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The One and the Many: Concepts of the Individual and the Collective in Art Education during the Progressive Era in Education 1920-1960

Angela Nairne Grigor

A Thesis

in

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ABSTRACT

The One and the Many: Concepts of the Individual and the Collective in Art Education during the Progressive Era in Education 1920-1960

Angela Nairne Grigor, Ph.D.
Concordia University, 1985

This dissertation identifies two tendencies in American ideology; the major theme of Individualism and the minor theme of Collectivism. These ideas were further examined in two philosophical positions: Theistic Personalism, developed by Borden Parker Bowne, and John Dewey's Instrumentalism. Personalism is an idealist, individualist position which holds that persons are ontologically fundamental. Instrumentalism is naturalist and contextualist and emphasizes the truth of science, the reality of the natural world and human experience. This study then traces art education through the era of Progressive education, 1920-1960 showing how child-centered and Instrumental education are reflected in the writings or practices of specific art educators. Personalism was found to resemble child-centered education in most of its major assumptions, by virtue of a common background in the Romantic Movement, and was used to represent the child-centered view in a philosophical comparison with Instrumentalism. Both child-centered and Personalist positions are individualistic and emphasize the importance of personal freedom, creativity, self-determination and emotional wholeness in education. Instrumental pedagogy applies the experimental, empirical scientific method to learning in a method which stresses collective cooperation and the sharing of common goals. Child-centered and Instrumental approaches to education alternated in popularity during the forty years

of Progressivism. This study concludes that public education, particularly in the field of art education is a socially sensitive area and responds to cultural, political and social pressures. With the exception of the child-centered educators, art education was seen to follow education policy rather than movements in modern art. The collective orientation of public education as exemplified by the Instrumental approach was found to be contrary to the needs of art education. This study found that art education should be addressed to the individual rather than the collective, and must deal with material initiated by the individual. This position was seen as essential to the maintenance of balance between the individual and the collective in a democratic system of public education.

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This Study is Dedicated to My Parents

Isabella and John Steel Nairne

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PART ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

General Introduction

This study will focus on individualist and collectivist tendencies in the field of art education during the era of Progressive education 1920-1960. The particular interest of this study is the relationship between the collective orientation of public education and its effect on individualistic tendencies in the field of art education.

In addressing the field of art education only the originative function has been dealt with here. Art history and criticism, although acknowledged as important areas, are not seen as being in conflict with the general aims of public education.

Because of the comparatively short history of art education in the context of public education, it has only been possible in recent years to determine trends, sequences and the broader implications present in the history of the field. This study is an attempt to view the problems present in art education from a different perspective, to draw some conclusions based on a sampling of progressive art education literature, and to provide a broad historical, philosophical and pedagogical background for further studies.

The following work is a history and analysis of certain ideas present in Progressive art education rather than a general history of the field. In dealing with a large volume of material which covers a considerable time span it was necessary to choose the most prominent and representative examples of Individualism and Collectivism in order to give as balanced an account as possible. The process of selection included a conscientious examination of the author's biases, an important factor when dealing with personal notions of the connections between ideas and events.

The study attempts a synthesis between different disciplines and different fields of endeavor. Since it was possible to select only a

fraction of the material available, other approaches to art education and the work of many prominent art educators and their theories have had to be eliminated. What is presented is therefore an accounting of Ideas of Individualism and Collectivism as they appear in American history philosophy and pedagogy and are implemented in a representative sampling of art education literature 1920-1960.

Concepts of Individualism and Collectivism are both part of American Ideology and are important facets of the democratic system which must effect a balance between extremes of either position. Individualism dominated the social ideology of the nineteenth century and evolved into two distinct forms. First a particularly American form of Individualism developed from the ideas of the Enlightenment, reinforced by the Protestant-Calvinist ethic. The mythic figure of the rugged pioneer exemplified this form of Individualism which emphasized self-sufficiency and freedom from social control. The second form of Individualism developed after the Civil War as a direct result of industrialization and urbanization and was known as economic laissez-faire Individualism. This ideology came to be represented by the mythic figure of the merchantile entrepreneur.

Collective movements played a minor role in American social history, beginning with communitarian immigrant groups from Europe who represented various religious and secular dissenting movements. Communitarians generated ideas which included the sharing of work, wealth, goals and group action. These ideas were the source from which later socialist and collectivist movements drew their inspiration. Later movements developed as a consequence of social inequalities which resulted from massive immigration and industrialization in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Of the movements which were generated during that period progressivism, a middle class movement, effected the most profound changes. Working within the democratic system, the Progressive Movement attempted a transformation of political, social and cultural spheres to correspond more closely to the ideals of democracy. Individualist and collectivist ideas were both present in this movement which reflected a concern for both individual rights and freedoms, and the importance of collective solidarity.

Progressive education, an important and highly visible phase of progressivism also included individualist and collectivist tendencies. The child-centered approach represents the former, Instrumental education the latter. The child-centered orientation will be compared to the philosophy of Personalism, which will be used as a philosophical basis from which to argue the merits of the child-centered position. Child-centered pedagogy focuses on the inner emotional development of the individual particularly through the self-expressive activity of making art.

Instrumental pedagogy, developed by John Dewey from his philosophy of Instrumentalism, represents the collective orientation to the problems of education in his belief that human intelligence can be seen to further collective growth and progress. The experimental empirical scientific method was used to implement Instrumental pedagogy. Social learning was emphasized through a process of sharing, cooperating and working together toward common goals, factors which will be seen to be in harmony with the educational needs of the time.

The individualist position of child-centered education and the collectivist position of Instrumental education will be examined in this

study with particular reference to art education. Differences in methodology, and goals will be compared and analyzed as they apply to that field.

Chapter 1 of this study will review the ideologies of Individualism and Collectivism in the context of American social and cultural history, particularly during the nineteenth century. This review will be followed in Chapters 2 and 3 by expositions of the philosophical positions of theistic Personalism and Instrumentalism, and includes these views on psychology and pedagogy. The similarities and differences of these positions vis a vis the individual and the collective will be examined in Chapter 4. This Chapter will also include an analysis of the Personalist and Instrumentalist concepts of education and is important to later comparisons of child-centered and Instrumental pedagogy. Chapter 5 examines individualist and collectivist ideas as they concern Progressive education. These ideas are found in the work of early pioneers of the movement who influenced John Dewey's pedagogy, identified as collectivist in orientation. Individualist notions are found in child-centered Progressive education, an approach which makes art the pedagogical focus. The background and influences which pertain to these ideas will be seen in relation to the field of art education in Chapter 6. A selected analysis of art education literature during the Progressive era 1920-1960 follows in Chapter 7. This material is arranged in decades, not only in the interests of clarity, but also because these divisions mark identifiable changes in the social and cultural climate. Chapter 8 examines the effect of these changes on the field of art education, and questions the position of art education, seen as inherently individualistic, in the context of general education, defined as

necessarily collectivist. The final question revolves around the compatibility of these two pedagogical positions and deals with the ambiguous notion of art as an educative activity. In conclusion both general education and art education are seen as areas which are vulnerable to political, social and cultural events and pressures. The study takes this into account and posits the individualist position of child-centered pedagogy as an important area which acts as a balance to collective tendencies in public education.

Chapter I

Individualism and Collectivism in the Context of American Society

Introduction

The following historical review will examine the social ideologies of Individualism and Collectivism in the context of American society. These two concepts express the social dialectic between individual needs and the necessity for some regulation of the group. Both are concerned with human prosperity, but differ as to the means of achievement. Individualism advocates the free, independent action of the individual; in contrast Collectivism gives precedence to the needs of the group over the interests of the individual. Taken to extremes both positions can be destructive. The democratic system offers an opportunity to effect a balance between these opposing, but necessary views.

American social ideology traditionally values the concept of Individualism over the concept of Collectivism. In this chapter these concepts will be examined in relation to changing times, climates of opinion, and contemporaneous values, all of which caused subtle changes of meaning. The following review has importance for the overall study, for, as Harold Silver emphasizes, "The history of an idea is in essence a history of the social forces which make various transmutations of it common currency" (1962, p. 13).

Individualism in American History

American social ideology traditionally adopted the theory of Individualism which stresses freedom of the individual from social control. Other notions implicit in this theory include individual rights to freedom, self-determination and independence of action.

Assumptions about the place of the individual in American society gave rise to notions of freedom which have largely been taken for granted. The constituent elements of the concept of individualism surfaced in the

social and political spheres sometime in the eighteenth century, and developed under the influence of the American quest for a national identity (Arieli, 1964, p. v). Undoubtedly a legacy from British colonial days, the notion of individual rights was built into the British tradition from the time of Hobbes and Locke.

The concept of Individualism prior to the Civil War was founded, as was the American Constitution, on the philosophy of the French Enlightenment. America was seen at home and abroad as exemplifying the progressive liberal ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These ideals of free democratic government challenged traditional religious and governmental authority and inspired both the American and French Revolutions. Indeed leaders of the Enlightenment who survived the Revolution believed that America alone had achieved the true synthesis of the philosophy of the Enlightenment (Arieli, 1964, p. 124).

Thomas Jefferson's ideal of a democratic society was based on his apprehension of America's unique position of isolation, and his belief in the French Revolution and Republic. He made self-government the core of the American system by coordinating the socio-political orders with the preservation of human dignity and social justice. The assumption on which democratic self-government is based, developed from a belief that cooperation and social harmony develop naturally without Government interference (Sayers & Madden, 1959, p. 23).

The Nature of the Individual: Philosophical Background

The concept of the individual varies according to the historical circumstances of each civilization. In primitive societies individuals identify with their role in the group, and cannot imagine themselves as 'I', but only as part of the collective group. Medieval humanity while

considering and indeed stressing individual responsibility in the religious sphere, was still operating within the concept 'we'.

The Italian Renaissance generated a new notion of the individual in relation to the material world. Due to advances in science, the individual was seen as being more in control of nature, and increasingly powerful and independent. The Humanism of the Renaissance also led to a new veneration for great achievements and the outstanding individual (Palmer & Colton, 1978, pp 49-52).

René Descartes (1596-1650) was directly influenced by the scientific philosophers of the Renaissance, but rejected the materialism of their positions. Instead he adopted an extremely individualistic view by basing his system on a knowledge of self. The Cartesian Cogito not only accepted self-knowledge as the basis of existence, but also as proof of innate knowledge, including the 'eternal truths' of God and the soul.

English philosopher John Locke (1632-1704) was one of the major influences of the French Enlightenment. As an empiricist, he denied Descartes' theory of innate ideas, proposing instead that only the mental faculty is innate, and that the new-born mind is a tabula rasa formed from received experience. The individual is therefore neither good nor evil at birth, but is shaped by circumstances. Locke rated happiness as the greatest good, believing that we are all born free and equal and must devise a political system accordingly, based on mutual consent for the good of all citizens (Titus, 1953, pp. 323-324).

Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716) is considered to be an Individualist philosopher in his insight that reality is individual and composed of unique, self-contained sutstances, or 'monads', a term meaning unity. Monads vary in quality from the lowest type (which is material) to higher

types (which are minds or souls). The highest monad being God who created all the others. The term monad was used by Leibniz to denote not only the separateness of the primal substance, but also the indestructability and uniqueness of the human personality (Sahakian, 1968, pp. 145).

George Berkeley (1685-1753) an English Idealist philosopher, contributed to the concept of the individual with his notion that only souls are real. The material world exists as an idea in God's mind, and does not exist for humanity unless it is being perceived by an active mind. This notion places the individual in close relationship with God, and central to the notion of existence.

The concept of the individual as being separate and different from others was further developed in the European Romantic Movement. The Romanticists were philosophical idealists who emphasized the limitations of reason: they valued subjective methods of enquiry, and the trustworthiness of human emotions. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1776), a major influence in both the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement, held that the individual is born free, good and absolutely unique. He saw civilization as a corrupting influence, encroaching on the natural rights to freedom and equality, and maintained that the social order we seem to need must be paid for with loss of liberty. The American's distrust of government can be traced in large part to the Romantic notion that government intervention infringes on the natural right to be free. Rousseau's idea of the free individual living close to nature was compatible with the realities of pioneering life in America, and eventually developed into the American mythic notion of the 'rugged individual'.

The life of Andrew Jackson (1767-1845) exemplified the myth. He

began life on a poor frontier farm, and through hard work and personal effort became the seventh president of the United States. His eulogy reflects the respect and admiration felt for his solitary life of hardship, and is a prototypical example of another American individualist myth, 'rags-to-riches' through personal toil.

> Severe discipline and poverty insured him early to great hardship and industry and it has been justly said that he seems to have been an orphan from the plough to the presidency. He must therefore have been regarded as the architect of his own fortune. (Miller, 1967, p. 107)

The prevailing American ideology of individualism was seen, in this section, to have evolved out of European philosophical concepts of the individual. American interpretation of these ideas was also influenced by both secular and religious factors. Individualism was not only in harmony with the dominant political belief in individual rights to freedom and self-determination, but also with the physical separation of much of the population due to geographical conditions. In addition the strong position of the Protestant faith in America supported individualist ideals and gave pre Civil War notions of individualism an austere moral flavor.

Individualism and Protestantism

Individualism and Protestantism together comprise an inextricable complex of ideas which are basic to the 'American way of life'. The combination of both religious and secular notions of the individual formed a common bond, giving individualism a secure place in contemporary cultural mores.

A society which embraces individualism also embodies a cluster of other assumptions. Ideologies which see society as a collection of

separate individuals, also value liberal and humanitarian principles, political and economic liberalism, empiricism and protestantism (Lukes, 1973, p. 123). The Protestant Ethic, which emphasizes individual responsibility, also favours respect for the law, thrift and hard work. These qualities, which included moral strictness and abstinence from pleasure in early America, marked the way in which Americans perceived themselves and were perceived.

The subtle interconnection between ideas of secular and religious individualism is difficult to articulate. It is important, however, not to underestimate the pervasive influence of Protestantism. At the time of the Revolution there were three thousand Protestant churches in America, most adhering to Calvinism. Historian Stephen Lukes identifies Calvinism with the most extreme form of Individualism. He points out that the isolation of the individual in Calvinism is caused by the denial of salvation through the church and sacraments. The particular stress on self-examination and reflection, and on individual progress and achievement contrasts with the Catholic religion. "The Calvinist is the lonely man par excellence, the Catholic is the archetypically sociable man....the great aim of the former is individual, and of the latter collective sanctification" (Lukes, 1973, pp. 95-96). Lukes notes that after the Reformation the most extreme of Calvinist dicta made individual faith the only means of personal salvation (p. 96). Calvinism became an integral part of the American tradition largely because its main tenets were in harmony with the ideals of democracy, particularly belief (a) in individual responsibility, (b) in the religious dignity of labor, (c) that the state should be subject to the moral judgment of the Godly, and (e) in the limitation of established authority. (Palmer & Colton,

1978, p. 78)

The dominance of Calvinist teachings, in combination with ideas culled from the French Enlightenment and Romanticism, gave American individualism a particular flavor. Individual strength was identified with the strength of the democratic system and its championship of the ideals of Liberty and Equality.

Clearly individual freedom, ownership, social happiness and justice formed the basis of the social structure. Importantly, these conditions were provided for by, "immense reserves of public land". Society could rule itself according to the laws of justice, reason and nature as long as these conditions remained (Arieli, 1964, p. 156). The concept of the free self-sustaining individual flourished in this setting, reinforced by Calvinist teachings and the practical aspects of frontier conditions.

Changing Concepts of Individualism

The Industrial Revolution, in conjunction with rapid population growth, and a more powerful Federal Government, inevitably changed the character of American life and the way in which Americans perceived themselves.

The Civil War of 1861-1865 marks a turning point in American social and ideological structures. Following the war it was more generally realized that long established notions of individualism and participatory democracy were undergoing considerable alteration. Even before the Civil War the ideals of the Enlightenment were being replaced by the emerging ethics of an increasingly materialist society. These changes can only be understood in the context of rapidly increasing industrial growth which began before the war and reached enormous proportions in the post war period.

Another major change resulting from the Civil War, was a shift in legislative power from individual states to the central Federal Government. During the conflict, the government had inevitably acquired more control and funding than ever before. Continuing dominance of the Federal Government was to prove increasingly significant in the twentieth century. The escalation of Federal control was seen, by some, as a necessary evolution, but by individualists it was interpreted as an infringement of personal liberty.

Industrialization brought tremendous economic growth, particularly in rail transportation, mineral and oil exploration and the development of natural resources such as hydroelectric power. These conditions led to increased opportunities for those individual enterpreneurs with, "the courage to compete in a free-enterprise system that accepted graft, corruption and the worship of material goods. Many took the chance and many acquired vast fortunes" (Degler, 1981, p. 335).

As seen in the discussion of the philosophical bases of American Individualism, freedom and responsibility were both believed to further individual and social development. Early American society evolved with the understanding that an aggregate of self-sufficient individuals naturally forms a cohesive group with innate regard for the rights of others. This premise was eminently workable as long as the bulk of the population remained in rural areas. But with the Industrial Revolution and its attendant social changes, the self-sufficient qualities of the agrarian pioneer became obsolete, as did the belief in the natural cohesion of the group. The mythic 'rugged individual' of the late nineteenth century was replaced by the business entrepreneur, as America became the exemplar of free-enterprise in the Western World.

Before industrialization the individualist was seen as, "an active member of society with which he identified himself, thus jealously guarding his own liberty" (Arieli, 1964, p. 196). But conditions in the newly industrialized society encouraged the development of an economic entrepreneurial individualism which deemphasized social responsibility. At the time, however, the entrepreneur was generally seen as representing the virtues of courage and industriousness, qualities which were believed to guarantee financial success. These qualities held resonances of the Protestant Work Ethic, and were also evident in children's books of the period. These retained a high moral tone indicating that the way to honor, riches and respect is through the virtues of industry, temperance, economy, courage and perseverance. In reality, however, increased opportunities and the growing pressures of competition produced a climate in which personal gain became the dominant factor, as the following quotation from the period indicates:

> The American population was in a state of unceasing activity; there was corporeal and mental restlessness....The foreign commerce at length rivalled the most powerful nations in Europe. This wonderful spectacle of social development was the result of INDIVIDUALISM (author's emphasis) operating in an unbounded field of action. Everyone was seeking all that he could for himself"[1] (Lukes, 1973, p.29).

Laissez-faire economic individualism

American liberal democratic principles coupled with free-enterprise resulted in the institutionalization of economic individualism. The role of a democratic government which serves this concept of individualism is to maintain law and order, to prevent individuals from impeding others, and to interfere as little as possible in local or State affairs. It was

generally believed that any form of government control would inevitably lead to individual laziness and discourage initiative and creativity. In addition the presence of government control was resented by the general population, and was interpreted as a show of bureaucratic strength and evidence of creeping totalitarianism.

The principles of laissez-faire, or classical economics developed out of two sources: the work of Scottish social economist Adam Smith (1723-1790) and the theories of a group of eighteenth century French writers, known as the physiocrats. The latter believed, with Adam Smith, that social, political and economic affairs are governed by natural laws, and that government interference destroys the natural conformation of society (Titus, 1953, p. 444).

Adam Smith's book The Wealth of Nations (1776) presented an efficient use of atomistic, or individualistic economic theory. His outline of an economic philosophy based on natural liberty was founded on the study of market forces. Smith maintained that the interests of society were more effectively upheld by self-interested individuals, than by intentional government action. He believed that self-interest insures maximum productivity, while government intervention inevitably breeds non-productivity. In this view it is a natural human tendency to want to better the conditions of one's life[2] (Briggs, 1959, p. 14).

For Smith and his followers, economic individualism offered a realistic view that accounted for human strengths and weaknesses and was based on limitations of the human mind (Hayek, 1948, p. 6). In Individualism and Economic Order (1948), Hayek clarifies Smith's position:

All possible differences in men's moral attitudes amount to little

so far as their significance for social organization is concerned, compared with the fact that all man's mind can effectively comprehend are the narrow facts of which he is the center (1948, p. 14).

Smith believed that a healthy economy fostered small business ventures and one owner concerns. He was opposed to joint-stock companies and conglomerates which undermine efficiency by delegating decision-making to employees, and which replace individual initiative with routine activity. In addition he believed that stockholders and other beneficiaries were removed from responsibilities toward those who produced the wealth (Bryant, 1942, pp. 221-222).

Social Darwinism, which applied Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection to society, was used to explain success and failure in economic competition. This notion, based on the social philosophy of Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) placed an unfortunate emphasis on rivalry between individuals, and saw human relationships in terms of the natural tendency to compete. Ideas from the Enlightenment which emphasized natural equality and fraternity were rapidly replaced by the notion that conditions of poverty and wealth were part of the natural order, ordained by natural selection. The leading Social Darwinist of the time, William Sumner, supported competition as a fundamental right and saw progress as the result of unrestricted competition. Eisenstadt points out that Sumner was against aid for less fortunate members of society on the grounds that it would be an unwarrented interference with the laws of nature. Government assistance for those in need was generally seen at the time as a move towards increased control of the economy and un-American in character (1962, pp. 202-203). Laissez-faire economics were generally believed to be largely responsible for continuing American

prosperity, and were so closely identified with business ideology that for the majority of Americans it represented an important facet of the 'American way of life' (Arieli, 1964, p. 336).

The social results of such unbridled competition meant that a large segment of the working population suffered hardship and exploitation. Politicians were concerned that slumps and booms in the economy, which brought unemployment on a large scale, would lead to radical demands for social change, and even revolution. The most effective and far-reaching attempt to right social wrongs came from the Progressive Movement[3], a large scale effort to achieve political reform and ensure that all Americans shared in an improved quality of life. Many theories developed in response to the problems aggravated by laissez-faire economics and Social Darwinism. Among these were the two philosophical positions of principal concern to this study: Personalism and Instrumentalism. Personalism, a theological position, reinforced the American notion of the self-sufficient individual. In contrast Instrumentalism stressed scientific and social theory, thus responding to a general interest in science and Socialism which developed in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Collectivism in American History

Educational historian Arthur Bestor suggests that there are four ways society is changed. First by the efforts of a determined individual's thinking or actions. This way of change most closely represents the ideology of individualism. In Ralph Waldo Emmerson's words, "If a single man plant himself indomitably on his instincts and there abide, the huge world will come around to him"[4] (Bestor, 1950, p. 4). Secondly, rapid change can be effected by revolution, or thirdly more slowly by

gradual reform. Finally, society may be changed by the effects of exemplary alternatives. This is the way of communitarianism, a form of collectivism. It is based on the belief that small experimental communities can demonstrate successful modes of living which will eventually be emulated by the larger society. The idea of the exemplary community was also an important factor in educational thinking that followed Instrumentalist philosophy in the twentieth century, in which the school was seen as an experimental community, which could, by influence, effect changes in society.

A later development of communitarianism, Socialism, in its most extreme form, offered change through revolution. The Socialist movement was counter to laissez-faire individualism in its advocacy of public ownership of the means of production. It also contrasted with progressivism which aimed at reform within the capitalist system.

The nature of society: Philosophical Background

The concept of the collective applied in this study denotes a social rather than a political grouping. The main emphasis in collectivism is on social rights and the value of cooperation, sharing and group action. This concept places the individual in subordination to the group, and contrasts with all forms of individualism which are based on the assumption that the individual is paramount[5].

Theories of collectivism focus, as do notions of individualism, on the nature of humanity. Social philosophy in the Enlightenment was based on a belief in the natural morality and inalienable rights, of both the individual and the group, to freedom and equality.

Rousseau articulated the social theory of the Enlightenment when he suggested that in the natural state humanity is innocent and morally good,

but through the artificial structure of society is exposed to evil (Cassirer, 1979, pp. 158-159). Rousseau's ideas are cited by both individualists and collectivists. He repudiated Hobbes' notion that we have natural social instincts which draw us together, and suggested instead, that in the natural state individuals are isolated and indifferent to the needs of others. Although individual needs rarely coincide with social interest, social living is a necessary state, and as such should be based on a voluntary sense of unity rather than coersion.

> In short, each giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody; and as there is not one associate over whom we do not acquire the same rights which we concede to him over ourselves, we gain the equivalent of all that we lose, and more power to preserve what we have (Rousseau, 1924, p. 110)[6].

In The Social Contract (1762) Rousseau presented a well reasoned argument justifying his thesis that the model for the state should resemble the natural grouping of the family, which operates through mutual agreement and equality of all members. Since he assumes that all humans are born free and equal, there is a consistency in his idea that they have a right to a political system in which they have a controlling interest. His notion that autonomy is realized only in relation to the 'general will' appears to be inconsistent with his ideas of individuality discussed earlier. His statement quoted on the previous page, however, shows that social interaction in conditions of freedom gives the individual not only the right to freedom of personal will, but also the responsibility to support that right for others. Cassirer has suggested that Rousseau goes much further in favor of collectivism than individualism,

seeing personal objectives which are against the general will as sins against society[6] (1979, p. 262).

The first form of collectivism to appear in America was communitarianism, a system of group living characterized by a belief in communal property, goods and services. Ideas generated by the communitarians were later developed by the Socialist Movement, which expressed a similarity of purpose, that is, a desire to establish a society based on collectivist principles[7].

