggering rise in the prevalence of heart disease, cancer, diabetes, and other degenerative diseases.

The simplest and most obvious index of degeneracy is the literal one of de-generation—of failure to generate. The facts here too need careful analysis. There has been striking improvement in everything having to do with obstetrics; neither mothers nor infants die as frequently as used to be the case in child-birth, nor do they suffer permanent injuries as often as they used to do as a result of the ignorance and unhygienic methods which used to prevail. But generation is not merely a medical problem; its sociological aspects are much more important. And the facts of the matter are that for many reasons modern man—and specifically modern urban man—does not produce enough children to reproduce the race. The population of cities like New York, in spite of the fact that they are constantly en-

riched by fresh streams of vigorous and virile young men and women from the rural districts of the nation, die out; but for this immigration, the metropolises of which we are so proud and in which more and more of our population is centralizing itself, would become in four or five generations necropolises—cities of the dead.

INSANITY

BUT IT IS fortunately unnecessary to burden this book with even a brief summary of the evidence available as to the rising tide of all these forms of degeneracy because consideration of the facts with regard to a single climacteric type of degeneracy—insanity—is sufficient to demonstrate the abnormality of modern man. Since the evidence furnished by insanity confirm not only the facts about all other forms of degeneracy but also those with regard to dependency and delinquency, the conclusions I draw from them can, I believe, be accepted by any person to whom objective facts are convincing.

Any population with a steadily increasing proportion of insane persons is handicapped in the race for survival; it is a biologically abnormal population. We can afford to grant that some minute percentage of insane persons will be found even in virile populations without throwing any doubt upon this assumption. But even though we have not as yet established the maximum amount of insanity unavoidable in a normal population, we can assume on the basis of evolution the opposite, that the proportion of insane persons in a normal population should show some tendency to decline. For in any population evolving normally, reproduction should become more and more eugenic. Normal human beings learn from year to year, and normal human populations from generation to generation; mankind normally not only increases in wealth but also in knowledge and wisdom. If the percentage of insanity remains constant, it would mean that the normal processes of evolution had been arrested in what is perhaps the most distinctively human of all the characteristics of *homo sapiens*—the tendency to improvement. But if, instead of declining or remaining constant, the percentage of insanity actually rises, it is *prima facie* evidence of something abnormal.

STATISTICAL vs. TOTAL INSANITY

THE available statistics on insanity in the United States are, of course, merely indicative; they furnish no measure of its total extent. For every person enumerated as insane, there are many more cases

unrecorded ranging from those just below psychosis to cases which manifest themselves in mere oddities and perversities of behavior. If, for any reason, the number of statistically enumerated cases in a population is rising, this means that the number of neurotic and slightly insane persons must also be rising, and rising probably at a higher rate. For it is more probable, if conditions and ways of living are such as to produce an increase in the number of complete mental breakdowns, that these same conditions and ways of living tend to raise rather than to reduce the ratio of minor abnormalities.

The ratio of unenumerated to enumerated cases of insanity must therefore be enormous. The visible and statistically recorded insanity is like the visible part of an iceberg floating in the sea—only a small part compared to what is submerged. But because most of it is invisible, that does not mean that it is non-existent; least of all does it mean that the conditions which produce it can be disregarded with impunity.

INSANITY IN THE UNITED STATES

NOW the proportion of enumerated insanity in the population of the United States and other industrial nations has been rising steadily. But not only is the total rising, the rate of the rise in the urban population is greater than in the rural. This is evidence that there is something more abnormal affecting the urban than the rural population. And since one of the most conspicuous of modern tendencies is to constantly increase the ratio of urban to rural population, this is again evidence that one of the tendencies to which modern man is most insistently committed—the tendency to Urbanism—is subnormal.

The history of civilization proves conclusively that man is usually a victim of his own misdirected ingenuity. Rarely has he been able to resist the temptation to abuse his marvelous capacity of adaptation; rarely has he failed to misuse his ability to create not only an artificial environment for himself but also an environment to which he cannot adapt himself and remain normal. In the history of the civilizations he has created, nowhere can we safely say that there is one in which he permitted the population to remain normal. We cannot, therefore, determine merely from the history of nations what proportion of the population should be expected, in the ordinary course of events, to become insane. But if the percentage which might be expected to go insane under normal conditions is so difficult to establish

as to make it impossible to say flatly that there is an abnormal amount of insanity in a particular nation, no such difficulty exists with regard to saying that a rising amount of insanity in a particular nation or some particular part of it, is conclusive evidence of abnormality. On this basis, in a modern nation like the United States which has been gradually changing from an Agrarian and "horse-and-buggy" nation into an industrialized and urban nation, nothing is needed but a rise in the ratio of insanity during that period of time to establish that what modern man calls Progress is really progress toward abnormality and subnormality.

As has already been pointed out, instead of expecting this increase, we have actually the right to expect a decrease. The progress which has been made, not only in psychiatry but also in every field of medicine, is such that we might expect a decrease. Modern man's boasted progress in science ought to be reducing the amount of insanity as it has reduced and all but eliminated infectious diseases such as typhoid and diphtheria. But instead of the expected decrease, all the optimists in psychiatry have finally been driven to admit that there is an appalling and menacing increase.

Slowly, but surely, modern man is going insane. No matter where one turns in the modern world; no matter what facts about modern society we examine; no matter what phase of the activities of modern man we consider, we are driven to the same conclusion. Everywhere throughout the world, usually at the point of a gun, modern man has spread what is called "white man's civilization" in blithe disregard of what those same "white" ways of living have done to the white man himself in the great metropolitan centers in which he delights to herd. The facts about life in these great modern cities, with their increasing dependency, delinquency, degeneracy, and decadence, are such that only an insane people would want to devote themselves to the duplication of these conditions everywhere. Wherever modern methods of transportation, finance, commerce, and industry go, hysterical business booms and depressions succeed one another, and economic, social, and political stability disappear. War succeeds depression, and revolution follows upon war with an insane disregard of life and destruction of the accumulated wealth and treasures of civilization. And now modern man has invented total war, a form of war which not only disregards the sanity of the combatants but of the

non-combatant population including women and children. I repeat, therefore, that the evidence all points in the same direction—that slowly, but surely, modern man is going insane.

INCREASING RATE OF INSANITY

THE first census of the insane in the United States was taken in 1850. It is generally considered to have been seriously deficient. The first census considered reliable was taken in 1880. The last for which I have figures was taken in 1942. The number of insane for each 100,000 of the population in these enumerations were as follows:*

1850	67.3
1880	183.3
1910	204.2
1923	241.7
1931	273.0
1940	351.0
1942	364.2

No matter how much we discount the census of 1850, it is still indicative of the fact that the farther back we go, during modern times, the less insanity we find. To find anything comparable to the present condition, we have to go back to the Dark Ages, when religious insanity at times became epidemic, and whole regions of Europe were depopulated by crusades and religious wars. As a matter of fact, long before there were any reliable records—early in the history of the Industrial Revolution and long before statistics began to point to an increase of insanity—competent observers recorded with monotonous regularity their conviction that insanity was increasing. Recent statistics have merely confirmed what observation long ago indicated.

INSANITY IN AN INDUSTRIAL STATE

THE most accurate records over a long period dealing with insanity are not those of the entire nation but those of New York State. A special significance attaches to these figures because New York State furnishes a better example of life in the modern world than the nation as a whole. A great part of the nation is still living a rural life and supporting itself by agriculture; it has not yet been subjected to all the strains and stresses of urban and industrial life. But New York is an industrial and urban rather than a rural state. The population

*Figures from 1923 to 1942 from STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE U. S., 1944-45, p.91, Previous figures from same source for various years.

of the state as a whole, therefore, is certainly more typically modern than that of the whole nation. What are the facts here?

The following table consists of the actual figures for the number of patients in the mental hospitals of New York State from 1889 to 1940 and estimates of mine for the years 1950 and 2000 based upon Malzberg's formula† for forecasting the increase in the number of patients from year to year.

1889 (actual)	260.4*
1927 (actual)	422.5*
1935 (actual)	493.4*
1940 (actual)	637.6§
1950 (estimate)	726.1‡
2000 (estimate)	2,481.1‡

In 1889, the number was only 260.4 per 100,000. By 1935, after a period of forty-six years of modern progress, the number nearly doubled to 493.4 per 100,000. This is an increase of roughly thirty patients per 100,000 population for each eight-year period. During the last eight-year period, between 1927 and 1935, the increase, however, was 144.2 patients. It is impossible to ascribe this startling increase solely to the discovery of new patients. Malzberg certainly does not do so, and he is more familiar with the figures than any other authority.

If the number increases at rates computed on the basis of these figures, *by the end of the century we shall have to keep one out of every hundred persons in a hospital for the insane at all times.* But there is no good reason for assuming that the increase will remain at its present rate. All the most important factors which have accompanied the present rising tide of insanity and which we have good reasons for feeling bear to it the relationship of cause to effect, are being steadily intensified. More and more of the population is living in cities; fewer and fewer are depending upon the land for their livelihood; the proportion of single, widowed, and divorced persons in the population is constantly rising; finally, more and more of the population consists of people in the oldest age brackets. Unless there is a revolution of some kind in the way the American people live—

†This profoundly significant formula is central to Benjamin Malzberg's SOCIAL AND BIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF MENTAL DISEASE, published in 1940.

*Ibid., p. 11. §New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. ‡Estimate based upon the Malzberg formula.

toward decentralization and normal living—we shall have to support one out of every hundred persons in asylums several decades before the time I have estimated by adhering strictly to Malzberg's formula.

If the increase is projected only to 1950, the number of persons who will have to be hospitalized for insanity will rise to 726.1 per 100,000, and if it is projected to the year 2000, to 2,481.1 per 100,000. What this means is that at the present time the number of persons so crazy as to make hospitalization necessary is so large that they could populate a city the size of Boston; by the year 2000, if the trend did not increase in the meantime, the insane in hospitals would fill five cities the size of Boston. No matter how much we may discount such extrapolation, the prospect is not pleasant.

But all the figures I have used up to this time refer only to the insane who are patients *at the same time.* Pollock and Malzberg, on the basis of studies made for the year 1928, stated that "on the average approximately *one person out of twenty-two becomes a patient for mental disease during the life of a generation.*"* This expectancy of mental breakdown for each generation is rising at an accelerating rate each year. On the conservative assumption that the expectancy or serious insanity sometime during the entire life of an individual will rise at the same rate as the rise in the number of insane hospitalized, *one person out of every six born after 1950 will spend part of his life in an asylum,* and by the time we come to the year 2000, one in every 1.7 persons on an average—*more than one out of every two persons*—will spend part of his life in an institution for the care of the insane. On the basis of expectancy per 100,000 in one generation, we get the following staggering figures:

1927	4,545.4
1950	17,181.6
2000	58,726.6

The existing situation is bad, but the prospects are frightening.

THE FACTS as to urban as compared with rural insanity, present us with a final demonstration of the truth of the proposition that modern life is driving modern man insane. For the glittering cities

*"Expectations of Mental Disease," Horatio M. Pollock and Benamin Malzberg, Psychiatric Quarterly, October, 1928, Vol. II, No. 4; pp. 549-579.

of which he is so proud, in which he not only crowds himself to an ever increasing extent but in which he piles up with joyous abandon nerve-wracking modern "conveniences" like the telephone and radio, *are driving people crazy nearly twice as fast as do the rural regions of the nation.*

If we again use the very precise figures for New York State, we find that the rates of first admissions from rural regions during the year 1927 were 61.6 per 100,000, while admissions from all the urban centers—all cities of over 2,500—averaged 102.7.‡ On this basis the rural population of the whole nation—roughly a little less than one quarter of the total—is producing 15 per cent of the current cases of insanity; the urban, 85 per cent. But this is on the basis of all cities down to and including towns of only 2,500. The bigger the cities, the higher the rate of insanity; or to put it in other terms, the more modern and centralized the pattern of living, the more insanity we have. Our big cities are veritable cradles of insanity.

Some recent studies of this question indicate even more conclusively that there is a direct correlation between insanity and urban life. The nearer an individual lives to the center of a city, the more likely he is to go insane. This is the conclusion arrived at in studies of the geography of insanity in St. Louis, Milwaukee, Omaha, Kansas City, and Peoria, by Clarence W. Schroeder,* and in Chicago by Robert Faris and H. Warren Dunham.† That city people go insane more often than people who live in the country has long been known but these studies reveal that there are well-defined insanity zones within modern cities and that the rate of insanity increases closer and closer to their centers.

What is more, these studies make it clear that urban insanity is

‡The average annual standardized rates of first admissions to the New York Civil State hospitals during the three years ended June 30, 1931, classified according to places of origin, per 100,000 of population were as follows:

Rural regions of the state	61.6
Cities of 2,500 to 10,000	87.6
Cities of 10,000 to 25,000	87.7
Cities of 25,000 to 100,000	98.2
Cities of 100,000 to 200,000	106.6
Average of all cities	102.7

The rate in Buffalo, 92.8; Rochester, 99.9; Syracuse, 101.0; New York City, 105.4. Ibid., p. 110.

*American Journal of Sociology, August, 1942.

†Mental Disorders in Urban Areas, Clifford Shaw, 1939.

not simply a manifestation of poverty but is related to the urban pattern of living itself. The insanity rate in the United States was hardly changed at all by the depression which began in 1929. Insanity cannot be correlated with average rents, property values, or annual incomes. Poverty and insecurity unquestionably affect insanity but they are only elements contributing to its generation. The best proof of this is the fact that not all poverty-stricken areas produce the same type of insanity. There are marked differences in the characters and the living habits of people in different sections of large cities. These differences play an enormous part in determining the abnormalities of behavior which people living in them manifest. Each section of the modern city—each environmental pocket with its particular way of living—seems to produce a characteristic form of insanity.

For instance:

The rooming-house districts breed paranoid schizophrenia—a split personality given to delusions of persecution and grandeur, hallucinations and indifference to environment.

Areas peopled mainly by the foreign-born produce catatonic schizophrenia—a split personality which is purposeless, impulsive, confused, given either to excitement or to stupor.

Negro districts produce dementia paralytica or syphilitic collapse of the mind. But all forms of schizophrenia are remarkably frequent among white people living in predominantly negro districts.

Districts with the lowest percentages of home-owners are characterized by senile psychoses with failing memory and frequent delusions of persecution.

Higher-rent districts are characterized by manic-depressive psychoses—alternate periods of elation and morbid gloom. But manic-depressive insanity occurs everywhere. The probable reason is that incipient manic-depressives have a psychotically quickened "drive" which carries them for a while into higher-income groups and hence into better residential areas.

The basic cause of urban insanity, according to these authorities, is the social disorganization of city life. Modern cities are peopled to an extraordinary degree by immigrants either from rural regions or from foreign countries. They have to be, since city populations constantly die out. Great numbers consist of foreign-born and country-born adults and their children who have to live in complete disregard of the precepts of their original folkways. In rooming-house districts, white-collar workers are isolated and lonely amid impersonal surroundings. The number of unmarried men, socially and sexually at loose ends, increases toward the city's center. And as

urbanization increases, the influence exercised by community and family control steadily decreases. Standards of behavior break down when the anonymous city-dweller has not only the opportunity but also the necessity of satisfying perfectly natural human drives in the unconventional and anti-social manner which is frequently a forerunner of insanity.

The map of Chicago on which Shaw plotted cases of insanity by residence, shows that in the center of the city, the rate per 100,000 adults was 150 and over; in the areas next to the center, the rate was between 120 and 149.9; in the third most densely populated areas, the rate was between 80 and 119.9; while in the outlying and least densely populated areas—in the suburban, semi-rural areas in which private houses with some green land for each family replaced apartment houses and solidly paved streets—the rate was under 80.

CAUSES OF INSANITY

WHAT IS the fundamental cause of all this insanity? To what extent is it due to the manner in which modern man lives and therefore preventable if he were taught how to live properly? To what extent is it due to social conditions which could be corrected if people generally were to change the conditions which produce it rather than risk shattering their own nervous systems trying to adjust themselves to the conditions? To what extent is it due to uncontrollable forces and accidents—to so-called "acts of God?" The layman has to tread warily in trying to answer questions which the specialists, because of their preoccupation with their specialty, have not correlated with facts outside the area of their own specialty. But certain inferences may be made.

To some extent, of course, insanity is uncontrollable. Some small number of cases of neurosis and psychosis may be expected because of freaks of nature, just as we have to expect a small number of instances in which nature "slips" and produces hermaphrodites and three-foot dwarfs and eight-foot giants. Even under the most perfect conditions of living there will be some individuals born congenitally handicapped in their emotional and neural systems. There will be some whose subnormalities are caused by catastrophes of nature and by traumatic shocks which are neither avoidable nor preventable.

But to a surprising extent, many causes which seem entirely uncontrollable at first sight, might be eliminated by right living in its

most specific sense. Let me mention three to illustrate what I have in mind. (I) Many cases of apparently congenital insanity and neural subnormality might be avoided if people were taught eugenics; if the parents of the victims had lived wisely, and if the environment of the victims during infancy and early childhood had been a normal one. (II) Many women suffer terrible emotional strains for which they are not responsible and to which they do not necessarily contribute, simply because of the ignorance and bad sexual habits of the men who court and marry them. For instance, most cases of general paresis in women have their beginnings in the pre-marital and extra-marital behavior of husbands. (III) The first World War shattered the nervous systems of many soldiers, and the second World War has subjected both soldiers and civilians all over the world to even greater and more prolonged emotional strains. During the first World War, there was a marked rise in insanity due to what was called "shell-shock." It might be argued that since these emotional and neural victims of war were not individually responsible for either of these terrible afflictions of mankind, the way in which they had lived can not be held responsible for what happened to them. But even as to that, I dissent. Modern war is as definitely a product of modern mis-education as flat-footedness is a product of modern man's devotion to city life with its concrete sidewalks. Individually, the shocks to which war subjects people may be unavoidable, but had there been right-education of the populations of the great nations of the world, these two wars could have been avoided, just as continued mis-education today is making it certain that we shall continue to have wars—and bloody revolutions—in the future.

So many of the norms of emotional life are violated by the way in which more and more people are living, that I feel justified in devoting the space which may be necessary to establish the facts about the relationship of the causes of modern insanity to the manner in which modern man has been led to live. In some way, the teachers and leaders of modern man must be made to see that they have a responsibility for the existence of this dreadful state of affairs—a responsibility which they cannot shift to what they call social conditions. I think that it will be sufficient, however, to discuss briefly six of the immediate and ultimate causes predisposing modern man

to insanity: (I) ill-health; (II) insecurity; (III) disgrace; (IV) loneliness; (V) boredom; (VI) city life.

I. ILL-HEALTH AND INSANITY

FIRST among these causes it is necessary to place ill-health—chronic ill-health, fear of insanity, venereal disease (both acquired and inherited), and congenital and hereditary defects of various kinds.

Modern man, in spite of modern medicine, sports and athletics, and sanitation, is not healthy. He is kept alive by the wonders of science for much longer periods than in the past, but none of these wonders are adequate substitutes for normal country life. No amount of modern medical science is a rational substitute for sun-ripened, disease-free, poison-spray free vegetables and fruits grown on healthy soil, rich in humus; nor for raw milk, fresh eggs, and meat from animals pastured on grass and fed grain as wholesome as the foods which human beings ought themselves to eat. The merely tolerable state of health which modern man has to endure affects his whole life, emotionally and physically. Since he does not get from the sheer functioning of his physical organs, the satisfactions which he needs both as an animal and as a human being, he tries to compensate for it by squeezing substitute-satisfactions out of the over-stimulation of his sensory, neural, and emotional systems. The ultimate end of this is neurasthenia, neurosis, and finally, psychosis. For a man can stand over-excitation for short periods of time and probably benefit from it; but he cannot stand it too long. It is a matter of common observation that strong emotions upset the nervous system. Anger, we say, tends to make us "blind." Excessive joy, we say, tends to "daze" us. We like to say, and the expression is based on age-old experience, that a man may be "scared out of his senses." Excessive emotion, when long continued, is recognized by most authorities as a primary factor leading to insanity.*

But what about the enormous amount of insanity which is caused not by functional but organic disease? Functional diseases of all kinds, psychiatrists and physicians agree, originate in wrong ways of living, and the ways of living both of individuals and groups are not

*"A man is neurasthenic from the moment that in him emotion gains a permanent supremacy over reason."—Dejerine and Gaukler, LES MANIFESTATIONS FONCTIONELLES DES PSYCHONEUROSE:, 1911, pp. 323-369. Quoted by C. Spearman, THE ABILITIES OF MAN, 1923, p. 103.

merely *subject* to education; they are the *product* of education—of either right-education or mis-education. But the organic diseases are supposed to be different—infections, poisons, and injuries and accidents are presumably due to the ways of God and not to the ways of man. Yet there is no doubt that they too are to a great extent finally caused by wrong ways of living. What, for instance, about the enormous volume of modern occupational diseases and accidents? Are not these products of our prevailing ways of working? What about automobile accidents? Is not our use of the automobile and our way of driving, products of our educations? Our present pattern of living calls not only for poisoning ourselves in the course of working, but also for poisoning ourselves mildly but cumulatively in a hundred different ways—by eating arsenical fruit sprays; by consuming food preservatives and adulterants; by inhaling carbon monoxide gas in the vitiated air of our modern cities, and so on *ad infinitum*. And even as to infectious diseases, the same is true. Where hygiene is not properly taught, it is not properly practiced. It is a valid statement to say that the education, first, of the medical profession, and then of a considerable part of the general public, has resulted in the virtual elimination in the United States of infectious diseases like typhoid. But this kind of education has still far to go. Degenerative diseases, like heart disease, are increasing at terrifying rates. A heart may function badly because it is structurally damaged or because it has been over-strained. In the first case it is supposed to be suffering from an organic disease; in the second, from a functional disease. But not only is over-straining in work and play a factor in the cause of heart disease; many other strains and stresses in the existing pattern of living contribute to the increase in these degenerative diseases. Faulty living may begin by causing faulty functioning; ultimately faulty functioning results in the development of organic disease.

Theobald Smith used the formula *D equals M divided by R* to indicate the factors which influence the development of disease when pathogenic bacteria enter the body. Disease, *D*, is produced in proportion to the relationship between microbial attack, *M*, and the vital resistance, *R*, of the individual. Disease does not automatically follow upon infection; its appearance is dependent on the vital resistance of the individual, and this vital resistance is primarily a product

of the individual's way of living.

But what about hereditary and congenital insanity and disease as contrasted with acquired disease? A great deal of modern insanity is due to causes which are of this apparently hopeless nature. But it is not possible to exclude even heredity from all relationship to the education of man. Hereditary insanity, however, is related not to the education of the unfortunate individuals who are its victims but to the education of their parents. Hereditary insanity depends for its existence—for its cause and its continuance—not just on determining factors in the germ-plasm but also on the act of conception, and conception is not possible without copulation by individuals who carry hereditary taints. But copulation is an act subject to education precisely like countless other acts performed by individuals. If people can be taught what to eat—as they are taught not only to eat things which are good for them, like whole wheat bread, but also things which are bad for them, like white bread—they can be taught how normal human beings should copulate. Educatable and responsible individuals, who carry within themselves hereditary taints, should be taught not to have sexual intercourse without using contraceptives. To prevent irresponsible and non-educatable individuals from producing children, the population generally should be taught to adopt social measures such as sterilization to prevent individuals, (of which the members of the famous Jukes and Kallikuk families are examples), from generating. Education, therefore, while it cannot entirely prevent hereditary and congenital insanity, can, by educating parents—particularly mothers with regard to care in the pre-natal period—greatly reduce congenital and hereditary insanity.

So much for the relationship of modern mis-education to insanity caused by disease, chronic ill-health, functional stresses and strains, and fear of insanity.

II. INSECURITY AND INSANITY

NOW FOR the relationship of insecurity, which is so great a factor in modern insanity, to mis-education. Specifically, I have in mind the widespread feeling of financial insecurity which haunts modern man and preys on his mind, sometimes consciously and sometimes subconsciously, not only when he is poor but even when he is rich. If we assume that his need and greed for money, his debts, his worry about his dependents, his booms and panics with their alternate peri-

ods of extravagance and hard times, his fear of poverty and unemployment, are matters with which his pattern of living has nothing to do—that they are mere visitations of providence, like rain or sunshine—then, of course, mis-education has nothing to do with creating his haunting sense of insecurity. But as a matter of fact, the whole scheme of living he has adopted, both individually and for society as a whole, is a product of his education. He believes that he should be dependent on a constantly expanding scheme of business enterprises for money-making—which usually means a job to him—and is taught from childhood up to prepare himself to work in industry, or if in the country, to produce cash crops to sell to industry, rather than to work for himself producing directly as much as is possible of the needs and desires of his family. He is property-less and land-less for the most part because he has been taught to depend upon a job or a money-making income of some sort for his livelihood. If, as a result, he is insecure, and that insecurity contributes to the emotional instability which so often drives him insane, it is not straining the facts to say that here too it is the ideas he has been taught to accept and the means he has been taught to use in realizing his ideas, which are contributing to the alarming increase of insanity today.

III. PUBLIC DISGRACE

PUBLIC DISGRACE—degradation in the eyes of those who constitute the community which the individual considers most important—is a prolific source of neurasthenia, neurosis, and psychosis.

In every culture there is usually one significant achievement which is necessary to the self-respect of its members. Failure to succeed in this significant achievement results in a feeling of inferiority and inadequacy. Among American Indians the significant achievement was *scalps;* among the head-hunting negritos, *heads;* among the devout during the middle ages, *salvation;* among primitive herdsmen, *sheep, cattle, horses.* In our own culture the most significant achievement is *money.* It does not make the slightest difference how many other achievements an individual masters, if he fails in this one, a feeling of degradation develops in him no matter how much he may seek to hide it or to compensate for it. Unemployment, a business failure, inability to earn enough to "keep up with the Joneses," may result in so strong a state and feeling of frustration as to precipitate a mental breakdown.

But there are also many other forms of public disgrace which drive individuals crazy today—the disgraces resulting from the exposure of scandalous behavior; perhaps from an arrest for crime; from an illicit love affair; in the case of women, from bearing an illegitimate child. In any culture in which people have been led to refuse to recognize and value normal living, and instead to demand of every individual successes and achievements which are exceptional, we may expect a steady increase in the rate of insanity.

IV. LONELINESS AND INSANITY

LONELINESS is one of the most important contributing factors to modern insanity. The normal human being cannot be lonely very long without going mad. In countless different ways the whole pattern of modern living increases the loneliness of modern man. The tendency toward singleness on the part of men and women; the frequency of divorce; the institutionalization of the aged, (and it should not be forgotten that the aged represent an increasingly large part of the total population in the modern world); the relative isolation of the increasing proportion of children raised in broken homes; the substitution of living in big cities for living in small communities, and the substitution of work for both men and women in industry for working together in a home, contribute to insanity directly and indirectly. Directly, nearly all lonely individuals become more or less "queer;" this is particularly true if it is accompanied by lovelessness and the frustration of normal sexual relations. Indirectly, loneliness produces insanity because it creates the soil in which prostitution, promiscuity, abortion, and venereal disease flourish—all factors contributing to the rising tide of insanity. If people are taught to accept a pattern of living which makes for loneliness, they are in effect being taught to go crazy.

V. BOREDOM AND INSANITY

BOREDOM, like loneliness, (to which it is, of course, allied), is an equally important contributing factor to the rising tide of insanity. For men and women today are bored by what should be the most stimulating, creative, and satisfying part of living—the time devoted to work. There is ample evidence to show that the repetitive work to which modern man is condemned by the industrialization, mechanization, and standardization of life, (which lacks significance in

itself and acquires it only through being the means by which he obtains money), produces insanity.

Work today not only in the big factory but the big store and the big office, is monotonous. This is due to the ever increasing sub-division of the operations. One sympton of this is labor turn-over which on some types of operations exceeds 100 per cent annually. Boredom, according to Mayo, is rather prevalent among operatives employed on repetitive processes. Workers of superior intelligence are more easily bored than those of less intelligence. With masterly understatement he says: "We may take it as decided that it is far too easily possible for an intelligent worker to experience something of futility and exasperation in modern industry and business."*

But the attempt to escape from boredom in the various recreations to which modern man is taught to turn for compensation for the futility of his work, adds its own contribution to the production of insanity. He is taught to go to the movies, to listen to the radio, to drink whiskey, to smoke one cigarette after another, to shop for the latest fashions, to play bridge, to buy a new automobile, to read the comics and the picture press. In addition to escaping in these ways, he tries to escape boredom by moving from job to job, from one neighborhood to another, from one city or part of the nation to another, and from one wife or husband to another by divorce or desertion. But escapism is already a form of emotional subnormality, and when combined with a lack of all normal interest in work, it is not surprising that both contribute to the insanity of modern man.

VI. URBANISM AND INSANITY

FINALLY, the increasing urbanization of modern man contributes to his insanity. He accepts what he is taught about the proper place in which to live, so he lives in bigger and bigger cities. But all the corollaries of city life indicate that the city itself sets the stage for insanity perhaps as no other single factor in modern life sets it. City life, as compared with country life, shows increased drunkenness, crime, divorce—all of them contributors to insanity as well as evidence of its existence already. All the factors we have already discussed—disease, financial insecurity, loneliness, boredom—flourish in cities. In New York City alone, according to Mrs. Walter Nelson

*HUMAN PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION, Elton Mayo, 1933; p. 122.

Segwick, (sponsor of an "L Club" designed to mitigate the futility of life for lonely old women), there are some 30,000 unemployed women over fifty, living a meaningless existence alone in tiny, cheerless rooms. A meager old-age pension or home-relief allowance keeps them alive but furnishes them no substitute for friends and relatives. Because they are not starving, no one worries about their tragic prospect of staring at four dingy walls until they die.

THE OUTLOOK

IN TEACHING people to live in cities, and in preparing the young to earn their livings in cities, we are engaged in flagrant mis-education.

If the pattern of living which has produced these conditions in so many unfortunate human beings continues to develop, and if we shall in less than a generation—actually in just about one decade—have a situation in which at all times *one in every hundred persons will be so mad as to have to be kept in an asylum,* and *one out of every six persons born spend part of their lives in an asylum,* the outlook for modern man is not particularly promising. How those who are not in hospitals will manage to preserve their sanity under such conditions, it is difficult to imagine. But it is not necessary to do so. For all these figures have to do with the proportion of the population so insane as to require hospitalization; they do not take into account the number of neurotics and neurasthenics sane enough to be permitted to go about with relative safety. What the modern world has to look forward to is a population consisting of a decreasing number of normal and self-supporting individuals and an increasing number of neurotics and neurasthenics jointly subjected to the strain of supporting themselves and an increasing proportion of helplessly insane persons. If there is any hope for modern man at all it seems to lie in ceasing to be *modern;* in reorganizing his pattern of living *outside* of hospitals on the basis of lessons learned *inside* our hospitals for the insane. For as it is now, the asylums are discharging as "cured" numbers of their patients simply because they can be made, inside the hospital, to adopt certain more normal habits of living than are practiced in the world outside.

The explanation for this curious fact is to be found in what is called *occupational therapy.* In the hospitals, the patients are given looms on which to weave cloth and tools with which they may work in wood; they are taught how to sew and how to plait baskets; they

are given a chance to work outdoors on the earth cultivating gardens. When they have had their shattered nervous systems somewhat normalized by this kind of work, they are sent back to cities where they can have no gardens; to apartments where they can have no workshops; to communities in which only eccentrics or romantics are supposed to weave. And they are, of course, sent back to factories, stores and offices to engage in the same kind of repetitive and meaningless work which originally helped to make them sick. After they have been deprived by modern life, long enough, of the opportunity for sane work which the hospital had furnished them, they are then ready for another breakdown.

IS MODERN LIFE WORTH LIVING

THE CYNIC will retort to all this that if insanity is the price which has to be paid for modern plumbing, automobiles, airplanes, telephones, movies, and radios, it is better to be crazy with them than to be sane without them. But is the cynic right both in assuming that there is no other way of obtaining a genuinely satisfactory way of living and in assuming that modern man really believes that modern life is worth living? Is modern man in reality as truly happy with his so-called high standard of living as he pretends? On this matter we do not have to speculate. Upon this matter modern man has unconsciously and inadvertently passed judgment himself. By his actions he has said, "Life is not worth living; I do not feel equal to facing the real problems with which living today confronts every man, and so I am going to devote myself to escaping from them." He expresses this in three ways: by a frantic pursuit of material pleasure; by an almost deliberate refusal to bring children into the world—by race-suicide; and by a steady increase in the suicide rate—by ending his own "enjoyment" of life before his life would ordinarily end.

SUICIDE

MODERN newspapers, magazines, movies, comic strips, "pin-up" girls, radio programs, fashions, automobiles, cigarettes, bars, nursery schools, childless homes, divorce, labor turn-over, vice, crime, parasitism, social security, are all forms of escape. Modern insanity itself is simply one form of escape into a world of phantasy from a reality which has become unendurable. *Modern suicide is another.* It is, of course, the ultimate escape of the individual from a way of living

to which he no longer thinks it worth while trying to adjust himself. The statistics of suicide are a sort of mass-confession of the fact that modern man has created for himself an environment so subnormal that increasing numbers of men and women would rather die than continue to enjoy the evasions of life which it offers them.

Suicide—*self-murder*—is an act so contradictory of the basic instinct of self-preservation as to acquire unique significance as a symptom of individual and social pathology.* Human beings, like all other animals, ordinarily resist death to the bitter end; they continue to fight for their lives against the most desperate odds, when the hardships and suffering to which they are being subjected do not seem to make living worth while. Some deep-seated instinct makes human beings cling to life even when confronted by such hopeless dangers, such hopeless illness, such hopeless privation and poverty as to make it seem natural for them to resign themselves to death. Yet in the face of this basic tendency of human nature, a constantly increasing number of individuals in the great industrial nations of the world which take greatest pride in what they call Progress, are committing suicide. The stresses to which people are being subjected by modern life are apparently being so intensified that constantly increasing numbers of unhappy and bewildered persons are disregarding the resistance both of natural instinct and social sanctions, and escaping modern life by escaping into what they think is oblivion.

The facts about suicide are as follows:

(I) About 22,000 persons kill themselves yearly in the United States. There are nearly twice as many suicides as murders. It is generally agreed that the reported number is at a minimum, many cases being concealed and others reported as accidents and homicides.

(II) The numbers who commit suicide are increasing. While the rate in percentages fluctuates with business conditions, rising during hard times and falling during good, the general trend in industrial nations is upward.

(III) Except during early youth, more men kill themselves than women. The shift from childhood, which in industrial societies is

*"The relationship of suicide to social disorganization is further evident in the contrast between preliterate and civilized groups.....A similar contrast is seen in cities, whose rates of suicide are two or three times as high as in their parent countries."—HUMAN PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION, Elton Mayo.

an increasingly irresponsible period in life, to the rigors of industrial employment in maturity, apparently subjects the individual to abnormal strains; since men are industrially employed more than women, more of them commit suicide.

(IV) There is a very gradual rise in the number of suicides among women as they grow older; there is a startling rise among men. About half of all suicides in the United States are covered by insurance policies. Many men obviously kill themselves in order to provide their dependents with an estate. As men grow older, in a society in which fewer and fewer families own productive homesteads, they find themselves less and less able to cope with the problems of industrial employment; women, because they are the beneficiaries of life insurance, find themselves more secure than men.

(V) The rate of suicide is higher by about 50 per cent in urban than rural areas; the larger the city, the higher the rate. Evidently in spite of the urbanization of rural life in America, the rural population finds life more worth living than the urban population.

(VI) Divorced, separated, and widowed persons commit suicide more frequently than those who are married; unmarried individuals have the next highest rate; married, but childless, individuals have the next; the lowest rate is among married persons with children. Obviously the disintegration of the modern family, which is most conspicuous in cities, is a powerful factor in the tendency to suicide.*

Dublin and Bunzel list a number of what might be considered the immediate causes of suicide. Among those which they mention are insanity and the fear of insanity; the feeling of futility and frustration; hopeless ill-health; jealousy and other sexual and conjugal difficulties; broken marriages, divorces, failure to marry, childlessness, illegitimacy; inability of men to provide for those dependent on them; lack of significant work; city life; and futile old age. The similarity between these causes of suicide and the causes of insanity is striking.

If all these seemingly heterogeneous explanations were to be summed up in a single generalization, what would we have to say? It seems to me that we would be driven to say something like this:

*The facts on which these statements are based are drawn mainly from To Be or Not to Be, Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel, 1933, and from The Crisis of Our Age, by Pitirim A. Sorokin.

Modern man's abnormal tendency to suicide grows out of modern man's abnormal way of living. The responsibility for the increase in suicide, as for the increase of insanity in modern life, is institutional and not merely individual. It is a product not so much of initiative individual by individual as of the manner in which people generally have been taught to live. Mayo makes this plain in his book HUMAN PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION. Here we have a broad summary of the very significant studies made for a period of more than a decade at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company. These studies were based on experiments made in a great modern factory situated in a great modern industrial city, and on people who were not only employed in modern mass-production but who were also trying to live up to a typically modern standard of living. No apology is needed for relying largely on Mayo's analysis and conclusions.

ENVIRONMENT AND EDUCATION

MAYO quotes Halbwachs to establish social causation for suicide. I think it would be clearer if it had been attributed to *education and environment* rather than so vague a concept as *social causation.*

> Social life offers us the spectacle of an effort eternally renewed by human groups to triumph over the causes of disintegration which threaten such groups. The weapons of society in this struggle are collective beliefs and customs. When these are weakened or shaken, it can be claimed that the vital resources of the group are reduced. For the rest, the causes of disintegration are disabilities of function such as may occur in any complex machine, in any delicate organism; they are due to the structure of the organism or of the machine. Should these disabilities multiply or the effort of the society weaken—and both may occur simultaneously, especially during the passage from an ancient and traditional type of life to a new and more complex civilization—then we shall see breaks appear in the social structure. It is somewhere within such breaks that one looks for the suicides.
>
> The investigator as he watches the social group is able to observe these breaks appear, increase, multiply, or disappear according as the structure of the collective organism is transformed, and as its vitality is diminished or increased. The psychiatrist concentrates his attention on what is happpening in the interior of such a break or gap, and since this is a species of social void or emptiness, it is natural enough that he should explain suicide by the person who commits suicide. The psychiatrist does not see that the real cause of suicide is the social emptiness about the person who commits suicide, and that if there were no such *lacunæ* in the social structure there would not be any suicide.*

*LES CAUSES DU SUICIDE, Maurice Halbwachs, 1930; p. 448; quoted by Elton Mayo in HUMAN PROBLEMS OF AN INDUSTRIAL CIVILIZATION, pp. 133-134.

Mayo discusses the relationship of the environment to the disintegration of individuals as follows:

Perhaps in the study of suicide in Chicago, the relation between personal and social disorganization is best illustrated. The two terms are not synonymous but they denote related phenomena. Social disorganization is the loss of control of the mores over the members of the group. A certain amount of social disorganization does not disrupt the group, and is in fact common to all but the most static groups. Persons who are uncontrolled by the mores may be personally disorganized, or they may have elaborated a more or less individual scheme of behavior which permits satisfaction of interests and efficient life.....It is true, however, that when social disorganization exists there is liable to be a greater amount of personal disorganization than in a stable community.....When the social organization disintegrates.....people are often unable to formulate for themselves substitute attitudes and habits. (Ibid., pp. 128-130).

The contrast between urban and industrial disintegration and the more normal life of the rural and village family, is made clear in the following passage:

Shaw calls attention to the fact that an increase of delinquency and crime is indicative of disintegration in those social controls which are necessary to ordered living and progress. But these are not the only symptons. Dr. Cavan in her study of the incidence of suicide in Chicago is also able to use maps similar to those used by Shaw and to demonstrate that the rate of suicide is highest in those areas which show other evidence of social disorganization. There is not a complete coincidence with the Shaw areas, because in Chicago, as in other communities, occupational groups of a professional type, for example, show a comparatively high suicide rate. This lack of complete coincidence is, however, of special interest because the Cavan hypothesis, that "personal disorganization" follows a breakdown in community organization, finds confirmation even with respect to the professional instances in special case studies. Delinquency and crime are evidence mainly of gross breakdown; it does not follow that a relative freedom from gross breakdown indicates immunity to social disintegration.

Cavan states her conclusion as follows: "In communities organized on a religious basis and in small towns and rural sections the suicide rate is low, apparently both because the old traditional attitudes against suicide are still held there, and because there is little occasion for confusion of interests and purposes. Cities, on the other hand, tend to be in a perpetual state of disorganization, and the multiplicity of contacts and diverse codes of conduct permit liberation of the individual from traditional ways of thinking and at the same time often make it almost impossible for him to achieve satisfactory relationships for the fulfillment of his interests." (Ibid., pp. 126-128).

In trying to account for this development, Mayo turns to the explanation made by Durkheim:

Durkheim's main purpose even in the year 1897 was to show that an industrial civilization, in proportion as it undergoes rapid development, tends to suffer from an ill which he terms *anomie*—anomia. This has sometimes been literally translated as "lawlessness"—which does not quite express Durkheim's meaning. His central claim is, first, that a small society lives in an ordered manner such that the interests of its members are subordinated to the interest of the group. He does not mean anything that is political or, in any explicit sense, moral by this subordination. His reference is rather to the fact that an individual born as a member of such a community can, during infancy and adolescence, see ahead of him the function he will unquestionably fulfill for the group when he is adult. This anticipation regulates his thought and action in the developing years, and in adulthood culminates in satisfaction and a sense of function for, and necessity to, the society. He is throughout his life *solidaire* with the group. Modern development, Durkheim claims, has brought to an end this life of satisfactory function for the individual and the group. We are facing a condition of *anomie*, of planlessness in living, which is becoming characteristic both of individual lives and of communities.....Durkheim contends that individuals increasingly are lapsing into restless movement, planless self-development—a method of living which defeats itself because achievement has no longer any criterion of value; happiness always lies beyond any present achievement. Defeat takes the form of ultimate disillusion—a disgust with the "futility of endless pursuit." (Ibid., pp. 128-130).

The part which our modern environment plays in shaping the life of the individual, during childhood, is made clear:

.....the reality of the infant's first knowledge is already a socio-reality. That is to say, his reality is informed and ordered by social conditioning to such an extent that for the rest of his life he is usually unable to complete his escape from the social interpretations thus imposed upon him. Only by the most arduous experimental study and logical elaboration can he win clear and socially untrammelled understanding. It is customary in these days to conceive social dependence as wholly a disadvantage. This condemnation neglects the fact that the child and adolescent greatly need social support and sanction during the entire period of tutelage. Without such tutelage and support the individual cannot achieve clear vision and knowledge. Alternative there is none: psycho-pathology has shown that infants deprived of this social guidance grow up, the variants of circumstance, to psychoneurosis or crime. (Ibid., p. 157).

On the same theme, he says:

In all the early stages of development the child requires a normally constituted home and family affection; he needs also and equally the companionship of other children of his own age under the conditions afforded by an ordered society. The unit of social explanation is not the human individual, nor is it the family; it is a group of families living in an ordered relation with each other. Freud has succeeded in showing that the obsessive is socially maladjusted, that his attitude

even to his own family is peculiar and distorted. Further investigation shows that the family which produces him is itself inadequately related to the communal life. The effect of Freud's inquiry is therefore to demonstrate that the maladjustment of the neurotic is a social maladjustment; his disability is not an individual but a social problem.* The symptons of sex obsession which his clinical method pursues with such tenacity are the consequence, of a primary social disruption. (Ibid., pp. 132-133).

Mayo sums up as follows:

The psychiatrist is ordinarily aware that the maladjustment a neurotic suffers is a social maladjustment; he is also aware that this incapacity to get on with other people reflects the early history of such a person, the social void that bred him. But says Dr. J. S. Plant, in helping a neurotic, the psychiatrist sometimes forgets to ask whether there is any longer a social order to which the patient may adjust. And, selecting an example of a residential neighborhood not far from New York, Plant proceeds to demonstrate how far the ravages of social disruption have carried. The individual and the family live in temporary quarters, the population of the industrial and the better residential localities constantly changes. Of one of the better residential areas, he says: "(1) Seventy per cent of the married men have their work so far removed as to mean at least two hours of travelling each day. In some large areas this percentage is ninety. (2) The rapid inroads of apartment life are serving to restrict the size and importance of what we have previously considered.....real aspects of the family. (3) Each five years finds slightly over 78 per cent of this population in a new address. This incessant migration is progressing even in areas where as high as 84 per cent of the homes are owned by those who live in them." Plant goes on to point out that in a surrounding such as this, one cannot expect children to grow up with the same sense of social significance and order, with the same capacity of self-control, as children brought up in an environment of greater stability and more obvious collaborate function. Social stratification—the relationship to each other of the various working groups—cannot attain either definition or actuality in a situation where one perhaps lives and moves but certainly has no being. Just as our political and economic studies have for two hundred years tended to take account only of the economic functions involved in living, so also in our actual living we have inadvertently allowed pursuit of economic development to lead us into a condition of extensive social disintegration. As Halbwachs says, the most important problem for a complex and rapidly changing society is the contrivance of means that will assure the preservation of a social integrity of function side by side with the development of function. It is probable that the work a man does represents his most important function in the society; but unless there is some sort of integral social background to his life, he cannot even assign a value to his work. Durkheim's findings in nineteenth-century France would seem to apply to twentieth-century America.

*In nearly every instance I interpret Mayo's references to *social problems* as really references to *educational problems*—problems in preparing the individual for association with other human beings.—R. B.

*The answer to the question proposed by the research division at Hawthorne—does life in a modern industrial center in some way predispose workers to obsessive response—must be tentatively affirmative.**

What does this tentative affirmative imply? One suspects that the Chicago researches are significant not only for criminal and suicide inquiry, but also significant for students of industrial relations, of psychoneurosis *and of education.* Beyond this it is evident that any social disorganization on this scale must show itself in a developing instability of economic consumption. Mr. T. W. Lamont remarked some time ago that the United States showed less resistance to the onset of an economic depression than certain older and European countries. It may be that in this there is again a sympton of *anomie.* A community which has been accustomed to a certain manner of living offers resistance to change in proportion as it has held its integrate character. This is true of changes that are beneficial; it is still more true of changes that are the reverse. (Ibid., pp. 136-137).

IV. DECADENCE IN MODERN LIFE

IT MAY BE anti-climactic to turn to yet another aspect of the abnormality of modern man, but I believe it justified on logical if not on strictly literary grounds. In discussing his decadence we shall refer at least briefly to the extent to which his *esthetic* activities and works of art are also indicative of subnormality.

Decadence, in the sense in which I shall use the term, refers to the extent to which modern man's activities and the products he manufactures, represent a decline from the standards of creation and expression to which mankind had attained, individual by individual, prior to the rise of Industrialism and Urbanism, and the extent to which they represent a failure to realize the standard he should have attained with our enormous increase in technical knowledge and perhaps also in good taste since the invention of printing—the art preservative of all arts.

DECADENCE IN THE FINE ARTS

I DO NOT propose to dwell upon the subject of the fine arts. One reason which justifies this rather cavalier treatment of them is the fact that the fine arts themselves (insofar as they represent a withdrawal of the masses of people from artistic self-expression and a specialization of a few "artists" upon the arts) are in themselves an indication of decadence. Another is the fact that the subject has

*The magnificence of this understatement should not be permitted to obscure its profound significance. The italics are mine.—R. B.

already been explored in great detail by Sorokin.* A third is the difficulty of eliminating subjectivity—of avoiding the projection of personal likes and dislikes into their evaluation.

All that I shall therefore do is to call attention to one outstanding characteristic of modern art in which artists today have unquestionably gone further than artists in any previous artistic period, and which seems to be distinctly subnormal. Modern artists, insofar as they devote themselves specifically to the fine arts, tend to substitute *exhibitionism* for normal self-expression; they tend to get their satisfaction not out of the creation of their works of art, which would be normal, but out of the sales, the publicity, the applause, and the appreciation of consumers of art which, when carried to the extreme which is usual today, is *prima facie* evidence of decadence. As a result we have in modern art a characteristic emphasis upon novelty; upon startling and even outraging the public as in the obscurity of Epstein and Joyce, the cacophony of Stravinsky, the ugliness of Picasso, the illogic of Gertrude Stein, the pornography of Dali. If the retreat of modern artists from beauty, from harmony, from intelligibility, from integrity, and from sanity, is not indicative of decadence, nothing is.

DECADENCE IN THE FOLK ARTS

NOR SHALL I dwell at length on the decadence of the folk arts—those arts which are practiced not by specialists and "artists" but by the masses of people. Self-expression is a basic instinctual trait of man; the strength of the inherent drive may vary greatly in different individuals but it is nevertheless strong in every normal person. When it is entirely absent or the individual fails to express himself in any kind of artistic activities or productions, it is perfectly obvious that he is subnormal. It is an equally true, if not so obvious, indication of subnormality if the satisfaction of the drive for self-expression takes the form of spectatorship (rather than of participation) in artistic and creative activities. Since the masses of people in our industrialized world are nearly all spectators in relation to artistic activities and productions of all kinds—both those considered fine, as in painting and sculpture, and those which are useful, as in weaving and in pottery—modern man is subnormal. For modern man, to the extent to which he is modern, is taught to restrict himself to a single spe-

*See "The Crisis of the Fine Arts," Chapter II of THE CRISIS OF OUR AGE.

cialty of some kind—nearly always to what might most truly be called a sub-specialty, the performance or making of some minute part of an article or task—and therefore to the consumption and enjoyment of what others have done and created. He designs and makes none of his own clothing, his furnishings, his home; he listens to others sing and recite on the radio; he watches professional athletes at sports such as baseball and football; he looks at paintings and objects of art in museums. In comparison with his forbears, who designed and made things for themselves and their families; who did their own singing and dancing and playing; who were not specialists so much as jacks-of-all-trades, he has definitely decayed. With modern technical knowledge, modern tools and machinery, and modern power, he ought to be expressing himself in designing and making infinitely more useful and beautiful things than in the past, but he doesn't; he is too busy doing what he has been taught to do in the schools he has attended and by the advertisements he reads—buying what others have made and appreciating what others have created.

The folk arts are thus reduced to the status of anachronisms; to modern man the few enthusiasts who here and there dabble in them are romantics hopelessly behind the times, and India, China, and other similar nations in which they still have some vitality, backward regions in which the folk arts should as quickly as possible be obliterated by modern industry.

EDUCATION AND ART

THAT the manner in which modern man expresses himself artistically is the product of his education, is a moral which hardly needs to be drawn. If modern artists are rendered decadent by their overspecialization and consequent exhibitionism, and modern man is decadent because he has no creative arts which he practices himself, the explanation, it seems to me, is mis-education—mis-education not only at home and in school but above all in the interest of modern industry. The crying need of the times, therefore, is not more education of the kind to which we are subjecting him today—not more education in "art appreciation" nor in the various artistic professions—but right-education; education which aims at avoiding the frustrations which lead modern man to escape into the phantasy world of the movie and the radio, and at developing all the potentialities of the individual as a creative and productive being.

EDUCATION AND MODERN LIFE

THE truth about modern man—the truth about his increasing dependency, delinquency, degeneracy and decadence—is indisputable. It cannot be brushed aside by calling attention to his miraculous scientific achievements—supersonic airplanes, television, atomic energy—nor by calling attention to the magnificence of the cities in which he has incarcerated himself, nor by the enormous increase in the numbers of bathtubs, radios, telephones, automobiles and other evidences of Progress with which he finds himself equipped. Neither can it be dismissed by saying that they are merely the unfortunate accompaniments of a period of transition; that when the time comes and his medical, psychiatric, and social progress catches up with his technological progress, things will be different and a new society and a new type of man, adjusted to modern civilization, will replace the unfortunate population condemned to live during the transition period in which we live. If modern Progress is the answer to the problem with which life confronts human beings, then as modern man industrializes and urbanizes himself more and more, dependency, delinquency, degeneracy, and decadence ought to decrease and not increase.

The transition argument is morally and intellectually contemptible. The present generation, for one thing, has just as much right to a good life as those future generations which psychology may have succeeded in adjusting to all the stresses and strains of modern progress. There is no way of really justifying the condemnation of modern man to a lifetime of frustration for the benefit of future man—for the benefit of a type of man whom physicians may be able to adjust to the ingestion of two hundred and forty pounds of sugar annually instead of a mere hundred and twenty pounds, and whom they will immunize against all the other incidental evils of modern Progress. Nor is there the slightest reason for accepting on faith the naive

notion that more and more Progress will eliminate the evils of urban and industrial life which Progress up to the present has failed to eradicate.