Communitarianism

Communitarianism was not based on the secular ideas of the Enlightenment, but on the beliefs of the Christian church. Christian ideas of community originate with the disciples of Christ as the embodiment of brotherhood and the unity of Christians within the body of the church.

Communitarian experiments in America dated from the mid-seventeenth century and were religious in orientation. The first religious groups to arrive were German Pietists and English Shakers, a sect of the Quaker movement. The Shakers were among the most successful of the sects to establish themselves, founding numerous communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The following quotation taken from an early nineteenth century manuscript describes the Shaker view of community:

> The Church is one of joint interest, as the children of one family, enjoying equal rights and privileges in things spiritual and temporal, because they are influenced and led by one spirit and love is the only bond of their union: As it is written "All that believe were together, and had all things in common - and were of one heart and soul"[8] (Bestor, 1959, p. 6).

Successful religious communities were generally organized on a basis of communal economics, and led well ordered disciplined lives under the direction of a religious leader or church elder. The Rappites were such a group, and had come together in the belief that their harmonious community was a model for the anticipated kingdom of Christ.

The Mormons have undoubtedly been the most successful and tenacious of the communitarian groups. Organized by Joseph Smith in 1830, the Mormons have managed to survive a precarious beginning, and have grown and prospered. They respect both religious and sectarian ideals and operate on the basis of community property, continuing to thrive, although members are no longer geographically bound to live in a discreet community site.

The link between religious communitarianism and modern socialism was formed by the sectarian groups which were organized according to economic criteria, and practiced communal living and equality of working conditions. Of these groups the Owenites are the best known: and are of particular interest to this study because of Owen's advanced views on education.

Robert Owen, an English industrialist and philanthropist came to America in 1824 hoping to repeat the success of his communitarian experiment at New Lanark in Yorkshire. Settling in New Harmony, Pennsylvania on the site of a previous Rappite community, Owen attempted to reconstruct a model of communal living which would serve as an example to society. Like other English radicals of the period, Owen was devoted to the ideals of the Enlightenment, enjoying a revival in England at that time. Ten Owenite communities were founded between 1825 and 1843, the largest and most influential of which was the settlement at New Harmony.

Owen's communities were established on the principles of justice for all, the right of individuals to the most complete personal development, and freedom from the restraints of a society which Owen felt to be artifical. He believed in the possibility of human perfectability, but, unlike Rousseau, he saw the family group as a stronghold of individualism, private property and self-interest.

Owen's principal concern was education, "the most important part of the economy of human life" (Silver, 1969, p. 23). He engineered one of the most extensive intellectual migrations in pioneer history, namely the transfer of a sizeable library from Philadelphia to New Harmony. He was thus responsible for moving such resources farther west than those of any American college at that time (Bestor, 1957, p. 133). His humane education theory and practice were far in advance of the times, being based on cooperation and feelings of fellowship. His American communities failed, however, because of his energetic attacks on the status quo. He was seen by the establishment as a free thinking, blasphemous radical, particularly for his views advocating birth control and condemning the marriage system. After Owen left America for good in 1827, his communities gradually dwindled away. Although it is difficult to estimate his contribution to collectivist thinking, his theories for developing society on a cooperative basis have undoubtedly played a part in American Socialist theory and in the field of education. Four notions from his pedagogical views are of importance to this study, in relation to the work of John Dewey (to be discussed in Chapter 5). Owen believed that (a) the individual is integral to the group, (b) social environment determines character, (c) the instructors role is supportive rather than didactic, and (d) a school run on the lines of a

small community can both produce the prototypical social person, and provide a model for society. Some of these avant-garde ideas were also adopted by progressive pioneers in education, noteably Francis W. Parker who was a seminal influence on John Dewey.

Social Activism

In the period of industrial expansion following the Civil War, and up to the turn of the century, Government policy and the bulk of public opinion, favored classical laissez-faire economics. This system, which gave almost unlimited freedom to the business community, failed to take the working population into account. Discontent with the status quo found expression in the work of increasing numbers of social activists operating both alone and in organizations. In many ways the ideals of the social activists resembled the tenets of communitarianism in their emphasis on brotherhood, collective solidarity, and equality, particularly in the field of work. Approaches to the problem of changing society varied from those anxious to adopt revolutionary solutions, to those who were content to work towards gradual reform. Among these, the most notable were Lester Ward, Thorstein Veblen and Henry George. Ward suggested more radical measures than Veblen or George in his advocacy of Government control of all major social institutions. Veblen was particularly against the inequalities of the class system, and the supporting Social Darwinist view. He charged the wealthy with being a 'kept class', guilty of appropriating money produced by the labor of others, and went so far as to accuse them of sabotage (Egbert & Persons, 1952, p. 326). Henry George proposed reform measures designed to inhibit land speculation, and would have liked to reestablish conditions of natural equality which existed prior to the Industrial Revolution.

Like many other American social reformers, he rejected Marxist doctrine and even the word 'socialism' because of its un-American connotations and Communist connections (Degler, 1981, pp. 348-349).

The most extreme social ideology, Marxism, advocates the basic ideals of communitarianism, particularly the notion of a classless community, the abolition of private property, and communal ownership of the means of production. Marxism goes beyond these ideas, however, in its advocacy of violent revolution to achieve these ends. Two early but unsuccessful attempts to form associations based on Marxist doctrines, The National Labor Reform Party and the Socialist Labor Party, were strongly resisted by union leaders and proved to be top radical for most Americans. The Socialist Party of America, formed in 1900 was more moderate in its policies than previous labor groups and consequently survived longer. Mainly composed of dissenters from the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party pledged to free humanity from class rule. During the nineteen-twenties the general public were fearful that labor unrest would cause a 'rising tide of socialism'. However, the Socialist Party failed to support the 1917 war effort, and that factor, in combination with the loss of membership to the New Communist Party of America, effectively diminished the party to its present minor role. The most lasting effect of these activities was to strengthen the labor unions and thus improve working conditions and lessen exploitation.

The Religious community's response to the social problems of industrialization came in the years between 1870 and 1890, with the advent of Christian Socialism. In a general movement away from the fundamentalist position, the Protestant Church adopted a message of social justice, and emphasized the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood

of humanity.

The Salvation Army, founded in London in 1878, came to America in 1890, spreading to all major cities with a mandate to help the less fortunate members of society. The Federal Council of churches was formed in 1908 in an effort to coordinate the social ministry rather than reach doctrinal agreement. The result was the adoption of a manifesto aimed at strengthening labor unions and ending exploitative capitalism through welfare legislation (Link & Catton, 1973, pp. 21-28).

Laissez-faire economic policy was effectively weakened by these combined efforts of secular and religious bodies, which resulted in more restrictive regulation of business practice. In addition, public opinion had turned against the polarization of wealth which had caused so much hardship. Strong middle class social activism resulted in a movement which was to prove the most effective deterrent of all against the policies of laissez-faire.

The Progressive Movement

Dissatisfaction with the economics of laissez-faire, and to a lesser extent the entrepreneurial individualist position, resulted in the birth of a new middle class crusade known as the Progressive Movement. This movement began at the turn of the century and was an expression of American liberalism. It was based on a less radical approach than the Socialists offered and did not aim at restructuring society, but rather at reinstating democratic principles within the capitalist system.

Although the United States was probably the most prosperous country in the world at the turn of the century, the drive towards financial prosperity had led to the neglect of most major social institutions, including the educational system. The ideals of progressivism began to

develop among the growing urban middle class, and prosperous farming community. These ideals were founded on attitudes developed from Christian and democratic traditions and fused into a drive for social justice, reform of the political system and the modernization of cultural and educational institutions. As the name Progressivism implies, this movement was committed to moving the United States of America into the twentieth century through a broad program of democratic social reform.

> Culturally, progressivism inspired or embraced new modes of expression in music, painting, literature and architecture. Philosophically it supplanted the old absolutes with behaviorist and relativist values and goals. Politically, it constructed complex forms of government based on an application of the empirical findings of the maturing social sciences (Degler, 1958, p. 425).

This major program of reform involved regaining power from the representatives of corporate business who had gradually acquired more power than the Federal Government. The dangerous 'anarchy of the millionaires' was cause for concern on both sides of congress; Republicans and Democrats united to combat those who supported the assumptions of Social Darwinism, laissez-faire economics, and the cluster of notions associated with economic individualism (Link & Catton, 1973, p. 53).

Public awareness and support for Progressive ideals grew as the popular press and many publications exposed the excesses of big business. Literary works, such as Upton Sinclair's The Jungle (1905) which revealed scandalous working conditions in the meat packing industry, and Ida Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company (1904) were serialized in popular journals[9].

Both Theodore Roosevelt, who became Republican president in 1901,

and Woodrow Wilson, who succeeded him in 1913, are identified with the Progressive era which lasted approximately from 1900 to 1920. Roosevelt's opposition to big business and his championship of the working population earned him nationwide popularity. His term of office represents the break from government dependence on big business and the introduction of major progressive reforms. During the first part of the twentieth century social responsibility became an accepted part of 'the American Way of Life'.

Subtle changes of thought, influenced by social activism and Progressivism, marked public opinion in the early twentieth century, which moved from economic individualism to a more collectivist point of view. Writing in Individualism Old and New (1930) John Dewey said of the social changes taking place in America: "There is no word to adequately express what is taking place. 'Socialism' has too specific political, economic associations to be appropriate. 'Collectivism' is more neutral, but it too is a party word" (p. 36). In view of the emphasis on groups, associations and corporations in twentieth century America, Dewey decided to call it, "The United States incorporated" (p. 36). "We may say that the United States has steadily moved from an earlier pioneer individualism, to a position of dominant corporateness....Associations tightly or loosely organized more and more define the opportunities, the choices and actions of individuals"(p. 36). Dewey's description of the collective nature of the progressive era charactized the first two decades of the twentieth century. The period following World War I, however, saw a return to another form of individualism, which was more introspective in orientation, partly due to the pervasive influence of psychoanalysis and psychology.

In this chapter, the democratic system was seen to offer an effective balance between excesses of Individualism and Collectivism. The nature of democracy, exemplified by the ideals of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, requires that equilibrium be maintained between the important interests of both the individual and the collective.

Summary

Concepts of Individualism and Collectivism were recognized in this chapter as being both basic to American ideology, and important for the maintenance of a democratic society. Individualism was defined as freedom from social control and the right to independence of action. Collectivism, which was defined by its social rather than political meaning, was characterized by its emphasis on social rights, cooperation, sharing and group action. American democracy, based on the ideals of the Enlightenment, emphasizes both individual rights to freedom, equality and justice, and at the same time stresses collective responsibility to form a united brotherhood.

Prior to the Civil War American Individualism was based on ideas of the Enlightenment which emphasized individual freedom, justice and equality. These ideas were further reinforced by the geographical isolation of the population, and the tenets of Calvinist Protestantism, which made salvation a personal responsibility. The post Civil War period was marked by tremendous social change brought about by rapid industrialization and massive immigration. Endemic notions of idealistic individualism gradually changed to economic laissez-faire individualism, which emphasized government non-interference, particularly in the economic sphere. The mythic notion of the 'rugged individual' of pioneering days, was thereby replaced by the image of the entrepreneur

of the market place.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it became apparent to those concerned with deteriorating social conditions, that laissez-faire economics were unsuited to an industrialized nation. Poor working conditions, and social injustice, particularly among the largely immigrant working population, caused severe social unrest. In response various reforming movements became active at the end of the nineteenth century. These included Socialist and Christian Socialist movements, and the middle class Progressive Movement. Of these the latter was the most far reaching and effective solution to the social problems of industrialization. The Progressive Movement adopted a broad program which aimed at reforming the political system, enforcing social justice, and modernizing cultural and educational institutions. By the time the movement faded, after World War I, it had succeeded in attaining the majority of its goals.

Sometime in the early twentieth century American ideology moved away from its previous emphasis on the individual, and embraced a more collective, or as Dewey suggested, a more corporate approach to democracy. This study noted that American democracy embodies principles which take both individual and collective interests into account, and also provides a context in which the necessary checks and balances prevent any long term abuse of the democratic system.

Reference Notes.

[1]Draper, J. W. History of the American Civil War (3 Vols.), New York: 1868-1870, (Vol. I) pp. 207-208.

[2]Smith, A. Wealth of Nations Book IV, Ch. 9, p. 120.

[3]The Progressive Movement began around 1900, and reached its peak in 1910. Major goals included the regulation of big business and political reform. The Movement was weakened by World War I, and ended at the beginning of the nineteen-twenties. By that time Progressivism had succeeded in modernizing most American institutions (Mann, 1975, p. 4).

[4]Emerson, R. W. Complete Works Vol. I, E. W. Emerson (Ed.) Boston: 1903-1904, p. 115.

[5]This notion of Collectivism differs from Socialism which advocates collective ownership and control of the basic means of production, distribution and exchange, and an equitable share of goods, services and welfare.

[6]Rousseau, J. J. Social Contract Book I, H. J. Tozer (Tr.) London: Allen & Unwin, 1924, p. 110.

[7]Complete listing of communitarian experiments in America in Bestor, A. E. Backwoods Utopias. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959, pp. 235-242.

[8]Young's Testimony of Christ's second appearing. 1823, pp 397-398.

[9]Upton Sinclair's The Jungle first serialized in One Hoss Philosophy between April-October 1905, Numbers 33-35. Ida Tarbell's History of the Standard Oil Company first serialized in McClure's Magazine between 1902-1905.

PART TWO

PERSONALISM AND INSTRUMENTALISM

Introduction

The philosophical positions of Personalism and Instrumentalism were both developed in the context of the late nineteenth century, as outlined in the previous chapter. Neither is a system-building position, but focuses on a limited range of problems rather than the comprehensive concerns of traditional philosophy. Both positions avoid the use of absolutes, but deal, rather, with relative standards.

Personalism is an idealist philosophy which developed in Europe and America, and reached its peak in America at the turn of the century. As a theistic position, it recognizes God as the supreme personality, and sees the human person as the center of reality, and the totality of values. Personalism represents the individualist position in this study.

Instrumentalism, developed by John Dewey, is a naturalistic position, which sees science and the material world as the source of knowledge. Dewey's social views were largely articulated in his philosophy of education, which is of particular interest here. His pedagogy, based on the belief that education has the power to change society, stressed cooperation, sharing, group harmony and solidarity, and represents the collectivist point of view in this study. Dewey developed Instrumentalism from Pragmatism, originated by Charles Saunders Peirce (1839-1914). Peirce devised Pragmatism to aid his scientific research, and was indebted to Scottish empirical philosopher John Stewart Mill (1806-1873) for some of his ideas. Following James' less conservative view of Pragmatism, Dewey retained the scientific, materialistic approach to the problems of philosophy.

Personalism contrasts with Instrumentalism in its transcendental idealistic view of reality as existing only in the mind. The main

focus is on the individual and the emotions, and the emphasis is on conditions of freedom and creativity, considered necessary for the complete development of the moral person. These ideas originated in German Idealism and the Romantic Movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Similar ideas, which developed from the same source, were also present in the work of American author and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), and Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862). Emerson was a transcendentalist and individualist, and was highly critical of collectivist tendencies which he detected in nineteenth century American society. His main focus, however, was on self-knowledge and self-regard, and like Thoreau he was a passionate believer in the importance of freedom for the maintenance of these ideals. These notions were part of American nineteenth century thought, and were reflected in the Personalist position.

Instrumentalism is acknowledged to have been influential in Progressive education, and this study suggests that Personalism also played a mediating role. Both positions eventually ceased to act as two clearly defined hypotheses, and became diffused, materializing as tendencies and notions in combination, either with each other, or with ideas from other sources. This phenomenon will be examined in a later chapter, which will trace the development of Instrumental and Personalist ideas in the history of art education.

Although neither Personalism nor Instrumentalism is based on a comprehensive philosophical system, they have been arranged in systematic form, in this section (Chapters 2 and 3), for the purposes of comparison (Chapter 4). To do this it is necessary to step aside from the

historical perspective used in the previous chapter, and examine and analyze these positions from a philosophical standpoint.

Chapter II

Personalism

Introduction

Personalistic philosophy has assumed many forms and appeared in Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia and the Orient. It has been defined as any position which considers personality to be the supreme value and the essence of reality. Personalism achieved its most complete development at Boston University with the work of Borden Parker Bowne (1847-1910) and his students, Edgar Brightman (1884-1953) and Alfred Knudson (1873-1953). At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries Personalism spread to other Universities across the United States and became pre-eminent in the Idealist movement at that time (Sahakian, 1968, p. 271).

Most variations of personalistic philosophy are idealistic in their emphasis on the self-conscious mind as the key to reality. These ideas originate with Plato, who held that the mind is superior to the senses, and Leibniz, who, in the late seventeenth century identified substance as individual in essence. The notion that nature is knowable through the mind was an important insight in the Enlightenment. New understanding was reached with the work of Kant, who held that the mind is not just the mirror of nature but actually structures experience.

American theistic Personalism was developed by Bowne in the eighteen-seventies. Bowne, who was a student of post-classical philosophy[1], probably developed his interest as a student of Hermann Lotze (1817-1881) with whom he studied at Gottingen[2]. Bowne gave credit to Leibniz as the inspiration of his ideas, to Herbart for his method, and to Lotze for his conclusions. Lotze contributed the notion that reality is concrete, spiritual and individual, and that self is the presupposition of all reasoning. It is important to note, however, that these ideas have substantially broader and more complex origins in the history of

philosophy than those cited in this study.

Personalism was responsible for laying a new foundation for theology at a time when the materialistic theory of evolution, scientific criticism, and comparative religion threatened the hitherto primary position of Christianity in American society. Bowne's belief in the intimate nature of our relationship with God has been one of the most influential aspects of Personalism, particularly as a teaching position in Methodist seminaries and colleges. "Personalist philosophy replaces the infinitely far God by the God who is infinitely near, and in whom we live and move and have our being" (Bowne, 1908, p. 325).

Before moving to the premises of the Personalist position, it is first necessary to clarify some of the terms used to describe different facets of the individual. For example person designates a unity of consciousness, self-determining and self-identifying through time. Self is the core of the person which remains constant in its essential features even as it undergoes development. Personality adopts a particular significance in Personalism, and denotes the sacred inner self which is the paradigm of ontological reality. To be human in this context means to possess those transcendental qualities expressed in the terms person, self, and personality.

Persons are unique, separate and distinct from other persons. Transactions between persons and the phenomenal world are also unique and cannot be duplicated in future experience. All persons have both unity and self-identity, that is self-integrating unity of the various internal states, and continuous unity in the passage of time. Paradoxically the self though remaining integrated and constant, also experiences change in the form of development. The self is therefore

constantly in a state of 'becoming' and never, in fact 'is' as a finished product. The self is, then, the given; and the personality is the self in a state of development, the unfolding of selfhood. The subhuman or animal self is therefore not a personality since it is only capable of experience but lacks reasoning powers or a value system necessary for the development of personhood. To be a person is to be human, and to be a human personality is to stand in close relationship to the supreme personality of God.

The Personalist Position

The fundamental premise of this position is the primary value given to personality as the highest form of existence. The real is defined as the personal, and reality is centered in God as the ultimate personality.

Theistic Personalism signifies belief in God as the omnipotent omnipresent creator, the benevolent supreme sustainer of existence. God is seen as distinct from his creation, not as supra-personal, which infers the impersonal, but rather as having the supra or perfect personality, representing truth, righteousness and beauty. The God of Personalism is unique as persons are unique, and although Bowne believed God to be eternal, other interpretations[3], find Him to be finite as human persons are finite. In common with persons God also shares the retention of His own identity, unity through time, and free self-determination. He is the author of time and is aware of it, but according to Bowne, He observes and transcends it and is not conditioned by it. God is a communicating being, which presupposes that there are others present of a sufficiently God-like nature to be able to communicate with Him. Communication signifies separate centers of intelligence, implying the self-determination of both parties. God's gift of free self-determination

to humanity implies the loss of His own supreme power, and explains the presence of evil in the world.

God is therefore conscious and intelligent, with an apprehension of His own existence and the existence of other communicating beings. He has an understanding of humanity, and indeed personifies the highest possible values in His relationship with persons. His medium of communication is the natural world, and through persons and the objects of nature He is made manifest. If God is good, His purpose for creation is therefore towards good.

The Personalist Theory of Reality

Personalism asserts that only mind is real, that reality is concrete and individual and resides only in the conscious experience of persons or selves. This definition of reality is in opposition to theories, such as Hegel's concrete universalism, which situates reality in abstract theoretical constructs. Personalism is also pluralistic in its further definition of reality as a multitude of separate self-contained persons. Bowne declared that, "We and the neighbours are the facts that cannot be questioned" (1908, p. 20). Reality, in this view is a plurality of individuals, united in an integrated world system. The privacy of personal experience is validated by sharing the experience with others. Bowne emphasizes that, "There is a world of common experience, actual or possible where we meet in mutual understanding, and where the great business of life goes on" (1908, p. 21).

Reality is an active principle in Personalism, and does not lie in passive matter, but rather in the active quality of thought which leads to doing, and in the volitional character of developing selfhood. This is not the passive "I am" of Descartes, but instead "I am active" as a

condition of realization. Freedom is essential to self-determination, "Will is the total sum of the dynamic idea; it either stands for that or nothing"[4] (Knudson, 1927, p. 221). If reality is active thought and action, then matter, which is extra-mental and inactive has no reality. Although matter tends to dominate human life, Personalism claims that matter is not ultimate or self-sufficient but is secondary and instrumental. Its significance lies in its origin in the creative thought of God, a product of the divine energy and the medium of His communication.

The space-time continuum is not significant in the relationship between God and humanity, since space, like time, is inactive and therefore not part of reality. For Bowne, time and space are seen as part of the cosmic process and are incidental in the volitional causality of the divine will.

Individual personality is not only fundamental to reality, unity, and causality, but is also the means by which the phenomenality of matter and the space-time existence is made comprehensible. The nature of reality is, then, personal, distinct and different for every individual, existing only in the free will and consciousness of the self. This signifies an autonomous being capable of thinking, willing, acting, and abiding, qualities which validate our relationship to God.

The Personalist Theory of Knowledge

The Personalist theory of knowledge rests on the creative activity of thought. This notion developed from Kant's belief that our understanding of nature makes nature what it is. Thought is so immediate that we tend to accept our perceptions of the sense world as real, but reason intervenes to question our first reactions. Before Kant it was generally thought that sense impressions give a true account of the

phenomenal world. One of his profound insights was his rejection of the passive nature of mind in favor of thinking as a creative activity. The mind structures experience, not the reverse. Without mind to control the flow of data, sense impressions would be unintelligible. As soon as we give meaning to sensation, thought is at work. Kant's categories of understanding are a priori principles which provide the structure for discerning what is given in experience. Without the objects of experience the categories would lack raw data, and without the categories experience would lack meaning. Through the medium of creative thought we construct the world in our own, and therefore in God's likeness. In Personalism, it is the creative nature of thought which reflects the spirit and is the essence of the soul. For Bowne and Knudson this fact constitutes the basis for recognizing self as the ultimate reality.

The trustworthiness of reason rests on the premise that if thought constructs reality, reason must make a reliable construct. Thinkers such as St. Augustine, Descartes and Berkeley affirmed that knowledge is subjective and based on the certainty of self-knowledge. However, if only self is real this still leaves the validity of knowledge open to question, since knowledge of self does not constitute knowledge of the external world. In Personalism, as in all Idealistic positions, the mind is seen as the foundation of all existence and is therefore the only possible basis from which to judge what constitutes knowledge. Skepticism on this point rests on insufficient alternatives, and in fact surrenders reason itself The notion that the mind is capable of reason, and that reason creates a valid interpretation of the material world, is largely a matter of faith. But based on the certainty of self-knowledge we must assume that mind is capable of reason, and that reason gives a valid

interpretation of the phenomenal world. This does not guarantee that error will not occur; freedom necessary in any judgment also presupposes the possibility of error. But since truth and error are both grounded in rationality, differences between them are of no consequence. The presence of truth and error are considered by Bowne to be an essential condition of knowledge, and are implicit in the Personalist emphasis on freedom for the trustworthiness of reason.

Dualism is present between thought and thing, between individuals, and between God and humanity. There is a unifying principle, however, in the creative quality of thought which we share with God. In addition, we share our origin with the things of this world in a common genesis in God's creative thoughts. For humanity, creative thought which is based in faith and purpose offers the only possibility of a unifying system of causality. We need both the system of theoretical reason and the objects of experience to complete the circle of knowledge.

With Kant, it must be assumed that the world is intelligible as an act of faith which must also extend to reason as the beginning of knowledge. The bond of human personality is the source of both reason and faith. Personalism, from its basis in Theism and Idealism, supports intellectual and religious faith as having a common bond in ultimate human faith in existence.

Later Views of American Theistic Personalism

There are a number of variations in the views of theistic Personalists without which this description of Personalism would be incomplete. Basically, belief in the personality as the fundamental reality and the view of God as a person holds for all views. Bowne and Knudson present a historical, theological notion of Personalism, and,

like others of the older school of Personalists, defend the idea of an eternal God. In contrast Edgar Sheffield Brightman (1884-1953), H. Rashdall (1858-1924) and contemporary writer Peter Bertocci believe that God is finite and limited by factors beyond His control.