Brushing aside these unpleasant facts by counting the material blessings of modern life, is in effect substituting a census of the material products of industrial civilization for the formulation of a normal pattern of living; a pattern which would eliminate the frustrations responsible for the appalling conditions to which I am calling attention.

In one of the passages quoted from Mayo, he calls attention to the importance of the Hawthorne experiment to education. He does not elaborate upon the subject. But any one primarily interested in education ought to do so. For its importance, even to those only concerned with the conventional concept of juvenile education, is very great, while its importance cannot be exaggerated if education is thought of in its broadest aspect as the whole of the process by which people are led to create the the kind of world in which they live. From this latter standpoint the Hawthorne experiment acquires a unique importance because it raises the question of whether the world which modern man has been led to create does not represent an attempt at the realization of a mistaken ideal; whether the very idea of which that world is an expression is not itself mistaken. The Hawthorne experiment makes it necessary, therefore, to consider the nature and validity of the idea of Progress—the idea which the leaders and teachers of modern man have in fact accepted as expressive of the purpose in life for which education should prepare human beings. It raises the question, to paraphrase the eloquent expression which William Jennings Bryan used, of whether educators are not unconsciously engaged in crucifying mankind not merely on a cross of gold but on a cross of Progress.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS

I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs a true sublimity and terror of overhanging fate, is, what you are going to do with all these things.—Thomes H. Huxley, at Johns Hopkins University in 1876.

IF THE behavior of men, (and the social conditions which their activities produce), is always, as I believe, a reflection of their ideas and particularly of those *bodies of ideas* which I call ideologies, then we must look for the source of the mis-education of modern man and the ultimate cause of his abnormality in the ideology which men have today somehow or other come to accept and in accordance with which they have organized and continue to organize their lives. There is such an ideology. And it is an ideology upon which modern man not only in Capitalist America but modern man everywhere—including Communist Russia—is organizing life. Capitalism and Communism are, it is true, conflicting ideologies but they are in conflict not about the real ideology which modern man has come to accept but about the way to implement and organize it politically. Both the believers in Capitalism and in Communism are

believers in modern man; they both believe in the factory and in the exclusive application of science, power and the machine to centralized production; they both believe that the ultimate goal of man should be material progress; both accept the ideology of Progress.‡

The time has therefore come for us to consider the nature and the validity of Progress—the validity of the body of ideas which the teachers and leaders of modern man have accepted, by implication if not always by formal declaration,* as expressive of the purposes in life for which education should prepare human beings.

Careful consideration of the teleological ideology† which modern man has been taught to accept, (as medieval man was taught to accept the ideology of Christianity), will fully justify, I believe, *first,* the rejection by the teachers of mankind of the

‡In the scheme of classification used in the second volume of this study, EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY, all solutions of the problem of ultimate purpose in life, (the teleological problem), are divided into three categories—Supernal, Hedonistic, and Humanistic. In evaluating the doctrine of Progress, it helps to recognize the fact that the doctrine is definitely not only a rejection of Supernalism but also of Humanism—that it is definitely Hedonistic in character. For it is neither an affirmation of the *things of the spirit* nor an exposition of the *duties and rights of man;* it is distinctly a doctrine affirming his rights and principally his *right to the pursuit of material pleasure.* It solves the teleological problem in terms of a Hedonistic, Empirical, and Materialistic body of ideas. It is Hedonistic because it assumes that man's ultimate purpose in life should be *pleasure;* it is Empirical because it assumes that the only valid test of truth is *sensation*—the evidence of the senses; it is Materialistic because it assumes that the primary stuff of which the universe is composed is *matter,* that man's primary relationship to the world in which he finds himself is an economic one, and that he acts most truly in accord with his intrinsic nature when he devotes his life to the conquest of nature and the exploitation of his environment. The ideology of Normal Living, with which I contrast it in this book, is a Humanistic and not a Hedonistic solution of the teleological problem.

*The most vigorous movement in formal education during the past generation has stemmed from John Dewey's great new idea in pedagogy. In the beginning Dewey called his new idea the "New Education." It is profoundly significant that when his work developed into a formidable movement, his idea was renamed "Progressive Education." Unconsciously the leaders of the movement acknowledged their fealty to the ideology of Progress. To confer upon the "New Education" the title of "Progresive Education" was to identify it with what virtually everybody in America had come to accept as the proper goal of mankind.

†In the most literal meaning of the words—a body of ideas (ideology) dealing with the purpose (teleos) of living.

whole modern cult of Progress; *secondly* I believe it will justify the repudiation by them of the prevailing tendency to implement the idea of Progress by centralizing the activities of mankind; *thirdly* I believe it will justify them in repudiating the leadership not only of education but of society generally by manufacturers and engineers, by businessmen and financiers, by politicians and bureaucrats; by socialists and statists of all kinds; *finally*, I hope it will validate the call to the teachers of mankind—teachers of all kinds and not only those professionally engaged in teaching—to assume that leadership which I advocate in this book.

THE MODERN CONCEPTION OF PROGRESS

THE conception of Progress which prevails today is relatively new. Since it is my contention that this conception is almost wholly mistaken, it needs careful consideration at our hands.

The belief in the possibility of perfection, and specifically in progress toward perfect happiness on earth, is distinctly modern. It is a belief which dates from the Age of Reason and the Age of Revolution. Up to two hundred years ago, our forefathers had no belief in the possibility of happiness on earth. For over a thousand years men were taught that earthly ambitions and satisfactions were more of a handicap than a help in their struggles to win eternal felicity after death. There was no idea that man, either in his own life or after a succession of generations, could make himself happy. The future was not asssociated with the notion of continuous progress. Men waited for the end of the world; for the day of judgment; for the coming of the Kingdom of God on earth, sometimes in terror, sometimes in hope.

Before the eighteenth century, during the period in world history which Comte called "metaphysical," men everywhere in the Western World took it for granted that all new inventions and discoveries, and all social and institutional changes, which

were not caused by the direct interposition of God, were the creations of fallible men; that all improvements came as a result of the thought, the labors, and the leadership of men, and that if any art or institution regressed in any respect, it was because of the failings or shortcomings of man. Both progress and regress were taken for granted as a sort of by-product of the activities of mankind.

The idea of Progress which has replaced this out-moded concept is quite different. The new conception includes at least four quite different ideas. The first is that Progress can quite safely be considered as a whole, as an entity, and that therefore it is possible to speak without qualification of the progress of mankind, of civilization, of nations, of society. The second is that Progress is inevitable; that it is, so to speak, the sociological corollary of biological evolution. The third is that the sequence of historical events and changes in the behavior of human beings which constitutes what is called the progress of mankind will lead ultimately to social perfection. The fourth is that social improvement requires continuance of the material progress which we owe to the Industrial Revolution. I propose to throw some doubt on the validity of the inferences upon which the whole of the new conception is based and then to show the great danger of evaluating new ideologies such as Fascism and Socialism, on the basis of such a doctrine of social evolution. The acceptance of Fascism on the ground that it was "The Wave of the Future"* was widely advocated prior to the outbreak of World War II. Likewise, acceptance of Socialism is urged on the basis of its inevitability.† Apologists for Industrialism advocated universal acceptance of what Tugwell called "The

*Anne Lindberg's book, WAVE OF THE FUTURE, which was published in 1940, was generally interpreted as urging acceptance of Fascism on the ground of its inevitability.

†This is the argument of the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO which Marx and Engels wrote in 1847.

Industrial Discipline"‡ on the same ground; they dismiss the critics of Industrialism on the ground that it is impossible "to turn the clock back."

I. THE UNITY OF PROGRESS

IT IS to Auguste Comte,§ the founder of Positivism, more than to any other single figure of the past century, that we owe the modern idea of Progress. In the philosophy of Comte, civilization was a unity which had passed through three distinct stages: (I) the *theological stage*, when men attributed practically everything that happened to a god or gods—to invisible powers or beings resembling themselves; (II) the *metaphysical stage*, when thoughtful men began to recognize the absurdity of the accepted fables about the powers of gods but had not yet begun to develop science or natural history, and (III) the *positive stage*, when, by observing the reciprocal mechanical action of bodies, men began to act upon hypothesis developed mathematically and verified by experience. Comte even ventured to fix the precise period in history when civilization had entered upon each of these stages. But he was naive enough to think of civilization as exclusively Occidental and to blandly ignore Oriental civilizations as beneath the serious consideration of civilized man. The fact that there are not only Occidental and Oriental civilizations but also Mahomeddan, Buddhist, and Confucian civilizations, by itself is sufficient to raise a serious doubt about the wisdom of thinking of civilization as a unity. And this doubt is enormously strengthened if consideration is given to all the civilizations which archeology reveals as having once existed and having subsequently disappeared. The first, or theological stage, he said, ended with the revolt against the Papacy in the fifteenth century; the stage of abstract metaphysical speculation ended with the rise of modern science in the seventeenth century; the positive stage is the period in which modern man is presumably living today.

‡In THE INDUSTRIAL DISCIPLINE, published in 1933, Rexford Tugwell accepted the ideology of Industrialism to such an extent as to raise the question of how to organize a world in which men would no longer find it necessary to work.

§Auguste Comte had many-precursors. For instance, the French mathematician, the Marquis de Condorcet, (1743-1794), in his ESQUISSE D'UN TABLEAUX HISTORIQUES DES PROGRES DE L'ESPRIT HUMAIN, developed the idea of the continuous progress of the human race toward an ultimate perfection.

II. THE INEVITABILITY OF PROGRESS

THE IDEA of accepting Progress as the purpose for which man should live might not have achieved its present widespread popularity but for the discovery of evolution. Ever since the idea of evolution seized upon the popular imagination there has been almost universal belief in the inevitability of Progress. All the triumphs of applied science in the development of power and machinery, and in the development of the railroad, telephone, airplane, radio, and movie, have helped to vindicate modern man's faith not only in the inevitability but also in the desirability of Progress. It is difficult to account for the callousness with which the leaders and makers of the modern industrial world have ignored the suffering for which the establishment of the factory system was responsible except by taking into consideration their faith in Progress. This faith is the clue to the optimism of men today even in the midst of disasters like war and depression and horrors like poison gas and atomic bombs. Modern man believes in Progress as medieval man believed in God. It is, however, much more to the discredit of modern man that he has just as much difficulty in defining what he means by Progress as medieval man had in defining God. In spite of the Communist and Fascist revolutions; in spite of World Wars I and II and signs of World War III, it is impossible to discern in the pronouncements of the leaders of our world any doubt about the inevitability of Progress. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Josef Stalin were all in agreement that when Adolf Hitler was overthrown and the Nazi ideology discredited, civilization would resume its triumphant progress as "Time Marches On."

III. PROGRESS AND PERFECTION

THE third component of the ideology is perhaps the most dangerous: it is the idea that progress *in the particular direction in which civilization happens to be going* must ultimately lead to perfection. This part of the doctrine to which modern man subscribes is especially dangerous because it makes it so easy to dismiss the doubts of skeptics and to disregard the questions which they raise. Yet it has been an essential element in the ideology from the beginning as can be seen in the writings of the leading proponents of Progress; in the writings of Condorcet, Comte, Hegel, Marx, and Spencer. Spencer, for instance, said:

> *Always toward perfection* is the mighty movement—towards a complete devel-

opment and more unmixed good; subordinating in its universality all petty irregularities and fallings back, as the curvature of the earth subordinates mountains and villages. Even in evils the student learns to recognize only a struggling beneficence.*

IV. MATERIAL PROGRESS

THE fourth component of the ideology is that social perfection—and of course individual happiness—requires continuance of the kind of material progress which the Western World, at least, has enjoyed during the last few centuries; continuance of the rise in the material standard of living which began with the Industrial Revolution and what is often called the Machine Age—specifically with the application of modern science and technology to manufacturing and transportation. Since the organization of life so as to assure this material progress obviously involved, and seemingly necessitated, factory and mass-production, the standardization of human wants, the development of cities and city life, and other forms of Centralization,† the continuance of the centralization which is such a conspicuous fact in modern life is itself considered not incidental but essential to the realization of the ultimate goal of Progress.

THE TRUTH ABOUT PROGRESS

SO MUCH for the prevailing conception of Progress. What is the truth about the matter?

There is in every field of human thought and human activity an accumulation and development of man-made material things,

*This quotation, and also the following one, is from THE IDEA OF PROGRESS, J. B. Bury, 1920. Bury calls attention to the fact that in concluding THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES, Charles Darwin subscribed to the idea which Spencer subsequently elaborated: "As all living forms of life are lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental environments will tend to *progress to perfection*." In both quotations the italics are mine.—R.B.

†According to Marx, and the protagonists of Communism, the only way to assure universal enjoyment of this material progress is not only to continue the existing trends to Centralization but to intensify them until Total Centralization of the ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution makes it impossible for one class in society—the bourgeosie—to appropriate the blessings of material progress and deny their full enjoyment to the producing workers and proletarian masses.

(gold, machines, buildings, and other forms of wealth); of man-developed ideas, (as expressed in law, or written in books, for instance); and of man-evolved methods of action, (as in factory work, attendance at the movies). If the sum total of accumulations in any one field is increased in quantity or improved in quality, it becomes possible to refer to that development as Progress in that particular field. But it is an exceedingly dangerous thing to lump all these accumulations and developments together, call the total "culture" or "civilization" and say that the whole as an entity, regardless of its nature or direction in each specific field, represents Progress. When we lump everything together—every *thing*, every *idea*, and every *habit* practiced; when we ignore developments which Spencer recognized as evil but dismissed as "petty irregularities and fallings back," we run the danger of forgetting that both those developments considered good and those dismissed as mere "fallings back," are man-made, and we run the even greater danger of ignoring the fact that these man-made or man-permitted "fallings back" affect every individual man, woman and child who is unfortunate enough to have been born prior to the coming golden age when everybody will enjoy the ultimate blessings of Progress. Finally, if we justify consideration of the process as a whole merely for purposes of generalizing, we cannot generalize rationally on the basis only of our own existing civilization; we cannot afford to ignore the archeological evidence of the many civilizations which no longer progress toward perfection for the simple reason that they "progressed" out of existence.

LIVING MAN VS. FUTURE MAN

THESE questions must be faced if the means which modern man uses in the name of Progress are to be justified. When we talk about the ultimate good and the inevitable perfection which justifies devotion to Progress, we forget that man *is;* we talk of

man that is *to be*. The good of each and every individual and the perfection of all together is the only possible aim of true progress. But if the good of the individual is the end, then the good of the individual living today, and not only the good of the individual who will live tomorrow, must be included in our purposes and plans; existing man is entitled to just as much consideration at our hands as future man. If, in effect, we say that individuals today may be compelled to suffer, (or perhaps merely be fooled into suffering), in the name of Progress, even unto death, because the individual of today is not an end but only a means to realize a future state of perfection, then logically the individual tomorrow must also be considered a means and not an end; and individuals generation after generation may be made to sacrifice themselves and their happiness for the sake of individuals in the dim and distant future who will have miraculously been changed from means into ends.

But while it is true that no individual, no matter how exalted, and no institution, no matter how powerful, has the right to treat any normal human being as a means, it does not follow that there are no circumstances under which an individual may not consider himself an instrument of some higher good than his own life and happiness, and sacrifice himself for the sake of others. In great emergencies, in fires and floods, in earthquakes and storms at sea, in epidemics, and of course in war and battle, individuals may voluntarily submit to being treated as means and sacrifice themselves for the salvation of their fellows. The universal instinct of mankind recognizes the principle which is involved in the custom of asking for volunteers for tasks of exceptional danger. The individual, *to himself*, is both means and end. He may voluntarily make any sacrifice he thinks proper, even life itself, for others. But that is quite a different thing from accepting a teleological ideology predicated upon the assumption that it is proper for whole generations to be

fooled into sacrificing their own well-being for the sake of Progress; that it is proper for men to be forcibly enslaved, broken in mind, and even killed, for the sake of something beneficial to others, including those yet unborn.

It is not an "unmixed good" but an unmixed evil to spread a doctrine which treats men as means and not as ends. It gives the Stalins and the Hitlers and the Mussolinis of the world license for sacrificial holocausts of the living and breathing humans of today for the supposed benefit of humans tomorrow. If inhumanity by individuals and whole nations in the present can be absolved—and therefore ignored—by the simple device of fixing our thoughts on the golden future to which Progress is certain to lead us, then Stalin may have been justified in starving from three to seven million peasants to collectivize Russian agriculture for the benefit of the Russians of the future, and Hitler in exterminating Jews, Poles, and other "lesser breeds outside the law" in order to make room for a superior Aryan race. What does it all matter? No matter what these tyrants and their followers do, it all adds up ultimately to "unmixed good" and final perfection.

If by the inevitability of Progress is meant that mankind will survive no matter what men do; that surviving mankind will again begin to add to whatever survivals of past culture it will find, I agree as to the probability of such inevitability. But that is in effect saying that because European man survived the Dark Ages, and because Renaissance man finally began to add to the surviving vestiges of Greco-Roman culture, we can afford to ignore the sufferings of Dark Age man for more than five centuries. That concept of inevitability is not only very heartless but also a very sterile doctrine. The Russian peasants will probably survive Stalin; the Jews and Poles survive Hitler. But every normal human being ought to be as much interested in those whom Stalin and Hitler liquidated as in those who survive presumably to benefit from the liquidation of their predecessors. Evil is evil and darkness is darkness, even though neither continues forever.

IS PROGRESS NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL?

THERE is another great danger in the doctrine; a danger flowing from the assumption that the changes called progressive

result from the operation of inevitable natural laws. All the historians, sociologists, economists, philosophers, and social reformers who have sought to make men believe that there is a law outside of human behavior which governs and determines mankind's history and development, ignore the facts to be observed in the study of individual behavior. The question is: *Is civilization, (and what we call Progress), man-made like all other man-made things, (highways, for instance), or is it something which happens no matter what mere human beings may or may not do?* In effect the believers in Progress say: *Do whatever you will, individually or in groups, progress will nevertheless continue.* If all books were burned, all institutions of learning destroyed, and all individuals infected with too much wisdom executed, Progress would nevertheless continue. That was once tried, at least partially. And instead of a continuance of Progress there came the regression called the Dark Ages during which millions of human beings lived, suffered, and died in a darkness and under conditions of degradation for which there was not the slightest excuse.

Now I believe in the rights, and also the duties, of man—of Dark Age man, Renaissance man, Modern man, Future man; of the individual human being first, last, and all the time. No individual who recognizes the obligation of behaving like a human being can believe anything else. And I cannot accept the doctrine of the inevitability of Progress when the whole history of mankind belies it. Civilization and Progress are man-made, as man-made as were the great paved highways with which the leaders of the Roman Empire knit together every part of the world which they conquered. What man made, men later unmade. Just as it is true that men built those roads, it is also true that men permitted them to decay. From the moment that those great engineering marvels were finished, they began to disintegrate. Every man-made thing follows the same rule, including things of the spirit like civilization. The only way to keep roads and other man-made things from decaying is constantly to maintain and repair

them. The only way to progress in road building is forever to modernize existing roads; to build new and better roads when inventions and discoveries render the old roads obsolete. So it is with human culture. Neglect to cultivate the human beings who must maintain it; stifle or destroy the great creative spirits who improve and add to human culture, and civilization begins to disintegrate.

Civilization progresses or civilization regresses in accordance with the manner in which men behave individually and in groups; it does not progress without regard to man's behavior; there is no inevitable Progress because of evolution or dialectical materialism. It is this fact which gives to the work of the teacher such great importance; it is this fact which makes education so important; it is this fact which justifies making the school which deals with adult problems the most influential institution in the whole hierarchy of institutions of truly civilized and humanized societies.

Finally, how can we comfort ourselves with the doctrine of the inevitability of Progress when we look at the history of mankind's many regressions? The whole world is a graveyard of civilizations; every continent is dotted with the tombstones which mark their sites. It is sheer callousness, not to say stupidity, to speak of the obliteration by the Mongols of the 4,000 year-old civilization of the Sumerians; of the destruction by the Arabs of the 7,000 year-old civilization of the Egyptians; of the destruction by Mediterranean pirates of the 1,500 year-old Minoan civilization; of the decline, fall and conquest by barbarians and Christians of the 1,000 year-old Greco-Roman civilization, and of the similar disappearance of other civilizations all over the globe—the Inca and Maya civilizations in America and the Khmer civilization in Asia—as though these tragic regressions could be ignored merely because we are the fortunate, or unfortunate, heirs of Western civilization. If these are to be considered "petty irregularities and fallings back," then words have lost all meaning.

The essential fallacy of the prevailing ideology of the nature of Progress rests upon the fact that it is all human life with which we have to be concerned—human life not only during periods of Progress but also during periods of regression. In the destruction of each one of these civilizations, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, and in some instances millions of human beings, had to endure

every imaginable kind of woe and misery; precious works of art and the great achievements of geniuses of all kinds were lost and destroyed; enormous labors by countless workers over centuries of time were wasted. We have no business to be complacent about the fact that mankind does regress even though many regressions represent only a partial instead of a total destruction of civilizations. In every regression there is the same waste of work, the same loss of creative art, the same widespread human misery. Catastrophic and complete regressions differ from minor and partial regressions only in the greater magnitude of the misery which they inflict upon mankind. Our problem is neither to ignore nor to forget them but to learn from them how to avoid their recurrence. Anything and everything in any field of human thought and action which contributes to a lower level of culture must be avoided. If Industrialism, with its accompanying centralization of life; if the prevailing ideology of modern man is leading us to disaster, we must teach mankind not merely how to continue progressing but how to stop—or how to change direction—and so avoid moving into an age of regression. We cannot, as can Marxian and other revolutionists, console ourselves with the thought that each period of disaster only hastens the final golden dawn; that social, political and business catastrophe is to be welcomed, if not encouraged, in order to speed the great millenial day when mankind will finally be saved by a climacteric proletarian revolt.

Our problem is to avoid wars and revolutions; it is to avoid the destruction of what has been already well-built; to eliminate only what has been ill-built; to develop, through education, a better civilization. It is to progress steadily in right directions; it is not to countenance and certainly not to plan on depressions and regressions as a springboard for the Marxian conception of Progress; it is not to hope for alternate periods when millions are made miserable in preparation for subsequent periods when millions—of their successors—will be perfectly happy.

RIGHT-PROGRESS

I HAVE SAID that instead of just progressing in the direction in which we happen to be moving, we should progress in the right directions. But what should be the test of rightness? Is there any really practical criterion by which to determine what is right progress, and what wrong? For those who place faith in education, the importance

of such a criterion cannot be exaggerated. Without some practicable method of distinguishing between what is true and false in progress, adult education will follow juvenile education in consciously, or unconsciously, indoctrinating everybody it influences with the various ideologies of the moment. Teachers will not lead—they will instead follow the leadership of the indutrialists and investment bankers, the socialists and statists, and the other centralists who are the ideology-makers of today—because they have neither an adequate conception of the possibilities of adult education nor a proper conception of the role of the teacher in society. The teachers of the Western World were for this reason promoters, and not critics or opponents, of Industrialism during the past century and a half; they are to an increasing extent promoters, and not opponents, of Centralization today. Most of the teachers who influence adults today—writers, preachers, lawyers, doctors, labor leaders, reformers, and politicians seeking votes—tend therefore to label as progressive every development which is in line with the trend of the day and to stigmatize every movement counter to the trend with the epithet *reactionary*. A confusion which is bad enough is worse confounded.

It is not sufficient to test developments by what is at the moment considered true or good or beautiful. That makes it too easy to assume that progress along the line upon which we are traveling is true and good and beautiful. The well-nigh universal acceptance of the idea that Progress should be the ultimate purpose in living leads to the assumption that mere continuance of what is the prevailing direction of social development is necessarily true and good and beautiful, and in particular that any reversal of direction is false, evil and ugly. Some more positive criterion is needed. Without such a criterion it is improbable that we shall be able to escape from the false identification of Progress with what at the moment appears to be right, and of regress with what at the moment appears wrong and mistaken.

In accepting progress in whatever direction we happen to be moving as the ultimate goal in life, we inevitably come to identify any movement or development which increases either quantitatively or qualitatively the sum total of mankind's accumulation of things and ideas with the right, regardless of the nature or value of the things and ideas themselves. We are progressing not only if we go forward

in the development of chemistry; we are also progressing rightly if we go forward in the development of poison gas and atom bombs—if we increase the number and size of the factories which manufacture these abominations, and if we add to our stock pile of poison gas, atom bombs, and materials for producing them.

It is perfectly evident that we must in some way distinguish between the two kinds of Progress to which I am calling attention. The failure to distinguish between the two is to me the fatal defect in the prevailing ideology about the purpose to which man should devote his life and the prevailing tendency to justify that ideology by indiscriminate eulogies of everything called progressive. For progress in the art of manufacturing atom bombs actually means that mankind is doing something quite different in kind from what it does when it progresses in the art and science of agriculture. When individuals are engaged in developing things like atom bombs, they are engaged in an activity which might well be called mal-progress. When they are engaged in developing agriculture—in learning how to conserve the soil while producing more and better foods from it—they are engaged in what might be distinguished from mal-progress by calling it right-progress.

In terms of the ideology of Progress, regression, (or reaction as it is called), inevitably comes to mean anything in opposition to the prevailing trend. It comes to mean any movement or development in opposition to the increase, in quantity or quality, of the total accummulation of mankind's things and ideas regardless of their nature or value. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a steady improvement in methods of judicial torture for the extraction of evidence, and of judicial punishment by means of mutilation. The trend to the improvement of torture and mutilation by means of the rack, the boot, the thumb screw, *Peine Forte et Dure,* breaking on the wheel, burning at the stake, disemboweling, etc., was quite constant. *Then progress in this field turned into reaction.* The whole art of torture began to be neglected. Judges refused to accept evidence obtained by force. Penologists began to substitute imprisonment for mutilation. Progress, at least in this important field, stopped.

But roads, and methods of building roads, are also a part of mankind's total accumulation of culture. European civilization therefore

regressed both when it abandoned further development of torture in the eighteenth century and when it permitted the great roads built by the Romans to decay during the Dark Ages. The doctrine of Progress becomes still more absurd if we take into account the revival and scientific development of torture by the OGPU in Soviet Russia and the Gestapo in Nazi Germany. For this modern development represents the revival of a long neglected art; it represents a renewal of Progress in an art which had suffered from a long period of reaction.

Regress and reaction, like progress, must therefore be of two kinds. A reaction may be evil in its effects, in which event it might well be called mal-regression. It is obviously evil when it means decadence in the art of building roads and when it leads to an actual reduction in the mileage of good roads. But it is obvious that all reaction is not evil.

For when the art of torture was highly developed, almost every city in Europe had its quota of skilled executioners whose training enabled them to execute the judgments of courts and inquisitions. At that time almost any skilled iron or wood worker could be commissioned to build racks, thumb-screws, and other appliances for torture. When imprisonment was introduced into penology, Europe regressed in the art of torture; it regressed in the manufacturing of appliances for torture; it reduced enormously its accumulation of instruments for torture. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the old art had virtually died out; executioners and craftsmen familiar with the art could no longer be found; appliances for torture could only be found in museums. Europe moved backward with regard to torture at the time it was moving forward with regard to its ideas of crime and punishment. It is perfectly clear that this kind of reaction is quite different in nature from regression in the art of road building; the one is altogether right, the other, all wrong. It is easy to demonstrate that going backward, "*turning the clock back*," in the art of manufacturing atom bombs is as beneficial to humanity as going forward in the art of cultivating the earth. In both instances the demonstration would involve answering the question of whether that particular form of progress or regress had, or had not, led to the conservation of human life and the development of better living conditions both for the human beings who happen to live today and for their successors who will have to live after them tomorrow.

THE CRITERION OF PROGRESS

TO distinguish between what constitutes right-progress and what mal-progress by simply asking, *Is it beneficial to the living individual and to humanity in general; to humanity now and humanity in the future?* is to substitute an entirely different criterion for that used by the protagonists of the ideology of Progress. Their criterion is merely to ask, *Does it further the direction in which modern man is moving; does it add to the accumulation of ideas and things which he is at present accumulating?* This is a criterion neither universal nor perpetual in its values. The one I am suggesting can be applied both to progress in the direction in which we are presently moving as well as to reversals and changes of direction. It leads to the evaluation of all the activities of man in terms of their immediate and ultimate effects upon human life. This, of course, is just another way of saying that the test of what is right and wrong in human behavior might well paraphrase Jesus:* *Does it give life and give it more abundantly?* —abundantly here being taken to mean not so much quantitatively as qualitatively.

Instead of accepting the manner in which modern man attempts to validate his faith in Progress; instead of being satisfied with the dictum *that man should devote himself to going forward,* or putting it in the negative, *that he should under no circumstances turn the clock back;* instead, for instance, of following John Dewey and accepting the modern industrial city and its endless development just because Industrialism is here, the properly educated individual, (using the criterion I am suggesting), would ask whether Industrialism should be restricted, rejected, or further developed; he would decide not to accept Industrialism on the basis of the principle *that no man should devote his time to the pursuit of anything called Progress unless it can be shown to involve right-progress;* that no matter how much the devotion of men's time to the development of some special field of activity produces progress in that field, it is nevertheless a misuse of human life if it cannot be validated in universal and perpetual terms.

If this criterion is applied to a specific instance of so-called Progress, its nature will become clearer. Modern man hails aviation as

*I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly.—John 10:10.

one of the developments of the modern world vindicating its devotion to Progress. And so he considers that each step further in its development—making the planes larger, faster, safer—is right and good in itself. Progress in general is assumed to be furthered by progress in this single field. But there is no sound basis for such an assumption. Let us test its validity by the criterion of whether progress in aviation benefits mankind today and in the future. What, in terms of living, is the real nature of the thing that we are developing? Considered from this standpoint it is not aviation but transportation. Transportation itself is undoubtedly beneficial to man. If it were not, man would probably not have evolved legs. But increasing the amount of transportation, and its speed and safety, is of no benefit to man unless he learns how to use the new means of transportation properly, rationally, humanely. If he fails to learn how to do so, it is just as likely to be harmful to him as beneficial. Man has developed the airplane, but it is perfectly obvious that he has not yet learned how to use it properly. The use of aviation for the purpose of waging war, bombing the cities he has built, and killing the people who live in them, is *prima facie* evidence that the development of aviation has not automatically benefited man. And it is not an answer to this to say that aviation may benefit man in the future, after he has learned how to avoid making war. To be of true benefit, aviation must benefit man today as well as man tomorrow; right-education in its use is just as important to true progress as is technical progress in the development of aviation. Unless this right-education is provided, it would be better to postpone the development of aviation—to avoid making living infinitely more horrible now in the blind hope that some day the airplane will make living infinitely more pleasant. Unless man progresses as a whole—not only in aviation but also in his own education and in every other field which is involved in its use—the building of bigger, faster and safer planes simply gives mankind an illusion of Progress; it is in reality mal-progress instead of right-progress.

The teleological ideology which mankind should be taught to adopt; the design for living which men should attempt to realize; the ultimate purpose to which they should be persuaded to shape the whole of their lives, should not therefore be mere

progress in the direction in which the modern world is already moving—more centralization of everybody and every enterprise through industrialization, capitalization, standardization, plutocratization, nationalization, and urbanization—but right-progress—that progress only which increases the health, the happiness, the responsibility, the productivity, artistry, and good taste, the knowledge and wisdom, the kindness, neighborliness of mankind individual by individual; progress, finally, which creates better personal and group patterns of action—better because they increase the number of individuals and the extent to which individuals utilize everything which contributes to—and reject everything which interferes with—their living like *normal* human beings.

THE CHALLENGE

WITH this criterion for distinguishing between right and wrong progress, the teachers of mankind would find themselves properly equipped to avoid the intellectual imbecility which assumes that everything new which our industrialized world develops is necessarily for the good of mankind.

With it, they are enabled to escape from the prevailing tendency to view every proposal for change in terms of the antinomy between progress and reaction.

With it, they can evaluate not only what is *old*, what is *new*, and what is *proposed*, but also the ideology of Progress itself and all the other ideologies with which mankind is confronted.

Without it, they will not be able to help either the masses who cannot avoid accepting the prevailing ideology, (no matter how indifferent they may be to the study of philosophical problems), or the skeptical minority of men who are conscious of the fact that something is wrong with the ultimate purpose to which modern man is devoting his life.

CHAPTER VII.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART I.

CENTRALIZATION AND DECENTRALIZATION

> *There can be nothing so absurd but may be found in the books of philosophers. And the reason is manifest. For there is not one of them that begins his rationation from the definition, or explications, of the names they are to use; which is a method that hath been used only in geometry, whose conclusions have thereby been made indisputable.—Thomas Hobbes, "Leviathan."*

IF I am right in my conception of the predominance of the influence exerted upon mankind by education, then the "crisis of our age," as Sorokin refers to the disintegration of the modern world, must be due to errors arising out of mis-education. The condition of modern man—his dependency, delinquency, decadence, and degeneracy—and his inability to deal with the problems he has created for himself, must be due to something in his education; and the evidence indicates that the "something" is due to the fact that he has been *taught* by his teachers (and leaders) firstly to accept Progress—and specifically material Progress—as his ultimate goal in life, and secondly *taught* to believe that Progress can only be assured and implemented in-

dustrially—through the centralization of all his economic, political and social activities; through the centralization not only of the enterprises and institutions which naturally involve group-action but also of all sorts of activities which he had come to express—and purposes he formerly realized—through the operation of personal and family projects of innumerable kinds. The crisis with which we are faced is due, in sum, to modern man's mis-education in dealing with two of man's most important problems: his teleological and his operational problems.

I. CENTRALIZATION

THE METHOD chosen by the business men and financiers, the manufacturers and engineers, the statesmen and social reformers, the collectivists and communists of various kinds—who have been the leaders of mankind and teachers of teachers during the past two centuries—to implement Progress and realize its golden promises, has been Centralization. The protagonists of modern Progress are all centralizers. They believe that the only way to achieve the purpose to which life should be devoted is to promote "bigness;" to increase mass-production, distribution and consumption; to develop group-action and to institutionalize all action in corporations, unions, cooperatives, and government bureaus. They discount the possibilities of personal action; they have no faith in the improvement of the moral and social conditions of nations through individual education; they believe that to decentralize any of the institutions and enterprises which have somehow or other come to be centralized in the modern world would be reactionary. They claim that it involves repudiating science, power and machinery; that it means "turning the clock back." They believe that they are justified not only in using law and coercion to assure the attainment of their objectives but also in refusing to limit themselves to the possibilities of persuasion and influence. Finally, they do not believe there is such a thing as *over-centralization.*

All efforts to implement any theory, movement, or doctrine—any idea or ideology, without regard to whether it is new or already accepted and established—either personally in one's own pattern of living and methods of action, or in the organization and operation of any kind of group social, economic, or political activities, tend either to centralize and increase the power exerted unilaterally upon human beings by smaller and smaller numbers of individuals, or to decentralize and distribute and diffuse power multilaterally among human beings generally. The implementation of any ideology, therefore, involves either Centralization or Decentralization, and the advocates of various methods of implementation become either Centralists or Decentralists, if not consciously then inadvertently.

Centralization may therefore be defined as *that method of operating in which control of any of the activities of individuals, of groups of any kind, or of the people as a whole, (without regard to the nature of their activities, whether industrial, financial, social, educational, religious, or political), is concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer individuals.*

Total Centralization would mean, ideally, *the concentration of control—and power—over all of mankind's institutions and activities in a single directing authority equipped to force every individual, every group, and every nation in the world to conform to its will.*

Centralization is an *operational* concept, as Progress is a *teleological* concept. Centralization is not so much one only of various methods of organizing the operations and activities of men as it is a tendency to organize or reorganize all five of the possible methods of operating upon the basis of the subordination of the individual. The distinction between the Authoritarian method of operating and Centralization, is that while both involve subordination, Authoritarianism is based upon a positive principle, (the principle of *military* or *line* manage-

ment), while Centralization is based upon an essentially negative principle, that simply of subordination. Centralization is really one of two alternative tendencies to which it is possible to turn in dealing with one of the thirteen major problems of living: *the operational problem;** the problem of the organization and management of the projects and enterprises upon which people depend not only for their livelihood and welfare but also for shaping their whole pattern of living.

Total Centralization, of course, is Authoritarian. At its best it solves the operational problem by benevolent despotism; at its worst by tyranny; but good or bad, by domination and by subordination. What is called Totalitarianism, Fascist or Communist, is simply Total Centralization—the organization and operation of the whole state and of every activity in it under the direction of a single all-powerful authority.

Theoretically and idealistically, assurance of a condition of limitless material prosperity—of "security" and what it is the custom to call an "economy of abundance"—justifies, in the opinion of international and imperial Centralists, not only endless development of the factory system and mass-production, of specialization and the division and subdivision of labor, but also the concentration of the control of all industry in a single corporation or authority, large enough and powerful enough to make its sphere of operations world-wide, its control of raw-materials universal, and its powers over both producers and consumers unlimited.

II. DECENTRALIZATION

DECENTRALIZATION is the exact opposite of this.

But it is not merely the opposite of Centralization; it is not merely the negation of Centralization. It is a positive process.

*It would hopelessly divert the argument if any attempt were made at this time to discuss the various available methods of solving the operational problem. The five alternative methods—the Authoritarian, the Functional, the Fraternal, the Coordinal, and the Educational—are discussed in EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY.

Decentralization is that method of implementing ideas and organizing human operations in which individuals are enabled to satisfy their wants and to realize their aspirations as far as possible through personal action, (depending as little as possible upon collective and mass-action), in which power is therefore diffused and distributed multilaterally among people generally.

Like Centralization, it is not so much a single method of organizing operations as it is a tendency to organize, reorganize, or substitute for centralized methods of acting and operating, methods which give the greatest possible freedom and responsibility to individual human beings. It aims at encouraging independence and discouraging both subordination and domination. Above all, it believes that combination and collectivization, particularly when there is any element of compulsion involved, should be reduced to the utmost extent. It wants the use of law, of the police power, of political action restricted to those problems for which no alternative method of organizing and operating is possible. Where collective, corporate, or government operation is necessary and unavoidable, it prefers those forms of organization which permit voluntary individual participation, which give to associations the minimum of control over their memberships, and which give to each member the maximum possible personal freedom or to each participating group the maximum possible local autonomy.

If the basic methods among which mankind chooses in dealing with its operational problems are arranged in the order in which they reflect Decentralization and provide for multilateral, rather than unilateral, relationships among individuals, then the *Educational* method, (which relies on persuasion for its efficiency), would have to be ranked first; the *Fraternal* method, (which relies upon competition for its efficiency), second; the *Co-ordinal* method, (which relies upon federation), third; the *Functional* method, (which relies upon cooperation), fourth,

and the *Authoritarian* method, (which relies upon domination and subordination), fifth.* As a method of operating; of implementing ideas; of realizing goals, Decentralization represents a tendency toward reliance upon the efficiency and potentialities of education and persuasion while Centralization represents a tendency towards reliance upon authority and control. While it is true that Decentralization represents a preference for the use of influence over that of exercising power, it can recognize the necessity for leadership. But it can recognize no right, either social or political, to compulsory organization and operation of any enterpise or institution—to the use of the Authoritarian method—*except when no alternative method of dealing with a problem can de utilized.*

Centralization of industry, for example, is impossible without acquisition or seizure, by those who are to control the centralized enterprises, of the power to enforce unilateral relationships between themselves and, firstly, the rank and file of workers and, thereafter—if Centralization goes far enough—with those who provide the raw materials, who consume the products, and who furnish capital. Decentralization of industry would involve shifting to local and small-scale production and manufacture; to methods of operating which necessarily create multilateral relationships between individual producers and individual consumers in which each is equally free and independent. Decentralization would involve the de-combination and de-concentration of not only our over-centralized industries but also of all institutions, activities, and patterns of living which we have over-centralized during the past century.

*Detailed discussion of the operational problem and these five methods of dealing with it must unfortunately wait until the publication of EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY.

PART II.

INDUSTRIALIZATION: The Centralization of Production

> *Modern production tends to be concentrated . . . . for the reason that it can be carried on more economically in that manner.—C. J. Bullock, "Introduction to the Study of Economics."*

TO realize the goal of Progress and enter upon that golden age of material happiness which it has become the habit to call an "economy of abundance," modern man has been taught to accept the centralization and ever increasing centralization of all his institutions and enterprises. Of all the many forms of centralization which he has been taught to believe right and good, efficient and even beautiful, (a great deal of modern art glorifies straightness and efficiency), six are most conspicuous: the centralization of *production;* the centralization of *ownership;* the centralization of *control;* the centralization of *education;* the centralization of *government;* the centralization of *population.*

I. The centralization of production has involved the *industrialization* of production; the substitution of large-scale for small-scale production not only in manufacturing but also in all sorts of enterprises which, like farming and housing, do not seem to lend themselves to industrialization.

II. The centralization of ownership has involved *plutocratization* from one standpoint, *proletarianization* from another; the substitution for a state of widespread ownership of land and property, of a state composed mainly of a propertyless mass.

III. The centralization of control has involved the *corporate capitalization* of all forms of capital; the substitution of corporations for individual owners and managers; of Finance-Capitalism for *laissez faire* and Classical Capitalism.

IV. The centralization of education has involved the *standardization* not only of educational institutions but even more of the individuals subject to centralized education.

V. The centralization of government has involved *nationalization;* the substitution for federalized government—for state rights and local autonomy—of nationalized government.

VI. The centralization of population has involved *urbanization;* the substitution of big cities for small towns, of metropolitan agglomerations for rural communities.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND PROGRESS

OF THESE six forms of centralization, industrialization is most important. It is most important because virtually every important new political, social, and economic movement of the past two centuries, and particularly the most powerful movements struggling for dominance in the present crisis, begin by accepting the validity of the assumptions upon which it is based. Capitalism may be said to have been launched on its conquering career with the acceptance of Adam Smith's idea of centralizing manufacturing in factories, an idea which he rationalized in THE WEALTH OF NATIONS and which he epitomized in his doctrine of the infinite increase in the efficiency of an unending division of labor. Karl Marx based his "scientific" Socialism upon it. Every modern financier on one hand, and every modern advocate of economic planning on the other, postulates the whole of the program or "blue print" which he projects upon what is supposed to be not only the efficiency of Industrialism but its inevitability and desirability. In a sense the ideology of Progress itself is not much more than a rationalization of the

Industrial Revolution; all kinds of centralization are considered progressive because centralized production is assumed to be the only efficient method of production. The fallacy lurking in the argument for the division and subdivision of labor, all the believers in Progress ignore.

Since it is to Adam Smith that we owe the first clear statement of the case for industrialization, the classic parable in which he demonstrated, seemingly for all time, the superiority of large scale over small scale production—a demonstration accepted by all the economists, industrialists, and social reformers who believe in Progress—is worth reprinting:

> The business of making a pin is divided into about eighteen distinct operations. One man draws out the wire, another straights it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on, is a peculiar business; to whiten pins another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper . . . . I have seen a small manufactory where ten men only were employed, and where some of them, consequently, performed two or three distinct operations. But though they were very poor, and therefore but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins in a day. There are in a pound upwards of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upwards of forty-eight thousand pins in a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins, might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this peculiar business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin, in a day.*

PRODUCTION

AS THE TERM *production*§ is used in this book, it refers both to the production of *goods* and the supplying of *services*—services like

**Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith, 1776. When John Stuart Mill discussed the division of labor in his PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, which was published in 1848, he said: "Adam Smith's illustration from pin-making, *though so well known*, is so much to the point, that I will venture once more to transcribe it." Already, a century ago, Mill felt it necessary to apologize for quoting what had already become "so well known."

§Production is an *occupational* concept; logically defined it must refer to much more than the activities—or rather *transactions*—to which nearly all economists restrict the term: the fabrication of goods in factories, the growing of crops on

those supplied by laundries, restaurants, hotels, telephone companies, electric power plants, and railroads, and goods consisting of *raw materials* (like corn and wheat, and coal and iron ore); *semi-manufactured goods* (like yarn and gray goods); and *finished goods* (like sheets, dresses, and suits).*

The production of goods, from an engineering standpoint, is a process in which raw or semi-manufactured goods are given a new form in accordance with a predetermined intent or purpose with the aid (I) of tools, machines, and other equipment; (II) of direct labor, both skilled and unskilled, in the actual fabrication of the goods, and (III) of the ancillary labor involved in (1) designing or conceiving, (2) organizing, managing and controlling, (3) financing, (4) purchasing materials, equipment and services, (5) marketing, distributing or delivering, and (6) accounting for what has been done. It should be borne in mind that while all these steps are involved in factory production and all production for the market, *no costs of marketing and distribution develop in domestic production for home consumption.* It is the failure to take this fact into account which constitutes the fallacy in the classic argument for industrialization.

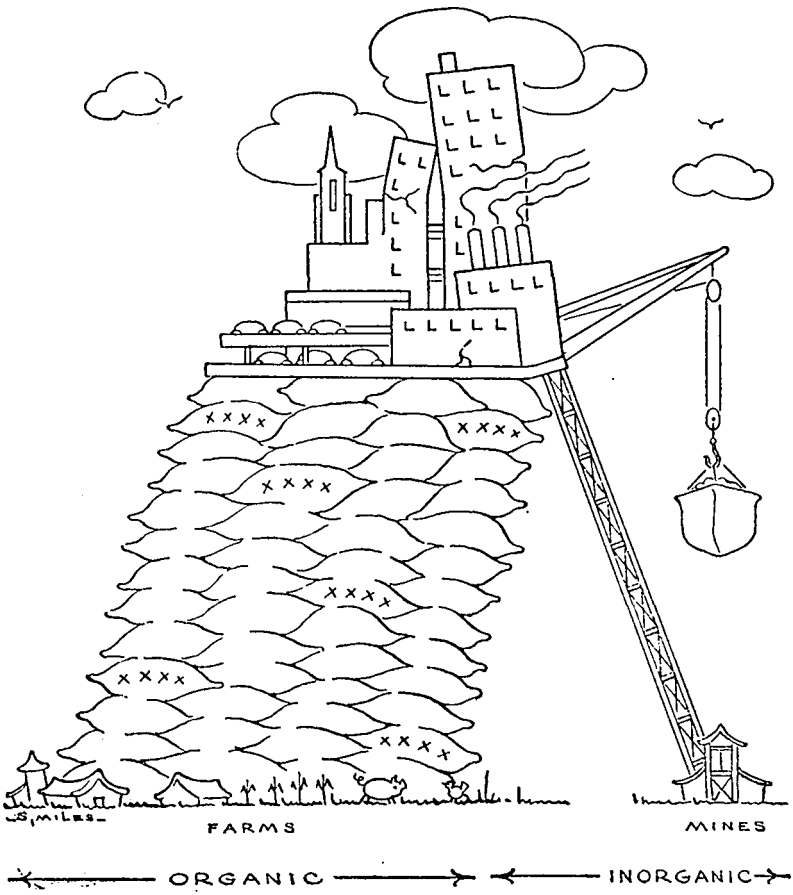
GOODS VS. SERVICES

THE distinction between the production of goods and services and the furnishing of services, is for the most part arbitrary. A contractor building a house is certainly engaged in rendering a service, yet he is also a "manufacturer" of houses, engaged in reshaping lumber and other building materials into finished houses. If this distinction needs for any reason to be made, all that it is possible to say is that some productive enterprises are engaged primarily in furnishing services and incidentally transforming materials, while others are engaged primarily in transforming materials and incidentally furnishing services. A laundry, for instance, is primarily engaged in furnishing

farms, the mining of minerals *for sale*. If the concept is not to be self-contradictory, it must refer to every occupation or activity as a result of which anything is produced *whether for sale to others*, or *for self-consumption*. The full development of the significance of this fact is dealt with in the discussion of the occupational problem in EDUCATION AND IDEOLOGY.

*A more academic way of making the distinction is to say that the production and distribution of services involves supplying time and place utilities, while the production and distribution of tangible goods involve the supplying of basic and form utilities.

a service; but it has incidentally to transform the materials and supplies it uses—soap, for instance—into other forms. A building contractor, on the other hand, is primarily engaged in transforming materials, but incidentally he is engaged in the preliminary step necessary to furnishing shelter.



ORGANIC VS. INORGANIC PRODUCTION

MUCH more important than the distinction between the production of goods and the production of services, is the distinction between *organic* production and *inorganic* (or mechanical and chemical) production.

What I am calling organic production consists almost entirely of agriculture and animal husbandry, broadly conceived, with forestry included in agriculture, and fishing in animal husbandry. In all organic production, seeds and feeds constitute the "raw materials" which are transformed into "finished goods." From this point of view the breeding stock used in livestock farming is merely a species of "seed" and the manure used to fertilize the land, a species of "feed" for the soil. The transformation of "raw materials" in organic and agricultural production is always genetic or biological. It is a process in which dealing with life is central; in which the machinery and power used, and even the physical and mental labor, are contributory and accessory.

In what I am calling inorganic production, (which includes mining and building as well as manufacturing), the new forms given to materials during the process is effected *mechanically or chemically and not genetically.* Coal and iron ore are extracted from the earth; they are not grown in the earth. Coke, iron ore, and limestone are transformed into steel chemically; steel and iron are stamped by presses and cut by lathes and drills into new shapes mechanically. The raw materials used may be not only inorganic, (as in the case of steel and iron), but also organic, (as in the milling of wheat into flour and the spinning of cotton into yarn), but in transforming them by manufacturing, the machinery and power and the labor and mental work, are primary rather than contributory and accessory.

Both organic and inorganic production aim at the multiplication of the objects to be produced. But in organic production nothing is produced unless a seed of some kind is planted; multiplication involves birth, growth, and maturation. In inorganic production, the mutiplication is *repetitive* and not generative; the process consists of hammering, cutting, moulding, twisting, and mixing the raw materials used; nothing living is planted or fed; the object is fabricated not bred or raised. From the standpoint of Centralization, the significant difference between the two processes is that organic production does not lend itself to large scale production as readily as inorganic production because nowhere is the surface of the earth, the climate, and the rain and sunshine "standard," and plants and animals can never be standardized as readily as the materials used and the products made mechanically or chemically. When this fact is disregarded, as in bonanza

or giant farming of wheat, the process involves the mining of the fertility and ultimate mineralization of the soil. As in all mono-cultural agriculture and forestry, ecological relationships are disregarded and in the pursuit of quantity not merely quality but healthfulness as well is sacrificed.

LARGE SCALE PRODUCTION

LARGE SCALE production—the fabrication of great quantities of some one product by one large enterprise—is impossible without the centralization of production. Large scale production involves the shifting of production from a great many small and independent enterprises, (including those as small as individual homes and farms), located in many different places, to larger and fewer enterprises located in widely separated centers in a nation. With large scale production, manufacturing which was formerly decentralized in many small shops is centralized in a few large factories, and crops formerly raised and grown on many individually owned decentralized farms are produced on giant farms in centralized regions. The theoretical limit to large scale production is reached with the centralization of the production of one product for a whole nation in a single enterprise located or controlled from a single center. And the theoretical limit to the centralizaion of all production would be reached if the ownership and control of all industries, and the production and distribution of all things consumed in a nation, were centralized in the government of the nation.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century both agricultural and mechanical production, for the most part, was carried on in homes, farms, and small shops, and to a lesser extent in small mills located on streams which furnished them power to drive a few simple machines with old-fashioned water wheels. With the coming of the steam engine, the really modern movement toward the centralization of production began; production was shifted from widely scattered private enterprises to large mills and factories in which power was supplied to complicated machines by means of boilers and steam engines. Before the end of the century the first, relatively isolated, large mills and factories which had been owned and operated by individuals in the towns and cities in which they were located, were being replaced by much larger plants owned by corporations and managed by employed superintendents and managers.

CORPORATIONS AND CORPORATE PRODUCTION

THE twentieth century began with approximately three-quarters of all the manufacturing capacity in the United States owned by corporations. Corporations have continued steadily ever since to drive privately owned and personally managed small plants out of business by buying them, often scrapping them, and transferring their production to much larger plants centered at points which seemed to assure them the maximum efficiency and profit.

COAL AND IRON

THE final stage of this process of centralization through the substitution of Finance Capitalism for Classical Capitalism, came with the formation in 1901 of the United States Steel Corporation, historically our first billion dollar corporation. Nothing could have been more appropriate, for steel is the heart, as coal and oil are the life blood, of every industrialized nation like the United States. No other industry furnishes a clearer illustration of the trend toward Centralization. And this is to be expected, since it is not only one of those industries engaged in inorganic production but also the industry which provides the basic material for all the machines of modern industry.