Edgar Sheffield Brightman

Brightman was concerned that living experience should be integrated into an inclusive whole. "Personalistic method is an empiricism which recognizes the demands of reason, of experimental fact; of descriptive fact and of value; of part and of whole, it is both descriptive and inductive, both rational and empirical" (1958, p. 33). He emphasized total personality as the measure of truth, and applied personalism to psychology, logic, epistemology, and metaphysics. Brightman recognized, like other philosopher-psychologists that the individual should be studied from as many different vantage points as possible. To this end he used both deductive and inductive reasoning in his search for empirical coherence (1958, p. 33), and attempted to subject theological and metaphysical topics to certain testing procedures. His notion of concrete individual experience included, "All presently observable consciousness, all sensations, images, reasoning, loves, hates, fears and hopes of Now; all connotations, strivings and efforts, desires and aversions" (1958, p. 36). All possible conditions and states of being were of interest and formed the raw material of his philosophical and psychological research. He emphasized that a valid metaphysics must transcend empirical facts in order to deal with the reality of the whole person. This included such extra-mental states as memory, purpose, values, and thoughts of imaginary or absent places (1958, p. 56).

Unlike Bowne and Knudson, Brightman saw time as an active principle,

and one of the most fundamental categories of being. "All being is temporal and therefore all being is personal" (1958, p. 135). The moment of experience is called the "shining present", and elements beyond direct experience, "the illuminating absent" (1958, p. 67).

Brightman reinstates substance as a fundamental category, and unlike Bowne and Knudson sees it as an active force. Since the personality of the person is the real in Personalism, he identifies person as substance demonstrating unity, complexity, continuance and endurance.

The ideal aspect of personality is the spirit, through which the individual relates to nature, values, the community of like persons and God. We are part of the creative thought of God and as such can communicate with God through the medium of the body and soul. We are independent of God, however, and are therefore free to choose whether we communicate with Him or not. He saw God as supremely valuable and creative, but limited by the freedom of choice given to other selves. Contrary to Bowne and Knudson Brightman did not believe that God is eternal. He argued that if, as science suggests, God works through evolution which involves time, then like His creation He must be part of the time-space continuum. If He is involved in time He must also be part of the evolutionary process and, like humanity, incomplete and in a state of development through struggle and suffering. This possibility explains the presence of evil in the world, and suggests a closer relationship between God and 'The Son of Man'. The God who bears the "eternal" cross is the basic given in Brightman's philosophical position (1932, p. 80).

Peter Anthony Bertocci

Peter Bertocci is at present Professor Emeritus at Boston University, where he previously held the Borden Parker Bowne chair of philosophy. He represents the third generation of Personalist philosophers at that institution, and like his mentor Brightman, has lectured in psychology as well as philosophy, a combination which he considers vital to both disciplines.

Like Brightman, Bertocci thinks it important to examine the person from as many aspects as possible, and includes difficult areas of research such as the emotions, will, virtue, and moral obligation. His findings are then applied to the fields of education, religion and sexual behaviour.

In Bertocci's view the whole individual is defined as a thinking-feeling-oughting self, controlled by an inner self-agent. This 'moral authority' is self-imposed by individuals who are in the process of reasoning the dynamics of their lives, and adjusted to accord with similar reasoning by others. Reason is identified with the effort to make connections with one's own growth and potential, and that of others at a similar stage of development (1979, p. 493).

Persons are ends in themselves, and must be respected for what they are. Mutual understanding is important and as a society we must defend the right to be different and to hold different opinions. Values are conditioned through association with others, virtues differ in that they are a person's own creation and may be conditioned, but not influenced, by the environment.

Bertocci's emphasis on the social aspects of experience is more pronounced than that of other Personalists, and he makes association with others a necessary part of personal development. Virtue and moral

obligation, although created by the individual are essentially socially enriching virtues. The individual's moral task is to orchestrate the virtues which help to integrate the self in its relationship to the whole experience of life. Personal development is seen as a continuous conscious effort towards a more complete and integrated value system, the virtues of which testify to the moral structure of the universe. Bertocci's chief contribution to understanding the person is his examination of difficult areas of human experience, and his avoidance of the easy solution. In addition he is able to keep the whole person in focus through the understanding he brings from his knowledge of philosophy and psychology[5].

Personalistic Psychology

The Personalist view of the individual emphasizes the transcendental, non-physiological aspects of living experience, and, as such, offers an important dimension to the study of humanity. This aspect is recognized by Bertocci, as being essential to gaining an understanding of the whole person. He is critical of psychologists who lack an adequate conception of the self, and tend to ignore, what he calls, the "thinking-willing-oughting" aspects which confer unity on the sub-systems of personality. He finds that Carl Jung's approach is more sympathetic to personalistic psychology than that of Sigmund Freud. Freudian and Behaviouristic concepts of basic and persistent motives in persons, are only partially adequate: "Only by keeping the whole human person in focus can philosophers and psychologists lead lives of intellectual integrity" (Stern, 1938, p. 70).

Bertocci notes a more recent trend in psychology towards a view of the self as a unified whole. Understanding of the person is increasingly

seen to require both philosophical and psychological descriptors (1962, p. 306). This view is also expressed in the following quotation:

> Personalistic philosophy and psychology can move, if you will, at different levels of description and interpretation, with full awareness of the interpenetration of the two....As he [the Personalist] tries to understand the nature of the person, his personality and his proprium, he uses every means of penetrating the unknown (Cited in Wolman, 1965, p. 314).

Belief in the importance of both personalistic and psychological data to the understanding of persons, was first expressed by German psychologist and philosopher William Stern (1871-1938). He was the first to develop a complete system of critical Personalism and use it as the foundation of his psychology. His best known work covers the period between the publication of his first important book, The Psychology of Individual Differences (1900), to the appearance of his General Psychology (1938). His philosophical position as a Personalist, formed the basis of his approach to experimental psychology. His work in both fields was based on the belief that: "The 'person' is a living whole, individual, unique, striving towards goals, self-contained yet open to the world around him; he is capable of having experience" (Stern, 1938, p. 70). Stern divided human life into three modalities: the first is biological, the second is the world of experience in which the individual experiences dynamic interior and exterior interaction with the objects of the world, the third modality, unlike the first and second, is particular to humans, and includes the development of meanings and values. Thus his objection, and those of other personalistic psychologists such as Gordon Allport (1897-), to the use of animal psychology in support of assumptions

about human behavior. The bulk of his written work was translated into English and dealt largely with the metaphysical implications of experience in relation to the self-contained, goal-oriented person. His work was widely publicized in America and was influential in the development of personalistic psychology in that country.

Psychologist Gordon Allport developed his personalistic position in the nineteen-twenties, at a time when the scholarly field of psychology was divided between a behavioristic approach and personalistic or self-psychology. He differs from Stern in his emphasis on scientific data, such as neural response, in preference to the less tangible transcendental aspects of Personalism. As a scientist he recognizes the value of studies which deal with separate parts of human physiology, but shows his personalistic sympathies in his belief that the person can only be understood as a whole complex of emotions, purposes and values. He points out that:

> Somewhere in the interstices of nomothetic laws psychology has lost the human person as we know him in everyday life. To rescue him and reinstate him as a psychological datum in his own right is the avowed purpose of the psychology of personality (Cited in Searles, 1944, p. 588).

Allport's work reflects a consistent and vigorous attempt to counteract the influence of behavioral, operational and positivistic method, and the favored biological and social norms of this position. Instead he emphasizes the unique pattern and growth of personality. Bertocci distinguishes between Allport's use of "person" and "personality": Person is used as a description of the totality of the individual, while

"personality is the dynamic organization of psychophysical systems which determine the person's characteristic behavior and thought"(1979, p. 606).

The emphasis in the work of Personalist psychologists is therefore a view of the person as a totality of human experience, which includes physical, emotional and intellectual factors. "The self cannot be bowed out of psychology on the grounds that scientific introspection has failed to discover it" (Calkins, 1915, p. 495).

The personalistic orientation in psychology has significance for this study because it serves as a link between the philosophy of Personalism and educational theory. In the twentieth century the theory of education has always been responsive to contemporary trends in child psychology. This was particularly true of Progressive Education (discussed later in this study), which reflected the influences of both behavioristic and personalistic psychology.

Personalist Educational Theory

Personalism is a theological philosophy first, and has only been applied to education as a secondary consideration by those who are interested in its practical application in that field. The various Personalist authors who have contributed to education are consistent in their emphasis on the individual in the educational setting. The development of moral values and the emotions are considered to be the most essential areas, with less emphasis placed on intellectual development. Conditions of freedom are recognized as important to self-determination, self-expression and creative thinking. These factors are seen as vital to the creation of emotional and intellectual expressions of personal value and the development of the whole individual, a major

goal in Personalist education.

Bertocci points out that a philosophy of education should always take into account the complexity of human life and human personality, and says: "A philosophy of education may be judged by its sensitivity to the complexity of experience, knowledge and valuation....and nothing short of the fullest awareness of man's place in the cosmos" (1956, pp. 156-160).

Bowne emphasized that individuals are emotional beings first, who tend to feel before thinking (Mayer, 1960, p. 481). He believed that faith and moral purpose are more important than intellectual or logical reasoning, "Life is deeper than logic" (Sahakian, 1968, p. 275). Bertocci stresses the importance of educating the emotions, and finds this a neglected area in general education. He cites Plato's fear that emotions dwarfed in childhood are capable of warping adult personality. Plato favored the arts as being particularly effective in helping individuals to control their emotions. He believed that the arts could make emotional states, "concrete and alluring...The arts therefore had more actual affect on the formation of attitudes than non-artistic forms of learning" (Bertocci, 1960, p. 15).

Bertocci finds that more money is spent in education getting rid of and avoiding emotional blocks than helping students to deal adequately with their emotional needs. Emotional education through art and religion should be given priority. "How many teachers in the various arts, how many more real opportunities for emotional education have been provided?"[6] (1960, pp. 16-17).

There is general agreement among those Personalists who write on education that individuals should be made responsible for their own development. Bertocci quotes Plato's views on this:

> The just man does not allow the several elements of his soul to usurp one another's functions; he is indeed the one who sets his house in order by self-mastery and discipline, coming to be at peace with himself....only when he has....made himself one man instead of many will he be ready to do whatever he may have to do[7] (Cited in Howie and Buford, 1975, p. 248).

The importance given to self-determination in Personalist views on education underlines the essential factor of freedom. Ralph Tyler Flewelling[8] emphasizes that freedom is essential for the development of moral character, the highest aim of personalism (Runes, 1962, p. 282). "The most continuous permanent thing in creation is the demand of the human soul for freedom, the thirst after the fullness of life and opportunity. The Personalist attitude to education is marked by the same characteristics of freedom" (p. 295). Bertocci also emphasizes freedom as important to self-discovery and understanding the complexity of experience. In addition he finds, "It is more important that man is able to experience the creativity his freedom allows him, than to have any definable security minus that creativity" (1960, p. 9).

An article in The Personalist (1944), the Personalist journal, discusses the pedagogy of Italian educator Giovanni Gentile, who is sometimes identified as a Personalist. Gentile advocated education for pre-adolescent children based on sense awareness and imagination, believing that this approach would lead to greater intellectual and moral discrimination in later life. He saw the relationship between the teacher and child in transcendental terms believing that true education takes place:

> Where the teacher unites a moment in his own spiritual life with

> the spiritual life of the pupil, a work of love which may be defined as penetrating intelligence....The teacher is the spiritual parent of the child, that is, the pupil comes to the place of self-creation in the life of the teacher, and thus a part of the universal and eternal process, just as through his parents he has been, as it were, inserted into the creative process of the world (1944, p. 49).

In this view play, like art, is part of the spiritual expression of the "I", as distinct from science and religion which express the objective "not I". The "I" is seen as individual, "In the sense of a self-perpetuating unity through its ceaseless becoming, its creative activity" (p.50).

Gentile believed that all education should address the inner person:

> The teaching theory of art is not the theory of teaching art, but the theory of all teaching from the point of view of the subjective development of the spirit or personality. It signifies the personal center of every problem or task, and is illustrated, for example, in the theme or composition which should be born as a problem arising naturally from the spiritual process of the student (p. 51).

The development of the whole person must include the important human potential of creativity. As a basic assumption in Personalist epistemology, creativity is seen as a divine attribute which we share with God (See Chapter II, p. 44) Flewelling describes God as being: "In the truest and highest sense personal - the supreme creative Reality" (Cited in Runes, 1962, p. 284). Moral development is the major goal of Personalist education and wrong doing is thought to be destructive because it causes loss of unity, "Thus lowering the powers of the creative imagination,

introducing inferiority complexes and detracting from the highest success" (p. 297). Bertocci makes a further connection between freedom and creativity when he says that the person must be:

> Free to think, and free to bring purposed organization and direction into his life of sense, desire, feeling and imagination. This also means he is free to create, free to bring into being....what he decides is worthwhile within the limits of his capacity at any given time, place and situation (1960, p. 21).

The association between religious, moral and aesthetic values is frequently stressed in Personalism. Both Bertocci and Gentile believe that aesthetics inspire good moral conduct, and art-making is seen as a way of expressing personal value systems: "A human being's aesthetic responses involve both his feelings and his insights. The arts, therefore, whatever their intrinsic value as aesthetic, are forceful media of expression of intellectual, moral and religious values" (Bertocci, 1960, p. 16).

Gentile held that education should emphasize art and religion, pointing out that in both fields we ask, "Is it good, is it true?" Education which stresses both would tend to deal with life itself, rather than speculation about life:

> Religious instruction, like art instruction, refers to all teaching and means, in contrast to a continual proceeding ahead, a stopping at every step and a turning within, emphasizing no less the truth than the certainty of knowing (Thompson, 1944, pp. 51-52).

An example of personalistic ideas in religious education can be found in Affirmations (1951) published by The Education Policies Commission of Columbus Ohio. In this publication moral ideals among others, are

based on the premise that individual personality is the supreme concern. Emotional development is seen as being important to spiritual development. Art, religious pageantry, poetry and music are suggested as ways which can stimulate creativity and develop emotional maturation (1951, pp. 19-29).

An article in Educational Theory (1953) applies personalistic naturalism to educational method. The author emphasizes that education should be a marriage between concrete personalistic and analytical naturalistic perspectives. In this view, the individual is given the highest value and freedom and self-awareness are stressed: He states

> No science or supporting philosophy may be pursued to the point where it threatens the child's own consciousness of freedom and responsibility: or the teacher's own faith in the worth and freedom of the child as a person, or faith in his own free self (Soderquist, 1953, p. 373).

Harry S. Broudy, a philosopher of education, writes, "The great lesson of Personalism, for me, has been the absolute claim upon the world that a personal mode of existence creates and imposes". Like the previous author, he is critical of scientific approaches which claim to deal with the individual, noting that since there is no science of particularity there can be no science of the person. Scientific theories are only of use when dealing with humanity collectively: "Humanly speaking, however, the individual version of the species characteristics is more important than the species characteristics as such" (Cited in Bertocci, 1974, p. 101).

Broudy is not optimistic about the future of education and says: "The good life will be a struggle to extort freedom, individuality, and personal significance from a system that on the face of it denies them.

all" (p. 103).

In summary, personalistic views on education emphasize the importance of educating the individual as a whole person, in preparation for a richer spiritual and intellectual life. Emotional development is seen as a neglected but vital part of educational exchange, with art as a particularly effective medium of emotional growth. Full development is considered possible only in conditions of freedom which would enable full expression and growth of individual personality.

Freedom is seen as essential to: understanding of self, development of self, self-criticism and creativity. In this context the instructor is a guide and counselor, and perhaps, as Gentile suggested, a spiritual parent to the child.

Several personalistic authors connect freedom with creativity, which is seen, not only as a precious quality present in art expression, but is emphasized as being important to all fields of learning.

There is a general rejection of scientific approaches to education, such as behavioristic or mechanistic theory which are seen as inadequate to deal with the complexity of persons, and more suitable to classifying groups than understanding individuals.

Moral development is a high priority in Personalist education theory, and is linked to aesthetic education by several writers who see the same perceptual involvement in both areas. In this view art education is closely related to moral education.

Summary

American theistic Personalism is essentially an idealist and individualist position which emphasizes the unique, separate and private nature of human experience, but does not deny the need for communication

with others. Reality is defined as the conscious experience of the individual, it is personal and pluralistic, that is, it is composed of multiple persons. For anything to exist it must therefore be a person, or the act or experience of a person.

All theistic Personalists believe that God is the supreme personality, infinitely good and omnipresent in human experience. But opinions differ as to whether God is temporal or eternal. Bowne and Knudson hold that God is eternal, but other Personalists including Brightman and Bertocci maintain that God is subject to the laws of evolution, and is therefore finite. Other qualities which God shares in common with human persons includes His need for freedom, and His will to create. In harmony with the Personalist goal of moral development, freedom is seen as necessary for both knowledge and reality, without freedom truth cannot be distinguished from error. Creativity is characteristic of both God and human persons, and is manifest in God's creation and in the creative nature of human thought. For Bowne and Knudson this factor validates the recognition of self as a conscious force and the ultimate reality.

Brightman and Bertocci combined both philosophical and psychological inquiry in order to gain full understanding of the human person. By using an empirical approach Bertocci, particularly, examines other states of being such as emotions, will, and moral obligations. He applies his findings to other fields such as religion, education and sexual behavior.

Bertocci is in sympathy with the work of personalistic or self-psychologists who attempt to understand the human mind from as many different vantage points as possible. This approach is personalistic,

in as far as it accepts that each individual is a unique, self-contained center of experience, consisting of other levels of being, apart from a physical body. These other factors, which were believed by Stern to separate humans from the rest of the animal world, are the ability to construct meanings and values. Allport developed this notion further, and added emotions and the purposeful aspects of personality. By including these other levels of experience with psychological data, personalistic psychologists wanted to reinstate the study of the whole person in psychology. In addition it was hoped that by making a more comprehensive study of mind, the trend towards Behaviorism, which only dealt with observable data, would be reversed.

Several Personalist authors have written on education, although it is not the main focus of their interest. Personalistic ideas in education are characteristic of that philosophical position in the emphasis on individual development, and the growth of the whole person as a major goal. Moral and emotional factors take precedence over intellectual goals, for most Personalists. Freedom is seen as essential to self-determination, self-expression and creative thinking.

The arts are coupled with religious education as the most effective ways of developing the inner moral and emotional aspects of the person. Personalism, both as a philosophical and educational position, focuses on the development of moral character as the highest creative achievement in the personal struggle to attain full development.

Reference Notes

[1]Post-Classical German Idealism emphasized a subjective view of existence. The self-conscious individual represented the highest form of creation, and feelings and emotions were thought to be reliable sources of knowledge. God was believed to possess all the positive features of humanity, including creative energy. German Idealism was part of the Romantic Movement of which Schelling was one of the principle exponents. This view was characterized by an emphasis on the self, the transcentental, the imagination, and art as the supreme value (Sahakian, 1968, pp. 180-186) (Flew, 1979, p. 285 and p. 292).

[2]Rudolf Hermann Lotze, idealist metaphysician, succeeded Johann Fredrich Herbart at Gottingen in 1844. He pursued interests in medical science, psychology, philosophy and the arts. His interest in art and literature made him sensitive to the role of feeling and value in the life of a culture. Edward, P. (Ed.) Encyclopedia of philosophy. New York: Macmillan, 1967.

[3]Later Personalists include Edgar Brightman and Peter Bertocci (pp. 39-43).

[4]Brightman, E. S. Personalism and the influence of Bowne. The 6th International Congress of Philosophy, 1926.

[5]Allport, G. Peter Bertocci: Philosopher, psychologist, Philosophical Forum. Harvard University (No date. Reprint from Peter Bertocci's collection).

[6]Herbart developed the idea that religious, moral and aesthetic feelings are related.

[7]Plato, Republic IV, 443. Translated by F. M. Cornforth. London: Oxford University Press, 1945.

[8]The Personalist, first published in 1919, was the journal of Personalism issued quarterly by the University of Southern California, and edited by Ralph Tyler Flewelling.

Chapter III

Instrumentalism

Introduction

Pragmatism and Instrumentalism both developed in the nineteenth century and reflect American concern for practical matters. Pragmatism emphasizes method and attitude over a philosophical system. Philosophy is seen as a way of looking forward to the consequences of actions rather than at static first principles. Theoretical and practical spheres are merged in the concern to address philosophy to commonplace questions, particularly within the area of the theory of knowledge. Ideas are seen as instruments to further positive action and truth can be found as the result of studying the practical consequences of ideas.

Instrumentalism developed from Pragmatism and focuses on the provision of a sound logical basis for human progress, particularly at the social level. Like Pragmatism, Instrumentalism holds that ideas, concepts and judgments are instruments to further the practical consequence of actions. In this view philosophy is a social tool which can be used to solve educational, political and personal problems, and can harmonize individual and social experience. Instrumentalism contributed two important ideas to Pragmatism: the biological emphasis of its psychology and the logical, which is based on the assumption that positive science is true.

The Instrumentalist Position

Both Instrumentalism and Pragmatism were influenced by the work of Charles Darwin (1809-1882). His evolutionary theories expressed in The Origin of the Species (1859) overturned theological and scientific beliefs, and laid the foundation for a scientific approach to the problems of philosophy. These ideas transformed Western society through the revision of inherited concepts of nature and practice, setting the stage for new social conditions (Scheffler, 1974, p. 195).

Pragmatism was developed by Charles Saunders Peirce (1839-1914), a logician and mathematician, who formulated it to further his scientific enquiries. William James (1842-1910) who articulated and moderated Peirce's position, was largely responsible for the enormous popularity of Pragmatism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Instrumentalist school of Pragmatism was developed by John Dewey (1859-1952), and was first identified in his Studies in logical thinking (1903).

Instrumentalism followed Pragmatism in its rejection of the standard problems of philosophy. This includes the denial of all dualisms, such as, the separation between mind and body, good and evil, or matter and spirit. Instrumentalism also denies the existence of a cosmic mind or of transcendental states in its assertion that reality exists only in the world of everyday experience. This factor also explains the Instrumentalist denial of all absolutes, or an ultimate basis of all thought or being. In addition there is a refusal to accept all philosophical issues and positions which accept fixed ends and values, instead Dewey replaces all fixed ends and values with the notion of growth and progress.

As a young man Dewey was influenced by Hegelian Idealism, and retained several Hegelian features in his philosophy. These included his major concerns with growth, continuity, wholeness and belief in the idea as a moving force (Scheffler, 1974, p. 195). The emphasis on continuity was a major feature of Dewey's work and extended to his view of body, mind and nature as part of an organic whole. As mentioned, growth is important in Instrumentalism as the only legitimate goal in any area of human endeavor.

Dewey's principal motivation was undoubtedly the betterment of

society, and in this he was influenced by his friend George Herbert Mead (1863-1931) the social behaviorist[1]. Mead was interested in the connection between biological theories and scientific psychology. His notion of the organism acting and reacting in the environment was important to Dewey who adopted it as the basis of his socio-pedagogical theory. Mead's main emphasis was on social psychology, and his work in this field paralleled and effected Dewey's principal concerns, particularly in education.

Dewey's interest in education stemmed from his belief that it has the potential to change society, and he devoted the major part of his life to the philosophy and psychology of education. His education theory, which was integral to his social theory, was based on a biological view of humanity, seeing humans as organisms interacting with the social and natural environment. His social and education theory was also influenced by the evolutionary idea that human society advances in an intentionally progressive way. Confident that science could solve most human problems, he adopted the 'reformed Darwinist' view[2] that societies could shape their own futures. Like James, Dewey believed in meliorism, the notion that the world tends to improve, and that humanity can further this improvement. This could be accomplished by using ideas in a scientific active way, as instruments of change. Ideas are only useful, however, if they can suggest methods of organization, procedures and hypotheses. Dewey pointed out that: "Conceptions, theories, systems of thought are always open to development through use. As in the case of all tools, their value resides not in themselves, but in their capacity to work shown in the consequences of their use" (1929, p. 145). The notion that ideas can be used as tools to effect social change

develops from the idea that knowing and doing are both part of a unified process. The mind, or source of ideas is part of nature, just as the problem to be solved is part of nature, the mind can formulate plans which are capable of determining action.

Dewey was more concerned with modes of behavior than with states of mind, and saw mind as an active principle rather than the physical properties of the brain. The influence of Mead's biological theory of human experience can be seen in the following statement:

> Wherever there is life there is behavior, activity. In order that life may persist, this activity has to be both continuous and adapted to the environment. This adaptive adjustment, moreover is not wholly passive; is not a mere matter of the moulding of the organism by the environment....It does something to the environment as well as having something done to itself (1920, pp. 84-85).

By interacting with the environment in a purposeful way the human organism can effect desired changes. In this view life is seen as a process of adjustment to prevailing conditions, and also as an opportunity to adjust conditions to present needs. Knowledge about the world accumulates from these encounters because the stimulus of change initiates enquiry. Enquiry is the only way belief can be warranted, the question of what is true or untrue is therefore an evaluative procedure. Scientific enquiry is not only a way of solving problems of knowledge, but also a way of solving moral content. Moral ideas are active in guiding the means of procedure, just as moral ends determine results. These are not seen as fixed ends or purposes, but rather stages of growth. Progress and growth are the chief aims of Instrumentalism, with growth as the only possible objective: "The end

and good....not perfection as the final goal, but the ever enduring process; perfecting, maturing, refining is the aim in living....Growth itself is the only moral end" (Dewey, 1920, p. 177).