The census figures, since they do not take into account centralization of ownership and control but only enumerate by establishments, do not reveal the extent to which industry has in fact been centralized. In 1850 there were 468 iron works and steel mills supplying the needs of a population of only 23,191,876 persons. Ninety years later, in 1940, to supply a population nearly six times as large—a population grown to 131,669,275—centralization had reduced the number to 334. By 1850 one establishment, on the average, was already large enough to supply the needs of 49,000 persons; by 1940 the average establishment was large enough to supply the much larger needs of 394,550 persons. In 1850 each establishment, on the average, employed only 53 wage earners; by 1940 average employment per establishment was 1,163. This suggests a mere increase in the size of the average iron and steel mill to twenty-two times that of an 1850 mill. But this does not take technological progress into account. To form some idea of the real increase in the average size of each plant, the increase in the volume of iron and steel produced must also be compared; in 1850 each plant

produced on an average $43,600 worth of iron and steel; by 1940 the average production per plant had increased to $9,822,000, suggesting that the plants were really 225 times as large as they were ninety years before. Since prices during this interval have fallen about two-thirds, the actual rise in the physical volume must be proportionately as much; this would indicate that the average plant today is not 225 but *375 times as large as the average plant in 1850.*

Let us look at plant and production centralization during this same period of time not only in the "heart" industry of iron and steel but also in two other typical industries engaged in mechanical production—one in the manufacture of agricultural implements, (a typical durable goods industry), and the other in the manufacture of cotton goods, (a typical consumer goods industry). This is the picture statistically based upon the Census of Manufactures for 1850 and 1940:

	Population per Plant	Wage Earners per Plant	Production per Plant
Cotton Goods, 1850	21,200	85.0	$ 60,000
Cotton Goods, 1940	105,504	328.0	936,000
Iron and Steel, 1850	49,000	53.0	43,600
Iron and Steel, 1940	394,550	1,163.0	9,822,000
Agricultural Implements, 1850	12,800	5.4	5,176
Agricultural Implements, 1940	379,738	170.2	1,215,000

In 1940 the average mill producing cotton goods employed nearly four times, (actually 3.9 times), as many wage earners as in 1850. The population supplied by the average mill was five times as high as in 1850; the production per plant was 16 times as large as in 1850. While in agricultural implements, the population served by each plant was 30 times as large as in 1850, the average plant employed 32 times as many wage earners, and the value of the production averaged 235 times as much per plant.

And this is typical of the trend before the impact of World War II, which has centralized manufacturing as no other single event in the past century has centralized it!

But plant centralization is only one aspect of industrialization. Regional centralization is another. At one time iron was smelted in many small furnaces located all over the country. With the formation

of U. S. Steel, the industry was centralized in a few great plants located for the most part in Pittsburgh and a few other centers. As with steel, so with shoes, cotton goods, woolens, and other products. At one time shoes were "manufactured" in nearly every community by custom shoemakers and cloth was woven everywhere by local weavers. With the development of the factory system, the manufacture of shoes and the weaving of cloth was centralized in large factories and mills in a few favorably located cities. At one time grist mills ground flour and meal in every countryside, and every farm and region raised its own wheat and corn. After centralization of the milling industry, the growing of wheat was abandoned on most of the farms of the nation; cultivation of wheat was shifted to regions like Kansas; bonanza farming was begun and giant farms equipped to raise nothing but wheat took over wheat growing from the family farms which used to raise it everywhere primarily for home use and consumption in their immediate neighborhood.

EFFICIENCY OF CENTRALIZATION

EFFICIENCY is nearly always the ultimate justification of Centralization. In no other field is efficiency stressed more than in the justification of the centralization of production. Yet even here indisputable facts about its inefficiencies are disregarded. The fact that many types of production do not lend themselves to large scale operations was noted many years ago by Willard Thorp.* Relatively small plants, Thorp pointed out, are more economical than large plants where the raw materials used for a product are widely scattered throughout the nation; when the materials and products are subject to rapid deterioration; when transportation and delivery costs of the materials and products are high in relation to production costs. But in addition to these factors, which apply particularly to industries which process or fabricate agricultural crops, there is the even more surprising fact that in most fields of production small and medium sized plants have actually lower operating costs than large ones. In a summary of reports of the Federal Trade Commision, Kemper Simpson showed that in fifty-three of the most careful studies of this question ever made, the *largest plants* had the lowest costs in only two cases; *large plants* had the lowest costs in only four cases; *medium sized plants* had the

*U. S. Census Monograph III, 1924; p. 89.

lowest costs in twenty-one cases, while *small plants* had the lowest costs in twenty-six cases.† The plants studied included not only plants like creameries which, on the basis of Thorp's studies, do not lend themselves to large scale production, but also automobile plants which, on the same basis, lend themselves to large scale production.

But even these studies of the comparative efficiency of large scale and small scale production do not take into account the very smallest "plants" engaged in production—they do not, for instance, take into account many enormously important productive processes like baking bread at home. They do not compare costs of home baking with the cost of producing bread in large scale commercial bakeries. Rigorous comparisons of every possible cost of home baking with that of the cost to the consumer of commercial bread show that when all factors are taken into consideration, the smallest possible scale of baking is approximately twice as efficient as large scale commercial baking.§ Comparisons of this sort on the overwhelming bulk of the goods consumed by the average family show that on approximately two-thirds of all of them the most efficient method of producing them is to make them on the smallest of all scales of manufacturing, home by home.*

Unfortunately, centralization has not been restricted to the mechanical industries. And even in the mechanical industries, it has not been restricted to those branches in which large scale production is genuinely efficient. It is difficult therefore to answer the question of how much of all centralized production is genuinely efficient. But this much is true, that the bulk of what people consume does not lend itself to efficient large scale production. All things considered, the evidence indicates that two-thirds of the goods and services consumed by the average family—including all that is involved in shelter, all laundry, and most of their food, clothing, and recreation—can be produced much more efficiently on a small scale than on a large scale.

†The plants tested all manufactured products which seemingly lent themselves to large scale production—cement, pig iron, steel ingots and billets, farm machinery, crude oil, refined petroleum products, beet sugar, raw cane sugar, refined cane sugar, fluid milk distribution, butter, canned milk, wheat flour, bread, automobiles, general chemicals, fertilizer, rayon. See BIG BUSINESS EFFICIENCY AND FASCISM, Kemper Simpson, 1941; p. 51.

§Homestead Bulletin No. 5, The School of Living, Suffern, N. Y.

*THIS UGLY CIVILIZATION, Ralph Borsodi, 1933; p. 308.

It is possible, of course, to make the opposite appear true by persuading people to substitute inferior products which lend themselves to factory production—refined sugar, for instance, which can only be produced efficiently in a large refinery—for molasses, sorghum, and honey, which can be produced on every homestead in the nation. It is even possible that manufacturers may succeed in prefabricating housing and persuade people to substitute metal or plastic or paper houses for houses of wood, stone, and brick. Masonry houses, which do not have to be rebuilt every generation, do not lend themselves to prefabrication. Because of transportation costs, they are built on the site, mainly of local materials, by small contractors. The first cost may be higher, but the cost per year of their life is much lower.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between the increased efficiency in production due to (I) the substitution of mechanical power—steam and electricity, for instance—for muscular power, and (II) the substitution of modern technology with its new tools and machines and new fuels, minerals, and chemicals, for handicraft technology, and (III) the substitution of the factory system with its serial or mass production, for small scale custom and home production.

Because all three began to exert their influence upon the processes of production simultaneously, it is easy to confuse these three different technological developments and to credit to one of them—the factory system with its subdivision of labor—increases in efficiency which should really be credited to the other two—to the use of power and technology. Power and technology, had they been applied to small scale production, might have increased the volume of goods produced just as much as, and perhaps more than, the increase which came as a result of their exclusive use in large scale production.

It is also easy to credit to the centralization of production, the increased productivity due not to its increased efficiency but to the rapidity with which we have used up newly discovered natural resources in America, Africa, and Asia. If, for instance, we cut down all the timber in a forest in place of restricting logging to the annual growth, we temporarily enjoy a great increase in the production of lumber.

But in the long run, this represents not an increase of efficiency but a decrease in it even if the most modern methods of logging were used to cut down the forest and to convert the timber into lumber.

It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between the specific contribution of the factory system to the increase of production and the contribution of other technical developments since the Industrial Revolution, and also between the enduring increases in production and the temporary increases which are due to the more rapid destruction of natural resources—to consumption by the present generation of resources which it ought to hold in trust for future generations of mankind. No such distinctions are made by the protagonists of Industrialization. And the centralization of production—which is required by the factory system—is assumed to be essential to any improvement in the standard of living simply because no exploration is made of the possibilities of using power and technology in small and decentralized units of production—in local factories and shops, and on farms and in homes. Because the factory system requires the centralization of production, and because its introduction has been followed by a rise in the standard of living, at least in some countries, it is assumed that indiscriminate centralization in every field of human activity is not only equally progressive but also equally good.

In establishing or locating factories today, no one asks whether a particular factory should or should not be established or located in a specific community in terms of *all* the consequences, in the broadest conception of the term *consequences,* which will follow from its operation. A factory which draws to itself a quantity of labor which more often than not will be badly housed and which will therefore live subnormally, should not be established and should be excluded by any self-respecting community. It rarely is in America today. Why? Because the only question which manufacturers, like businessmen generally, consider is that of their own interest or profit, while the only question which those who exercise power or influence in the community consider is that of the effect upon business and land values. Everybody takes it for granted that since factory pay-rolls increase the volume of trade and raise land values, the establishment of a factory is good for everybody.

If this test of what is really good for everybody were to be universally applied, it may be asked where those factories should be located which not only involve the centralization of an undesirable working population forced to live under subnormal conditions, but also pollute the atmosphere with smoke and fumes, foul streams with their chemical wastes, make noise, and are otherwise undesirable? My answer is, *nowhere.* Since the factories should exist to serve mankind, no factory should be established which by reasonable standards does exactly the opposite. If this principle were to be universally observed, an entirely new technological and engineering problem would have to be solved before it was assumed that a factory "paid." All the processes of production would have to be organized so that none of these evil consequences followed. This would make costs of factory production much higher than is the case today and would render mass production less able to compete with small scale and home production. But this is precisely what is not done, thereby giving the factory a differential advantage which permits it seemingly to lower costs by creating undesirable social conditions and shifting the cost of dealing with them to the community as a whole.

The protagonists of Industrialization are certainly justified in calling attention to the economies of large scale production in the manufacture of many products of which the automobile is usually cited as a shining example. But if the process is to be evaluated rationally even in economic terms, the immediate economic gains from centralization of production and of enterprise must be weighed against their long term economic costs. It is possible to obtain the maximum of financial and of immediate economic gains by cutting down a whole forest at one operation. This process of complete denudation makes the erection of large lumber mills extremely profitable. But in judging the efficiency of the whole process, the fact that it raises the cost of lumber for future generations must be taken into account. If forestry is practiced on the basis of sustaining the annual yield, the magnitude of lumbering can never be so large, and the operation of many small lumber mills becomes more efficient than a few large ones.

The social "by-products" of the process must also be taken into account. If large scale industrial operations produce occupational

diseases; if they lead to the degradation of labor; if they increase the number of neurotics and psychotics; if they impose alternate periods of full employment and then unemployment upon masses of workers, these costs must be added to what is taken into account by those who delight in computing only the immediate gains from the establishment of large scale enterprises.

Of necessity, as production is centralized and enterprises increased in size, degradation of most of the workers is inevitable; labor is endlessly subdivided and repetitive work must be substituted for skilled craftsmanship; the ownership or control must be vested in fewer and fewer persons; the vast majority of workers become mere employees and have to be reduced to the status of human machines. Managing huge enterprises, it is true, does develop the executive abilities of the few who plan and superintend, but it correspondingly stunts the development of the masses who are controlled. The tendency to measure Progress in terms of the growth of enterprises and institutions inevitably replaces the tendency to measure it in terms of the growth of the human person. Institutions progress, but individuals regress.

EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

AS A RESULT of the subservience of the whole school system to the curricular requirements of triumphant Industrialism, indoctrination with the idea that mass production on one hand, and efficiency and progress on the other, are one and the same, has become universal. Today we all tend to assume that production must be specialized in order to be efficient. We have been taught to believe not only in the centralization of the fabrication of iron and steel; we believe that the production of everything must be centralized. As a result we believe that centralization is necessary to produce the abundance which a high standard of living requires—that independent producers and small scale production should be supplanted by big business and mass-production; that self-sufficient family farming should be replaced by concentration on special cash crops; that each

kind of crop should be centralized in specific favorable regions and concentrated upon limited numbers of giant farms. And we have been taught to believe that home production—home baking, home canning, home sewing, home gardening—is inefficient; that it should be shifted to factories and to commercial farms in the interest of Progress.

Because of World War II, we are progressing toward a centralization of production undreamed of, except by Socialists, a few generations ago. We have progressed, but has that meant mal-progress or has it meant right-progress? What has been its effect not upon industry but upon the average living, breathing human being? What will be its effect upon coming generations?

For the most part, the teachers and leaders of mankind today accept and do not challenge modern man's faith in Industrialism. They concentrate upon helping people to adjust themselves to centralized production and to equip themselves for money-making in an industrialized world. But should they not first face the matter of choice with regard to Industrialism itself? Should they merely accept the ideology of Industrialism? Should they not explore alternate ideologies about production? Or should they continue to assume that Progress calls for further and further implementation of Industrialism even though that may ultimately involve the acceptance of the ideology of Socialism if not of Marxism?

Have they, in trying to solve the problems of industrial society, put industry first and man second? Have they taught us to treat human beings as though living were the means, and industrial production the end of life? Have we as a result progressively degraded human beings to the level of robots and machine tenders? Should they not first consider the question of how individuals should produce what they need and desire—whether they should produce them at home for home consumption, or

locally in small plants for local and regional consumption, or nationally by mass production? Should they not ask whether man is by nature adapted to mass production, instead of assuming that mass production must everywhere be accepted without regard to the nature of man? Should they not inquire into the question of whether only a very small percentage of individuals in the whole population are psychically able to endure the repetitive work of mass production? From this standpoint, should they not give consideration to the question of whether mass production has been introduced into fields which should never have been centralized but should have remained small and local, and whether we have not over-centralized even those few fields of inorganic production which lend themselves by their technical nature to large scale mechanical and chemical production?

Do the leaders and teachers of mankind discharge their responsibilities and fufill their obligations if they merely describe Industrialism; accept it as an immutable and unchangeable fact; lead people to accept it, and seek to solve all the problems into which its acceptance has plunged mankind, by training people to adapt and adjust their lives to it? Or is there needed a change in their conception of their role in society and need for the development of a new kind of education which will teach people to examine the problem of production in the light of eternal and universal truths, values, and purposes?

CHAPTER VII. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART III.

PROLETARIANIZATION: The Centralization of Ownership

The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labor, into capitalist private property is, naturally a process, incomparably more protracted, violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalist private property, already resting on socialized production, into socialist property. In the former case, we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurers by the mass of the people.—Karl Marx, "Capital."

THE problem of ownership, both according to the advocates of Socialism and the defenders of Capitalism, confront us with a dichotomy: we must choose either between *private property* or *public ownership.* In fact, however, we are confronted not with a dichotomy but with a trichotomy. Of ownership we may say, paraphrasing Aristotle, that there are not two but three kinds: ownership *by many;* ownership *by a few,* and ownership *by one.*

I. Where the ownership of property is widely distributed among many individuals and families—where it is *decentralized*—we have ownership of the first kind: ownership by many.

II. Where the ownership of property is concentrated in a relatively limited number of wealthy individuals or giant corporations—where plutocratization* has taken place and ownership has been *partially centralized*—we have ownership of the second kind: ownership by a few.

*Plutocratization is not only a process but also an ideology—Plutocracy—which justifies the concentration of the ownership of wealth and property in the hands of a small number of persons on the theory that such concentration is ultimately in the best interest of both rich and poor. The assumptions upon which the ideology is based are: (I) that those who acquire and who can keep wealth are wiser and better administrators than those who are poor; (II) that the poor do not possess wealth because of their bad habits, their lack of ability, and their administrative incapacity; (III) that the concentration of the administration of wealth

III. Where the ownership of property is limited exclusively to the government—where all property has been socialized and ownership is *totally centralized*—we have ownership of the third kind: ownership by one.

Not theory but history proves that to the extent to which these three kinds of ownership prevail in any nation, the population is either (I) economically and politically independent, (II) economically dependent, or (III) economically and politically dependent. A trend in the ownership of property—in the ownership of farms and homes, of businesses and factories, of wealth and capital, from decentralized ownership toward centralized ownership—toward either plutocratization or socialization—is a trend toward proletarianization;§ a trend away from individual liberty and personal independence and towards dependence and tyranny.

Corey turns to American history to show the relationship between ownership and liberty:

> The middle class ideal of a society of independent small producers was most fully realized in the United States of the 1820's to 1830's. At least 80 per cent of the people were owners of property, of their own means of livelihood. This was not true, of course, of the South. But in the Northern and Western states, a rough economic equality prevailed. . . . . Out of the society of small producers arose the American dream. It was a dream of liberty and progress moving irresistibly onward to new and higher fulfillments. Most vital was the ideal, determining all other ideals, of the liberty and equality of men owning their independent means of livelihood.¶

and property in persons who are wise and able in administration makes it certain that the poor, in spite of their weaknesses, will be compelled to work diligently, and, under the direction of those who have proved their capacity for administration, be themselves more secure and at the same time produce more wealth than without such compulsion and direction.

§The term *proletarianization* is here used in substantially the same sense in which Marx first used it—with reference to the process of transforming those who own their own means of production, (who are self-employed as are farmers who own and operate their own farms; retailers who own and run their own stores; manufacturers who own and manage their own factories), *into* wage or salary earners totally dependent upon others for their employment and livelihood. But it is also used in its fullest logical meaning to include the process of transforming those who are now self-employed, or employed by private enterprises, *into* state-employees totally dependent upon public officials and bureaucrats for their employment and livelihood.

¶THE CRISIS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS, Lewis Corey, 1935; pp. 113-114.

In the United States all three kinds of ownership exist side by side, and each kind, the people are taught, is equally legitimate. But in the United States, as in all industrialized nations in which Finance Capitalism has been accepted, the trend for nearly a century has been away from ownership and control by many toward ownership and control by few; from a state of Distributism in ownership to a state of Plutocracy.† And now, in the United States as in nearly all nations, the trend, (because of the economic insecurity created by industrialization and corporation capitalization), is from a state of plutocratic ownership to a state of government ownership: from a state of *partial proletarianization* to a state of *total proletarianization*.

I. DECENTRALIZED OWNERSHIP

IF WE TAKE farm ownership in the United States between 1880 and 1935 as an indicator of the trend toward the centralization of ownership, we get a startling picture of the progress of proletarianization and of the decline in the ownership of property by individuals and families in the nation. This is an exceptionally useful indicator because not only has ownership by farmers of their farms declined startlingly but the proportion of farmers in the whole population has declined at the same time that the proportion of wage earners—for the most part propertyless—has increased even more startlingly.* Other forms of ownership might be used as indicators of the trend—home ownership, store ownership, factory ownership, bank owner-

†The development of this particular concept of ownership in the United States has never been more forthrightly and vividly described than by Frederick Townsend Martin, himself a Plutocrat, in a book which he called THE PASSING OF THE IDLE RICH: "The class I represent cares nothing for politics. It matters not one iota what political party is in power or what President holds the reigns of office. We are not politicians or public thinkers. We are the rich. We own America. We got it, and we intend to keep it by throwing all the tremendous weight of our support, our influence, our money, our political connections, our purchased Senators, our hungry Congressmen, and our public speaking demagogues into the scale against any legislation, any political platform, or any Presidential campaign which threatens the integrity of our estate. In a single season a plutocratic leader hurled his influence and his money into the scale to elect a Republican Governor on the Pacific Coast and a Democratic Governor on the Atlantic Coast." How this is done he describes in two graphic sentences: "Plutocracy maintains itself either by force or fraud. In America it has maintained itself by fraud."

*Until quite recently no statistical material has been available which directly shows how rapidly we have been urbanizing—and for the most part proletarianizing—our farm population. Combining various sources it is possible, however, to make reasonably good estimates for every census as far back as 1850. These

ship, newspaper ownership, stock and bond ownership. But these would differ from the trend of farm ownership only in degree; all of them would simply lend confirmation to the evidence furnished by farm ownership.

With farm ownership we have an exceptionally accurate and complete estimate of the trend during the period of fifty-five years from 1880 to 1935. If we project the decline in ownership—and indicated progress of proletarianization—forward merely 23 years from the time this is being written, to 1970, the alarming nature of the trend of ownership in the United States becomes more apparent. Extrapolation of this sort is justified not on the ground that it necessarily forecasts what will happen but as an indicator of what must take place unless the forces creating the existing trend are changed. And if a similar projection is made backwards to 1825, we obtain some indication of the real magnitude of the change of ownership which has to be taken into account.

OWNERSHIP OF EQUITIES IN FARM REAL ESTATE

	1825	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1935	1970
Decentralized Ownership†	84*	62	59	54	50	46	41	39	25*
Centralized Ownership§	16*	38	41	46	50	54	59	61	75*

†Ownership by farm operators. §Absentee ownership—ownership of mortgages and farms operated by tenants. *Estimated.

The above table is here used on the assumption that the best indicator of what has happened to farm ownership is to be found in studies of the *equities owned in farm real estate by farm operators.* The studies I have used combine the value of farm real estate—land and buildings—*operated by tenants,* with the amount of mortgage debt on farm real estate *operated by farm owners,* and compare this total with the value of all farm real estate. This is a much more adequate measure of the loss of ownership by farmers than either the percentage of farm tenancy or of farm mortgage debt separately. These studies go back only to 1880. But in appraising the situation

figures can be extended further backwards by extrapolation, furnishing a series on farm population which may be compared with the figures on the decline in ownership of those who remain farm operators.

DECLINE IN FARM POPULATION

	1825	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1970
Total Population (millions)	11.2	50.2	62.9	76.0	92.0	105.7	122.8	132.0	170.0
Population on Farms (millions)	6.2	22.4	25.0	31.0	32.4	31.0	28.6	26.2	17.0
Population on Farms (per cent)	55.0	44.7	39.7	40.7	35.1	29.2	23.2	19.8	10.0

to which they point, it is important to bear in mind that by 1880 an enormous number of American farm families had already lost farms which they at one time owned. If we had an equally exact picture of the situation going back to the hey-day of the Homestead Laws, when any American family could obtain 160 acres of land from the government by mere occupation of the land, we would see that at one time nearly every American family was a farm or home owner. In terms of equities, it declined from a probable maximum of between 80 and 90 per cent, to 62 per cent by 1880.‡ By 1935 the proportion had been cut to 39 per cent. Within a period of less than a century ownership of the agricultural land of the nation was cut in half, declining on the average at the rate of about four per cent each ten years. Should this decline continue to 1970 at the same rate, the farmers of America would own only about one-fourth of the value of the farms of the nation. Three-fourths of the land would be owned by other persons than those who lived upon and cultivated it.

II. CORPORATION OWNERSHIP: PARTIAL CENTRALIZATION

ROBERT S. BROOKINGS voices in typical fashion the ideas of the leaders of thought today in support of this trend toward the proletarianization of our farmers:

> My opinion is that the best means of hastening the present slow and harrowing process of agricultural regimentation is by the formation of agricultural corporations which will accomplish in organization and management what big business has accomplished for industry. Following the method pursued in the organization of the U. S. Steel Corporation, the most inefficient farms, which as now operated are worth less than nothing, would be paid for in safe bonds of the "Agricultural Corporation" with some regard for their potential value; and the most efficient farms receive their full present value in the same bonds, and their efficient managers would become department managers of the corporation. As these corporations would combine all the advantages claimed by Campbell and Ford for large-unit farming, with the additional advantages in methods of efficient management shown by Prof. Mead, I believe they would greatly reduce even the present low cost of production of the most efficient farmers; and that their securities would eventually become one of the most extensive and safest forms of investment for our people.*

It is difficult to comment with patience upon this inhuman idea, which it must be remembered is in some form or other the dominant

‡AGRICULTURE IN MODERN LIFE, O. E. Baker, Ralph Borsodi, and M. L. Wilson, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1939.

*Quoted by Troy J. Cauley, AGRARIANISM, Univ. of North Carolina, 1935; p. 75.

idea in America. But it is sufficient to call attention to the fact that the hearings of the Temporary National Economic Committee, to which further reference is made below, showed conclusively that the biggest corporations manufacturing steel were not the most efficient. The United States Steel Corporation would never have acquired its reputation for efficiency had it not been able to offset its actual inefficiency with profits from the suppression of competition and its monopolistic ownership of coal and iron mines.

All other evidence to which we might turn for indications of the trend of ownership simply confirm the trend shown by farm ownership. The increase in the proportion of wage and salary earners in the population—of individuals who are dependent for their livelihood on employment in enterprises which they do not own;† the tendency of families to live in cities in apartment houses and in rented homes instead of owning their own homes; the trend toward corporation ownership of not only railroads, public utilities, and banks but also of mills and factories and businesses of all kinds which at one time were locally or privately owned; the substitution of chain stores for independently owned stores, is so well known as to make it unnecessary to furnish figures dealing with these matters. The situation is well summarized in the final report of the Temporary National Economic Committee. In March, 1941, twelve of the experts who worked on this monumental fact-finding survey, said:

> We know that most of the wealth and income of the country is owned by a few large corporations, that these corporations are owned in turn by an infinitesimally small number of people and that the profits from the operations of these corporations go to a very small group with the results that the opportunities for new enterprises, whether corporate or individual, are constantly restricted.

That was before World War II began to crush out of existence hundreds of thousands of small businesses in every line of enterprise, and war contracts further centralized the business of the nation in its large corporations. In the same report the point was made that "Political freedom cannot survive if economic freedom is lost." This

†"Today only about one-fourth of the persons who have a gainful occupation are self-employed while three-fourths are subject to hiring and firing." From JOBS, MACHINES, AND UNEMPLOYMENT, Report on Progress of the WPA Program, p. 3; Washington, June 30, 1938. The situation discussed in this report has become much worse during the war; the proportion of independent self-employed persons has become very much smaller.

is just another way of saying that liberty cannot survive if ownership by many is replaced by ownership by a few.

STATE OWNERSHIP: TOTAL CENTRALIZATION

ACCORDING to Marxians, the logical end of this process of centralization of production and ownership is centralization of ownership in the state. The following statement of Socialist doctrine, taken from the report of the Russian delegation to the World Social Economic Congress held in Amsterdam in August, 1931, makes this clear:

> Socialism is a system of society in which all the means of production belong to society as a whole.....Production is carried on for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the separate members of society. It must also satisfy social needs, including, above all, the upkeep and development of the social apparatus of production. From this follows logically the necessity for an economic plan..... Under socialism the whole economy of the country becomes one huge enterprise.

In Soviet Russia there is no question about progress toward the centralization of ownership. In Czarist Russia, though land ownership was plutocratic and greatly centralized, there was still some ownership of property by the many. To enthusiastic partisans of Marxism, who still believe that exploitation of the masses of people can only be ended by Total Centralization of ownership in the state, and who measure progress towards an "economy of abundance" in terms of the trend toward centralization in all fields, every step we take in the direction of government ownership represents Progress.

Liberty requires as a condition for its survival ownership by the individual and the family of productive property—of property with which tangible goods, (food to be eaten and clothes to be worn), and not merely money, can be produced. The possession of a job or income, or the ownership of "securities," is not enough. A theoretical one-hundred-eighty-millionth share in the ownership of all the property in Soviet Russia seems to give the average Russian even less political freedom than a one-fifty-millionth part of the political control of the United States government gives a propertyless needleworker in New York City economic independence.

Liberty is not assured by ownership of minute fractional shares in the "means of production and distribution" either in absentee-controlled corporations or, even more vaguely, through citizenship in a socialized state. These are only alternative forms of centralized

ownership and of absentee control. The American middle class, which has been educated and conditioned to enjoy financial servility, now devotes the work span of life to acquiring insurance and if possible enough securities to live comfortably in old age, while the masses of American wage earners, in their resentment against big business, are turning to dependence upon labor unions and government social security schemes. The Russian people have, of course, been forced into state slavery and find themselves not only completely dependent upon their dictators and bureaucrats but denied civil liberties into the bargain. The present trend in the United States and other democratic nations is in the same direction; the masses are no longer supposed, even in theory, to make themselves independent by acquiring property; they are not even expected to save enough in bank deposits, life insurance, or investments with which to meet the hazards of life and the inabilities of old age.

An elaborate social security system which provides government doles to enable them to deal with every imaginable event in life, is coming. Grants for sickness, for accidents, for unemployment, for old age, are being supplemented with grants at marriage, at the birth of each child, even to meet the expenses of burial. These humanitarian proposals are, unfortunately, also grants to subsidize malingering, irresponsibility, indolence, dependence, and servility. Expanding social security seems good from the standpoint both of politicians and social workers; from the standpoint of the development of the personality it means not an elevation but a degradation of the person.

The ownership of productive property such as a homestead or family business imposes a rigorous training in management, production, and conservation; it trains the members of the family in responsibility, self-reliance, initiative, independence. Not progress to more centralized ownership of property but regression from it, is the real answer to the economic problem which social security, and the socialization of all property, attempt to solve.

I. THE EFFICIENCY OF PARTIAL CENTRALIZATION

TWO quite different arguments are made for the centralization of ownership by the theorists of plutocratization and Finance Capitalism, and the theorists of collectivization and Socialism. In this country Alexander Hamilton first clearly set forth the theory which has in one

way or another been used to rationalize plutocratization: that the centralization of wealth in a limited class of owners was desirable for the nation as a whole because it created a class with so much wealth that they could not spend it all for current consumption but would be forced to invest it as capital in the development of the industries of the nation. On the assumption that no rise in the standard of living was possible unless every field of production was industrialized, such a reservoir of funds for capital investment in manufacturing seemed logical. But the logic collapses if the assumption is mistaken; if in fact a higher standard of living could be achieved if *most* of the production of the nation took place in the home and on the farm, in local shops and in small factories catering to the needs of each region, and only *part* in giant enterprises catering to the needs of the entire nation. Wealth would then be better decentralized since that would furnish every community and every region with the capital which would enable people to produce for themselves.

II. THE JUSTICE OF TOTAL CENTRALIZATION

THE theorists of Socialism, beginning long before Marx and going back to Robert Owen, Fourier, and Saint Simon, sought to justify the total centralization of ownership on the ground that private property was the institution which enabled a small, privileged class to exploit the masses of people who actually produced all the wealth but received for their work only a niggardly subsistence wage. Assuming, like the theorists of Finance Capitalism, that the people could not be trusted to invest their own savings, they planned to ensure justice by taking over all property and by having a centralized government determine how much of the total produce of the nation should be used as capital for further industrialization, and how much should be distributed in the form of consumption goods for current living. Evidence that either group—either the fortunate and ruthless officials of socialized states like Russia, or the ruthless and fortunate plutocrats and investment bankers of America—can use the wealth of the people more wisely than they could themselves, simply does not exist. That centralization of ownership has resulted in rapid development and expansion of industry is true. In America, the substitution of plutocratic ownership for decentralized ownership, has channelled investment into industrialization as rapidly as it enabled profits to be extracted from labor, from consumers, from unfortunate investors, and

from natural resources. In Soviet Russia, it was proportionate to the sacrifices that the dictators of the nation could force the people to accept in order to promote industrialization. In either event, industrialization came first; human beings, second.

In evaluating the arguments for the centralization of ownership we are dealing with a distinct ideology—*Absentee Capitalism*—which should not be confounded with *Classical Capitalism*. Classical Capitalism, which relies upon competition as a means of assuring just prices, by its very nature calls for many competing capitalists and for a widespread diffusion of ownership. In dealing with this distinct ideology, however, we have to deal with at least two forms of the idea, (I) *Finance Capitalism*, or Plutocracy as I have here frequently designated it, and (II) *State Capitalism*, or Socialism and Communism as it is more usually designated. Both validate the centralization of ownership in terms of increased all-over and long-term efficiency. The differences between the two are political and ethical, *not* economic. Both repudiate Capitalism as it was conceived by the Manchester school of economists. Neither sees any virtues in competition and the free market, in individual and local enterprise, in the operation of enterprises by owners rather than by hired superintendents. Efficiency, according to the believers in Absentee Capitalism, requires the elimination of individual ownership and the incorporation of small producing units in giant national enterprises. But the case for the centralization of capital and ownership, so far as the bulk of enterprise is concerned, has never been truly proven. That in some few fields of production, centralization of ownership may increase the total volume of production and therefore the prosperity of society as a whole, is undoubtedly true, but that this is true of all kinds of production does not follow at all.

EDUCATION AND THE PROBLEM OF OWNERSHIP

WHAT then should be the attitude of education in dealing with the problem? Should it continue to teach people to succeed, equating success for the most part with riches, (with the acquisition, if possible, of millions in stocks and bonds), and in effect equipping each new generation for rivalry in Plutocracy?

Or should it accept the existing centralization of ownership and equip them for employment in the kinds of jobs which Finance Capitalism has to offer them? Or should it, as it is to an increasing extent doing, discourage individual and small scale enterprise and further the centralization of ownership by directing all scientific research and technical training toward Centralization, and so hasten the coming of the inevitable day, which Marx predicted, when all ownership would be centralized in the state?

Or should education explore the fundamental relationship of ownership not only to the ideology of Progress, not only to the gospel of Success, but also to the development of the potentialities of the individual and the family?

CHAPTER VII. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART IIII.

CAPITALIZATION: The Centralization of Control

> *The advantages of the corporation for the development of industry have been very great. In the first place, large-scale operations have been facilitated. Many modern enterprises require so great a capital that no individual could supply it..... Savings have been made liquid, so to speak, and can flow with ease and in any desired volume wherever there is a prospect of their advantageous use. The ease of investment in corporate enterprises has stimulated savings, and, by a reciprocal influence, the unceasing accumulation of savings has made possible an immense increase of real capital under corporate management.—F. W. Taussig in his "Principles of Economics."*

OWNERSHIP may be a fact, or it may be nothing but a legal fiction. Control, however, is nothing if it is not a fact. To be able to say, "I control," is to say, "I have the power which ownership implies;" whereas only to be able to say, "I own" without being able to say, "I control," is in reality to say merely, "I have a legal *token* of ownership." Institutions—like corporations—which make possible control of property without ownership, make ownership merely formal and symbolic. Nothing adequate has been taught about the significance of this distinction. On the contrary, people have been led to believe that the centralization of control, like the centralization of ownership, is justified in terms of security and progress.

OWNERSHIP vs. CONTROL

PERHAPS the best method of illustrating the distinction which I am seeking to make between ownership and control is that furnished by the relationship of the assets of such a corporation as the United States Steel Corporation to the financiers who *control* but do not own them and to the investors who *own* but do not control them. On the one hand we have a *handful* of financiers; on the other *over two hundred thousand* direct owners, (stockholders), and *millions* of indirect owners, (bondholders, insurance policy holders, depositors in banks, etc., whose savings have been invested in the corporation). The corporation itself holds in a species of trust vast properties consisting of lands and mines; railroads and ships; buildings of all kinds; factories and steel plants; coal, ore, steel, finished products, and supplies of all kinds. In legal theory, the ultimate ownership of all this property belongs to the stockholders of the corporation who are assured in the reports issued to them that this is "your" corporation; that the directors, officers and managers represent "you," and that the property is administered by them for "your" profit. But in practice this theory is rendered absurd by the fact that the control of the corporation is centralized in a small group of individuals over whose activities the "owners"—both direct and indirect—exercise virtually no influence, and over whose selection they exercise so little power that it is no exaggeration to say that the controllers of the corporation are a self-perpetuating minority who can administer the property and dispose of its earnings and capital as they may think most expedient from their own standpoint.

The modern business corporation, of which the United States Steel Corporation is merely one of the most conspicuous, is in essence a device seized upon by unscrupulous promoters, (who now call themselves investment bankers!), to permit the *capitalization of capital.*

Capitalization is simply that ingenious process by which adroit financiers transform *real capital,* (machinery, buildings, land, and other productive property), into *capital stock* and other corporate securities, (common and preferred shares, bonds, debentures, etc.) The process could be restricted to the fulfillment of a very useful and perfectly proper function in a high civilization and complex economy, if the right to incorporate conferred no special privileges of any kind upon the incorporators. The impropriety of the process as it is prac-

ticed at present arises from the fact that the law does confer such privileges and gives to corporations competitive advantages denied to natural persons and partnerships.

The process has been rationalized. The ostensible reason for it, however, is one thing; the real reason is quite different. Ostensibly capitalization, by making it possible to aggregate indefinitely large amounts of savings, makes it possible to enjoy the economies of large scale production. In reality capitalization was originally, and still is, the means by which financiers can acquire great wealth incomparably more rapidly than it is possible for anybody to earn it from the mere operation of any honest business.

By the capitalization of capital through incorporation, financiers made possible:

I. The transfer of ownership from *natural persons*, (as human beings are defined by the law), to *artificial persons*, (as corporations are defined by law);

II. The splitting of ownership, as it existed prior to the development of the modern corporation, into three different kinds of ownership: (i) *ultimate ownership*, which experience has shown they can safely leave to stockholders, policy holders, bank depositors, bond holders, etc., who receive nicely engraved pieces of paper called stock certificates, bonds, debentures, insurance policies, deposit books, etc., as evidences of their ownership of the property or money which they have turned over to the corporation; (ii) *titular ownership*, which they vest in the corporation itself; and (iii) *real ownership*, or control, which they reserve to themselves by means of various ingenious legal devices which enable them to name corporation directors;

III. The enjoyment at one and the same time of *absentee ownership* by investors, and the exercise of *absentee control* by themselves;

IV. The accumulation of great wealth, not from the operation of productive property or from the conduct of enterprises, but (i) from what used to be called "stock watering"—the purchase of enterprises at one price, their capitalization at much higher ones; (ii) from the manipulation of corporate securities on the stock exchange, (selling long or short on the basis of inside information); (iii) from the drainage of corporate profits by means of high salaries and bonuses for administration, by means of purchases from "inside" corporations, and by charges for financing, re-organizations, and similar "banking" ser-

vices; finally (iv) from the pyramiding of all these activities through holding corporations.

FINANCE CAPITALISM

THIS is Finance Capitalism, *not* Classical Capitalism—a system for the control of productive property, or capital, by small numbers of financiers who do not legally own it. The system began to take its present form in the 1880's and 1890's when the possibilities of the corporation as an instrument for centralizing control of property were discovered. The corporation is in substance nothing but such an instrument of control. This is true of all kinds of corporations; of business corporations—banking, insurance, railroad, public utility, and industrial—and also of non-profit corporations. Even cooperative corporations—organized presumably to eliminate the profit system—run the risk of transforming themselves into similar instrumentalities for the control of property by a self-perpetuating managerial group. The ultimate ownership of our largest life insurance companies—the so-called mutuals—is supposed to be vested cooperatively in their policy holders, but the real ownership, or *control*, of the assets and enormous reserves of which they are the titular owners (although ultimately belonging to the policy holders), is in the hands of self-perpetuating groups of directors. And it is no less true in labor unionism and in religion, particularly when the corporation is nationally or internationally organized. Only in small, and so-called "closed," corporations, regardless of whether the ultimate owners are called stockholders or policy holders, "co-op," union or church members, is it possible to prevent the control of the property from shifting into the hands of a group of absentee managers, officers, directors, or financiers.

A great deal has been said by the apologists for capitalization and the centralization of control about the fact that the ultimate ownership of many of our largest corporations is widely diffused. (It is unfortunate that the advocates of bigness in cooperation have also adopted the euphemism of talking about the vast number of the members—and presumably owners—of their cooperatives!) At the time this is being written, the assets of the United States Steel Corporation are ultimately owned by 163,425 common and 68,551 preferred shareholders; the assets of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, by 630,902 stockholders; the assets of the Metropolitan Life In-

surance Company, by 23,657,000 policy holders all over the world. But since the actual control of all three of them, (and most other large corporations in the United States), is in the hands of a handful of investment bankers in Wall Street, the large number of ultimate owners counts for little or nothing.

How is this control exercised? The matter has been exhaustively studied by Berle and Means. Taking the 200 largest corporations in the United States, they classified the total of about $150,000,000,000 worth of property, (*ultimate ownership* of which rested with millions of individual stock, bond and policy holders), in accordance with the the methods of control used by the *real owners*, whose headquarters are for the most part in New York City. This is the way they found control of this property being exercised:*

58 per cent is controlled through self-perpetuating managements;
22 per cent is controlled through legal devices such as voting trusts;
14 per cent is controlled through minority stock ownership;
2 per cent is controlled through majority stock ownership;
4 per cent is controlled through private ownership of practically all the stock.†

To what extent has capitalization and the centralization of control, nullified private ownership in the United States? If this question can be answered, we can form some idea of the extent to which Finance Capitalism has superseded Classical Capitalism in the United States. And if it has largely superseded it, then no further explanation is needed of the alleged failure of what is usually designated simply as Capitalism, to function justly as early advocates of Classical Capitalism insisted it would.

According to Berle and Means, the handful of men who control these 200 corporations control 45 to 53 per cent of all the corporate wealth, other than banking, in the United States; from 35 to 45 per cent of all the business wealth, other than banking; and from 15 to 25 per cent of the entire national wealth.‡ If to this is added all the savings of the people of the nation represented by their deposits in

*THE MODERN CORPORATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., and Gardiner C. Means, MacMillan Company, 1933; p. 94.

†These are really closed corporations; public investment in them takes the form of bond holdings, policy holdings, and deposits of money.

‡Ibid., p. 32.

banks, the control of which (even though deposited in local banks) is likewise centralized through the reserve and central reserve banks; all the assets title to which is held by many hundreds of smaller corporations but control over which is exercised from smaller banking centers like Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Atlanta; and finally, all the notes, mortgages, and other collateral given to banks to secure loans, then some idea can be formed of the enormous extent to which the people of the United States have lost real ownership of their property.

Note should here be taken of the fact that the transformation of decentralized personal ownership, (as it existed in the 1820's and 1830's), into centralized financial control, (as it exists at present), was not due to anything inherent in Classical Capitalism, Marx to the contrary notwithstanding. The states and the national government from the very beginning of the republic actively intervened in the transformation. Instead of using their powers to see that the "money-power," as it used to be called, received no privileges in trying to compete with personal enterprise, they did the exact opposite. They used all their power to issue corporation charters; to control money, credit and banking; to license; to grant land, franchises, bounties and tariffs, taxation immunities and preferences, for the purpose of developing Finance Capitalism and undermining Classical Capitalism, and for the purpose of increasing the control which financiers began to exercise over property the ultimate ownership of which theoretically still belonged to stockholders, bondholders, policy holders, and bank depositors.

I. INTERVENTIONISM: GOVERNMENT REGULATION

REPEATED financial scandals with "booms" and "busts"—the Central Bank and "wild-cat money" scandals; the *Credit Mobilier* and other railroad scandals; the great life insurance scandals, the scandals of Wall Street's recurring speculative orgies, the scandals in connection with the rise of the trusts—eventually produced a political movement which continues to this day: the movement for government regulation of business and for government intervention in all sorts of economic activities from which, in terms of both Classical Capitalism and the concept of personal liberty and independence, the government

was to be expressly excluded. As a result banks, railroads, insurance companies, public utilities, and finally ordinary business, began to be regulated by public officials and commissions. Bank and Insurance Departments, the Federal Reserve Board, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Securities Exchange Commission, and Public Utility Commissions in each state, are among the government agencies which grew out of this movement. Government regulation is increasing steadily; it superimposes a layer of political controllers upon the existing layer of financial controllers of the nation; it represents, however, no movement looking toward the return of control of this increasing proportion of our total wealth to the millions of individuals who are its ultimate owners—toward the the repeal and abolition of the special privileges which alone make possible the existence of Finance Capitalism. It involves no movement toward the re-establishment of Classical Capitalism; on the contrary, it has resulted in the development of a whole new body of ideas about the functions of government, well named *Interventionism.*

II. INTERVENTIONISM: FASCIST REGIMENTATION

IN EUROPE, after World War I, two quite different movements developed for the purpose of dealing with Finance Capitalism—with Cartelism and indeed with business generally. The advocates of both movements agreed in roundly denouncing both *laissez faire* and monopoly but on quite different grounds. Fascism was one of them, Communism the other.

In Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany, ownership was considered unimportant but control was not. Individuals and corporations were permitted to retain title to their property and to continue to operate their businesses, but control was taken out of the hands of the nominal owners by the simple device of having semi-public officials of industry-wide cartels prescribe in the minutest detail how they were to be operated and what the owners were to do with the proceeds of their "own" enterprises.

In Soviet Russia, the problem of control was disposed of by the even simpler expedient of forbidding private ownership altogether, by centralizing all ownership in the state. Marx assumed that centralized ownership was a necessary prerequisite to government control; Lenin and his Bolsheviks, like good Marxians, seized all property, both personal and corporate, in the name of the dictatorship of

the proletariat. Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler were less doctrinaire—they realized that ownership need not be eliminated if the government had the courage to exercise control. In the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, with his New Deal, was shrewd enough to see that ownership becomes an empty shell, if government agencies are smart enough to seize and exercise control in a state of emergency. Pushed far enough, this becomes *regimentation*; what the Germans called *gleichschaltung.**

III. INTERVENTIONISM: PRESSURE GROUPS

SINCE the great depression which began in 1929, government intervention to undo the mischief it had itself created by granting privileges to one group in society, began to take the form of intervening by granting compensatory privileges to any interest strong enough to form a "pressure group." The evils of intervention were to be remedied not by ending it but by universalizing it.

Without in the slightest degree interfering with the special privileges of the great manufacturing and financial oligarchy of which the center was Wall Street, the Hoover administration began to do something for agriculture—for the group which had been consistently victimized from the very beginning of the subsidizing of Industrialism, Urbanism, and Finance Capitalism. Hoover began by establishing a Farm Board; Roosevelt, dissatisfied with so mild and inadequate a degree of intervention, established the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and a host of other farm agencies; levied processing taxes, subsidized the plowing under of cotton and slaughter of millions of little pigs to raise agricultural prices. As a result, the market for agricultural crops is even less free than it used to be; prices on corn, wheat, cotton, and milk represent no real equation between supply and demand; they reflect mainly the influence of government parity guaranties, loans, subsidies, purchases, and price-fixing. Agriculture still claims quite truthfully at the time this is being written, that in spite of high prices its income is still below the industrial standard; labor and the whole urban population, on the other hand, that the government is forcing them to pay outrageous prices for food. No one can possibly determine whether the privileges granted to agriculture are greater or smaller than those which labor enjoys.

**Gleichschaltung*—the technical term for rectification of alternating current into direct current—was used by the National Socialists to designate their insistence that every individual and every institution should "run in the same direction."

Until the New Deal took over power in 1933, American labor was never permitted to attain much power. During periods of great expansion, and particularly during booms created by war, the labor unions were able to swell their ranks; but new influxes of foreign immigrants and the steady migration from the rural regions of the nation made it easy for industry to resist unionization. Government intervention and the establishment of the National Labor Relations Board changed all this. The privilege of organizing specific shops and whole industries was granted to specific unions; the "check-off" was legally recognized and employers forced to deduct labor union dues from the wages of their employees; the open shop was made virtually impossible; the union shop and the closed shop almost became obligatory upon employers; the unions, for all practical purposes, received the privilege which they sought above all others—that of forcing workers to join their unions. With employers rendered relatively helpless by the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board, money wages rose and hours of work were shortened but whether real wages rose more than they would have in any event it is difficult to say.

But this much is certain: the unions were immensely strengthened and union treasuries greatly fattened. The unions were enabled not only to paralyze single companies no matter how large but the business of the entire nation. Nation-wide bargaining replaced that of bargaining shop by shop. Centralization of control in industry has thus begotten centralization of control by labor.

JUSTIFICATION OF CAPITALIZATION

CAPITALIZATION and the centralization of control is justified, as is plutocratization and the centralization of ownership, on the theory of the universal efficiency of mass production. But as we have seen, the evidence in support of this theory is dubious in the extreme. The theory is true only in the mass production of a limited range of products; with regard to the bulk of the goods consumed by the average family the evidence points in quite the opposite direction. Investment bankers merely rationalize what they have been doing when they talk about the increased efficiency which comes from the combinations they capitalize. Economists and engineers and teachers of business administration have unfortunately taken their cue from the propaganda of the investment bankers; they have ignored the obvious fact that financiers make their money out of floating stocks and

not out of lowering prices to the public. No matter what the manner in which the capitalization of bigness and combination is designated, whether as "rationalization," "integration," or "co-ordination," the facts of the matter are not altered: the real motive for centralizing control is not efficiency but the differential or monopoly profits which can be obtained by reducing—and if possible eliminating—competition. For centralized control is almost never really needed to achieve the degree of co-ordination which may be desirable from the standpoint of the consumer. Even enterprises like railroads and telephone companies, which seem to call for the maximum of centralization, can co-ordinate their activities without necessarily centralizing either their ownership or control. Operation by responsible and natural—and usually small and local or regional—units tends actually to eliminate waste, reduce overhead, and increase efficiency.

In the Fascist states centralization of control and regimentation was justified less in terms of sheer efficiency, (although this was considered self-evident), than in terms of national strategy. In Soviet Russia both centralized ownership and control is justified neither in terms of sheer efficiency, (although there, also, that is taken for granted), nor in terms of sheer strategy, (although that is certainly taken into account), but mainly for the purpose of regimenting the whole of the Russian people and moving them as one unit as rapidly as possible toward the perfect—industrialized—state.

Nowhere do the protagonists of centralized control ask themselves whether progress in the direction of relieving people of control of their own economic life represents mal-progress or right-progress. In every instance the matter is viewed institutionally, from the standpoint of what is most useful to the *means*, (that is the particular enterprise, industry, or institution), and not from the standpoint of the *end*, (which should be the development of the human beings in whose name politicians and financiers, often with shameless hypocrisy, deprive those they pretend to serve of the control of their own property and economic independence).

CONTROL VS. LEADERSHIP

THE corollaries of the centralization of control should not be overlooked. So long as operation and ownership are one and the same,

absentee control does not develop. Only by substituting titular ownership for real ownership, as in capitalization by incorporation, does it become possible for those who are at a distance from the tangible property involved to control and direct those who actually operate it.

There is, of course, need for leadership and for exceptionally able administrators and technicians in the conception and direction of enterprises which are in the very nature of things large. A transcontinental railroad cannot be built and operated; an automobile designed and manufactured, a Panama Canal dug, a Tennessee Valley region developed, a World Authority organized and conducted, without leadership and control. But just because control, to the degree in which it is remote and distant, necessarily reduces the rank and file to the level of instruments, it should never be utilized in enterprises or institutions which can be kept small and local and operated equally well in what I think of as *human* magnitudes. A modern steel mill may necessarily have to be large; it may call for the organization of a large corporation, but that does not in any way justify the existence of a United States Steel Corporation; of an agglomeration of not only many mills but of all sorts of other enterprises which have nothing to do with the production of steel efficiently. But if, as a matter of fact, it is possible to produce steel equally cheaply in many small mills, and certainly if it is possible to do so more cheaply, then there is no excuse for the erection of even one large one.

For the larger the enterprise or institution becomes, the more control impersonalizes the relationship between those who direct and those who work. The more control has to be centralized, the more difficult it becomes for ethical and esthetic considerations to enter into their relations with one another. The relationship between the few at the center and the masses in the periphery, tends to become not only authoritarian but to be restricted to only that which increases the efficiency with which the enterprise can be made to carry out the purposes of those who control it. All the evils of Feudalism and Landlordism—of absentee ownership—thus return dressed merely in new guises; control of the commons by nobility and clergy reappears as control by financiers, labor leaders, and bureaucrats.

But this is not all. Every step toward centralization of control means that many individuals must lose the power to conceive, plan, execute, and to feel the sense of achievement which comes from being

their own "bosses;" they become less human, more brutish; they are no longer responsible persons: they are agents who do not have to think or to make decisions for themselves. Every step toward centralization of control is a step toward the atrophy of the powers which enable farmers to decide what to plant and what to do with what they reap; which enable storekeepers to decide what to put in stock and the price at which to sell it; which enable builders to decide what to build and how to build it. We have gone so far in this direction that recently the Supreme Court decided that government officials in Washington could actually specify how much corn, wheat, and other crops a farmer might plant on his own land *for the consumption of his own family and the use of his own livestock.*

EDUCATION AND THE PROBLEM OF CONTROL

THOSE who are interested in education do not have to be told what a loss this is in character-building. The real problem of educators is not to transform human beings into automatons who can be manipulated by financiers, labor bosses and bureaucrats; it is to teach individuals how to develop themselves to the utmost; how to operate their own farms and how to carry on enterprises of their own. People are not rightly educated by conditioning them to have others do their thinking for them and others make their decisions for them.