Instrumentalism is a practical philosophy and suggests a practical method of dealing with life in the belief that our entire body of knowledge, values and qualities reside in the physical world. It is a response to the natural and cultural environment and an attempt to help the human organism to create a better way of life out of what is given in experience.

Instrumentalism, like Personalism, is unique in its avoidance of standard philosophical classifications. Dewey disliked the implications of a term such as 'epistemology' (1925, pp. 140-149), and barely dealt with the question of metaphysics before writing Experience and Nature (1925). His rejection of standard philosophical categories can be seen in his description of the Pragmatic position:

> It is often said that Pragmatism....must develop a theory of Reality. But the chief characteristic of the Pragmatic notion of Reality is precisely that there is no theory of Reality in general, uberhaupt, is possible or needed. It finds that "Reality" is a denotive term, a word used to designate indifferently everything that happens (Dewey, 1916, p. 55).

In spite of Dewey's aversion to terms such as 'reality' and 'knowledge' this study will maintain a traditional philosophical pattern for purposes of clarity and later comparison.

The Instrumentalist Theory of Reality

Instrumentalism defines reality as the present moment of experience. What we know about reality is derived from accumulated information

obtained from testing existent situations empirically.

Philosophers do not have access to a stock of special knowledge enabling them to construct a world of 'reality', or which helps them to uncover the secret of 'being' which is hidden from the world of common sense. Dewey posits that only through science can we know what it is to 'be' or understand reality (1925, p. 165).

For Instrumentalism, reality resides in an unbroken chain of events making the time factor of primary importance to the theory of reality. The real must be a continual procession of present moments in which reality is actualized. 'This' moment is only transitive predicting what is about to occur, so that 'this' quickly becomes 'that' and so on. Dewey points out:

> The union of past and future with the present manifest in every awareness of meanings is a mystery only when consciousness is gratuitously divided from nature, and when nature is denied temporal and historic quality. When consciousness is connected with nature, the mystery becomes a luminous revelation of the operative interpenetration in nature of the efficient and the fulfilling (1925, pp. 352-353).

Our transactions with the natural world are seen as part of the organic pattern of nature, and reflect the tenor of natural events. "It is precisely the peculiar intermixture of support and frustration of man by nature which constitutes experience" (1925, p. 421). This situation stimulates thought and suggests resolutions to the problems of living. By taking action we are capable of changing our environment, of altering the course of nature, and thereby resolving present problems. Dewey's metaphysics deals exclusively with the human organism in the context of

the natural world and does not acknowledge any other states of being. The reality of our existence and experience are not in question and are taken to be the events in which we are emersed.

> This is the extent and method of my metaphysics: the large and constant features of human sufferings, enjoyments, trials, failures and successes together with the institutions of art, science, technology, politics and religion which mark them, communicate genuine features of the world in which man lives (1925, p. 412).

Dewey's approach to the complexity of human experience is purposefully empirical. By approaching the human condition like a scientist and examining it through the experimental procedures of science, Dewey felt that he could deal with the facts. This procedure is radically different from traditional metaphysics which postulates reality as an ultimate 'other' experience, and selects certain privileged features assuming a standard by which to measure the reality of everything else (Schilpp, 1971, p. 218). Instead, Dewey suggests a broad impartial reading of the factors which constitute concrete experience, and excludes everything which does not relate to that situation. By looking at the problem in this way he offers a new approach to the question of what is real (p. 218).

By applying scientific, empirical criteria, Dewey concludes that what we call reality is composed of an unbroken series of events which take place in the concrete, everyday world of experience. By adopting the scientific approach in his examination of reality, Dewey aligns himself with Pragmatism, as he does in all major philosophical questions:

> Pragmatism is content to take its stand with science, for science finds all such events to be subject-matter of description and

> enquiry....It also takes its stand with daily life, which finds that such things really have to be reckoned with as they occur interwoven in the texture of events (1916, p. 55).

The Instrumentalist Theory of Knowledge

Dewey's enquiries into the nature of knowing avoids the term 'epistemology' and even 'knowledge', he felt that both designations give meanings of their own apart from enquiry. Knowledge in this position is seen as, "That which satisfactorily terminates enquiry" (1939, p. 8).

Knowledge is thought to develop through practical action, by altering conditions (as in a laboratory), and rearranging the facts, new insights are revealed. For Dewey, knowing begins with specific observations which define the problem, and ends with specific observations that test a hypothesis for its solution (1920, p. 148). The idea of testing knowledge through active experience is a reinterpretation of the ancient philosophical notion that experience is practical rather than cognitive. Experience thus becomes experimental rather than empirical, reason becomes a resource, and the means by which, "activity is made fruitful in meaning" (pp. 275-276). Thinking and knowing are a combined function acting within the experience, with thought aiding the process of restructuring the environment to suit needs, and knowing as a process of adjustment. Knowledge is power, and a way of acquiring the tools needed to grow and progress. The objects of knowledge are, therefore, the consequence of realized activity, and not mysterious a priori entities existing before the act of knowing.

The object, as perceived by the learner, has a functional role in which its sensual qualities are immediately recognizable and definable.

Every recognition of objects and their qualities is the result of individual restructuring of events. Since knowing develops from these practical actions it is subservient to, and dependant upon, the activities of doing and enjoying. It is a matter of perceiving connections between objects and their application to a particular situation. Learning is therefore integral to concrete experience.

Dewey held that learning occurs because of some interaction between the human organism and a problematic situation. In Dewey's scientific empirical method of enquiry, the organism approaches the situation with doubt which in turn stimulates mental activity and the desire to resolve the problem to the satisfaction of the participant. A variety of possible solutions present themselves, with observation and recollection as part of this phase. From these considerations the problem is isolated and a tentative hypothesis formed. Analysis and imaginative rehearsal of various solutions follow. Finally a hypothesis is determined and tested by imaginative action, and if satisfactory the problem is resolved. As this cycle is completed balance is restored to the organism. The process is repeated as new problems develop. As the store of experiences grow the organism can bring more solutions to bear on progressively more difficult problems, resulting in increasingly adaptive habits. This process, defined in Democracy and Education (1916) as experience made educative; was thought to have the advantages of being self-generating and habit forming (pp. 271-276). True learning takes place only when there is a desire to solve a problem, the purpose of which must always be apparent to the learner.

Dewey makes a clear distinction between events which characterize daily life, and, what he calls, an experience. The latter is an event

in which learning occurs, and which, "flows freely without seam and without unfilled blanks into what ensues" (1934, p. 36). An experience is significant if it has a distinct identity, a particular quality, which Dewey calls aesthetic, which binds the parts into a memorable whole. Aesthetic quality can belong to any type of experience which has a distinctive flavor, and is complete in itself with a beginning, middle and end. In Art as Experience (1934) Dewey points out that the term aesthetic experience is not reserved for the fine arts. He sees ordinary experiences of everyday living, such as tending the fire, or gardening as also having aesthetic quality (1934, pp. 3-13). The aesthetic cannot be sharply marked off from the intellectual experience since the latter must bear an aesthetic stamp to be in itself complete" (1934, p. 38). The mathematician is therefore as subject to aesthetic experiences as the artist, if the event is united by a distinct identity and qualities of texture and significance which make it complete in itself. An experience must therefore have pattern and structure and must be seen in perception as the relation and consequences of events. The relationships give the experience meaning and are the basis of learning and the objective of all intelligence.

In Instrumentalism, truth is integral to knowing and like knowing is part of experience and measured by practical consequences. This way of valuing changes the seat of authority from the traditional fixed idea of truth, which is conformity to fact or reality, to the belief that: "The true means the verified and means nothing else" (1920, p. 160). The test of the truth of an assertion can only be measured within the context of present experience, and cannot be assumed to be true in any other circumstances. Like knowledge, truth must be tested for its

present value. Dewey does not suggest that we abandon what we already know, but emphasizes that all previously acquired knowledge must be held subject to verification according to the discovery of new criteria (1925, p. 154).

In summation, knowledge results from understanding the connections between an object and its application to the situation as immediately experienced. Scientific knowledge is grasping reality in its final form.

Instrumentalist Psychology

Dewey's purpose in psychology, as in philosophy, is to provide a further instrument which will help the human organism to live, grow, and control the environment according to goals and needs. His concern is with understanding the biological nature of the human condition, and acting on present rather than future goals. He emphasized that psychology must be actively engaged in real life situations, otherwise it does not fulfil its function. His psychology is in harmony with his philosophy in its elimination of fixed categories and mechanisms, and its placing of the mind within the realm of natural events. Although Dewey wrote extensively in psychology, he did not formulate a system beyond his five steps to reflective thinking. These are: (a) A problem arises out of present experience, (b) possible solutions are suggested, (c) data are observed, (d) a hypothesis is formulated, and (e) the foregoing are acted upon and tested. His enquiries into conscious experience, behavior, habits and adjustment to the environment were applied to his interest in everyday existence, education and society.

Dewey's approach to psychology is based on immediate experience, and is an elaboration of William James' functionalism, a theory that conscious processes can only be recognized in their physical relationship

with the environment. Dewey stressed that mind and the material object are not separate, but must be seen as part of the experienced situation. He defined psychology as the determination of the relations between mind and object as they occur in the conscious subject. Mind is real, in that it is part of behavior, it does not operate on abstract a priori principles of instinct or reason, but is physical activity which has acquired additional properties. Dewey emphasized that the mind is not just a structure: "It is a characteristic way of interactivity which is not simultaneous, all at once but serial" (1925, p. 292). Thought is mind in use, and conscious mind is engagement in the continual flow of experiences, effecting and being effected by the situation as experienced.

In Dewey's psychology there is a clear distinction made between mind and consciousness, meaning and idea. He points out:

> Mind denotes a whole system of meanings as they are embodied in the workings of organic life; consciousness in a being with language denotes an awareness of perception of meanings; it is the perception of actual events, whether past, contemporary or future, <u>in</u> their meanings, the having of actual ideas (1925, p. 303).

Thinking in this setting is the connection made by the conscious subject between behavior and the consequences of behavior. It is a biological process which results from the accommodation of the organism to the conditions of life and is a learned process. The problematic nature of existence stimulates consciousness and the development and reformulation of meanings.

The arbitrary nature of life experiences make the formation of habits an important category in Dewey's psychology. He proposed that

habits make it possible to live productively, and defined them as purposeful acquisition of approaches to experience. He emphasized that this does not mean mechanical repetition of the same routine, but rather, an established way of behaving, which is subject to modification as the situation varies. Habit is, then, the successful cooperation of the organism with the environment, or the temporary restoration of balance in the natural setting according to the criteria of the organism.

Dewey believed psychology to be the science of democratic living, and applied it to social and educational problems. His social psychology, which he inherited from George Herbert Mead is, like his general psychology, biological in orientation, and begins with the living organism in interaction with the natural environment. The principle social problem, as articulated by Dewey, is the individuation which occurs with the acquisition of separate goals, habits and impulses. Dewey's solution to this problem lies in the collective group, as a social situation which nurtures cooperation and common goals. He distinguishes between the stability of the organized group which embodies true democratic principles, and the crowd or mob. A group is the outcome of social harmony between individuals. Society is composed of multiple groups, including schools, clubs, institutions, and political parties. We all belong to several social groups, but, unlike primitive societies in which there is general identification with the group, modern groups are not inclusive enough to satisfy an individual's total needs. Dewey did not succeed in solving the problem of individual unity in a fragmented modern society, but instead offered a specialized setting in the field of education. His aim was to provide a group situation in which the method of learning would assure social harmony through the

acquisition of common habits, convictions and purposes. Education must therefore include, not only the process of learning, but must also encourage the ability to adjust individual goals to suit the social environment. In this way he hoped that these habits would influence the larger society, creating unity through a common experience in group learning. The role of psychology in the educational setting is, in Dewey's words: "An attempt to state in detail the machinery of the individual considered as an instrument or organ through which social change operates" (Schilpp, 1971, p. 290).

In summation, Dewey's approach to psychology is biological, and in accord with his philosophy, is seen as another instrument of change. All human states are therefore grounded in the natural biological setting. Thus mind is seen as an activity which is continuous with experience, thought is mind in use, and habits are ways of cooperating with the environment. Dewey's social psychology aims at the integration of the social group through the adjustment of individual goals to common goals. His emphasis on education is understandable since it provides the ideal setting for the accomplishment of his goal of continuous improvement through social growth.

Instrumental Educational and Social Theory

Dewey's view of education, as noted in the previous section, is integral to his social thesis and is defined by its role as an instrument for the betterment of society. Dewey states that:

> Education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform ....Through education society can formulate its own purposes, can organize its own means and resources, and thus shape itself with definiteness and economy in the direction in which it wishes to

move (Archambault, 1964, pp. 437-438).

His criteria for education are therefore social criteria, and as such can be seen as leading to direction, control or guidance (Dewey, 1916, p. 23).

Dewey's pedagogy is based on the premise that the natural and social environment contains the foundation and contents of knowledge. He believed that by starting from the child's immediate surroundings knowledge based on local experiences could develop in more complex directions. From the child's point of view education would be relevant to daily life and inevitably lead to progress and growth. Selection of educative experiences is therefore a vital element in education and relies on the instructor's skill in helping student's to select relevant topics for study which offer further possibilities for development. Events chosen should lead from simple primary experiences for young children and gain in sophistication as the child grows. The accumulation of increasingly rich encounters builds knowledge and gives the process of learning a volitional stimulating quality.

The active experience of the student is furthered by the use of a simplified version of the scientific experimental method, which is outlined in the previous section (p. 73). Each student researches a part of the selected subject topic, and the results are shared with the group. Thus the social goals of cooperating and learning to work towards common ends meet Dewey's criteria for social education.

He emphasized that a special environment is necessary in education to replace lost identification with the group, which was part of traditional rural life. In past times such interaction was part of everyday life, the child learned skills and knowledge of the world from

parents, neighbours and friends. But Dewey noted that in complex modern societies, special social environments must be introduced in education in order to nurture the desired group spirit. This environment should include: simplified ordered experiences, purified and idealized customs, and integration with the rest of the social structure (1916, pp. 20-22). In this view education must include the learner, home, school, and community as part of an inseparable whole. The process of learning must take place in an atmosphere of free exchange between the learner and the total social environment. Since the social environment is other individuals it is educative to the extend that the learner participates in cooperative activities. Integration with the group leads to true understanding of the methods, purposes and composition of the group, and to identification with the group ethos.

Dewey initiated a more comprehensive role for education, and saw schools taking over, not only many of the traditional functions of society, but also areas which had previously belonged to the role of the family. The latter included the teaching of moral values, health and preparation for a vocation. Dewey believed that the breakdown of morality was caused by the breakdown of society. In his view the teaching of morals is a social rather than an individual process: "The moral and social quality of conduct are, in the last analysis, identical with each other" (1916, p. 358).

The purpose of education, as defined by Dewey, is to fit individuals for life in modern society, by fostering social awareness and an orientation towards science. Schools should reflect this purpose in their structure as small societies, in their choice of the scientific method of enquiry, utility of subject matter, and by encouraging a spirit

of group fellowship.

Dewey believed that a competitive economic system was a danger to democracy, and accordingly suggested a system of education which emphasized social rather than private ends.

> An identity, an equation, exists between the urgent social need of the present and that of education. Society, in order to solve its own problems and remedy its own ills, needs to employ science and technology for social instead of merely private ends. This need for a society in which experimental inquiry and planning for social ends are organically contained is also the need for a new education (Schilpp, 1971, p. 443).

Summary

John Dewey's Instrumentalism is a practical approach to the problems of philosophy. He developed his position from Pragmatism which emphasized method over system, and focused on the consequences of actions over a traditional philosophical system. Both positions are concerned with present experience and see philosophy as a practical method of furthering human progress. Instrumentalism adopted a biological emphasis in its approach to psychology and stressed the truth of science. Like Pragmatism, Instrumentalism denies all dualisms, transcendentalism, absolutes and fixed ends and values. Instead it is concerned with present experience and recognizes growth and progress as the only possible human goals.

The present moment of experience represented reality to Dewey. He saw the real as a series of interconnected events rather than as isolated incidents. Knowledge develops through practical action, is integral to experience and is a tool for furthering human progress. The

truth of an assertion must be found through empirical testing, and previously held truths must be subjected to further tests taking new evidence into account. Learning develops because interaction has occurred between the human organism and a problematic situation. Dewey distinguished between the flux of trivial everyday experience, and an experience which has a distinct character of its own and is distinguished by a beginning, middle and end. In his view, the latter are aesthetic experiences, a term he does not reserve for experiences in the arts, but believes is common to all memorable experience.

Dewey's psychology provides another instrument for furthering human growth and progress. All human activity, including mental processes are linked to physical causes. Mind is continuous with experience, thought is mind in use, and habits are ways the organism finds to cooperate with the environment. Social psychology, which Dewey developed from the work of George Herbert Mead, was seen to epitomize the science of democratic living. Dewey believed that the source of social problems lay in the separation of individuals through the development of disparate goals. The group which is brought together through a common purpose provides the best example of democratic living. His solution to the individuation of society lay in the school system. Through a method of education based on group learning, cooperation and common goals which integrated home, school and community, Dewey advocated the integration of all areas of a child's life, and suggested that learning be based on situations arising from immediate experiences in the home, school or community setting. In this way he hoped to produce an individual who is oriented towards social goals, and through the empirical method of learning, would be sympathetic to the needs of a modern society.

Dewey's practical attitude defined new goals for philosophy. His primary interest in achieving social goals through the education system rests on the assumption that human intelligence is instrumental to human growth and progress.

Reference Notes

[1]George Herbert Mead's social behaviorism developed from an interest in evolutionary biology. Mind and self are entirely developed in the social process. The individual act is revealed in the social act, but the social act is primary. Social behaviorism is not be be confused with individualistic and mechanistic behaviorism. Bently, J. E. An outline of American Philosophy. Patterson, NJ: Littlefield, Adams, 1963.

[2]Reformed Darwinism maintained that human destiny can be changed if intelligence is applied to social problems.

Chapter IV

Comparative Analysis of Personalism and Instrumentalism

Introduction

In the two preceding chapters, Personalism and Instrumentalism were examined as philosophical and psychological positions. This chapter will compare these views for aspects which are important to the educational focus of this study. The purpose of the comparison is to establish points of similarity and dissimilarity between beliefs, goals and value systems in these positions. A comparison of differences in concepts of person and society, which forms part of this chapter, are particularly relevant, since orientations to one or the other largely determine the character of education proposed. Concepts of education, outlined in previous chapters, are contrasted in order to establish the quantitive and qualitative status given to the individual and the collective in these views. As this study has observed, Personalism is centered in the transcendental aspects of person; Instrumentalism is grounded in the natural world and emphasizes the collective nature of humanity.

These positions can also be separated into William James' rational and empirical categories of temperament. As 'tender-minded' rationalists, Personalists can be charactized as idealistic, optimistic, religious, freewillist, and concerned with feelings and intellect. Instrumentalists, on the other hand, are comparable to James' 'tough-minded' empirical type: hard-headed, sensationalist, materialist, fatalistic and irreligious (1907, pp. 10-12).

The following comparison will attempt to further clarify the essential differences between Personalism and Instrumentalism, and will emphasize areas of importance to Part Three of this study.

The Concept of the Individual

Both Personalism and Instrumentalism maintain that intrinsic value

resides in persons, but differ in their understanding of the quintessential person. For Personalism, the mind represents reality, a notion which places the individual in an ontologically central position and sees reality as separate and self-contained. In contrast, Instrumentalism defines the person in biological terms, and sees the mind as continuous with physical behavior. Dewey situates reality in the series of events taking place in the natural world and uses biological descriptors to account for human behavior. In this view the biological setting is the social setting, a notion which makes human experience largely a social matter. The focus is on the action and reaction of the group, rather than on specific individuals. Although Dewey undoubtedly values the individual, it is more as an important unit of the group than as a unique independent person. For Dewey unity resides in the group, for Personalists unity is in the person.

Personalism represents the human inclination to individuation and the belief that humans have transcendental properties in their relationship to God. This relationship is more than a tenuous connection. Humans can not only communicate with God but are like Him in many respects particularly in the retention of their own identity, in their unity through time, free self determination and will to create. Instrumentalism has no religious interests and represents the human desire to belong to a group, and concern for the everyday material world of experience.

The merging of individual and social aspects of existence in Instrumentalism is typical of a contextualist position which insists on the inter-relationship of all areas of human experience. In his World Hypothesis (1970) philosopher Stephen Pepper describes contextualist theory as typified by the, "dynamic, dramatic event....an act in and with

its setting, an act in its context" (1942, p. 232). Contextualism exphasizes the continuity of all aspects of existence and is best expressed by verbs such as doing, ending, persuading etc. which describe the interconnected changing character of all experience. This merging of one experience with the next, and one area of life with another, is exemplified in Dewey's view of the individual as integral to society. Pepper states that:

> The contextualist insists that a study of any private event carries itself into the public world. The context of private texture is already some other texture, and the two textures are thus mutually conjoined and interpenetrating, and so on as far as we wish, out into any epoch (1942, p. 265).

Thus the individual is an inseparable part of the flux and change of the social environment and cannot be examined in isolation.

Personalist emphasis on the individual is an emphasis on individuation and separation. The belief that moral development is the highest human goal, suggests a turning away from the group in an effort to perfect the self. Other Personalist goals, such as self-development, self-awareness and self-determination are essentially affirmations of the solitary inner nature of the human condition. Dewey did not recognize a separation of inner and outer spheres and was highly critical of attempts to emphasize inner over outer development. He believed that privately held goals are barriers to the creation of a homogeneous society:

> The idea of perfecting an inner personality is a sure sign of social divisions. What is called 'inner' is simply that which does not connect with others - which is not capable of free and full communication. What is termed spiritual culture has usually been

> futile with something rotten about it, just because it has been conceived as a thing which man might have internally and therefore exclusively (1916, p. 122).

This quotation is a clear statement against any form of individualism, and indeed against any activity which the solitary individual undertakes for personal reasons. It represents both the philosopher-educator in Dewey, and also the social reformer responding to current social problems. In contrast Personalism emphasizes inner over outer development and supports the notion that strong individuals create a strong society:

> The only abiding basis for democracy is the sanctity of the person ....Personalities are unique in that which they can offer to the common weal [sic]....for this reason democracy will seek to provide the circumstances in education, freedom, and work under which each person may best realize his own and the common good. This means that personality is recognized as an intrinsic value, the most precious possession of society and the greatest source of social advance and welfare (Runes, 1962, p. 298).

Thus persons retain their separateness, but contribute through quality and originality to the good of the group.

In summary, Personalism sees the person as ontologically fundamental, spiritual, self-contained and the center of reality and knowledge. Transcendental aspects of the person are important, as is the individual relationship to God. In Instrumentalism the individual is valued as an important part of, and integral to the group, individual and social interests are merged. Persons are seen as biological organisms in interaction with the human and natural environment. These contrasting concepts of the individual form the basis of a further comparison between

concepts of society adopted by these positions.

The Concept of Society

The Personalist concept of society rests on the belief that reality is plural, that is, it consists of a collection of self-contained autonomous persons. Persons are not solipsistic in their isolation but relate to each other on a moral and spiritual level. In comparison, Instrumentalism defines society biologically as an organic whole composed of interacting human organisms. The individual, as previously noted, is secondary to Dewey's goal of social growth and progress. In the following quotation Dewey gives his views on the individual role in the social sphere:

> Society is the process of associating in such ways that experiences, ideas, emotions, values are transmitted and made common. To this active process, both individual and the institutionally organized may truly be said to be subordinate. The individual is subordinate because except in and through communication of experience from and to others, he remains dumb, merely sentient, a brute animal. Only in association with fellows does he become a conscious center of experience (1920, p. 207).

In this view society forms the individual, and is the only means by which an individual develops an identity. Dewey elaborated this notion taken from George Mead's social behaviorism. Mead stated that, "A self can arise only where there is a social process within which the self has had its initiation" (1964, p. 42).

In his attempt to reconcile the isolated individual of early Personalist beliefs with the social sphere Peter Bertocci says of the individual-environmental relationship: "The person-cum-personality is

the person independent ontologically of environment: yet in his being-becoming he reflects his responses to the environments-Environment that, as we say 'shapes' and 'molds' him" (1979, p. 621). Bertocci separates the inner core of person from environmental influence in its essential being, but not in its capacity to be socially influenced. In contrast Dewey sees society as the progenitor of all aspects of the individual, and does not recognize the presence of an inner inviolable self. He emphasizes that social arrangements and laws are made for humanity rather than the reverse, but are not means of creating something for individuals, not even happiness, "They are means of creating individuals. Only in the physical sense of physical bodies that to the senses are separate is individuality an original datum" (1920, p. 194).

Personalist Edgar Brightman does not relinquish the notion of individuation, but urges that social prosperity means personal sacrifice. Loyalty is a virtue and suffering necessary if social progress is to be attained. He states:

> Value is a social principle; for while it may be chosen by an isolated individual, the greatest values of life can be realized in their fullest and richest forms only by a cooperating community. He who is fully loyal to obligation is driven by social loyalties (1925, p. 55).

Brightman sees society as a collection of individual personalities united by, and able to rise above every day existence through moral and spiritual interaction. However he stresses that God transcends society as a focus of concern:

> Religion....always regards the social problem as in part metaphysical, and never regards the social as ultimate. The

> dependence of all human beings on God is metaphysical. It means that human society is not the highest object of man's devotion (1925, p. 118).

Personalism is essentially theistic, and the individual relationship with God inevitably comes first, social considerations second. Far from being considered integral to society, the individual of Personalism must sometimes sacrifice a detached position for the general good. Dewey softens his position on individuality when he acknowledges the benefits which outstanding individuals can bring to society:

> Whenever distinctive quality is developed, distinction of personality results, and with it greater promise of social service....For how can there be a society really worth serving unless it is constituted of individuals of significant personal quality (1916, p. 121).

In conclusion, both Instrumentalism and Personalism acknowledge, to some extent, the importance of both social solidarity and individuation. But, for Personalism, society is a necessary grouping for the sustenance of material existence, and not the summum bonum which it represents in Dewey's thesis. The contextualism of Dewey's position, and his Hegelian tendency to emphasize the continuity of all things, makes any separation between the individual and society untenable. Society is individuals, individuals are society. The Personalist emphasis on the primacy of God's relationship to humanity which leads to individuation, and the Instrumentalist concept of the oneness of individual and social spheres are important factors in the following comparison.

The Concept of Education

A comparison of Personalist and Instrumentalist concepts of education rest on their separate views of the relationship of the

individual to society. Since Personalism sees the person as the primary focus of existence it follows that, in this view, education must be addressed to the individual. Conversely, Instrumentalism does not separate individual and social interest, and is concerned with social goals as serving all interests.

In Personalism the goal of education is moral, with the greatest possible development of the individual as the major aim. This includes spiritual, emotional and intellectual factors. The spiritual and emotional aspects of person are considered the most significant in their connection with religious experience, intellectual factors are seen as important, but secondary. The Instrumentalist view of education sees interaction, cooperation, and the sharing of a common goal as socially essential, Dewey saw moral and social spheres as synonymous, moral education is social education. Learning in school must be continuous with learning out of school. He believed if this is not practiced knowledge acquired at school would be inapplicable to life. He hoped that by applying the experimental empirical scientific method to learning that education could produce a new socially aware, scientifically oriented individual. Instrumentalism, like Personalism, does not emphasize intellectual development in its education theory. This factor became the major criticism against Progressive education in the late nineteen-forties and fifties.

Personalist education theory holds that education must be addressed to the individual as the need arises, and must not be imposed by the external authority of the instructor. If personal needs are satisfied it is assumed, as in early American Individualism, that social harmony will follow. In Instrumentalism the individual is shaped through

association with others, learning is a communal affair, and individual needs are satisfied in the fulfilment of social goals. The role of the instructor in both concepts is that of advisor, in the first, information is given on demand, in the second, information is researched by the students in consultation with the instructor. Personalism demands individual freedom as an essential condition of education. Instrumentalism controls educational circumstances to the extent that it is based on 'ordered experience', deals with idealized social customs, and must be integrated with the rest of the social structure.

As discussed in the previous sections, Personalist and Instrumentalist views of reality determine the focus of their educational theory. For Personalism, reality is centered in the living mind of the individual, in Instrumentalism the natural physical world is the real. It follows from this that, for the former, knowledge is generated in minds, and is communicated through minds. For the latter, knowledge is gained through alteration, experimentation and examination of natural data. In this view science reveals the ultimate in truth, and the scientific method is seen as the only way to true knowledge.

Both Personalism and Instrumentalism recognize that there is no permanency to knowledge, and that factors must be subjected to empirical examination before being accepted as knowledge. Personalism applies observation to "the minds' living experience of itself" (Bowne, 1908, p. 105) and accepts the inner experience of others as the basis of knowledge. Instrumentalism only accepts knowledge which is gained through the experimental methods of science. For the former religious faith can also be a basis for 'knowing'. Brightman refers to religious knowledge as, "the absolutely real, the cause that cannot fail" (1925,

p. 115). To know, in this position, is to depend on faith and rationality. Dewey was highly critical of this approach to knowledge, noting that it depreciated working connections with the immediate environment.

For Dewey, "Knowledge, grounded knowledge is science" (1916, p. 326). True knowledge is based in disinterested impartial enquiry, and is "built slowly on observable facts" (1955, p. 103). Knowledge is instrumental and subject to the will of the potential knower who must actively change the objects of experience to find out more about them. "Things are what they can do and what can be done with them - things that can be done by deliberately trying" (Dewey, 1920, p. 115). Dewey rejects the categories of consciousness and soul which are the basis of the Personalist position, and eliminates all information which is not generated in physical data. In contrast, the Personalist definition of knowledge transcends immediate phenomenal experience and includes all that consciousness includes.

In their application to education these divergent theories of knowledge present different approaches to learning. Whereas Dewey proposes the method of experimental science, Bertocci believes we should be open to a variety of approaches in order to gain other sorts of knowledge. Everything should be accepted as possible until proven otherwise either by plausible claims or lack of evidence (1951, p. 216). Different interpretations must also be taken into account, humility for one's own achievements and insights are necessary in our struggle for knowledge (p. 54). Bertocci emphasizes that:

> The limitations of all human knowing, the presence even of unconscious bias or of special interest in the knowing process, means not that

> man cannot know what reality is, but that every man needs to consider the supplementation of his own insight with that of others (1954, p. 54).

Further differences between these views are seen in their orientation to freedom in the field of education. This is important to later discussions in this study which are concerned with the question of freedom in art education. Both positions define freedom as freedom of thought, rather than physical freedom, although neither believes in rigid discipline nor attempts to restrain student mobility. Differences lie in concepts of purpose and direction in education. Personalism sees freedom as a quality possessed by God, and essential to human self-determination, creativity and the development of moral character. Instrumentalism considers freedom a social necessity. Dewey defines it as, "the need of conditions which will enable an individual to make his own special contribution to a group interest....social guidance shall be a matter of his own mental attitude, and not a mere authoritative dictation of his acts" (1916, p. 301). He clarifies this notion of freedom when he says it is, "the part played by thinking...in learning: - it means intellectual initiative, independance in observation, judicious invention, foresight of consequences and ingenuity of adaption to them" (1916, p. 302).

In Democracy and Education (1916) Dewey describes positions which define individuality as mind in isolation from phenomena, a notion which corresponds to Personalism. He notes that the assumptions on which these positions are based have found expression in education in the separation between ideas of the individual and society, and between notions of the free individual and control by others. Dewey sees freedom in education

exemplified by the experimental approach, "The whole cycle of self-activity demands an opportunity for investigation and experimentation, for trying one's ideas upon things, and discovering what can be done with materials and appliances" (1916, p. 302). Bertocci finds that this practical view of freedom excludes imagination, belief, memory and other states which are outside the realm of physical experience. He believes that the individual must be: "free to create, free to bring into being in his own body, in his mind, in nature, in society, what he decides is worthwhile within the limits of his capacity at any given time, place, situation" (1960, p. 21). This includes freedom of expression and imagination, encompassing memory and religious beliefs and all areas of experience related and unrelated to the phenomenal world. This contrasts with Dewey's notion that freedom must have purpose to qualify as freedom, freedom must be directed towards something otherwise it is aimless and futile.

In Personalism discussion of freedom centers on God as the ultimate paradigm of free self-determination. This view sees freedom as a universal law, a natural condition of existence, and a basic human right. Freedom to think is unrestricted by any methodology and is allowed to determine its own course of action. There is agreement between the two positions in that, as Dewey points out: "It is less important that we all believe alike, than that we all alike enquire freely and put at the disposal of one another such glimpses as we may obtain of the truth for which we are in search" (Schilpp, 1971, p. 607). Dewey's interest in the material world, although open to experimentation and discovery limits the quality of freedom available in education. In the opinion of one author, his view of freedom is, "an effective power to modify the milieu in which

we live, thus freedom is not a psychological or metaphysical problem, but one which is again practical" (Schilpp, 1971, p. 238). Conversely in its concern to remain limitless, the Personalist view of freedom presents a problem for education in its lack of direction. Although this could be considered questionable practice in general education, the notion that the student must be self-directed presents the possibility of education which is of more interest to the student, and in the arts offers a more congenial environment for creative activity.

Personalist authors frequently link freedom with creativity, and make both important factors in education. Freedom and creativity are innate to persons.

> God is the creator; we live in a creative universe, it is only by using our human experience of creation that creation is revealed as a fact of our conscious experience, and that we have a clue to the creative spirit of God (Brightman, 1925, p. 205).

Bowne (1908) believed that those who held the truth of the theory of evolution denied the existence of God, but this was later amended by Brightman who acknowledged the creative hand of God in the evolutionary process. "God is not a static being; he is found as one who works and creates, a God whose favorite method is evolution, process, novelty producing" (1925, p. 236). He believed that God, himself, is subject to the evolutionary process, and as such is unfinished in His development as the world is unfinished. He created the world from His thoughts, and like God we re-create the world through our categories of understanding. Mind and personality are potentially creative, but are subject to the quality and quantity of freedom available.

Creativity for Dewey is the application of ingenious solutions to

the problem under investigation. In his confirmed naturalism he is opposed to the idea of creativity as a priori talent, or as an imaginative leap, preferring instead more practical expressions of unique ideas. In a reference to individuality he also gives his definition of creativity: "It means initiative, varied resourcefulness, assumption of responsibility in choice of belief and conduct. These are not gifts, but achievements" (1920, p. 194).

In conclusion Personalist education is addressed to the individual and emphasizes emotional and moral education in conditions of freedom. All conscious states are considered possible sources of knowledge subject to empirical observation. Freedom and creativity are important to this view of education, as a reflection of God's self-determination and creativity. Instrumentalist education emphasizes the collective in its definition of learning as a social activity. Knowledge is based in the natural world and is gained through the use of the scientific experimental scientific method. The transcendental individualistic nature of Personalism can be seen in the psychic separation of the student in this view. In contrast the naturalism and collectivist nature of Instrumentalism is evident in the emphasis on the group and the methods of science as the basis of education.

Summary

Concepts of the individual and society expressed by Personalism and Instrumentalism are based on their ideas of reality. For Personalism reality is based in the separate self-directed mind of the individual. The Personalist belief that reality resides in the self-conscious human mind is based on the human relationship and essential similarity to God. Instrumentalism differs in its definition of reality as being situated

in the natural world. In this view the human condition is seen in biological terms. The human organism is believed to be inseparable from the social and natural context and cannot be examined in isolation. In the Personalist position society is a grouping of separate individuals who have a common need and are united by duty and loyalty to the collective. Dewey saw the social group as a natural coming together, a formation of similar organisms. Society forms the individual and not the reverse, society is also equated with morality, personal definitions of morality are not recognized. In Personalism the individual strives towards moral improvement, using personal criteria to determine direction.

Personalist education is addressed to the individual and includes spiritual, emotional and moral education, all states of human consciousness are seen as possible bases of knowledge. Instrumentalist education is a collective approach to learning. Knowledge is based in the natural world and is judged to be true by the experimental empirical scientific method. Personalism uses empirical observation of all human conditions and states to determine what can be considered true or false. Both positions agree on the impermanence of all knowledge and agree that it must be continually subjected to re-examination. In Personalism freedom and creativity are important as attributes of God and innate to human persons. Freedom is considered essential to the formation of moral character, self determination, creativity, and all aspects of person. Creativity is a quality which all humans possess, but which only develops if freedom is also present. Dewey's practical definition finds freedom the power to modify the social and natural world. In this view creativity means initiative and inventiveness as used in the

experimental methods of science.

The preceding comparison demonstrates the essential differences important to this study, particularly in the area of education, the subject of the following chapters.

PART THREE

IDEAS OF INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM IN ART EDUCATION DURING THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

Introduction

This study has identified the ideologies of Individualism and Collectivism in the context of American social history. These notions have also been related to the philosophical positions of Personalism and Instrumentalism, which originated in America in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Personalism represents the individualist view in this study, and posits that the conscious experience of the self is the only reality. In contrast Instrumentalism, particularly in its application to education, emphasizes group solidarity, and merges individual needs with social needs. This view has been equated with the collective orientation in this study.

Part III introduces Progressive education, and focuses particularly on the influence of progressivism in art education. Chapter V surveys the historical background of the movement in nineteenth century America, then examines the work of influential pioneers in Progressive education. The formation of the Progressive Education Association in 1919 will be seen as the point at which the two dominant views in the movement crystalized into two opposing positions. These views represent the Individualist and Collectivist viewpoints respectively. The first, child-centered education, is in harmony with the philosophy of Personalism in all its major assumptions. Both share common origins in German Idealism and the Romantic Movement, which celebrated the transcendental aspects of the individual. The collective view is exemplified in John Dewey's Instrumentalist approach to education. Child-centered and Instrumental education both elevate the child in importance above the curriculum. But whereas Dewey aimed at social growth through sharing and accumulating knowledge in a group

situation, child-centered educators emphasized inner growth, self-expression and self-knowledge as the purpose of education.

In Chapter 6 the background and relationship of these divergent positions will be examined as they relate to the field of art education. Dewey's pedagogy was based on a system designed to train the mind according to the empirical scientific method. Equal weight was given to the socialization of the student in the collective situation. Since all subject fields were merged in this setting, art was used to enhance other learning material. In contrast the child-centered approach emphasized individuality and self-expression and made art central to education. Art was seen as cathartic, a way to achieve emotional wholeness without which the capacity to learn is restricted. Other subject fields were introduced as secondary to the notion of the child as artist. Chapter 7 examines a selection of art education literature to determine the effect of these positions in the field of art education during the Progressive era, 1920-1960, a period of dramatic change in the field of pedagogy.

Chapter V

Progressivism in Education

Introduction

Reform is the most prominent feature of early twentieth century American history, and Progressivism, first noticeably active at the turn of the century, is the most conspicuous manifestation of this spirit. Those involved felt impelled to act because of large scale injustice and inequality evident in American society at that time. Progressives were mainly urban professionals and middle income farmers, loosely associated in the common belief that American society did not reflect its democratic ideology. Industrialization was seen as the main source of the problem, and laissez-faire economic policy was blamed for inequalities in the distribution of national wealth to the detriment of immigrant workers. America at the turn of the century was a vigorous, successful world power, but rapid progress was achieved at the cost of democratic ideals and the cultural context as a whole. Individualist ideals, long held to be basic to American ideology, were questioned as being inappropriate to an industrialized nation, and collectivist tendencies were noticeably present in big business and in social movements. Encouraged by growing support from white collar workers, Progressives worked for the advancement of political and social reform. Particular goals covered a diversity of aims, but the main focus was constant and included the restoration of personal dignity in accordance with democratic ideals, and the modernization of American scientific and cultural activities. Major efforts included the regulation of trusts and monopolies, the "cleansing" of municipal government and the restructuring of the educational system. Moves against major monopolies created problems; politicians wanted the financial benefits of big business but were against the hardship to small business brought by the trusts. Theodore Roosevelt was

instrumental in launching several successful attacks on corporate leaders, and managed to control their operations without damaging their material contributions. Roosevelt is identified with Progressivism and popular government and was motivated by the notion that he could return America to its ideals of Individualism through legislation (Freidel, 1960, p. 52).

By 1900 the social justice movement was well established and was actively encouraged in this by supporters of a similar movement in England. Much needed social and cultural reforms were enacted, helped by the so-called 'muckraking' activities of journalists and authors who exposed cases of exploitation and injustice.

Progressive Education

Education was among the more visible areas urgently needing reform. Schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century were ill equipped to deal with growing numbers of immigrant children and others brought into the system by compulsory education legislation. Problems of overcrowding and the obvious inadequacy of pedagogical methods helped to focus attention on much needed reforms. The Progressive Movement in education gathered strength in the early part of the twentieth century as more pedagogues became critical of the traditional approach. John Dewey was in the forefront of the movement and became the honorary President when the Progressive Education Association was formed. Although he was never active in the Association, and was frequently critical of their activities, he remained in office from 1919, when the Association started, until his death in 1952.

Progressive reformers in education were against the impersonalism of the traditional system, which included a fixed curriculum, rote

memorization and rigid discipline. Instead, progressive educators favored a focus on the needs and interests of the child, rather than the demands of the instructor and curriculum. In order to meet the requirements of a technological society educators were urged to use new scientific findings, particularly the insights of psychology. In addition there was general agreement that education should address the child's present needs rather than the needs of an unpredictable future. New approaches to education offered more humane, imaginative and stimulating alternatives to the rigidity of the traditional model.

Progressive education began in small avant-garde private schools and only moved to public schools, in a more general way, during the nineteen-thirties[1]. The eventual influence of progressivism was enormous, and changed the whole notion of learning, knowledge, the role of government in education and the function of the school system.

The basis of the new philosophy of education developed from the work of pioneer educators, beginning with Horace Mann in pre-Civil War years, and later the work of Francis W. Parker and G. Stanley Hall. Parker and Hall studied in Europe, particularly Germany, and showed the influence of German Idealism and the Romantic Movement. The latter was a broad movement which affected philosophy, history and political theory at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries (Chapter 2[1]). Romanticism is Idealist in character, and venerates the transcendental, the imagination, and the self-conscious individual. Art in this view is the apotheosis of values and the supreme achievement of humanity. Ideas from the Romantic Movement important to pioneer progressive educators Hall and Parker included, the self-determination, self-expression and emotional development of the student, and an intuitive

approach to pedagogy. The latter notion can be traced to the extreme transcentental idealism of Friedrich W. J. S. von Schelling, one of the principal philosophers of Romanticism, who believed that self-consciousness is the only basis of knowledge, and art the only way in which the mind can be fully aware of itself. These ideas moved the exphasis in education from the instructor and the curriculum to the individual student, and more importantly the student's emotional as well as intellectual development. European educators also had considerable influence on American pedagogues. Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827) a Swiss educator put many of Rousseau's ideas into practice. He promoted the notion of the child's natural development, desire to learn, and the importance of the child over other pedagogical considerations. Learning was based in the natural world and was believed to be most effective through the learner's sensual and intellectual interaction with the material world. Self-expression was also encouraged in free drawing, music and singing.

Frederich W. A. Froebel (1782-1852) another seminal influence in Progressivism, based his pedagogy on ideas from both the Enlightenment and the Romantic Movement. His emphasis on the union of the human and natural worlds came from the former, and his belief that play activities should reinforce education came from the latter. Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) made moral education his primary concern, and linked morality and aesthetics in the belief that familiarity with aesthetics would ensure good moral development in the student.

Ideas from these sources were supported by new ideas from the field of psychology which validated the notion that children are naturally good, eager to learn, and learn better by personal experience. In

addition children were thought to be capable of self-control, self-direction, and to have something of value to express.

Pioneers in Progressive Education

Horace Mann (1796-1859) was the earliest pioneer of educational reform in America and agitated for a universal school system before the Civil War. He was interested in the individual child, and shaped his learning material to cater to individual differences, encouraging a system of self-control rather than imposing discipline from above. His interest in phrenology lead him to study skull formation and gave him insights into child behavior, health, and character which he used in his pedagogy. This not only focussed on the child as a person, but is also an early example of the use of science as an aid to education.

Mann was aware of the problems of retaining individuality in the student population in a system of mass education. However, he also believed that education in groups was essential to the promotion of social unity. He asked a question which had troubled Pestalozzi: How is it possible to free, and at the same time shape a child? (Cremin, 1964, p. 11) The conflict between these two facets of education is important to this study. Mann saw the need for an educational system which would shape the nation, a notion which Dewey was later to adopt, but at the same time supported the American belief in freedom and individuality. He was not able to resolve this dilemma, although he made considerable efforts by initiating a system of self-control, but at least he recognized the seriousness of the problem. He believed that free education should be the birthright of all American children and led the movement for free public education, which by 1870 became a possibility for most children in most States.

Francis W. Parker (1837-1902) has been called the father of Progressive education by John Dewey. His thesis was identifiably progressive in its aim to promote the growth and improvement of human beings. Parker spent several years in Europe studying new trends in education, observing at first hand the pedagogy of those who followed Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart (Butts and Cremin, 1953, p.438). In 1873 he was elected to the position of Superintendent of Education at Quincy Massachusetts, by a group of citizens concerned with the poor quality of education. Parker abandoned the traditional curriculum with its set exercises and rigid discipline, and replaced it with learning experiences which involved active participation and were based in the child's own experiences. Contemporary life was important in this approach, and learning frequently derived from newspaper and magazine articles or numerous field trips which were a regular feature of the program. Individual expression was encouraged with the introduction of freehand drawing, in an innovative approach not generally recognized as important until the turn of the century.

Parker's methods were formulated into theory when he became the principal of Cook County Normal School in 1875. His main thesis was twofold: first to make the child central to the education process, and secondly to shape the curriculum to conform to the natural pattern of child development. He also believed that the school should become a small model of society, "A model home, a complete community, and embryonic democracy"[2] (Cremin, 1964, p. 132).

This communitarian idea was particularly influential on Dewey's pedagogy as were Parker's ideas that: (a) school topics should generate from the student, (b) that subject matter should be integrated, and

(c) that education should stress growth as a general purpose.

During a period in which drawing in schools was seen as a way to improve manual dexterity, Parker was emphasizing art as a medium of expression. He believed that art is one of the three major steps in the evolution of humanity and should be an important part of education. Accordingly he introduced modelling and painting in addition to drawing, in an approach based on the notion that only that which has meaning for the child is valid in education.

Granville Stanley Hall (1844-1924) was the first graduate in psychology from Harvard University. As a psychologist he was able to reinforce Parker's notion of education based on child development with scientific data. He elaborated this idea further in his thesis which suggested that individual development follows a similar pattern to the evolutionary stages of Homo sapiens, and was influenced in his conclusions by Darwin's findings. Herbart's theory of recapitulation was also influential, particularly the belief that past experiences play an important role in the formation of new ideas and that new ideas frequently depend on the subconscious (Sahakian, 1968, p. 203).

Like Parker, Hall was influenced by Romanticism through his studies in Germany, and particularly stressed the importance of the individual, the natural goodness of the child, and the importance of self-expression. His laissez-faire model of teaching is reminiscent of Rousseau's Emile (1762). Educators should:

> Strive first of all to keep out of nature's way, and to prevent harm, and should merit the proud title of defenders of the happiness and rights of children. They should feel profoundly that childhood, as it comes fresh from the hands of God, is not

corrupt, but illustrates the survival of the most consummate thing in the world; they should be convinced that there is nothing else so worthy of love, reverence, and service as the body and soul of the growing child[3] (Cremin, 1964, p. 103).

In 1891 Hall established the Pedagogical Seminary, a journal which circulated progressive ideas generated at Clarke University where Hall was president. This publication stimulated discussion between parents and teachers, and inspired the formation of countless child-study groups across the country. Interest in new methods of learning and new approaches to rearing and teaching children, coupled with information from the developing field of child psychology, fuelled interest in the roles of teacher and parent. Clarke University became the center of the Child-study Movement which emphasized: (a) the individuality of the child, (b) education based on the developmental level of the child, (c) the importance of self-expression, (d) including respect for feelings, (e) attitudes and imagination.

These notions were sympathetic to drawing, which was introduced before writing as a free activity, and continued in the higher grades as a medium of, "real expression of the child's soul". Hall encouraged free drawing of "battles, fires, shipwrecks, railroad accidents with plenty of human figures and action" (Wygnant, 1983, p. 89).

Hall was interested in psychoanalytic theory, and in 1909 brought Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung to Clarke University. Freud gave an interpretation and explanation of his theories on neurosis, sexuality and the unconscious. Their lectures were reported in many medical and lay journals and later disseminated to a wider audience (Cremin, 1964, p. 208). The rapid spread of these influential ideas

was due in no small part to the enthusiastic efforts of the Child-study Movement.

Hall's pedagogical views, and subsequently the views of the Child-study Movement stressed the subjective and idealistic facets of education and focussed on feelings, dispositions and attitudes which stem from the subconscious. Teaching was seen as similar to parenting and the major emphasis was on the mystery and promise of childhood.

Edward Thorndike (1874-1949) was, like Hall, a Harvard graduate in psychology, and had also been a student of William James, but he was interested in behavior rather than states of mind, and carried out his first studies with animals. He was highly critical of Hall's humanistic psychology, and found his educational theory inadequate to the needs of an industrial society. Like Horace Mann he believed that education has the potential to change society, and like Dewey saw the methods of science as the most effective way to educate a modern society. He rejected idealistic views of human nature, believing instead that humanity is neither good nor bad, but is rather a mass of "original tendencies" which can be exploited either way depending on the learning situation (Cremin, 1964, p. 112). In Animal Intelligence (1898) he presented a new theory in which learning involved the integration of a specific response to a specific stimulus[4]. In Thorndike's view everything is measureable, and since pedagogy is concerned with the activity and behavior of the child, all facets of education can be subjected to some form of measurement. His approach to learning weakened belief in the disciplinary usefulness of many traditional subjects and practices, and encouraged utilitarian tendencies characteristic of some Progressive education.