What then should be their attitude toward this pressing problem? Should they continue to act on the theory that centralization of control is inescapable? Should they rationalize the trend and promote social control as a means of dealing with it? Should they promote Interventionism or Labor Unionism as makeweights against Finance Capitalism? Are these apparently progressive movements good in themselves, or is their ultimate effect as evil as the movement against which they are reactions?

And if upon careful consideration it becomes evident that neither is the answer to plutocratization and proletarianization, should educators not explore every possible alternative to Centralization—even if that happens to include Decentralization?

CHAPTER VII. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART V.

STANDARDIZATION: The Centralization of Education

In large states public education will always be mediocre for the same reason that in large kitchens the cooking is usually bad.—Frederic Nietzsche.

WHEN education is conceived of in its broadest possible meaning—as the whole of all the influences which result in the acquisition by human beings of the characteristics they display in the course of living—nothing at first sight lends itself less to centralization than does education. Yet nothing has in fact been more truly centralized in the modern world.

When instruction is imparted by one person to another, as for instance by a mother or father to a child, the process of education is most widely decentralized. When a classroom is substituted for the home, and a single teacher instructs many children, the process is obviously somewhat centralized. When many small schools are consolidated into one large school, the process is further centralized. When the methods of instruction and the text books and curriculum used are prescribed by state boards or national departments of education, the process is still further centralized. When the ultimate objective of education—the national culture pattern—is set in a single great metropolitan center like New York or Paris, or London or Moscow, the process is centralized almost to its uttermost extent. If this last step in the process of standardization is made compulsory by law, and

all individual and family, and local and regional influences, which may conflict with prescribed standards, eliminated as far as possible, we have finally the ultimate in the centralization of education.

It is possible to travel from one end of the United States to the other and, in spite of its enormous area, (nearly three million square miles); in spite of its immense population, (over a hundred and thirty million souls); in spite of its diversity of climates, (ranging from relatively frigid Maine to torrid Florida); in spite of the diversity of its races, religions, nationalities, and occupations, (predominantly industrial and commercial in the East and agricultural in the South and West), the astonishing thing to be found is not the *diversity and variety* of the foods and beverages consumed by the people, the clothes worn by them, the stores patronized by them, the newspapers and magazines read by them; the offices, factories, schools, and theatres in which they spend their time; the homes, towns, and cities in which they live, but their *similarity and uniformity*. Yet upon reflection this fact may not be as astonishing as at first sight it appears.

STANDARDIZATION

IF PEOPLE are to believe that Progress is the proper end and purpose for which human beings should live, and if they are also to identify Progress with the expansion of Industrialism, then it follows quite logically that the whole population must be taught to want the kind of things and to live the kind of life which centralized industry alone can produce and provide. People must be taught to abandon their aspirations for economic independence and self-employment, and taught to depend for their livelihood and prosperity upon great centralized factories; they must be persuaded to abandon their immemorial habit of living in small communities and instead conditioned to live in great densely populated cities. What economists call human *wants*, and what in the jargon of advertising is called *consumer demand*, must be standardized until everybody wants not only the standardized products of industry but is also willing to live the standardized life of an industrial population.

But if the wants and desires, and the occupations of the whole population, are thus to be standardized, the education and conditioning of individuals for modern life cannot be restricted to childhood and

the time they spend going to school. Individuals must be taught from the cradle to the grave, and re-taught with each change in fashion and improvement in technology, to want what industry produces for them, and to prepare themselves for the ways of living incidental to industrial and urban life.

It is this fact which makes it necessary for the leaders of industry to concern themselves not only with juvenile education but with the organization of a system of adult education entirely their own. The necessity for the standardization of the population's wants, makes necessary the standardization—and centralization—of all education whatsoever.

An incidental part of its problem is that industry cannot afford to run the risk of permitting any institution which exerts real influence upon people to persuade any large number of individuals to prefer other values than the material values which it alone is capable of producing. The influence of religion, with its emphasis upon other-worldly values, must be neutralized. Patriotism, with its emphasis upon love of country, must be prevented from instilling in people genuine concern about the conservation of real civic values. Above all, education—from the kindergarten to the university—must be forced to forego any traditional desire to teach the truth; it must instead be made to concentrate upon the preparation of the young for life in industrialized society.

In dealing with so vital a problem, industry can take no chances; it must itself take the initiative in solving the problem. And in every industrialized nation it has. In America the specific instrument it devised for this purpose is known as Advertising and Selling.*

How did Advertising and Selling solve industry's problem?

It is obvious that the education of people cannot be centralized in a physical sense; the whole population cannot be brought to a single

*While the centralization of education is here discussed mainly from what might be designated the *curricular* standpoint, (from the standpoint of what people are taught), it is important to take also account of the fact that the development of education from what might be designated the *operational* standpoint, (substituting centralized schools for "little red school houses" and abolishing small colleges in order to centralize higher education in a limited number of great universities), reflects the same underlying influences which have led to curricular uniformity and the standardization of the pattern of living for which our schools are preparing their pupils.

center for indoctrination; education has to be taken to the people and spread to every part of the nation; it has to reach the old and the young, the literate and illiterate, the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural population. What is more, in a free country in which each industry and each manufacturer in each industry is competing for the patronage of the public, the only method which can be used must be one which produces results and creates demand first for the products of specific manufacturers and only incidentally for industry in general. The creation of a standardized demand cannot be postponed until all the educational activities of the nation are centralized in a single educational system—as in Soviet Russia, for instance—wholely devoted to the promotion of Progress industrially conceived. But education can be centralized for all practical purposes without waiting for any formal consolidation of all educational—and propaganda—institutions and agencies if they can all be persuaded to respond to a single idea, (let us call it "Progress"); to follow a single institution, (let us call it "industry"); and to accept the leadership of a single group in society, (let us call them "businessmen"). Once professional educators accept the new idea, they can be relied upon to rationalize the new education, to conceal its essential nature, and even to vindicate it philosophically. It is much easier to justify devotion to the idea of Pragmatism than devotion to such a crude business as the promotion of manufacturing.

After the first World War, at the time when all Europe was talking about the rationalization and integration of industry, French students of American mass-production reported that the American businessman had "standardized the individual in order to be able to standardize manufacture."¶ If the virtues of mass-production are to be everywhere accepted, the standardization of the wants, tastes, attitudes, skills, characteristics, and motives of people is essential. A population consisting of individualized persons, families, groups, classes, communities, and regions insofar as tastes in work, food, clothing, architecture, and recreation are concerned, has to be standardized by education. Without such education, the people would see not virtues but bad taste in the uniformities of the products and activities of an industrialized society.

¶Pichot and Fournier, "Communication sur le voyage aux Etats-Unis," Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce de Paris, July 7, 1928.

It is mainly in this sense that we have centralized American education. By standardizing wants and standardizing ways of satisfying them, we have succeeded in making every educational institution in the nation—including not only the school system but even the religious institutions of the nation—accept the purposes in life and the ways of living taught by industry through newspapers and magazines, through the radio and the movie, above all through the largest single group of individuals devoting themselves to "teaching" in America, the salesmen and distributors of the products of American industry.

The predominance of the role played by industry in education can be very graphically stated. All that it is necessary to do is to compare the numbers of "teachers," the expenditures of money for their activities, and the numbers of "pupils" influenced by each of the four most important forms of institutionalized education in America:

	Number of "Pupils"	Number of "Teachers"	Annual Expenditures
Military Training*	491,359	34,350	$ 690,500,000
Religion†	55,807,366	136,597	518,953,571
School System‡	29,652,409	1,105,008	3,176,804,000
Advertising and Selling§	110,442,000	4,870,317	12,175,792,000

All the figures in the above table are for 1940 or the nearest year for which data was available.

*If the number of enlisted men, (who are all subject to continuous training), is taken as indicative of the number of "pupils" subject to military education, then the number as of June 30, 1939, was as follows: Regular Army, 174,079; National Guard, 184,825; Reserve Forces, 22,355; Navy, including Marine Corps and Coast Guard, 110,100; Total, 491,359. Similarly, if the number of officers is taken as indicative of the number of "teachers" engaged in military education, there were 13,807 in the Regular Army, 14,666 in the National Guard, and 6,877 in the Navy, making a Total of 34,350. Reserve officers are not included since they were not actually doing duty as "teachers;" their number in 1939 was 116,719. Expenditures for training and maintenance of trainees were estimated by deducting expenditures for ordnance, aircraft, etc., of $73,000,000 from Army Expenditures of $459,400,000 and by deducting $282,300,000 for replacements of naval vessels, yards and docks, aircraft, ordnance and stores, etc., from Total Naval Expenditures of $586,600,000. Data as to expenditures from Digest of Appropriations 1938-39 by Treasury Department, Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants, pp. 626-731, 458-512. Data as to "pupils" and "teachers," Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1944-45, p. 175.

†"Pupils" are assumed to consist of members, including children, of all religious bodies for 1936; "teachers," of the number of clergymen in 1940; expenditures for religious education, expenditures of all religious bodies during 1936.

‡"Pupils" in the school system represent enrollments for 1940 in elementary schools and kindergartens, 21,044,924; secondary schools, 7,113,282; institutions of higher education, 1,493,203; "teachers," including county agents, in 1940, 1,030,001, and college presidents, professors, and instructors, 75,007. If social and welfare workers were considered teachers, this would add 69,677 persons, and if librarians

I. MILITARY EDUCATION

ALL the activities of the military establishments of nations may be divided into two distinct activities, *preparation* for war, and *conduct* of war. Preparation for war in turn may be divided into two activities, *equipment for war*—the construction, manufacture and accumulation of instruments and munitions of war; of everything from a uniform to an airplane, and from a battleship to a fortress, and the *training of personnel*, both private and officer. The educational activities of institutions like West Point and Annapolis therefore represent only a part, and a small part, of all the military education in a nation. In a sense all the officers, both commissioned and petty, constitute a corps of teachers engaged in training, and drilling, the rank and file at all times except in time of actual combat.

America, with its predominantly civilian—and business and commercial—organization of living, has never permitted military education to dominate all education as have genuinely militaristic nations like Prussia or ancient Sparta. Up to the outbreak of World War II, military education constituted the least important of the four kinds of education to which I am here calling attention. Except during periods of war, its conduct engaged an insignificant number of "teachers;" yet expenditures for it were by no means insignificant and were higher per "pupil" than for any other kind of instruction. Now, as a result of the new international role which World War II has thrust upon

were also taken into account, this would add another 36,347. Expenditures in 1940 of public elementary and secondary schools were $2,344,049,000; private schools, $277,000,000; public institutions of higher education, $332,592,000; private institutions of higher education, $273,163,000.

§"Pupils" include the total population in 1940, excluding those under 10 years of age. As a matter of fact, advertising reaches many under ten, if not through reading, through the radio, the movie, and the comic strip. "Teachers" include those in the following occupations in 1940 all of whom directly or through subordinates influence the buying habits of the public: advertising agents, 33,712; salesmen and women, 2,905,274; proprietors and managers of retail stores, 1,404,322; store buyers and department heads, 69,516; store floormen and managers, 6,873; proprietors and managers of eating and drinking places, 265,583; insurance agency proprietors, etc., 39,475; real estate agency proprietors, etc., 25,484; proprietors of laundries, etc., 52,934; proprietors and managers of theatres and movies, 25,141; miscellaneous amusement resorts, 42,003. Included in the figure for salesmen and saleswomen are 239,142 insurance agents and brokers, and 111,110 real estate agents and brokers. The estimate as to total annual expenditure for advertising and selling is based on the very conservative assumption that the average expenditure per "teacher" was only $2,500 annually. This includes not only their salaries and earnings if in business for themselves, but also all traveling and incidental expenses, and of course all expenditures for advertising in newpapers, magazines, and other mediums.

the nation, it is certain to become enormously larger. That is most unfortunate. For military education is authoritarian in method and nationalistic in content; it has not merely to teach, "Theirs not to reason why, Theirs but to do and die;" it has also to convince the soldiery and the population which supports it, of the righteousness of the nation's ideals and purposes—of the validity of the national ideology, whatever that may happen to be.

Since the national ideology of America today is predominantly Industrialist, to whatever extent our diplomacy and armed forces help in realizing our ideals, military education becomes a part of our industry-centered system of education.

II. RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

THAT churches—and not only Sunday and parochial schools, and seminaries—are a kind of educational institution can hardly be questioned. They have each a curriculum—creedal and theological in nature—which they teach; they have classes or congregations which attend church for learning as well as for worship; they have each of them teachers and preachers, and they each spend substantial sums of money to carry on these educational activities. It is the fact that most churches in industrialized America have accepted the domination by industry of all the activities of their congregations excepting those having to do with the time they spend in church, which makes religion at best a silent partner and at worst an active accomplice in the standardization of education. No institution which accepts such a bifurcation of life for its "pupils," no matter how unworldly its demands upon them may be during the few hours they spend in church once a week, can be absolved of the charge that it is following the leadership of industry, and that it is teaching what industry wants the people taught—at least by failing to teach what industry does *not* want people taught about the way they should live.

One illustration of the way in which what I am calling religious education accepts Industrialism is furnished by the Social Gospel—by the great movement of liberal churchmen to assure public relief and provide social welfare agencies, to promote cooperation, to support labor, to encourage social security, and even work for Socialism of one kind or another. It is true that this represents an effort at the humanization of modern life and succoring the victims of Progress, but the ironical fact cannot be denied that to whatever extent our churches

teach the Social Gospel without challenging Industrialism; to whatever extent they base their teachings upon its acceptance; to the extent they succeed in making industrial and urban life more tolerable, religious education too assists in the work of standardization and unconsciously permits itself to become a part of the movement toward the centralization of education.

II. THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

FOR the most part, juvenile education in America definitely devotes itself to that standardization of the rising generation which is essential to the expansion and continuance of Industrialism. While religious education does teach the individual other values than those acceptable to industry; while it can at most be reproached for failing to challenge the industrial pattern of living, juvenile education must be held responsible—or given credit for—actively promoting it. The school system, from kindergarten to university, accepts as its role in society that of preparing the young to want what industry produces, to like the kind of work which industry has to offer them, and to see opportunity in the kind of success which industry affords them. Not even the rural schools challenge this educational standardization; except for an insignificant number of educators, still concerned over rural values, rural schools have come to take it for granted that all country children should be equipped to earn their living in industry and to be prepared for urban life; that since Progress calls for the constant reduction of the number of farmers needed by the nation, the dwindling minority of chidren who will remain on farms will not be miseducated if they receive the same sort of education furnished to city children by city schools.

David Snedden, Commissioner of Education of Massachusetts, in a book dealing with this problem of adjusting the school to the needs of the modern world, begins by asking, "How shall education be made efficient?" His very approach to the problem is significant. Even more significant is his answer to the question. Snedden sums up the answer which most educators make as follows:

> The history of American education shows that centralization in one form or another has been a progressive tendency for more than half a century in nearly all the States of the Union. This movement is parallel to a similar evolution

which has taken place in almost all other departments of social economy, such as business, government, charity and philanthropy, research, etc. At bottom it is a product of two factors: the demand for efficiency and economy, on the one hand; and the growth of intelligence, means of communication, and organizing ability, on the other.*

While centralization begins with the school house, it goes on to the standardization of equipment, text books, curriculums, pedagogy, and finally teachers, and pupils.

In 1870 there were 116,312 school houses in America. At that time the population consisted of 38,558,371 persons. There was one school house, therefore, to every 332 persons. In a little more than two generations, by 1940, the population increased to 131,669,275 persons. In a period of 70 years, the population had more than trebled, but the number of school houses had not even doubled—in 1938 there were only 229,394 school houses, one to every 574 persons. In 1870 there were 200,515 teachers—an average of 1.72 per school. The little Red School house was not only a fact; the one-teacher school was also a fact. In 1938 there were 877,266 teachers—an average of 3.82 per school. In 1870 the pupils enrolled numbered 6,871,522, or 59.1 per school. In 1938 the enrollment was 25,975,108—an average of 113.2 per school. This is what has happened in elementary and secondary schools. But the higher the institution of learning, the greater the trend toward centralization. In high schools, for instance, the increase was from 297,894 students in 1890, an average of 71.6 per high school, to 3,623,722 in 1938—an average of 176.2 per high school.

IV. ADVERTISING AND SELLING

FINALLY we come to that system of adult education which I call Advertising and Selling. There will be, of course, a great disinclination on the part of professional educators to recognize this as a rival system of education. But the mere fact that advertising men and salesmen do not call themselves teachers does not change the facts of the matter a particle; neither would any reluctance on the part of professional educators to acept them as fellow teachers. The fact is that advertisements and salesmen teach people what to want and what they must do in order to obtain the money with which to buy what they have been made to want. The fact that these teachers do not use pulpits or classrooms does not alter the matter. Everything which

*PROBLEMS OF EDUCATIONAL READJUSTMENT, David Snedden, p. 235; 1913.

modern man does, from the cradle to the grave, reflects the influence of their teaching. The baby foods which are fed by modern mothers to their children are fed by mothers who have been taught by advertising men and salesmen to substitute them for the old-fashioned breast-feeding which was at one time universal. And death itself in the modern world, including the ceremonies used in interring the dead, reflects what is taught modern man by the casket, funeral parlor, and memorial park industries.

Directly, or indirectly through the parents of infants too young to be influenced, Advertising and Selling reaches the entire population of the nation. But even if we exclude all children under ten years of age, (though many of them too are reached directly through the radio, the movies, and the comic strips), and credit the churches with teaching their entire membership, (though not half attends church with any degree of regularity), Advertising and Selling reaches about twice as many persons day after day, through many different mediums, with the ideas it wishes to instill, as the churches do for an hour or two on Sunday of each week.

Heading this unique educational institution are to be found, not presidents of universities, not superintendents of schools, nor commissioners of education, but salesmanagers and advertising managers. Taking the place of teachers are to be found traveling salesmen, merchants and businessmen of many kinds, and finally sales clerks who teach—or persuade—the public to want what industry produces for it. Just as there are textbooks in the school system, so there are texts in this unique educational system; however, they are texts printed over and over again in magazines, newspapers and other advertising mediums so that the pupil can never escape them. In place of textbook writers, this institution employs copy-writers; it pays them many times as much for their work as the school system pays its text-book writers, and pays in addition large sums to commercial artists to reinforce with pictures the texts of its copy-writers. Instead of normal schools, it has schools of marketing, advertising, and selling. Anyone who is familiar with the training which a life insurance company gives its agents and which is given to salesmen by any large sales organization, will not consider the comparison an invidious one.

The teaching staff falls mainly into two categories—retailers and salesmen. The salesmen include demonstrators, store clerks, canvassers, sales agents, and traveling salesmen. The census for 1940 enumerated 239,142 insurance agents and 111,110 real estate agents alone. If you want the truth about where the American people have obtained their ideas about providing for their future security, what sort of homes to live in, do not waste time studying what is taught about these matters in regular educational institutions. You will find that what is taught about these subjects in our schools is merely an adaptation to immature minds of what adults are taught in the advertisements they read and the sales talks of insurance agents and real estate agents. The Bible may teach that "land shall not be sold forever; for the land is Mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with Me;"† but the people of America buy and sell land not as the Bible—and presumably religious education—prescribes, but the way in which the real estate agents teach them to buy and sell and speculate in it.

The leaders of American education take great pride in its growth—in the increase in the number of pupils in its grade and high schools, and colleges and universities; in the increase in the number of teachers and the number and size of schools, and in the increased amounts of money spent for education. Between 1870 and 1938, this increase has been no less than 377 per cent if we use simply the increase in the number of pupils in grade schools as an indicator.* But to see this enormous increase in proper perspective, the growth of the school must be compared with the growth of Advertising and Selling. If we use expenditures for advertising as an indicator of this increase, then between 1867 and 1935, (the nearest equivalent period for which there are figures), then the increase was 3,260 per cent!‡ Thus we come face to face with the fact that during a period when formal education grew less than four-fold, the real system of education around which all modern education is centered, grew over thirty-two-fold.

†Lev. 25:23.

*Enrollments in elementary and secondary schools in 1870 were 6,871,522; in 1938, 25,975,108 according to the United States Office of Education.

‡Volume of advertising in 1867 was $50,000,000; in 1935, $1,630,000,000 according to L. D. H. Weld, "Printer's Ink," July 14, 1944, p. 25.

I have spoken of advertisments as the "text books" used by this peculiar educational institution. Few people have any idea of the magnitude of the amounts spent upon the preparation and distribution of these "texts." According to the "Sales Manager's Handbook," the amount spent in the year 1938 was as follows:*

Newspaper Advertising	$500,000,000
Premium Advertising (1937)	350,000,000
Direct Mail Advertising (1937)	300,000,000
Radio Advertising	165,000,000
Magazine Advertising	135,000,000
Outdoor (Billboard) Advertising	50,000,000
Business Paper Advertising (1937)	50,000,000
Farm Paper Advertising	15,000,000
Estimated total in 1938	$1,565,000,000

This expenditure of over a billion and a half dollars alone is just about half the amount spent on our entire school system. But to this must be added the sums spent upon salesmen and received by merchants and businessmen for their salesmanship alone. If we assume that the expenditures for this kind of "teaching," based on the number of "teachers" engaged in it, was only $2,500 per person, (including the billion and a half for advertising), then we get the colossal annual total of $12,175,792,000—about four times as much as was spent on our entire school system, and about twenty-four times as much as was spent by all our churches put together.

Our educators have to work in a world saturated by Advertising and Selling; a world in which facts are disregarded in order to persuade the public to do what is industrially profitable, and in which deception is rationalized on the assumption that all is ultimately in the interest of Progress. The final result of acquiescing in the deception of the public is, unfortunately, self-deception—educators not only organize the school system in accordance with the needs of industry but deceive themselves into believing that this deception is educationally valid.

That I have not exaggerated the facts by a tittle can be proven by endless citations from the writings of salesmanagers, advertising men,

*Sales Managers Handbook, John Cameron Aspley, The Dartnell Corp., 1940.

publishers, and authorities on marketing. William Maxwell, for many years vice-president in charge of sales for Thomas A. Edison, Inc., the author of several books on salesmanship, and founder of an Institute of Salesmanship, said in his book IF I WERE TWENTY-ONE:

With certain exceptions, the business of this country rests largely upon a demand which is artificially stimulated by salesmanship. But for the stimulus of salesmanship that forces upon us new fashions in wearing apparel, half the cotton fields would be fallow grounds and half the silkworms and sheep would be out of work. But for the salesmanship that forces on us new kinds of mechanical devices, half of the mines would be closed and half of the furnaces would be cold. But for the feverish activity that salesmanship inspires, half the freight cars would be rusting and rotting in railroad switch yards.

Even after making due allowance for all exaggeration, the significant fact is that what this famous salesmanager said is true.

Here is a popularized version of this same statement addressed to the general public in an encyclopedia:

Twenty million families, most of whom could never afford horses and carriages, suddenly find themselves running 50 miles an hour along smooth concrete roads in 20 million luxurious automobiles. The roads and the automobiles and the gasoline that drives them all came in a few short years as if by magic. Even the money that bought them seemed to come from nowhere just in the nick of time. But it wasn't magic..... Without advertising none of these things could ever have happened—or if they had it would probably have taken a hundred years instead of ten or twenty.†

To this argument in favor of speeding industrial expansion, the same writer adds the argument for the standardization of taste:

Instead of making a hundred different kinds of soap to meet the tastes and prejudices of a hundred different localities, the manufacturer concentrates on one brand and creates for it by advertising a nation-wide demand.

Speaking before a convention of the Advertising Federation of America in 1936, Maxwell Droke, an Indianapolis publisher, said:

I believe there is in the practice of advertising less intellectual integrity than I have known at any time in my experience..... On a hundred printed pages we encounter incredible testimonials, fantastic boasts, spurious claims, pseudo-scientific "discoveries,"—all of them tawdry, tinselled appendages of a third-rate carni-

†COMPTON'S PICTORIAL ENCYCLOPEDIA, F. E. Compton & Co., Chicago, 1932.

val.....Too many of our creators of advertising, it would seem, have forsaken the mansion of logic to wander capriciously in a weird new state—a state that can be only described by the coined word "adnesia." Only in this strange state are cigarettes viewed as an aid to health; only here do kindly professors go about counselling mothers in the very delicate matter of administering laxatives. Where, except in "adnesia," could one reasonably expect to find Romance in a package of soap chips, or how to detour the divorce by the simple expedient of changing to a new brand of tooth paste? And surely only one long-resident in this crazy state would have conceived the cockeyed notion of borrowing the testimony of dimpled and diminutive Shirley Temple to exploit a two-ton truck!

And to quote Kenneth Collins, one-time advertising manager for R. H. Macy & Company, the largest department store in the world:

Candor and truth are so seldom encountered in advertising today that they are astonishing when seen.*

Finally I am indebted to Stuart Chase for an excellent illustration of the manner in which the necessities of industry drive advertising men and salesmen to bamboozle and mis-educate the public:

In the fall of 1936, a leading radio trade journal made the following editorial comment: "The ear of the average consumer is notoriously cauliflower when it comes to distinguishing between good radio reception and bad. Since the original boom-boom dynamic speakers superseded early high-pitched magnetics, few improvements impinging upon the auditory organs have been sufficiently obvious to nudge obsolete receivers into oblivion without the aid of vocal mesmerisms by some retail salesmen. The public eye, on the other hand, appears to be readily impressed, and we predict the best year since 1929. *Design for selling.*" In short, do not build radios for the ear, because there have been no recent improvements to warrant new models; build them to sell an elegant circassian walnut cabinet. Here are some assorted vocal mesmerisms: "Band-Stand Baffles; Tone-Tested Resonators; Violin-Shaped Cabinets; Vibracoustic Floating Sound Boards; Automatic Flash Tuner; Overtone Amplifiers; Accoustical Labyrinths; Dial-a-matic."