Although Thorndike was interested in individual differences in his studies on heredity, pedagogically he saw students as organisms in an organic social environment, and carried out many of his major studies on grouping. His chief concerns were social and scientific, and his aim was to establish a science of pedagogy which could guarantee the education of scientifically trained socially aware American citizens (Cremin, 1964, pp. 114-115).

In summation, Progressive education developed from the work of pioneers in the field, several of whom finished their scholarly studies in Europe and were influenced by European Romanticism. Horace Mann helped to establish the American system of free public education, and provided a model which focused on the individual child, using scientific information as a guide to practice. He articulated the major problem in education, which also concerns this study, namely the conflict between individual need and collective or national priorities.

Francis W. Parker was essentially the first progressive educator in his emphasis on growth and progress. He developed several notions which were later incorporated into different positions in progressivism. These included: a stress on present over future learning, the notion that schools should be small communities, that learning material should be generated by the student, and that all subject fields should be integrated. Learning was to be based on the developmental level of the child and included the free use of the arts as media of individual expression. His position is seen as incorporating both individualist and collectivist tendencies in its emphasis on self-expression in a community setting.

Granville Stanley Hall adopted Parker's notion of education based

on the developmental level of the child, using psychology to support this notion. He introduced the work of Freud to North America and was responsible, through the work of the Child-study Movement, for the rapid spread of Freud's theory, and consequently its later influence in progressive education. Hall was an individualist and emphasized the sacred nature of childhood and the inner development of the child.

The work of Edward Thorndike directly influenced twentieth century education, in his interest in human behavior and belief that education can be subjected to measurement as a way of advancing theory and practice. His focus was on scientific education and the social environment and his purpose was the development of Americans who would be socially and scientifically informed.

Parker and Hall are both important to a later discussion of art education in Chapter 6. Parker made art an important subject field in his curriculum. He introduced his students to a variety of media and exphasized art as a mode of self-expression, an innovation which should be recognized as a major development in the history of art education. Hall followed Parker in emphasizing self-expression in art and foreshadowed progressive child-centered education (p. 110) with his interest in emotions, feelings and the imagination. Many of the innovations generated by these early progressive pioneers were seminal to the work of John Dewey. Dewey is also considered to be a progressive pioneer, not only because he was a younger contemporary of Parker and Hall, but because of the many new measures which he introduced in the field of education. In Dewey's contextualist approach art is included as part of other subject fields, but is not seen as qualitatively different from other significant experiences. Because of the

importance given to his work in this study, a more detailed description of his pedagogy follows.

John Dewey (1859-1952) Like other progressive pioneers in education, Dewey believed that the child should be central to the learning situation. Influenced by the work of Francis W. Parker, Dewey adopted Parker's basic premise that education should be geared to the needs and interests of the child at different stages of development. With Parker he believed that schools should be self contained societies and model communities, which would eventually transform society; a similar objective to the old communitarian ideal. In addition he believed, like Parker, that learning material should develop from students' life experiences, and that growth is the purpose of education.

Dewey believed with Thorndike that science offers new possibilities for humanity, particularly in education, and that schools should produce the needed social type, who would be both scientifically trained and socially aware. Like Thorndike he believed that education forms the child, and as such provides the most effective way to change society. His social theory was largely influenced by George Herbert Mead's social behaviorism (Chapter 3, p. 73). Dewey stated that he was dubious of any, "activity or result that cannot be described in the objective terms of organic activity modified and directed by symbols-meaning, or language, in its broad sense" (1939, p. 36). The 'needed social type' envisioned by Dewey and Thorndike has been described as the "biological-cultural human being" (Schilpp, 1971, p. 279), one who would be equipped to deal with change, scientific developments and increased industrialization.

Like other Progressives, Dewey was critical of traditional pedagogy

which failed to reflect the needs of a modern society. His main criticisms included the traditional isolation of schools from the rest of society, artificial time schedules, examinations, rules of order, and subject matter handed down wholesale from the past. The instructor, with books, represented knowledge and authority, in contrast the ideal student was docile, passive and obedient, knowledge was imposed from above, and was completely outside student experience. By applying adult standards, and behavior patterns, traditional methods assumed that children were immature adults, and that education concerns the future rather than the present life of the child. In contrast Dewey saw the child's immediate experiences as the focus of education, and believed that children must be prepared for a future which would be nothing like the past. Progressivism as conceived by Dewey offered a more stimulating and relevant approach for teachers and children, and a practical solution to integrating a heterogenius population.

In an effort to unite school, home, and community, he based his learning material on experiences which developed from these sources, and was organized according to a simplified version of experimental empirical scientific methodology. The process began with the selection of a problem relevant to the students, followed by a period of reflection on possible solutions, and observation of data taking past experiences into account. An hypothesis was formed, followed by an analysis and finally the data was tested and a solution found which would in turn lead to new problems. This method used the simple principle of cause and effect, a notion which even the very young could grasp. Many pedagogues began to apply new approaches to education from the nineteen-twenties on. Among these, the best known are the Project Method, the Dalton Plan, and the

Winnetka Plan (Butts and Cremin, 1953, p. 589).

The Project Method, used to implement Dewey's theories, was developed by William Herd Kilpatrick, one of his students. Dewey was not entirely satisfied with his own method developed in his experimental school in Chicago, which he later decided was too individualized. The Project Method demonstrates Dewey's belief that democratic authority must rest with the organized collective intelligence of the group. The instructor in this situation is part of the group, and although having final authority, is seen as a guide rather than a director (Archambault, 1964, p. 149). Topics for study are chosen by the group in consultation with the instructor and are researched, if possible, in the original setting. Geography and History were particularly recommended by Dewey in Democracy and Education (1916) as vehicles for enlarging direct personal experience (pp. 207-218). He advised that all projects start in the shops, where students could experiment with relevant forms and progress to more intellectual experiences as the project advanced.

The following example of a Grade III project carried out at Lincoln School on the Hudson River is typical of this method of procedure. The problem developed out of various experiences enjoyed by the children on the river. Questions such as: "How much can a boat hold before it sinks?", "What makes boats move?" and "Who made the first boat?" (Cremin, 1964, pp. 284-285) stimulated discussion, and initiated research by groups of children. After several field trips to the river to study boats at first hand, many models were constructed in the shops. This lead to inquiries into the history of boat building, contemporary construction methods, and various relevant problems connected with weight, size and displacement. Boat stories were written, history and geography books were used as

reference material, museums visited, and records kept in both drawing and writing.

The following outcomes were listed, children: acquired skills in pattern making, advanced in woodworking and measuring, appreciated the meaning of weights and measures, acquired knowledge of modern inventions, explorers, and map making. Drawing skills were furthered by sketching boat models and blackboard drawing. In general, however, art was used to serve the topic and dealt exclusively with learning material (pp. 284-285).

Working together, students learned to share, cooperate and think in harmony with the collective group[5]. Problems of discipline, thought to be the product of boredom, were not a factor in the Project Method since content and direction of study were chosen by students. This method also insured that work centered on fresh, interesting material, and was carried forward in an enquiring purposeful way.

Dewey's pedagogical theories were criticized as being anti-intellectual, particularly by the scholarly community. Disapproval was directed towards possible gaps and omissions in the student's essential body of knowledge caused by fragmented and unstructured learning material. The way in which learning material was selected was also attacked on the grounds that students lacked sufficient experience to choose topics of maximum value. Dewey did not minimize the problems inherent in the new method, particularly for instructors:

> There is no discipline in the world so severe as the discipline of experience subjected to the tests of intelligent development and direction. Hence the only ground I can see for even a temporary reaction against the standards, aims and methods of the newer

> education, is the failure of educators who professedly adopt them, to be faithful in practice. As I have emphasized more than once, the road to the new eductation is not an easier one to follow than the old road, but a more strenuous and difficult one (1938, p. 90).

But many trained in traditional ways were unwilling to relinquish tried methods for the unsubstantiated benefits of the Project Method. Dewey's pedagogy was frequently misunderstood, even by those who were most supportive, partly because the rationale behind the methods lay in the equivocal nature of his philosophy and writing style.

The Project Method appeared to work best in private schools with enthusiastic administrators, dedicated staff and small groups of students. Of these, the most successful included Lincoln School, and the Horace Mann Boy's and Girl's Schools (all under the auspices of Columbia Teacher's College), Chevy Chase School, and Oak Lane County, Philadelphia. These schools were either started by educators who, as Cremin says: "went out and sought the parents... [or by] parents who went out and sought the educator (1964, p. 278). Public schools which achieved outstanding results with Dewey's method included: Porter School, Missouri; Winnetka Schools, Illinois; and Denver Schools, Colorado (Cremin, 1964, pp. 291-308).

Enthusiasm for Dewey's progressive ideas was widespread, but successful application was scattered. His ambition to produce a new scientifically trained, socially aware type of American remained largely unfilfilled. He was critical of much that passed for Progressive Education, including the child-centered personalistic approach which is discussed in the next section, and later developments in progressivism such as the Life Adjustment Movement of the late

nineteen-forties.

In summation, Dewey's objective approach to the student stressed development and growth within the collective group according to the aims of the group. Beginning with topics chosen by the group in consultation with the instructor, learning comes from active, joint participation in the scientific, experimental, empirical method of research. By actively contributing to a communal learning experience the student experiences social growth. Success is measured by the degree of understanding shown of relationships, continuity between one experience and the next, and the accumulation of such information.

Dewey's pedagogy is essentially contextualist and collectivist in approach, scientific in orientation, empirical in methodology, and verging on scientism in many of its assumptions. His theory and methods which promised to develop a new race of scientifically trained socially conscious citizens was frustrated by a lack of well trained teachers dedicated to his form of progressivism, and because of counter concerns in the movement itself. There was also a large body of pedagogues who remained unconvinced that the new methods were superior to the old, and it was only in the nineteen-thirties that these ideas began to have an appreciable effect on American education. The following section examines another approach present in progressivism which emphasized the individual as distinct from the collective orientation of Dewey's pedagogy.

Dissent in Progressive Education

In the foregoing discussion the focus has been on John Dewey's social reformist, scientific orientation. However, as noted in the previous section, this was not the only direction taken by the Progressives. After the formation of the Progressive Education

Association in 1919, a noticeable schism developed between those who favored the reformist approach, and those who favored the child-centered approach. The latter is described by Malcolm Cowley in Exile's Return (1951) as an individual revolt against the restraints of Protestantism (pp. 52-66). Their adoption of both Expressionist art theory and psychoanalytic notions, both counter to a narrow interpretation of Protestantism, tend to support this belief.

Cowley sees World War I as the catalyst which forced Progressives to decide in which direction their loyalties lay. Dewey's social reformism, the moving force in pre-war progressive education, no longer seemed relevant in the post war period. Instead individualist ideas which stemmed from psychology, psychoanalysis, individualism and an identification with art and artists emerged, more suited to the spirit of adventure and experimentation of the era:

> Radicalism no longer seemed fashionable...it did not die; it was merely eclipsed by a polyglot system of ideas, the combined doctrines of self-expression, liberty, and psychological adjustment, into a confident iconoclastic individualism....This postwar protest developed its own pedagogical argument; the notion that each individual has uniquely creative potentialities and that a school in which children are encouraged freely to develop these potentialities is the best guarantee of a larger society truly devoted to worth and excellence (Cremin, 1964, pp. 201-202).

The, "polyglot system of ideas", to which Cremin refers, crystalized in the individualistic child-centered approach supported by Progressive leaders such as Harold Rugg and Hugh Mearns. Child-centered theorists were influenced by the individualism of early pioneer

educators Parker and Hall, by Expressionism in art and by psychoanalytic theory. The emphasis on the individual psyche in both Expressionist art theory and psychoanalysis confirms the importance of self as the center of conscious emotion, and validates art as a worthy vehicle for the expression of feelings. This connection later initiated the emergence of art for therapeutic purposes, beginning with the work of Carl Jung in the early twentieth century and developing into the field of Art Therapy with the later efforts of Margaret Naumburg.

The emphasis on emotional development, freedom, and self-expression characterize other individualist views such as those of Nietzsche (1969) and Buber (1972) who also believed the fine arts to be the highest achievement of humanity. Bowyer (1970) claims that the view of humanity which emphasizes the subjective, creative aspects of human nature stresses the fine arts. Certainly the foregoing individualistic child-centered position tends to support this notion.

The following section will examine the similarities between the child-centered approach and the personalistic view of education both of which emphasize the subjective creative nature of the individual.

Personalistic Trends in Progressive Education

Chapter 2 has shown that the following characteristics are identifiably personalistic: individualized education, moral development, freedom, creativity, self-determination, self-expression, concern for feelings and emotions, and the development of the whole person as a major educational goal.

Personalistic notions have been absorbed into the culture in many ways, emerging in religious education - particularly in Methodism - and in self-psychology which promotes knowledge of the whole person. The

American cultural climate has, in the past, been sympathetic to ideas, such as these, in which the individual is the focus of attention.

Child-centered education reflected the same characteristics as personalistic education but emphasized the importance of art over moral development, the major goal of Personalism. The similarity between these views is explained by their common genesis in German Idealism, part of the Romantic Movement. Romanticism elevated art as the highest human achievement and saw God as the ultimate in freedom, creativity and morality. This combination of ideas explains both the similarities and differences between personalistic and child-centered education. The first emphasizes the religious, moral aspects of Romanticism, the second the importance given to art.

The philosophy of German Idealism marked a radical departure from the philosophy of the Enlightenment in which knowledge was derived from Reason. German Idealism retained an emphasis on the individual, but stressed the soundness of personal experience and knowledge from the emotions and senses.

The influence of these views can be seen in the work of B. Parker Bowne, the founder of Personalism, and that of early progressive educators, Francis Parker and G. Stanley Hall. All three attended German Universities, a practice which was common among graduate students in the nineteenth century.

Bowne was a philosopher and did not apply his ideas to the field of education, but like Parker and Hall was concerned with the development of the individual in conditions of freedom. All three believed that knowledge must be gained through personal experience, and that emotional knowledge must also be taken into account. Bowne emphasized that nothing

exists independent of thought and that the truth about anything is the result of thinking about our total experience of that thing (1908, p. 79). Parker focused on the arts as ways of enhancing meaning through personal involvement with media (Cremin, 1964, pp. 131-132). Hall was particularly interested in the emotions and included them in his psychological studies, particularly in his Adolescence (1904) and Educational Problems (1911). In the first issue of Pedagogical Seminary (1891) he stated that: "Every educational reform has been the direct result of closer personal acquaintance with children and youth, and deeper insight into their needs and life"[6] (p. 123). The emphasis on the inner life of the person, the emotions and personal experience are common elements which Bowne, Parker and Hall derived from the Romantic Movement.

The Romantic movement circa 1775-1815 represented a dramatic change in philosophical, historical, artistic and political thought, effectively replacing the rational model of humanity developed by the Enlightenment. In contrast Romanticism generated a new veneration for the more irrational and emotional aspects of existence. The certainty of external experience was replaced by a new respect for the transcendental, for memory, the imagination and emotional expression. Inner emotional stability was recognized as primary, an insight which resulted from a new awareness of the transient, precarious nature of existence.

Schiller and von Schelling, leaders in the Idealist movement believed with others holding individualist positions that art is the highest form of human expression. Art was also seen as a superior vehicle for the expression of emotions by child-centered pedagogues, who as Schiller suggested, based education on the arts. Art was seen as a way of developing emotions and creativity, a subtle link between 'inner' and

'outer' experience, and for the instructor a way of monitoring emotional development.

At its most extreme, romanticism encouraged a penchant for the bizarre, melancholy, madness and the supernatural. The German Expressionist movement in art represented the most radical example of, "the transcendental of the Gothic world of expression" (Read, 1974, p. 52). Other aspects encouraged a desire for inner harmony with God and nature, a deeper understanding of humanity and a new approach to aesthetics. The Romantic view saw art as the highest human achievement, and approached life, "according to the criteria of art" (Hauser, 1951, p. 179). The arts were believed to achieve the perfect synthesis between the sensuous and the spiritual in human nature, and to be a divine form of play which culminates in the attainment of aesthetic reason. In this view God is the supreme creative artist, a notion which resulted in the elevation of artists to a position of respect.

From the common ground of German Idealism and the Romantic Movement both the personalistic and child-centered approaches addressed education to the 'inner' as opposed to the 'outer' development of the child. The focus of both was on education of the emotions, an area seen as expressing unconscious and subconscious levels of experience. In child-centered education this interest crystalized in the work of Freud and Jung, whose ideas were disseminated earlier by child-study enthusiasts and the work of G. Stanley Hall. Art, in the child-centered view, is a cathartic activity and provides an outlet for both negative and positive feelings about the self. Self-expression is seen not only as an expressive act but as an indication of the child's inner state. A stress on the unconscious also developed in Romanticism: Naturphilosophie[7], a typical concept,

expressed the Romantic view of medicine and psychology. This was to have a profound influence on the work of both Freud and Jung (Ellenberger, 1970, pp. 202-210) and subsequently through their theory, child-centered art education, to be examined in Chapter 6.

The Personalist emphasis on emotional development in some ways parallels the child-centered emphasis on emotional expression through art. In his Education and the Vision of Excellence (1960) Peter Bertocci states that: "A human being's aesthetic responses involve both his feelings and his insights. The arts, therefore, whatever their intrinsic value as aesthetic, are forceful media for expression of intellectual, moral and religious values"[8] (p. 16). This connection between art and religion is important to the similarities between Personalism and child-centered education suggested by this study. Both express facets of Romanticism in their approaches to religion and aesthetics which emphasize emotions, empathy and intuition.

Connections have been made between art and religion which suggest that both use similar language to express difficult areas of 'knowing'. In his article, Aesthetic Experience and the Nature of Religious Perception (1980) the author finds that words like "unity", "harmony", "wholeness", and "integration" carry ethical as well as aesthetic import (Austin, p. 31). He also finds that freedom is essential to both religion and art as a means of making persons whole and validating individuality (pp. 28-29). The relationship between theistic Personalism and child-centered education is further strengthened in these approaches to the object of worship or the aesthetic object, which include emotional involvement, imaginative apprehension and non-intellectual awareness.

Ideas shared by child-centered education and Personalism include the

emphasis on: individuality, creativity, freedom, self-direction, self-expression, concern for emotions and the development of the whole person. Creativity and self-expression were believed to be the most important human qualities in child-centered education, and freedom was seen as a necessary condition for the development of these features. Personalism also holds that freedom and creativity are important to the development of the person, principally because these are qualities which we share in common with God. Self-direction is part of the Personalist code of moral responsibility which each individual must take upon themselves. These qualities are a given in child-centered education where the child is expected to be autonomous and the teacher to play a supporting role. Finally the notion that education must develop the whole student is a major aim of both positions. Personalist writers Bertocci (1965), Flewelling (Runes, 1963) and personalistic psychologist Gordon Allport (Searles, 1944) all emphasize the importance of developing emotional as well as intellectual faculties in the student. Child-centered pedagogy with its particular interest in psychoanalytic features also emphasizes emotional education, even above intellectual accomplishment. It was felt that if emotional stability were attained intellect could function more comprehensively.

In summary the similarity between Personalist ideas developed in the later nineteenth century, and child-centered education effective in the nineteen-twenties stems from a common background in German Idealism. This study suggests that the cluster of Romantic-Idealist assumptions which became popular in the nineteen-twenties was reinforced by the mediating influence of Personalism at a time when conditions in the culture were ripe for this approach. Flewelling (Runes, 1962) believes

that personalistic ideas in the history of western thought come to the surface during certain historical crises. This study suggests that the period following World War I was such a time, when social structures appeared weak and ineffective and interest in individual resources was rekindled. Personalistic ideas became relevant, and the parallel beliefs of child-centered educators were received with widespread interest.

Summary

Progressivism was a broad social movement occurring in the early twentieth century which aimed at reforming inequalities in American society caused by rapid industrialization, economic expansion and massive immigration. Progressivism extended to all sectors of society, including the educational sphere, of particular interest to this study.

Progressivism, which began in the early twentieth century, eventually coalesced in the Progressive Education Association in 1919. The broad aims of the Association were: to make the child central to education, to address education to present rather than future needs, and to use both scientific and psychological insights to further knowledge of the child to improve educational theory and practice. With the formation of the Association two streams of thought became evident. John Dewey's social reformism, which was collective in orientation, dominated the movement prior to the war. In the post-war period child-centered education emerged as being more in accord with post-war interest in the individual.

Some of the ideas which inspired Progressive education were first developed by pioneers in the field, Horace Mann, Francis W. Parker, and G. Stanley Hall. All three focused on the individual as central to

education, but Parker's notion that the school should be a small society gave Dewey the setting for his collective orientation. Other ideas he developed from Parker included: the notion that learning material should be geared to the needs, interests and developmental level of the child, that experience should be the basis of learning, and that growth is the aim of all education.

Child-centered education developed other ideas which Hall pioneered. These included the emphasis on the individual, inner emotional development, personal experience of inner states and self-expression through art. The latter was also a feature of Parker's pedagogy. Hall's interest in psychoanalytic theory, particularly the work of Freud, was undoubtedly a seminal influence on the child-centered approach. Through the Child-study Movement many educationists became aware of the educational implications of Freud's theory. Child-centered education was based on a combination of psychoanalytic notions and Expressionist art theory. It was believed that through the cathartic activity of making art, the child would sublimate any negative tendencies and achieve emotional wholeness, the aim of this approach.

This study has suggested a parallel between the philosophy of Personalism and child-centered education two positions which are in agreement in most of their major assumptions. Like pioneer educators Parker and Hall, Borden Parker Bowne, the founder of Personalism was also influenced by German Idealism and Romanticism. Areas of agreement between Personalism and child-centered education include an emphasis on: the individual, freedom, creativity, self-determination, self-expression, concern for feelings and emotions and the development of the whole person. As a theological position Personalism emphasizes

the moral and religious aspects of Romanticism. Child-centered theory retained the Romantic emphasis on art. The religious aspects of Personalism and the aesthetics of child-centered theory were found to be analogous in several respects. These include the emphasis on emotions, empathy and intuition, a similarity of descriptive language, and an approach to religion and aesthetics which is both imaginative and non-intellectual.

Dewey's pedagogy was based on his philosophy of Instrumentalism and aimed at social reform through the public education system. He believed that by using human intelligence instrumentally society could be changed. Accordingly he suggested an approach which emphasized collective learning through the experimental empirical scientific method. Many of these notions were directly influenced by the work of George H. Mead who developed social behaviorism, a biological orientation to society. Dewey saw the human organism in constant interaction with the human and natural environment, and determined that all learning must be social. The Project Method, which he supported, emphasized sharing, cooperation and group action, and was designed to produce a new type of American who would be both scientifically sophisticated and socially integrated.

Progressive education fostered both the child-centered individualist approach and Dewey's Instrumental collective approach to education. These views will be examined in Chapter 6 particularly as they relate to the field of art education.

Reference Notes

[1]Information on early progressive schools can be found in John Dewey's Schools of Tomorrow. New York: Dutton, 1915. These include Cook County Normal School,(attended by Dewey's son Fred), Menomonie Schools, Wisconsin, and Marietta Johnson's school, Fairhope, Alabama.

[2]Francis W. Parker, Talks on Pedagogics. New York: 1984, p. 450.

[3]G. Stanley Hall, The Ideal School as based on Child Study. The Forum, 1901, XXXII, pp. 24-25. This article argues that the traditional school tries to fit the child to the system rather than the system to the child. Hall points out that this is the only possible ideal for a republic.

[4]Thorndike's theory involved fusing specific responses to specific stimulae through a psychological bond in the neural system, in such a way that the same stimulus generates the same response. The basis of this notion came from William James' belief that the child is an organism reacting to events, and would benefit by an education which developed and organized habits, a notion which also influenced Dewey. Lawrence Cremin, The Transformation of the School. New York: Vintage, 1964, pp. 113-114.

[5]In many ways Dewey's notion of the social significance of education was similar to the communitarian view of the function of their particular group in society. Arthur Bestor notes that, "More remarkable even than the communitarian interest in education, was the complementary tendency of educational reformers to think in communitarian terms" (1959, p. 135). The social context of education became increasingly interesting to educational reformers in the nineteenth century. Bestor finds that the educator turned reformer was, by nature of a similar

approach the natural ally of the communitarian, in that both could bring about immediate reforms within a limited sphere. He lists three similarities between the school and the secular community: (a) Each is a small self-contained society which can be seen as a social laboratory, (b) Both are set apart from society, but are so closely bound to it that a successful experiment would be inevitably spread, and lastly, (c) More than one educational reformer became by stages a communitative reformer, "merely by opening out the walls of his ideal schoolroom" (1959, p. 135). Dewey's theory was compatible with these views, and similar to the educational notions of Robert Owen (See Chapter I, pp. 31). Owen believed that: (a) the individual is a component of the group, (b) social environment determines character, (c) the instructor's role is supportive rather than didactic and (d) a school run on the lines of a small community can produce a prototypical person and provide a model for society.

[6]G. Stanley Hall. Pedagogical Seminary, I, 1891, p. 123.

[7]Naturphilosophie: A school of thought founded as a branch of German Romanticism by philosopher F. W. S. von Schelling (1775-1854). This position held that nature and spirit are part of an indissoluable unity. Nature cannot be understood in terms of physical laws only, but must be understood in terms of underlying spiritual laws. Henri F. Ellenberger. The Discovery of the Unconscious. New York: Basic Books, 1970, pp. 202-210.

[8]Personalist links to theories of art can be traced to Rudolph Hermann Lotze, whose influence Bowne acknowledges as shaping his philosophical conclusions (Sahakian, 1968, p. 273). Lotze wrote a treatise on aesthetics, Geschichte der Asthetik (1868) which dealt with

psychic empathy and works of art, and was quoted in Wilhelm Worringer's definitive thesis on Expressionism, Abstraction and Empathy, (p. 106).

Rudolf Hermann Lotze. Geschichte der Aesthetik. Munich: Cotta Press (1968). From the National Union Catalogue. Pre 1956 Imprints.

Chapter VI

Child-centered and Instrumentalist Ideas in Progressive Art Education

Introduction

In Chapter 5 two dominant positions were found in the Progressive Education Movement which were identified as Instrumental and child-centered approaches. The former developed from John Dewey's philosophy of Instrumentalism, and was found to be collectivist in orientation. The latter was seen to be similar in most of its major assumptions to the individualist philosophy of Personalism and to have developed from the same source in German Idealism and the Romantic Movement. The present Chapter will look at these two approaches as they relate to the field of art education.

Art education is a relatively recent addition to public education, only becoming established in the school system during the nineteen-thirties. Prior to the founding of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, interest in art education was scattered. Early progressive pioneers, particularly Parker and Hall, in combination with the later advent of the Child-study Movement, were in large part responsible for important innovations in the field. These included the notion of the child as a unique individual, and the parallel idea of the child as an expressive artist. These notions in combination with other ideas generated in German Idealism and the Romantic Movement came together in child-centered education. These more immediate influences will be explored in the present chapter.

Educational theory generally evolves from long-held philosophical positions and gradually develops new theory from past practice. Although progressivism also developed from ideas which can be traced back to historical philosophy, it was not part of a gradual change, but appeared as a new approach to the problems of education. In the nineteen-

twenties, child-centered education with its strong orientation to art, created a model for art education which has remained as an important approach to the field. It must be emphasized, however, that only a few public school systems adopted a child-centered, or Instrumental approach in the nineteen-twenties. Leadership in child-centered education came from the private schools which could afford to be more avant garde. In these schools it was financially possible to hire artists to teach art. Leadership in art education came from those who were in sympathy with Expressionism and psychoanalytic psychology and taught in the child-centered mode.

During the nineteen thirties Progressive education became more established and Dewey's Instrumental approach eclipsed child-centered education. The Project Method was used to implement Instrumental ideas, (Chapter 5, p. 117) and art, like other subject fields served the needs of the ongoing project. In this system art was used as a means of recording data, of studying phenomena, and of constructing objects relevant to the project. It was during the decade of the thirties that art became well recognized in the public school systems of America. This may have been due to the cognitive approach to art adopted by the Project Method which emphasized educational criteria over the needs of art established by child-centered educators.

The following chapter looks at notions in nineteenth and early twentieth century education which were later adopted into Progressive art education. Child-centered and Instrumental approaches to art education will be discussed, and more immediate influences examined.

Notions related to Instrumental and Child-centered Education Present in Art Education Prior to Progressivism

Instrumental and child-centered notions can be found in the early history of art education. In the broad sense the instrumental use of art for other purposes was established in the late nineteenth century. At a time when the apprenticeship system was breaking down art in education was seen as providing a useful vocational skill. In 1874, the Bureau of Education found that drawing skills were a great advantage in nearly all branches of industry:

> Whatever trade may be chosen, knowledge of drawing is an advantage and in many occupations is rapidly becoming indispensable....The end sought is not to train the scholar to draw a pretty picture, but to train the hand and eye that he may be better fitted to become a breadwinner[1] (Hastie, 1965, p. 302).

This orientation remained in effect in the early twentieth century until it was gradually replaced by approaches such as that of Arthur Wesley Dow. Dow emphasized the formal elements of art and the principles of design, but fostered child-centered and personalistic notions in his belief that creativity is a divine gift and that art helps the development of the whole child.

The child-centered orientation became an entrenched position in art education with the inception of the Child-study Movement. The gradual humanizing effects of this movement created a climate of greater respect for the child as an individual, and helped to validate art as an activity for the benefit of the child rather than as preparation for a vocation. The genesis of child-centered art education can be traced to

the eighteen-nineties with the birth of the Child-study Movement:

> There has been an important neo-Rousseauian orientation in the field. This orientation holds, in general, that art is not so much taught as caught. It argues that the primary responsibility of the teacher of art is to provide the stimulation and environmental conditions that will allow the child's latent potentialities to unfold....It does not conceive of the teacher as an instructor (Travers, 1973; p. 1197).

At about the same time as the appearance of the Child-study Movement American psychologists were beginning to investigate child growth and development through art. There was an additional interest in the aesthetics of children's art in relation to adult art. It was found that even the work of very young children showed qualities of imagination and individuality.

The personalistic notion that aesthetic and moral education compliment each other was characteristic of the Picture Study Movement, in widespread use during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. It was generally believed that the study of great works of art would teach children valuable moral lessons.

There was a strong inclination towards Romanticism at the turn of the century which was partially responsible for the individualistic orientation in pre-progressive art education. This included an emphasis on the imagination, creativity as a divine gift, and the belief that ability in art is innate, and sustains inner growth. There are social implications in the use of art education to develop designers and draftsmen to meet the needs of industry. The social element was fundamental to the Instrumentalist approach as exemplified in the Project

Method in which art was used to further collective learning.

Art Education in Progressivism

Art education in the Progressive Movement was integral to prevailing trends in education, a factor which will be discussed in Chapter 8. During periods when the child-centered approach was favored in progressivism, art education focused on Romantic, personalistic notions of individuality, freedom, creativity and self-expression. Child-centered education alternated with the Instrumental approach in progressivism, although both orientations were present to a degree during the entire Progressive era. The Project Method, which implimented Dewey's theory, used art as part of a collective approach to learning, as a useful adjunct to the experimental scientific method.

Dewey's approach to art education was essentially part of his contextualist thesis. Art was seen as integral to life, and was not restricted to contact with the fine arts. In Dewey's definition social, serviceable activities which tend towards a product are useful arts, those which have immediate qualities which appeal to taste are fine arts (1916, pp. 236-237). He found this distinction to be arbitrary, however, taking instead the quality of the experience involved as a measure of what constituted art. Art in his view, is present in any experience which has aesthetic quality (1934, p. 326) (Chapter 3, pp. 71-72). The notion that art is potentially present in any setting proved to be too ambiguous to most practitioners. When Dewey's theories were more widely used in the nineteen-thirties, utilitarian rather than aesthetic qualities were emphasized.

As was shown in Chapter 5, Dewey's educational philosophy prevailed in progressivism prior to World War I. The post war period was marked

by a change of direction, child-centered education which appealed to avant garde Progressives dominated the movement in the nineteen-twenties. The latter emphasis on the individual was part of a broad cultural movement which effected Europe and North America at that time. Insights from psychology, psychoanalysis, existentialist philosophy and expressionist art theory, all focused on the unique quality of inner experience.

Art education became the pivot of all education in the child-centered approach and was seen not only as a means of expressing the self, but also as a way for the instructor to understand the inner life of the student. This approach emphasized individuality and encouraged self-determination, self-expression and creativity through the free use of art media. In addition art was believed to be the ideal activity for the sublimation of negative tendencies and a method of validating the self and initiating inner growth.

Three more direct influences which determined the course of child-centered art education came from, (a) the work of Austrian Franz Cizek (1865-1946), (b) the influences of Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) and Carl Jung (1875-1961), and (c) The Armory Show of 1913.

Franz Cizek was a painter and member of the Secessionists, a group of artists including Gustav Klimt, who were dedicated to pioneering modern art. Secessionism was a revolt against nineteenth century realism and academism, and was championed by artists who favored Symbolism and Art Nouveau. From these sources Cizek developed an understanding of, "The invisible processes taking place within the human psyche" (Gerhardus, 1979, p. 19), a preference for the expressive use of ornament for its own sake, and experimentation with materials

suited to this purpose.

Cizek became interested in children's art by accident, and was encouraged in this by other members of the Sessionists, who also recognized the expressive qualities of the work. He organized art classes for children using teaching techniques which were very different from those of the time.

In contrast to the mechanical drawing exercises which passed for art in Austrian schools at the turn of the century, Cizek advocated, 'not teaching at all'. He introduced the neo-Rousseauian notion that artistic ability is innate, and that children should be encouraged to express themselves in art without adult interference. He proposed that child art should be allowed to grow naturally, "Working entirely out of feeling, unselfconsciously, spontaneously, pressed on by some urge from within" (1924, p. 1). Believing that skill develops through self-expression rather than the reverse, he emphasized creativity, and freedom to experiment so that, "The uniqueness of individual personalities would be nurtured and developed" (Barkan, 1955, p. 48).

Cizek saw his role as that of protector, keeping naive children's art work safe from adult interference. He treasured the unspoilt, unsophisticated work of very young children, but the pictures chosen for travelling exhibitions seemed to have been chosen for their polish and skill.

The Third International Drawing Congress held in London in 1908 brought Cizek's work to the attention of British and American educators for the first time. Later emphasis on the expressive qualities of children's art work in the nineteen-twenties brought renewed interest in Cizek. During this period articles and publications on his work were

widely circulated and were very influential particularly in child-centered education.

The powerful impact of Freudian and Jungian psychoanalytical theory also contributed to child-centered education. Historian Lancelot Whyte notes that the conception of the unconscious mind was commonplace in European circles by the eighteen-eighties, and that, "many applications of this general idea had been vigorously discussed for several decades" (1967, pp. 169-170). These ideas became widespread in early twentieth century education mainly due to the enthusiastic efforts of the Child-study Movement and the work of A. A. Brill who worked with Jung in his clinic in Zurich. Many publications emphasizing the unconscious were also published at that time, and those dealing with education urged the provision of opportunities for the successful sublimation of the child's repressed emotions[2].

Cremin believes that, "Freudianism seemed to shift the focus of school almost entirely to non-intellectual, or indeed anti-intellectual concerns" (1964, pp. 209-210). The work of Jung after his break with Freud, was, perhaps, more influential in child-centered art education. Whereas Freud stressed sex as the basic human drive, Carl Jung believed the strongest drive was the need to express one's unique individuality in the face of social pressure to conform (Butts & Cremin, 1953, p. 505). Jung believed art fulfilled that need, and was among the first to use art as a therapeutic tool in psychoanalysis.

Art was used in child-centered education as a means of expressing emotional states and inner tensions. As already noted in Chapter 5, Personalism and child-centered education approached religion and aesthetics in similar ways. Jung also believed that religion, like art, supports

individuation and promotes an integrated personal life.

Interest in European art movements, notably lacking in North America, greatly increased with the advent of the Armory Show in 1913. For the first time a large number of Americans were exposed to avant garde European art, reaction varied from distaste and ridicule, to the realization that American culture lagged far behind its European counterpart. In addition new approaches to painting:

> excited young painters and sculptors, awakened them to fresh possibilities and created in the public at large a new image of modernity....In time the new European art disclosed at the Armory Show became the model of art in the United States (Shapiro, 1978, p. 136).

The exhibition included a great variety of modernist styles: Cubism, Fauvism, Expressionism, Neo-impressionism, and Symbolism. The common factor among them was the intimate nature of the work which appeared to reflect the inner state of the artist more than the external world. Many critics and viewers of the time considered the new art forms, particularly Cubist, Expressionist and Fauvist works to be unrealistic and difficult to understand.

Expressionism, the approach which influenced child-centered art education, is an anti-classical position which frees the artist from all previously held academic rules and becomes, instead, an expression of inner states.

Expressionist theories of art developed in Germany with the formation of a group of artists called 'Die Brucke' in 1905, and another called 'Der Blaue Reiter' in 1911-1912. These groups had many elements in common with the French Fauves (1904-1906) particularly in their subjective, spontaneous, free approach to the external world.

Wilhelm Worringer's Abstraction and Empathy (1908) first gave theoretical formulation to Expressionism and emphasized that natural beauty is not a necessary condition of art. Instead of aesthetics based on traditional norms, Worringer suggests an empathic approach in which the viewer becomes emotionally involved in art as an expression of the artist's psyche. He notes that this approach to aesthetics, "extends back to Romanticism which, with artistic intuition, anticipated the fundamental outlook of contemporary aesthetics" (1967, p. 136). The notion of empathy as an approach to the work of art was elaborated by Theodor Lipps, quoted by Worringer:

> The form of an object is always being-formed by me, by my inner activity. It is a fundamental fact of all psychology, and most certainly of all aesthetics, that a sensuously given object, precisely understood, is an unreality, something that does not and cannot exist. In that it exists for me - and such objects alone come into question - it is permeated by my activity, by my inner life (1967, p. 6-7).

Worringer notes that this perception is not random but is connected with the object. The sensation is the crucial factor, as Worringer says, it is, "the sensation itself, i.e. the inner motion, the inner life, the inner self-activation" (p. 5). This new approach to art, and the art form itself, are given an entirely new psychic function, and are described as:

> A luxury activity of the psyche, an activation of previously inhibited inner energies, freed from all compulsion and purpose, and the bestower of happiness. Its delight is no longer the rigid regularity of the abstract, but the mild harmony of organic being

(pp. 134-135).

The emphasis in Expressionism on the inner emotional life harmonized with the psychoanalytic orientation of child-centered education. Art in this approach dealt entirely with inner states. Whether the subject matter was imaginary, or developed from the natural world, it was still an expression of the artist's feelings at the time of painting.

Appreciation of the aesthetic sources of these styles in the work of professional artists helped to pave the way for a new acceptance of child art. Primitive art which was also thought to have much in common with child art was seen to have inspired many modern artists. Hugh Mearns notes that: "The modern discovery of the child as artist...is coincident with the realization of the beauty of primitive art generally ....The art of the uncivilized tribes is just that untutored art of our own children"(Hartman & Shumaker, 1926; p. 17). These factors contributed not only to a new respect and admiration for children's art, but also for children themselves as unique expressive persons.

Influences from the work of Franz Cizek, Freud, Jung and Expressionist art revolutionized the teaching approach. In child-centered progressive education the instructor viewed children's work with empathy and tried to imagine the child's inner state through their art work. The work itself was also seen as free, natural and frequently of aesthetic value.

Summary

Two clusters of assumptions were identified in the Progressive Movement: Dewey's Instrumental collectivist approach which saw education as a way to effect social change, and child-centered education which focused on individual development through the arts. This chapter

examined the sources of these views vis a vis art education, and direct influences present in the cultural context, which were particularly influential in child-centered education. Dewey's pedagogy was integral to his philosophical position and did not noticeably alter during the progressive era.

This study found that some of the assumptions on which these positions based their theory were already present in early twentieth century art education. The notion of training students in school to meet the needs of industry, was an early example of the Instrumental notion that education should contribute to social growth.

Child-centered personalistic ideas identified in early twentieth century art education included Dow's emphasis on creativity as a divine gift and the development of the whole child through art. The Picture Study Movement linked aesthetic and moral education in an approach which was more personalistic than child-centered. A general softening of didactic pedagogy was noted, as a result of the work of the Child-study Movement. In art education this was noticeable in the increasingly individualistic orientation which developed even before the turn of the century.

Dewey's approach to art education was conditioned by his philosophical speculations in aesthetics which saw art as part of everyday experience. He believed that art should merge with other subject fields, and saw art as qualitatively similar to other memorable experiences. In theory this approach had the advantage of making art more approachable and less of an elitist pursuit, but in practise his theory proved to be too obscure. The Project Method, which implimented Dewey's theory, used art to illustrate, record and construct material

suitable to the general topic of the project. The work was shared among the members of the group and became not so much an individual product, as part of the collective effort and a method of communication.

The child-centered approach to art education was influenced by three contemporaneous factors. First, the work of Franz Cizek of Austria, who developed an attitude of respect for the art work of children and found it aesthetically pleasing. Second, the psychoanalytic theories of Freud and Jung which focused attention on the emotional health of the inner person. Third, the Armory Show of 1913, a large scale exhibition of Modern European and American art. The former proved to be inspirational to artists and pedagogues alike. Based on the Expressionist theory of art, child-centered educators emphasized inner development and inner emotional wholeness through self-expression in the arts. Instructors followed the empathic approach to children's art elaborated by Worringer, in which the viewer attempts an imaginative recreation of the artist's inner state.

These two divergent approaches to art education were both present in progressivism, emerging at different times as the dominant position, but existing side by side during the whole Progressive era. The following chapter will examine these positions as they appeared during the four decades of progressivism, 1920-1960.

Reference Notes

[1]The Relation of Art to Education. Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education No. 2. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1874, p. 86.

[2]Early books applying analytical theory to education include W. A. White, The Mental Hygiene of Childhood (1919), W. Lay. The Child's Unconscious Mind (1919) and Psychoanalysis in the Service of Education (1922).

Chapter VII

Ideas of Individualism and Collectivism as they appear in a selection of literature from the Progressive Era 1920-1960

Introduction

The following chapter reviews art education literature during the era of Progressive education, 1920-1960. Material will be identified as being either child-centered and individualistic in orientation, or Instrumentalist and collectivist.

In the following review and analysis authors and theories have been selected for their relevance to the topic. As stated in the General Introduction this study focuses on the development of ideas rather than on the history of the discipline. In order to restrict the following material to ideas which are germain to the topic, it has therefore been necessary to omit other approaches to art education and the work of many leading authorities in the field.

In Chapter 5, child-centered and Instrumental education were found to be the two dominant positions present in Progressivism. Child-centered pedagogy was compared to the philosophy of Personalism which also developed from German Idealism and Romanticism. Both positions emphasize the importance of the individual, freedom, creativity, self-determination, emotional wholeness and the development of the whole person. Instrumental pedagogy was seen to stress the social group over the individual and to emphasize collective learning, cooperative decision making and social growth with progress as the final goal. The scientific experimental method is integral to the process of sharing and learning as a group.

Chapter 6 focused on art education. Ideas which resembled child-centered and Instrumental pedagogy were found in pre-Progressive education theory. Art education was examined as part of Progressivism, and was seen as peripheral to Instrumental pedagogy, but central to the child-

centered approach.

At this point in the study it is important to clarify the two clusters of terms being used to delineate the individualist and collectivist points of view. Initially this study identified the ideology of Individualism in the American social context. The individualist view was further examined in Personalism which was used as philosophical support for ideas found in child-centered education. The social, philosophical and pedagogical individualist views concur in their emphasis on the need for freedom and self-determination. All three share a common belief that the social group advances according to the quality of individuals who make up the group. In contrast John Dewey's Instrumental view of society rests on the quality of unity and social progress within the group. This view has been identified with communitarianism and socialism in American social history. Instrumentalism was also found to be contextualist in its emphasis on the changing inter-relationship of experience, and collectivist in its pedagogical stress on the group. The characteristics and relationships between these terms will be examined in the review of literature.

The Period of Progressivism in education lasted from 1920–1960 and is divided here into four decades, not only for ease of presentation, but also because variations in the social and cultural context occurred roughly as the decade changed. The periods of the nineteen-twenties and thirties have been arranged according to the positions held by the authors represented. In the interests of clarity the two succeeding decades of the forties and fifties are not discussed in chronological order, but according to the ideas themselves. This arrangement was determined by the increased eclecticism and confusion of views expressed

during this period.

The following review of literature in the field of art education will identify theory which supports either the child-centered or Instrumental positions in order to determine the scope, content and directions of these orientations.

The Nineteen-twenties

The nineteen-twenties are seen in retrospect as a decade of growing wealth and power in the United States, a period when there appeared to be no limit to financial prosperity. National economic records were consistently broken as profit levels rose. Increased business confidence, new markets and entrepreneurial ventures attracted a growing number of investors. Dominant societal changes include a generally more materialistic approach to life as well as an increase in crime. These events were common to all western countries and were attributed to post-war euphoria and reaction against the Puritain restraints of the pre-war period.

Superficially the mood of the country was youthful and energetic, but beneath the veneer of optimism there were many who were uneasy and critical of the materialism and cultural poverty of the era. Literary contributions by writers such as Hemmingway, Falkner, and O'Neill stressed the shallow, brittle philosophy of the nineteen-twenties. "Those Twenties writers actually began to define the existentialist position which is the zeitgeist of the twentieth century. They see the Twenties as materialistic, shallow, and secular." (Langford and Taylor, 1966, p. iii) The problem was seen by those in the arts as one of the survival in moral and cultural wasteland created by World War I:

> The key to learning how to do this survive was a new kind of individualism; new because...it no longer meant social involvement. Rather it meant personal integrity, turning inward to a close examination of individual man to find a new means to endure.... If meaning was to be found it was to be found within, alone....

Beyond the despair lies a search for personal meaning (p. iii). In all facets of the arts the search for personal meaning was evident in unique expressions of individuality. Expressionism in dance, as seen in the work of Martha Graham and Isadora Duncan redefined the possibilities of movement, just as Charles Ives in music, John Marin and Max Webber in painting, and Alfred Steiglitz in photography produced highly personal descriptive work. Artists isolated themselves in ghettos, such as Greenwich Village, New York City, in an expression of solidarity, and as a way of excluding superficiality and materialism of the period.

The Personalist view of this era is expressed by Edgar Brightman, when he noted that: "On every side we see the insurgence of a new life ....Freedom is again emerging in the human spirit, and the hunger for freedom is essentially a hunger for new powers and new values." (1925, p. 211)

Art Education

Progressive ideas in art education were first developed by those working in private schools. The notion of self-expression through free play with art materials was adopted early by nursery schools and kindergartens. In 1914 Caroline Pratt opened her Play School in Greenwich Village, and was the first to develop these ideas into a pedagogical method suitable for older children. In some ways Pratt was influenced by Dewey's ideas, particularly the notion that the school should be a small community, and that learning must develop from concrete experience. Her main focus, however, was on the individual as an emotional, imaginative, expressive person. She believed that through creative play with art materials children could reinforce learning

experiences. Her students were taken to the Zoo, the harbour, stores, and parks, etc. and on returning to school relived the experience by recreating it with a variety of materials. Believing that all children are artists Pratt stated that, like the artist, the child, "Is dominated by a desire to clarify this idea for himself. It is incidental to his purpose to clarify it for others" (Cremin, 1964, p. 205). In this approach all subject fields were incorporated into free play activity in an unstructured, unsystematic way. Her integration of learning material was influenced by Dewey's methods, but her emphasis on freedom, creativity, self-determination and self-expression was child-centered and has personalistic implications.

In 1915, Margaret Naumburg opened Walden School in Greenwich Village, like Pratt, Naumburg attracted the children of artists and intellectuals, and adopted a child-centered approach. As a psychologist she followed first Jung and later Freud. With her sister, painter Florence Cane who taught art at Walden, she underwent psychoanalysis with Beatrice Hinkle, a Jungian analyst. Her later interest was in art therapy, and she believed that education and art therapy should both be based on the principle that the student must discover the meaning of his or her own education, just as the patient discovers the meaning of their artistic creation. Both Cane and Naumburg held that all teachers should go through analysis in order to be able to deal with the emotional health of the child, and the development of an integrated personality.

Art was the focus of all education at Walden and was seen, not only as a means of expressing feelings and emotions, but as a way of developing moral and spiritual values. Cane describes this process when she points out that:

> As the child matures the art becomes more than a balance wheel, it becomes a means for searching through the self for things beyond the self, a search for archetypal forms, for universal concepts, for truth emerging through beauty (Karier, 1979, p. 65).

Cane believed that the whole child must be involved in art-making, requiring physical freedom, organization, memory, imagination, and emotional input: "allowing the depths to bring forth what they will from the source of life" (1926, p. 99). Painting and the inner psyche were seen as inextricably involved: "The quality of painting inevitably develops if the child develops as an individual, and equally the child grows with his growth as a painter" (1926, p. 155). Art provided a mirror image of internal states, as one of her students remarked: "Painting should look the way you feel inside" (p. 158).

Cane presided in an atmosphere of freedom, where moving, talking, and all aspects of work were a matter of individual choice. Art which developed from feelings and states of mind was considered far superior to work done from life. A release from the "bondage of the object" and "the slavery of representation" (1926, p. 159).

> Art should lead to the development of the emotions, the irrational part of man. Here lies all varieties of feeling, the wild as well as the calm; the dark moods as well as the light. Only when the whole nature of man is accepted can life or art have validity. Therefore any subject the child selects is acceptable, for this work the artist requires free choice (Cane, 1926, p. 316).

Like Pratt, Cane believed that the foundation of art is play and that the work of the pre-adolescent child combines creativity and artistic detachment. "Painting is play for him and he is better off

with almost no teaching. The creative fantasy must be respected and allowed free play a long time before the laws of art can be brought to the child without harm" (1926, p. 156).

Her pedagogy, although laissez-faire, was not without control. Each student was carefully watched for signs of need, and appropriate help was given on request, including techniques and the formal rules of art. This was particularly important for the adolescent who was seen as subject to self-doubt and insecurity. As the play impulse becomes less pronounced in the older student, knowledge of art and art processes becomes increasingly significant.

> Man is born with the creative impulse, and this impulse may become the means of revealing and developing the self. The work side being a continuation and development of the play, becomes more conscious and directed; it brings in its train strength and power, the ability to conquer difficulties and achieve a completed thing (1926, p. 154).