It used to be said of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire that it was a monstrosity, but that if it did not exist, it would nevertheless have had to be invented. The same thing is true of such a system of education as Advertising and Selling; it too is a monstrosity, but if it did not exist, something else which would do exactly the same thing to people would have to be invented in order to make Industrialism possible.

*The Droke and Collins quotations are from THE ECONOMICS OF CONSUMPTION, Charles S. Wyand, 1937. There is an excellent chapter in this book on "The Commercial Manipulators of Choice."

EDUCATION VS. ADVERTISING AND SELLING

WHAT now is the role which educators should play in dealing with the situation with which educational standardization by Advertising and Selling confronts them? Should they continue to accept it and to continue to adapt what they teach, and how they teach, and the organization of their teaching, to conditioning old and young to want what industry wants them to want? Should they say nothing and do nothing in their schools, colleges and universities; in their churches and seminaries; in the newspapers, magazines and other mediums which are published; in their professional work dealing not only with groups but with individuals as doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, to challenge the doctrine of the desirability and necessity—from the standpoint of Progress—of standardizing human wants and ways of living?

Or should they accept fully all the responsibilities of their professions and explore alternate ideas about how mankind should be taught to live? And if such an exploration indicates that the organization of living for the sake of the expansion of industry represents not right-progress but mal-progress, has not the time come for them to challenge the mis-education which standardization and centralization represent and begin right-education?

CHAPTER VII. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART VI.

NATIONALIZATION: The Centralization of Government

> *The system of bureaucratic despotism elaborated finally under Diocletian and Constantine, produced a tragedy in the truest sense such as history has seldom exhibited; in which by an inexorable fate the claims of fanciful omnipotence ended in a humiliating paralysis of administration; in which determined effort to remedy social evils only aggravated them until they became unendurable; in which the best intentions of the central power were, generation after generation, mocked and defeated by irresistible laws of human nature and by hopeless perfidy and corruption in the servants of government.—Samuel Dill in "Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire."*

THE ESSENCE of what we call society is *people;* of nations, *territory;* of government, *coercion.* The national government in Washington, democratic as it is supposed to be, is not the people of the United States, (who flatter themselves by calling themselves sovereign); neither is it that immense, rich area of land between the Atlantic and the Pacific over which it rules; nor is it any kind of mystical "national" entity supposed to combine both land and people. It is that group of officials distinguished from all other groups and all other individuals in the nation by the fact that they, and they alone, have the legal right to use coercion in exercising dominion over the land and authority over the people.

It is to the increase in the activities of that group, to the shift of authority from local officials to national officials, to the in-

crease in the number of public officials of all kinds, above all to the increased use of legal coercion in dealing with the problems people face, that I refer when I speak of the centralization of government.

What are some of the activities, once considered private and quite outside the purview of officialdom, which are now being taken over by Washington in order to do something more "efficiently," or to deal with a national "emergency," or to assure the "equalization" of some sort of public service throughout all the states?

I. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

FIRST may be mentioned *political activities,* by which I mean not so much party activities as those which now tend to be performed by officials of the national government, but which might be or actually were at one time performed by state, county, municipal, and other locally selected officials. In totally centralized nations there are no state or local officials; there are only national officials who carry on state and local activities. Here in America the process of nationalization and centralization involves not so much the actual abolition of state and local officials as the duplication or assumption by national officials of activities which state and local officials continue to perform, but to a relatively smaller and smaller extent. Law enforcement; construction of public improvements; regulation of banks, exchanges, railroads, corporations, etc.; public relief; furnishing social security and controlling labor relations—these are a few of the many public or political activities once considered primarily state and local, now to an ever increasing extent becoming recognized national activities. As the process of nationalization continues, less and less is heard of "state rights" and "local autonomy."

II. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

NEXT come social activities. By *social activities* I mean the voluntary group and institutional activities of charitable and philanthropic organizations; of professional and trade associations; of labor unions; of private school, library, museum, and similar educational institutions. With centralization of government these social activ-

ities become public activities. In totally centralized nations not even group recreational activities—including sports and athletics—remain private and voluntary; they too become governmental and coercive.

III. INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITIES

BY *individual activities* I mean those occupational, recreational and recuperational activities for which individuals naturally and voluntarily assume responsibility but which, with nationalization and centralization, government officials assume for them. As these activities are taken over by the nation, private enterprise and self-employment decline—people no longer provide jobs for themselves but look to the government for them; facilities for recreation are provided not by individual initiative and family action but by what is called "the public;" even recuperation ceases to be a matter of private provision and public housing provides for sleeping, and "school lunches" and cafeterias (particularly for government employees) begin to provide nutrition. With total centralization, as in Soviet Russia, all individual activities become nationalized and public officials, in providing all facilities for work, play and rest, inescapably prescribe what all individuals shall do.

IV. ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

BY *economic activities* I mean both the activities connected with the ownership and administration of productive property. The process of centralizing these activities begins reasonably enough with the *regulation* of banks, railroads, power companies, and other public utilities, and mining, forestry and other natural resources. But then the distinction between public and private property and enterprise begins to be ignored, and regulation begins to change into *intervention* by public officials in the administration and operation of all kinds of enterprises. If the process goes far enough we have *nationalization* and government ownership and operation of whole industries, (as for instance banking and mining by the Labor Party in Britain), and with total centralization, as in Soviet Russia, the nationalization of all industries whatsoever.

V. MEDICAL ACTIVITIES

WE come now to *medical activities,* the provision of medical, obstetrical, dental, optical, pharmaceutical, hospital and similar services.

Here in America, centralization of government proceeds along two different lines—one having to do with *public*, and the other with *private* health. In the first instance, public officials use the coercive powers of government to deal with epidemics and infectious diseases, enforce quarantine, compel vaccination and innoculation, protect the water supply, inspect restaurants, etc. In the second instance, centralization begins with the *licensing* of physicians (and the prohibition of healing by all those not licensed); proceeds to the *employment* of physicians by the government (not only in government hospitals but in such matters as providing workmen's compensation); and ends, if it goes far enough, with the *socialization* of all medicine. With total centralization all distinction between public and private health activities is abolished; in fact not only medicine but health is declared not a matter of individual but of national—and official—concern.

VI. EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

By *educational activities* I mean not only schooling but all activities whatsoever in the broad sense in which the word education is used throughout this book. These activities include, therefore, public speaking and writing, printing and publishing, assemblage and communication. Nationalizing and centralizing these activities necessarily has to proceed along two fronts, one having to do with the school system; the other with freedom of speech and communication.

Centralization of the school system in this country begins with the very reasonable idea that the education of the coming generation of citizens is a matter of civic concern. To implement that idea, public schools, which everybody is compelled to support and every child compelled to attend, are established. But they are firstly established by local communities and controlled by local officials or boards. Then, on the plea of efficiency, their control begins to be shifted to state superintendents or state departments of education. Finally, on the plea of equalizing educational opportunities, control begins to shift to the nation.

Centralization of adult education in the sense of *standardization* has already been discussed; for centralization in the sense of *nationalization* we have to turn to the example of Fascist Germany, Italy and Spain and, above all, to Communist Russia. And nationalization seems to mean, on the one hand, the censorship of all unofficial—and suppression of all anti-official—speaking and writing; and on the other

hand, the circulation of official propaganda and imposition of official doctrines on everybody.

Here in America it is still our good fortune that nationalization has not proceeded very far. Censorship and suppression of various kinds we have through the post office and through the licensing of movies, theatres, and the radio. We have made a beginning of official and national propaganda in the colossal expenditures for publicity and public relations by the various departments, bureaus and agencies of the national government. To whatever extent government officials license halls and meeting places; control the use of the post office, telephone and radio; or acquire control of printing or paper, the foundation is laid both for the prevention of the circulation of anti-official ideas and for the dissemination of official propaganda and "education."

Many other activities which are being nationalized, or have been nationalized in some nations, might be discussed—*the nationalization of religion,* (the union of church and state, as in Catholic, Lutheran, and Mahomeddan states); *the nationalization of science and scientific research,* (science in Soviet Russia must be "proletarian," but even in "bourgeois" America scientists are to an ever increasing extent being employed on the military, agricultural and engineering projects of the government); *the nationalization of the arts,* (writers, painters, architects, dramatists, and even actors, are being enlisted in the creation and dissemination of official propaganda). But those already discussed must surely have made clear what I mean by activities which are being nationalized, in spite of the fact that by their very nature they call for free and voluntary, and not coercive, organization and implementation. The fact which should not be forgotten, though it is always glossed over by the advocates of centralization, is that the nationalization of these activities involves coercion both of those who perform them and the taxpayers who are compelled to support them.

NATIONALIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

TO FURNISH a vivid statistical demonstration of the process of increasing official government action and decreasing private and voluntary action by the people of the United States, we may use ratios comparing the total of national officialdom *to* the total population

and territory of the nation. Let us compare the ratio in 1816, when the government in Washington was still genuinely federal, with the ratio in the census year of 1940. In 1816, (the first year for which the Statistical Abstract furnishes us figures), the population consisted of about 8,660,000 persons; the national territory of an area of about 1,720,122 square miles, and the national civil service of 6,327 persons. In 1940 the area was slightly more than twice as large, (2.2 times as large), and consisted of 3,738,395 square miles including Alaska, the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. The population, however, had increased more than seventeen-fold, (it was 17.4 times as large), to 120,630,720, *while bureaucracy increased about 160-fold,* (the civil service alone had increased to 1,002,820 and was 158 times as large as in 1816). This, of course, takes no account of the enormous increase of government personnel in state, municipal and other political subdivisions. Neither does it take into account the armed services of the nation. But even without these this shows that, whereas we had one federal civil service employee to every 271.9 square miles of land, in 1940 we had one to every 3.7 square miles; where we had one federal employee to every 1,368.5 persons in the population in 1816, in 1940 we had one to every 150.2 persons.

Note should be taken of the fact that the comparison is only with the year 1940, before World War II enormously intensified the rate of nationalization. If figures on officialdom available at the time this is being written were used, when the national civil service employs about 3,000,000 persons, we would find that nationalization had developed to a point where we had one bureaucrat to every 44 men, women and children in the United States.

And if we take into account all government officialdom, including both the armed services (which numbered about 2,300,000 in 1946) and state and local government officials and employees (which numbered over 2,800,000 in 1944), we are confronted with the staggering fact that *one government employee of some kind is apparently needed to take care of every four families, (16 men, women and children), in the United States.*

EDUCATION VS. NATIONALIZATION

WHAT should be the approach of right-education to this problem of the nationalization and centralization of govern-

ment? Should it merely continue what might be called the *patriotization* of Nationalism? Should it disregard the fact that power is being concentrated more and more in the national government and its officials and that control over their own lives and destinies is being less and less diffused among the people themselves? Should it assume that the trend toward national centralization and away from individual liberty is inevitable; that it is a trend rooted in technological changes over which man has no control; that therefore there is nothing which the people, much less the teachers of people, can do about it?

Or should it approach the problem in the exact opposite manner? Should it on the contrary assume that all governments and nations, including our own, are reflections of ideas either accepted or imposed upon the people—ideas very often systematically taught to people or propagandized into them; that these ideas must be evaluated by educators; and that if they cannot be validated in terms of the rights and obligations of individuals, education must take the lead in teaching the people the truth about nationalization even if that involves teaching them how to substitute independence for interdependence, liberty for security, and decentralization for over-centralization?

CHAPTER VII. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRESS

PART VII.

URBANIZATION: The Centralization of Population

In place of a great world, there is a city, a mere point, in which the whole life of broad regions is collecting while the rest dries up. In place of a people, born of and growing on the soil, there is a new sort of nomad, cohering instably in fluid masses, the parasitical city dweller, traditionless, utterly matter of fact, religionless, clever, unfruitful, deeply contemptuous of the countryman—a great stride toward the inorganic, toward the end—civilization enters upon a stage which lasts for centuries of appalling depopulation. The whole pyramid of cultural man vanishes. It crumbles from the summit..... first the world cities..... the best blood having been incontinently poured into the towns merely to bolster them up a while. At last only the primitive blood remains alive, all but robbed of its strongest and most promising elements..... This then is the conclusion of the city's history—it sacrifices first the blood and then the flower of the growth of urban civilization—and so doomed moves on to final destruction.—Oswald Spengler in "Decline of the West."

STEADILY since the Industrial Revolution, and steadily since the establishment of the United States, the great industrial nations of the world have been centralizing their populations.

Not only have most of them been increasing their populations; in one way or another they have been teaching the people to concentrate into smaller and smaller areas of land. Even in those industrialized nations in which there has been no increase in the total population, as in the case of France, the people have been led to increase the size, and usually the density, of their cities. While in Russia and in the nations of South America which are now industrializing themselves, not only the size and density but also the number of their cities are being increased.

Here in the United States, our devotion to those ideas and institutions which build cities and depopulate the rural regions has been made so fanatic that it is difficult to persuade anybody to examine in any objective manner the inescapable consequences of urbanization. As a matter of fact, we have now a new science, that of city planning, which devotes itself not to the objective study of urbanization but solely to the problem of how to make it less unendurable.

1. POPULATION

COLLECTIVELY designated, the people who live in a particular city, state or nation are the population. Population is thus the expression of the relationship between a given area of land and a given number of people. Statistically this relationship is expresed by the *density of population*, usually in numbers of persons in a given nation, state or city.

DENSITY: 44.2 PER SQUARE MILE

IN 1940 the population of the continental area of the United States included 131,669,275 persons of all ages; the area, 2,977,128 square miles. The density of the population therefore averaged a little over 44 persons per square mile. Ever since the settlement of this enormous region, the average density has been rising steadily. But in spite of this rise in average density, there are many large areas in which there has been no appreciable rise at all, and there are other areas in which the density has for a long time been declining. It is only by breaking the whole area into relatively small units that the significant facts about the trend toward urbanization begin to emerge.

DENSITY: 163.1 PER SQUARE MILE

TAKING density by states, we find the lowest density in the state of Nevada, with an average density of one person per square mile; the highest in Rhode Island with an average of 674 per square mile, and the mean in Ohio with an average of about 163.

DENSITY: 4,336.1 PER SQUARE MILE

BUT these states, and all the other states of the union, have cities in them; if the cities are separated from the states, the density for most

of the area in the states drops materially; by thus separating urban areas from the areas which are more or less rural, we get a quite different picture of the density of population in America. When we break down the area of the nation into cities and what are now called metropolitan areas on one hand, and rural regions on the other, (which exclude all towns of over 2,500 population), the actual facts about urbanization become apparent. In such metropolitan districts as that of New York City, we find an average density of more than 4,336 persons to each of the 2,514 square miles the district covers.

DENSITY: 23,178.7 PER SQUARE MILE

EVEN this, however, does not give us a complete picture of what is involved. If we break down the areas of the metropolitan districts themselves—many of which include suburban areas of low density—we get some idea of the actual congestion under which millions of people are conditioned to exist. The density of New York City itself is 23,179 per square mile.

DENSITY: 50,659.0 PER SQUARE MILE

AND YET that is not the limit to which congestion can be pushed. If we break down the cities themselves into housing areas, we begin to get a picture of the possibilities of urbanization. For instance, a study of the density of population in fifty-two of the model PWA Housing Projects of the national government showed an average of 50,659 persons per square mile.* With elevators to make skyscraper apartments practicable and subways to multiply street areas, the possibility of squeezing in two persons where there was only one before, seems limitless.

II. DEPOPULATION

IN 1790 over 97 per cent of the population of the United States lived in the country or in villages and small towns; less than four per cent lived in cities of over 8,000 population. In fact, the largest city at that time—New York—was a city of only 49,401 population. It was no bigger than Stamford, Connecticut, today, a city no one thinks of as large. The trend of population during the 150 years which ended with the census year of 1940 has resulted in a transition to a condition

*Bulletin No. 3, The School of Living, Suffern, N. Y.

in which less than half the population lives in the country or in towns of less than 8,000 and over half in cities of larger size. What has taken place in the United States has taken place in all the great industrial nations of the world. The trend has been toward the depopulation of the countryside and the concentration of great masses of people in congested cities and cancerous metropolitan districts.

Some idea of the depopulation of the strictly rural regions of the nation can be obtained by comparing the proportion of the population living on farms and in villages of less than 1,000 persons, over a period of time long enough to reveal the trend. In 1890, 57 per cent of the total population lived in such strictly rural areas; by 1930 the percentage had declined by one-third to 36.4 per cent. If the calculations of agricultural economists in United States Department of Agriculture are correct, and not more than six per cent of the population is needed to produce the food and other crops consumed by the nation, the population of the countryside is going to continue to decline until it comes close to the vanishing point. Indeed, town planners in Soviet Russia have experimented with the idea of urbanizing the entire farming population and having farm workers commute daily between their city barracks and their work in the fields.

Has the creation of congested metropolitan regions, in which millions of human beings are packed together almost like sardines in cans, meant what most people think of as Progress, or has it meant what I have defined as mal-progress? Has it had evil or has it had good consequences upon the manner in which human beings live?

It has, of course, resulted in towering and impressive constructions of many kinds—great office buildings and apartment houses, public buildings, railroad terminals, airports, department stores, banks, markets, stock exchanges, ingenious bridges, tunnels, roadways, subways and other transportation facilities. It has resulted in the establishment of many imposing institutions—hospitals, museums, libraries, parks, zoological gardens, penitentiaries, insane asylums, settlement houses and charitable organizations. It has resulted in the creation of vast municipal enterprises to supply water, gas, electricity, rapid transit, police service, fire protection, street cleaning, garbage and sewage collection.

But the development of these highly specialized institutions is not the criterion by which progress or regress ought to be determined. Looked at from its own standpoint, the higher and higher development of each of these institutions constitutes Progress. To transport millions of people between their jobs and their homes safely and speedily represents, from the standpoint of transportation, Progress when compared with transporting them by horse-cars. But if subways are measured by the criterion of what is good from the standpoint of living, they may actually represent evils; it might have been far better never to have crowded people into such cities at all and so made subways altogether unnecessary. Had people continued to work and live in the same place, as doctors used to do and farmers still do, or in small communities where home and work were so close together that it was possible for them to walk rather than ride between home and work, neither the discomfort of travel in horse-cars nor of travel in crowded, stuffy, foul, noisy subways would be necessary.

By this criterion I think the weight of evidence shows that urbanization and the centralization of population represents mal-progress and not right-progress. Impartial, objective and scientific study of living in our congested cities shows that city people are less healthy and live shorter lives; they commit more crimes; indulge in more drunkenness and sexual perversion; develop more degrading forms of poverty; have more divorces and fewer children; produce more insanity and feeblemindedness, and commit suicide more frequently than people who live in the country. By the ultimate test of sheer generation, city people degenerate. Beginning with the depopulation of the countryside, urbanization ends with the depopulation of both city and country.

Bad as is the record of urbanization, it is not as bad as a really scientific comparison between city and country life would make it. For such a comparison we would have to weight existing statistics to make allowance for lavishing most of our ingenuity and resources upon making city life pleasant and attractive, and at the same time overlooking almost nothing which might make country and village life intolerable; for the fact that modern science has concentrated

on the solution of the technological problems of cities and neglected almost every kind of problem which for any reason could be neglected in connection with country life; for the fact that the special privileges which the government has conferred upon industry, commerce and finance, are in effect privileges conferred upon cities and deprivations of those who still remain in the country; above all, for the fact that modern education is for all practical purposes a system for drafting the healthiest and most ambitious of country boys and girls to replenish decaying and dying city populations. Were allowance made for facts such as these, the odiousness of urbanization would become even more odious.

EDUCATION VS. URBANIZATION

WHAT is the responsibility of education in dealing with urbanization? Should all education become preparation for urban and industrial life, or should education first face the question of whether the industrial city is the answer to the problem of how human beings should live? Should the whole nation be compelled to take its culture pattern from the city, no matter how little that pattern may be suited to the people who still till the soil or live in small communities? In sum, should educators continue to assume that urbanization, like industrialization, is immutable and unchangeable, and to feel that they have fulfilled their responsibilities if they teach people how to adjust themseves to modern civilization?

Or is this wholly insufficient? Is this in fact an abnegation of their professional obligations as teachers, and a refusal to recognize that *what is* must always be tested by the criterion of *what should be?*

PART VIII.

OVER-CENTRALIZATION AND OVER-DECENTRALIZATION

> *A strong and well-constituted man digests his experiences . . . . just as he digests his meats, even when he has some tough morsels to swallow.—Friedrich Nietzsche, "Genealogy of Morals."*

CONSIDERED merely as processes—as methods of dealing with the operational problem—there is neither inherent *virtue* in Decentralization nor inherent *evil* in Centralization. Centralization and Decentralization are good or bad in proportion to the extent to which they represent *more human* or *less human* methods of dealing with the problems of mankind. At present Decentralization is more often good than bad because it usually represents the substitution of more normal ways of organizing action for less normal ways of organization. Centralization is usually bad today for the exact opposite reason—because it usually represents a movement from more human ways of operating to less human ways. But Centralization may also be good even today in those fields of action in which it is actually needed in order to normalize action. The virtue, therefore, lies in the humanization of our methods of dealing with our problems, the evil in dehumanizing them. Or as I think of it, the virtue lies

in *normalization:* the evil in both *over-centralization* and *over-decentralization.*

Let me make clear what I mean by normalization, by over-centralization, and by over-decentralization.

I. By *over-centralization* I mean two things: firstly, the substitution of centralized methods of operation and organization where decentralized methods are more human and therefore more normal; and secondly, the substitution of more highly centralized methods where less centralized methods are likewise more human and normal. All unneccessary and therefore undesirable centralization involves over-centralization.

II. By *over-decentralization* I mean the substitution of individual and small-scale methods of operating where group and large-scale methods would actually be more human and normal. All undesirable atomization of the activities of mankind involves over-decentralization.

III. By *normalization* I mean both centralization and decentralization—decentralization of action where action is now over-centralized, (diffusion of power and responsibility among many individuals and groups); and centralization where action is now over-decentralized, (the concentration of power and responsibility in fewer and fewer, and even in single, individuals). In a genuinely normal pattern of living most of the methods of operating would, of course, be decentralized but some would nonetheless be centralized. The proper method of baking bread is not necessarily the proper method of assembling automobiles.

I. OVER-CENTRALIZATION

IN A SOCIETY such as that in which we find ourselves today—in which the prevailing trend is toward more and more Centralization—it is just a question of time until all of its activities and all of its institutions become over-centralized. It is impossible to keep increasing the density of the population, for instance, without ultimately arriving at densities in which every possible advantage which comes from

urbanization is more than offset by its inescapable disadvantages. The moment these disadvantages begin to outweigh the advantages, we have over-centralization. In our over-centralized society, the protagonists of Progress point to the fact that "wealth accumulates" but ignore the fact that "men decay." Both those who lead and those who are led in such a society, become neurotic, degenerate, and sterile; sheer inability to adjust physically and mentally to the strains and stresses to which all are subjected, eventually results in epidemic insanity, mass-decadence, and race suicide. The ultimate end of over-centralization is always depopulation. The over-centralized institutions become the principal instruments which defeat the purposes for which they were originally established.

POLITICAL OVER-CENTRALIZATION

OVER-CENTRALIZATION of the political institutions of society, instead of increasing the freedom and security of the individual, denies him his liberty and destroys his security. Necessary laws, which protect life and property—which maintain order and help preserve peace, increase the liberty and security of everybody. But too many laws not only interfere with the liberties of the individual but also create so many law-violators and so much arbitrary law-enforcement that every individual lives in constant fear of apprehension. In a politically over-centralized state there is an unending race between the increase in the volume of law and the numbers of policemen, and aggravation of the conditions which call for regulation by law and the use of legal coercion.

ECONOMIC OVER-CENTRALIZATION

ECONOMIC over-centralization, instead of reducing costs and raising the plane of living, increases costs and lowers the plane of living. Production costs may be reduced, but distribution costs increase much more rapidly. As economic enterprises become too large, overhead costs rise more rapidly than prime costs are reduced. The distances between the over-centralized populations or *points of consumption,* and the over-specialized areas or *points of production,* (as for instance between regions growing wheat and cities milling flour, and the populations to which the finished flour has to be shipped in order to find a sufficient number of consumers for it), become so great that trans-

portation, storage, wholesaling, and retailing costs rise more rapidly than production costs decline.

SOCIAL OVER-CENTRALIZATION

IN THE operations of any over-centralized society or association, (whether a club, a union, a church, a corporation, a city or a nation), *participation* must necessarily be replaced by *domination and submission.* In a small association or community, everybody knows everyone else, or at least can know enough about them to contribute to intelligent group-action, but in an association which is too large, nobody can know everybody; relationships among the membership is not intimate but superficial; no real group-thinking is possible; group-action is not upon the basis of the intelligence of its members but by mass-psychosis; or the group fails to act as a group at all and acquiesces in manipulation by its most ambitious or unscrupulous leaders; the social activities of individuals are dehumanized.

The very purpose of over-centralization is defeated if the individual is not compelled to conform.

II. OVER-DECENTRALIZATION

INDEFINITE decentralization of any over-centralized institution or population; limitless decentralization of social, economic or political institutions or groups, ultimately results in over-decentralization. It is as irrational to aim at decreasing the density of the population indefinitely as it is to aim at an indefinite increase in its density. When society is over-decentralized, cooperation between its members is reduced to such an extent that existence on primitive planes of living must sooner or later replace civilized ways of living. When people live upon isolated homesteads; when they participate in no group or communal activities; when everything they consume is restricted to what each home produces, they fail to avail themselves of the normal advantages of group-action. If in an over-centralized society, people tend to become sophisticated, bored, sterile, sickly, and neurotic weaklings, in an over-decentralized society they tend to become surly, dirty, prolific, dehumanized two-legged animals. Over the long vistas of history, civilizations have swung back and forth between the polar extremes of Centralization and Decentralization. At either extreme in the swing of the pendulum, life is abnormal and unsatisfactory.

III. NORMALIZATION

IMPROPERLY educated mankind seems alternately to have wrecked itself on the Scylla of over-centralization and the Charybdis of over-decentralization. The problem of a properly educated mankind is that of avoiding either extreme; every institution which should be decentralized, *should be decentralized to its optimum extent*; and every institution which should be centralized, *should be centralized to its optimum extent.*

The ultimate extreme of over-centralization is a totalitarian society in which the state and state institutions become everything, and the individual nothing. The ultimate extreme of over-decentralization is a population in which the individual and his family is everything, and society nothing.

The answer to the problem of organizing living is neither over-centralization nor over-decentralization; the answer is *normalization.*