Cane treated children and their work with respect, and encouraged even very young children to be sensitive to media, color, and quality of paper. She believed the true value of art, for the child, lay in the opportunity to see the self objectively.

> The joy in creation is the joy in the spirit's becoming. For in the act of projecting his inner state into an outer form, he separates himself from it. The subject has become the object: he comes to greater consciousness through this act. He sees himself, which is the same thing as saying he grows....So for himself the creation of an art form is the growth of his spirit (1924, p. 96).

With other child-centered educators, Cane believed that art must be

taught by artists. Only those with personal experience of the delicate process of making art could judge the right moment to help the student, and only those who had undergone therapy were equipped to deal compassionately with the student's state of mind.

Her approach was Rousseauian, with the teacher acting as guide in the natural unfolding process, and the student learning from the self-revealing activity of making art. This is essentially the methodology of Art Therapy, but in this case growth, rather than healing, was the final goal.

Cane was by no means the most extreme advocate of child-centered laissez-faire art education, as the following quotation from an article written by Elizabeth Byrne Ferme shows:

> The educational value of art work...cannot be measured by its technique, color, line, or subject. Its distinction lies in its being a pure reflection of the inner life of the child. There are no external stimulus [sic] suggestions or examples; there are no art talks, art walks, no journeys to museums. The children are free to paint all day, or no day....We recognized art as self-expression, as a revelation of the spirit projected outward (1926, p. 141).

Left without adult standards of beauty, Byrne Ferme believed that child art would reflect inner needs and states which were frequently aesthetically beautiful, and absolutely unique (p. 141).

Hughes Mearns, a leading exponent of child-centered education emphasized that a kindly encouraging atmosphere is not enough. He believed with Cane that the teacher must be more artist than teacher, and must know enough about art to be able to entice students in the right

direction. The choice of the right experience given at the right time, in the most effective manner is vital, "It is the new business of the teacher to provoke children into wanting to know about these and various matters and then to provide materials and such help as is asked for" (1926, p. 103). This approach demanded not less, but more of the instructor. Knowledge was not to be dispensed wholesale, but must address the specific needs of the individual learner as the occasion arose.

Instructors teaching art in the public school system tended to reflect ideas from different sources including child-centered, Instrumentalist and pre-progressivist approaches. Margaret Mathias, a generalist, educated at Teacher's College, Columbia University, believed that the principles of general education, "should always determine the teaching of art" (1929, p. 5). In her book The Beginnings of Art in the Public Schools (1924) she made several references to the child-centered approach: "If we are to hope for a society with art appreciation and some ability to meet art problems, an adequate art course must provide for developing ability for self-expression, and for understanding the expressions of others" (p. 1). Frederick Logan's review of this book in his, Growth of Art in American Schools (1955) suggests that Mathias's approach was almost entirely child-centered and emphasizes her statement that: "Training is harmful when it precedes the development of the power to be trained. Training should therefore be given as the need for it arises and as it is felt by the children" (1955, p. 156). In spite of these statements and others which support the child-centered approach, Mathias provided her students with problems to solve, a Deweyan notion, and taught art principles as she thought they were needed, rather than

on demand. Her belief that knowledge and skills are necessary aids to self-expression differs from child-centered theory which held that knowledge of art is only necessary if the child artist expresses a need. Mathias's later book, Art in the Elementary School (1929) adopts a more didactic approach and is clearly influenced by Instrumentalist theory which was beginning to dominate progressive education at that time. She shows more social awareness, and develops themes for art instruction based on school subjects, particularly Geography and History. Developmental stages are identified in psychological terms and are used as a gauge for different levels of instruction. Experience must precede art expression in this view, and is planned in advance covering such topics as perspective, placing, proportion, mechanical drawing and principles of design. Her short bibliography lists five books by Dewey, one by child-centered pedagogue Gertrude Hartman, and one by Arthur Dow, suggesting the proportion of weight she gave to these theories.

Belle Boas, also working in the public school system combined several approaches which she outlines in her book Art in the School (1924). She promoted creativity and encouraged imaginative work and individual expression, but believed in demonstrating methods and suggesting subject matter. She continued to use Picture Study believing that knowledge of order and balance in pictorial composition, and inspirational subject matter helped to lay the foundations of moral order in life. Her main focus was on developing good taste, a sense of beauty, and powers of observation. She was among the first to introduce a program of museum education. Discussion of works of art followed Dow's principles of composition, but true understanding was believed to develop only through practical application. Although Boas used an eclectic mix of different

theories, there is some evidence in her book that child-centered theory liberalized her approach and changed the focus of her work.

Public school art education in the nineteen-twenties drew inspiration from many sources, and the program outlined by Maud Hardman in Necessities and Opportunities (1925) is a typical example. Although mainly Instrumentalist in orientation, Hardman includes personalistic, child-centered education of the emotions. Basing her pedagogy on a "True social situation where social laws, social customs, social manners become a necessity" (p. 5). Hardman stresses art education to suit present interests and integrates art with other school subjects as Dewey recommended. The main emphasis is on the social aspects of art, because, "Art is made for others and in this way unselfishness and service are emphasized" (p. 5). However, the author is critical of over-technical art instruction and finds that if children are encouraged to express real or imaginative experiences and emotions, creativity will develop and will benefit other fields of interest. "Children's visions are visions of their own lives, plentiful, beautiful, elusive things not to be stretched by adult hands, but to be cherished and nourished into maturity" (p. 9). Hardman recognized the lack of cultural tradition in America at that time and believed that good art education would encourage more public participation and enjoyment of the arts.

Summary

In the post World War I period, American prosperity and the euphoria which followed, produced a superficial feeling of well being which resulted from growing materialism and commercialism. Beneath the surface, however, there appeared to be an uneasiness and concern for personal identity and values which found expression in various branches

of the arts. Artists and intellectuals were particularly sensitive to the superficiality of the decade, and many unique personal styles and statements resulted which have subsequently been recognized as outstanding contributions to the arts. In this period, when sympathy with the arts was in vogue, child-centered progressivism presented an approach to education which revolved around the arts. This was inspired by Cizek's example, and was informed by the Expressionist Movement in art and by the psychoanalytic theories of Freud and Jung. Progressive private schools which practiced child-centered pedagogy were supported by artists and intellectuals and tended to open in areas frequented by those sympathetic to this approach. Although these innovations developed within private schools they were found to have a mediating effect on the more traditional and eclectic style of public school teaching. The laissez-faire attitude to teaching typical of child-centered education tended to soften the traditional didactic approach, and to place more emphasis on developing the 'inner' rather than the 'outer' person.

Child-centered theory, dominated progressive education in the nineteen-twenties. Renewed concern for the individual in the industrial-merchantile setting of the period spearheaded a strong movement towards Individualism which resulted in a new educational interest in the arts.

The Nineteen-thirties

Social and Cultural Context

The upward spiral of the American economy which appeared unending in the nineteen twenties, showed increasing signs of instability towards the end of that decade, which were largely ignored. Millions of investors were caught in the stock market crash of 1929 which effected all sectors

of the economy. Feelings of insecurity and pessimism developed in large sectors of the population which had become accustomed to conditions of affluence, and were faced with unemployment and poverty in the nineteen-thirties. The Individualism and experimentation characteristic of the previous decade, were superseded by the general belief that Americans must pull together to survive.

In education, budget cuts caused school closings, particularly in rural areas, in others, school terms were shortened and teacher's salaries drastically cut. At the same time a baby boom dating from the First World War filled secondary schools to overflowing. Many art specialist positions were eliminated leaving the generalist classroom teacher to manage without support (Efland, 1983, pp. 38-39). Although art was curtailed in general education, the culture as a whole, benefitted from far-sighted Government support for the arts which created a new audience. 'Art for the many' became the slogan in the nineteen-thirties, as many, who had never attended cultural events before, began to visit art galleries, museums and concerts.

Roosevelt's landslide victory in 1933 heralded a period of change. The worst of the Depression appeared to be over, and long range programs which included political, economic and social reorganization were inaugurated as part of Roosevelt's New Deal. In an attempt to reduce the powerful remnants of laissez-faire individualism still present in the form of trusts and monopolies, Roosevelt introduced measures designed to equalize opportunity and share the benefits of national wealth more equitably.

The Federal Arts Program, initiated in 1934 by the Works Progress Administration, was a support program for practising artists. The

result of this endeavor was a large volume of work, including the now famous Index of American Design, a vast compendium of American folk arts. Artists were encouraged to teach in a variety of settings, including hospitals, schools and museums, while others were employed by civic authorities to help in various ways with local events. Art for the Millions (1973) edited by Francis O'Connor documents this period. Essays written by those teaching in depressed areas showed that their role was more frequently that of social worker or art therapist than instructor in the fine arts. There was an additional scheme, suggested by Roosevelt himself, to use schools as exhibition and sales centers for the work of local artists. These operations were far-sighted attempts to sustain the arts in American culture, and to rescue those who had suffered most from the effects of the depression.

Art Education

During this period of hardship Instrumentalism with its social orientation, scientific method, and practical approach to problems, seemed to offer a more democratic egalitarian type of education than the child-centered approach. Dewey was highly critical of child-centered methods and noted that even children who appeared to progress in this type of education inevitably became bored without cumulative learning experiences (Archambault, 1964, p. 150). Child-centered theory was eclipsed during this period by the more socially relevant Instrumentalist approach. The economic limitations of the depression, always present in the nineteen-thirties, brought a change of emphasis in wealthy and less affluent schools alike in a common emphasis on social equality as the goal of democracy. The socially conscious spirit of the times proved to be an unsympathetic climate for the individualist

approach expressed in personalistic ideas, and although these notions were still present in education they were largely superseded by Dewey's theory.

The Progressive Education Association was actively reformist in the nineteen-thirties, and sponsored an important research program called the Eight Year Study. This project was designed to improve secondary school education and was carried out in thirty high schools. Schools taking part in the program were given the choice of a theme from contemporary life, or world culture. All subject fields, including the arts were subsumed under the chosen topic, as in the Project Method. When the study was evaluated it was found that the arts were poorly represented, and a subsequent auxiliary program was designed which made one of the fine arts a requirement for all students. Logan notes that this insured an increase in art education in succeeding years (Logan, 1955, p. 196), but judging from the literature of this and later periods art was not always treated so graciously in the public school system. The Project Method which relies on scientific methods of research, and emphasizes social cooperation may be an effective way to approach fields of knowledge, but the arts were frequently used as utilitarian adjuncts to the main field of enquiry.

Another important undertaking, the Owatonna Project, which lasted from 1933-1938, originated with Melvin Haggarty, Dean of Education at the University of Minnesota. Funded by the Carnegie Foundation, its mandate was to enrich the life of a small community, increase the use of art in schools, and generally raise aesthetic standards. Haggarty chose an approach based on Dewey's social and contextual orientation, which integrated home, school and community life, and gave more weight

to the applied than the fine arts. The entire population of Owatonna appears to have been involved in ambitious redecorating, planting and designing schemes based on the interests and tastes of the community. Through participation in projects, adult classes and the educational system, the theme of Owatonna, "Art as a way of life" became a reality for many.

The use of art to further social ideals is an important feature of Thomas Munro's work. As a former student of Dewey's, Munro extended Dewey's thesis to include the political as well as the social use of art, to solve social problems and further the ideals of democracy. In a collection of essays, Art Education: its Philosophy and Psychology (1956) Munro wrote that: "Much recent social thinking has pointed to the fundamental importance of aesthetic and artistic activities as possible means of healing, in part, the evils of society" (p. 287). In this view the student is seen as an instrument of social change and art as the medium through which change can be accomplished.

Increased use of the Project Method in the nineteen-thirties was noted by Efland (1983) who suggests another reason for its popularity could have been that it eliminated the need for specialists, thus reducing costs. Felix Payant's Our New Art Education (1935) reflects the prevailing social awareness, and supports Dewey's idea that schools must be responsible for furthering democratic ideals. Like Munro, he sees art as a useful tool for promoting these ideas, and identifies the social climate of the thirties as, "Social idealism" (p. 3). These social ideas are coupled with ideas from child-centered education and the two factors cited as most important to art education are: understanding the individual and his place in society, and the nature of art as expression.

The trend towards socially oriented education can be seen in The

Visual Arts in General Education (1939). A report by the Progressive Education Association for the Committee on Secondary School Curriculum. This report suggested that art offers an alternative way to improve individual and social qualities and other ways of expressing social ideas. This document is critical of child-centered self-expression which, it pointed out, left pedagogy without clear direction and frequently resulted in uncontrolled license in the art room. The growing influence of psychology is seen as a welcome advance particularly in the development of student personality. This personalistic emphasis was to become increasingly important as a rational for including art in education.

In 1934, the journal of the Progressive Education Movement, Progressive Education announced that child-centered laissez-faire individualism was dead. Dewey's socio-scientific approach was officially welcomed as relevant to all facets of education including art. Many art educators, however, retained their child-centered views, and this mode continued as an important trend into the nineteen-fifties, and even after progressivism itself collapsed.

Natalie Robinson Cole was a leading exponent of this approach from the nineteen-thirties to the nineteen-sixties. Like Cane and Naumburg, she underwent psychoanalysis, and was particularly sensitive to the feelings and emotions of her students. She differed from practitioners of the child-centered approach of the nineteen-twenties in that she taught in a public rather than a private school, and taught poor immigrant children, rather than children of artists and intellectuals.

Many art educators combined both Instrumentalist and personalistic child-centered notions, making both theory and practice unclear in

orientation. Leon L. Winslow, a prominent art educator of the period, well known for his fiscal, social and political views shows this eclecticism in his, The Integrated School Arts Program (1939). As the title suggests, his main thesis is Instrumentalist and promotes integration of subject matter, socialization of students, and concern for the relevance of the art program in the social context. His interest in developing student taste reflects an earlier era, but is directed towards influencing trade practices, rather than discrimination in the fine arts. Emphasizing the social relevance of this notion Winslow says: "Thus the teaching of art in the public schools has a practical relation to the Business interests in every community" (p. 53)

Winslow's course work is based on the principles of design, and is also influenced by the work of members of the German Bauhaus, particularly Walter Gropius, the architect, and Moholy-Nagy the designer both of whom immigrated to America in the early nineteen-thirties. Winslow predicts a new age in which design will have new social significance:

> We are entering an era which notably shall be characterized by design in four specific phases: Design in social structure to ensure the organization of people, work, health and leisure. Design in industry. Design in all objects of daily use.... Design in the arts, painting, sculpture, music, literature, architecture that shall inspire the new era (p. 9).

Personalistic tendencies are present in the child-centered notion that art is the expression of individual thoughts and feelings, a way of making dreams and aspirations into concrete reality. In addition he advises free playful experimentation with art materials and suggests that art education is also useful for therapeutic purposes, for expressing

difficulties and resolving problems.

His mixture of theories suggests a lack of direction, and is typical of much art education literature in the nineteen-thirties, forties, and fifties.

Summary

With the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, the climate of experimentation which characterized the nineteen-twenties was exchanged for one of concern for social problems. Progressive education no longer saw individualistic or personalistic concerns as relevant to cultural needs. Instead, Dewey's Instrumentalist approach seemed more socially relevant, and art education was seen as a vehicle for promoting social values. The end of the nineteen-twenties also marked a period of change in the Progressive Education Association, and an increasing number of professional educators anxious to identify themselves with the latest trends, joined the movement (Cremin, 1964, p. 250).

Those using Dewey's model of education integrated art with other subject fields, encouraged projects which united home, school and the community, and encouraged good interpersonal relationships and group harmony. There was concern for the environment during this period, it was believed that through art education the social and natural environment could be improved. Extra weight was given to the useful over the fine arts, a factor which accounts for the utilitarian role of art in this period.

Although the child-centered approach was dismissed by the Progressive Education Association in the mid-nineteen thirties, it continued as an important facet of art education, and operated as a mediating influence in the work of those who adopted other theory.

Public school art education became increasingly eclectic during this period, incorporating pre-progressive, child-centered, and instrumentalist theories, without regard for possible conflict. The end of the nineteen-thirties saw art education well recognized as an accepted field in general education.

The Nineteen-forties

Social and Cultural Context

The early nineteen-forties marked the period of World War II. Many Americans were reluctant to become involved with the war in Europe. Progressivists were active in the anti-interventionist lobby, fearing that they might loose the gains of preceding years.

American entry into the conflict in 1942 considerably increased the powers of the Federal Government, and further extensions were looked for in Truman's Fair Deal program of 1948. Political problems in post war years stemmed from disagreements between those who believed in an individualistic free enterprise system, and those anxious to avoid the errors of the Depression, by adopting some system of Federal protection against economic hardship. Individualists feared a drift into a socialistic way of life with the eventual threat of totalitarianism. A return to economic laissez-faire individualism was believed by many to be the most effective way to combat increased socialization. Fear of Communism dominated the post-war period and lead to ultra conservatism in political and social spheres. In 1945, the Federal Bureau of Investigation were given wide powers to deal with subversion, and in 1947 loyalty oaths were required by Congress, and the State Legislature, all Government departments, and in education. During that period trade unions, universities, schools and the movie industry in particular,

were subjected to scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Fear of Communism reached its peak in the late nineteen-forties and early fifties.

R. F. Butts and L. Cremin in, A History of Education in American Culture (1953) note that in periods of domestic upheaval, education has always been a focal point of public concern. During the late nineteen-forties teachers were not only required to take an oath of loyalty, but legal measures were used to remove any with Communist or other suspect affiliations, political membership and activity outside school was restricted, as was all written and spoken material on school property (p. 551).

Educational policy reflected post-war conservatism in its resistence to change. This was exemplified by the Life Adjustment Movement, a vocational approach to education, effectively designed to reproduce a social type of student to fit the requirements of society and maintain the status quo.

Art Education

Although art education, in war time, was restricted to patriotic posters, activities and topics, this was a particularly rich period for literature in the field. Authoritative statements testified to a growing sense of professionalism and the acceptance of art as an important subject in general education. Increased use of psychological data validated the notion of art as a way of reinforcing personal values, expressing emotions, integrating personality, and adjusting to the environment. Psychological emphasis also reinforced many of the tenets of child-centered personalistic art education, which became popular following World War II.

In 1947 the National Art Education Association was formed, giving art educators a professional forum, and a power base from which to disseminate information important to the discipline. In spite of official support for Dewey's theory from the Association, Instrumental education was partially eclipsed by a renewed interest in the child-centered position.

Publications by child-centered art educators Florence Cane and Wilhelm Viola were sympathetically received. Viola's book, the standard English work on Franz Cizek (Chapter 6, pp. 140-141) was published in 1944. Viola enlarged Cizek's thesis that children are born with an instinct to create and that adults must not interfere with this natural ability. He contributed verbatum reports of several of Cizek's classes which gave an indication of the respect with which Cizek treated children's art.

Ralph Pearson was influenced by Florence Cane and the Bauhaus school of design, both of which stressed individual expression. Pearson's approach was a mixture of freedom and structure, but he emphasized freedom of expression as a first principle. In his book The New Art Education (1941) he combines the notion of art as an emotional creative activity with a basic knowledge of design. He compares his approach to Florence Cane's and agrees with most aspects of her pedagogy with the exception of her lack of interest in design. Pearson finds this puzzling since, in his view, "it springs from the same subconscious sources" as the expressive material which she encouraged (p. 34). In Pearson's view only "unbalanced confusion" can result from art which ignores the principles of design. Like Cane, he believed that all art develops from the psyche, and requires freedom to express emotions, dreams and the imagination,

because it mirrors inner experience.

His design principles are presented in a series of exercises which leave room for personal expression and stress spatial harmony and relationships rather than mechanical steps. Like others who held child-centered theory, Pearson shows an evangelical tendency: "Creative art can transform the environment of man....It can change dull routine to emotional excitement. It opens the door through participation, to the art of ages....It can mean that personal and elusive thing - joy in living" (p. xiv). However, his work reflects the practical spirit of the nineteen-forties in his emphasis on knowledge of design before the student can "do what he wants to do" (p. xvi). He believed that design gives the student, "an insight into many ways and means of carrying out his own visions and of building them into pictorial or sculptural form" (p. xvi).

Pearson's stated purpose was the reorientation of art education based on advances made by the Modern Movement in art, "Which say that the dictates of the human spirit are the important matters, that skill is a craft and useful only as a means to spiritual ends" (p. xvii).

Natalie Robinson Cole developed an approach which emphasized belief in oneself, freedom and individuality. This concept of the child as a free, valuable, unique individual is personalistic and Romantic in its stress on imagination and creativity. Her books "The Arts in the Classroom (1940) and Children's Art from Deep Down Inside (1966) were enormously popular and helped to perpetuate the child-centered position.

During the nineteen-forties two major works, based on the findings of psychology, were published: Herbert Read's Education Through Art (1943) and Viktor Lowenfeld's Creative and Mental Growth (1947).

Read's pedagogical theory was influenced by psychology, and his philosophy by German Idealism and Romanticism, particularly the work of J. F. C. Schiller. Schiller believed that all education should be based on aesthetics and Read argued for this approach on the grounds that aesthetic awareness develops organic wholeness and moral value in the individual. The latter notion has been identified as personalistic, and frequently appears in connection with aesthetic education (Chapter, 5, p. 126). Read based his pedagogy on the psychology of personality which he defined as a combination of temperament, character and intellect. He equated personality types with styles in art and identified the former as categories of thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition. His approach was based on the Jungian analytic which is concerned with the development of the whole person, and takes emotional as well as intellectual factors into account.

Viktor Lowenfeld's magnum opus is undoubtedly the most influential book in the history of the discipline. As a refugee from Austria, Lowenfeld settled in the United States towards the end of his life. His theory, like that of child-centered pedagogy, derives in part from post War I peace movements and the German Child Study Movement, but unlike other exponents of the child-centered approach, he presented a well researched thesis based on the findings of psychology. This gave others confidence in theory which was previously thought to be unsupported, and offered a normative foundation, and clear direction to art education. His book presented a systematic account of child development through art, and laid the foundations for contemporary pedagogy in the field.

Lowenfeld was equally respected in the field of psychology, and wrote for scientific journals. This aspect of his work, and that of

others like him, became models for later research in art education.

Lowenfeld believed in freedom for the individual and a balance between intellectual, aesthetic and physical development through creative self- expression. His interest in psychology prompted a concern for the process of making art rather than the product, a notion which was basic to progressive art education. Copying, tracing and adult interference in the art making activity were condemned as meddling with the child's unique vision of reality. He believed, that teachers must guide children through the different stages of their development and the visual-haptic continuum. His work is significant not only because he provided psychological support for the child-centered approach, but also because his methods were highly influential in teacher training. This factor was undoubtedly responsible for the continuing presence of child-centered notions in the period up to, and including contemporary art education theory.

Several psychoanalytical studies were published in the late nineteen-forties which were of interest to those who emphasized the therapeutic aspects of child-centered education. These included Margaret Naumburg's Study on the Free Art Expression of Behavior Problem Children which appeared in 1947 (Chapter 7, p. 155). Rose Alschuler's and La Berta Weiss Hattwick's study Painting and Personality (1947) found that the art work of even very young children showed extraordinary diversity. Art educators anxious to make use of the latest information on the psychoanalytic approach included findings from these studies in their pedagogy.

The work of Henry Schaefer-Simmern is characterized by his interest in the therapeutic uses of art education. In The Unfolding of Artistic Activity (1948) he promoted an idea which Cane articulated in 1926, that

child development in art is a true reflection of personality development, "He who forms artistically, forms himself" (p. 28). Concentrating on pictorial data, he evaluated the child's mental and psychic growth as evidenced in the art work. He believed that the integrated use of all capacities in art would develop an integrated personality. Although this view emphasizes art as the mirror of the personality, Schaefer-Simmern's orientation is primarily therapeutic. This can be seen in his methodology which included repetition and elaboration of the same pictorial theme until all possible value was extracted from the initial concept, not only for visual enrichment, but for personal development and self-confidence.

Although there was an increased tendency towards merging child-centered and Instrumental theory, some authors continued to hold strongly polarized positions. Thomas Munro was one who remained highly critical of child-centered education maintaining that it was inappropriate for an industrialized society. In 1941 he pointed out that the notion of the artist as a unique individual was a remnant of the Romantic tradition and connected to extreme individualism and social laissez-fairism. He noted that:

> It ignores the whole drift of modern practice towards collective action. There is less and less place for the purely individualistic artist and more for the man who can cooperate with others in a vast undertaking like the making of a Cathedral, an airplane, or a motion picture without worrying too much about his incorruptible originality (1956, p. 81).

Instrumental ideas continued to be influential in the nineteen-forties, particularly the integration of art with other subject fields, the use of the child's environment as the basis of art work and art as a tool for socializing children. This approach received strong support

from the Progressive Education Association. The 1941 policy statement cites growth as the major goal, socialization as a priority, and the general aim that education should exemplify democratic living at its best. The National Education Association reflected the conservatism of the times in its utilitarian approach to education as a preparation for earning a living.

These general aims are reflected in Harold Gregg's Art for the Schools of Tomorrow (1941) which outlines a program for use in small towns and rural areas. His program appears to have been influenced by the Owatonna Project completed in 1938 in his emphasis on the role of art education in the local community. His orientation is the socialization of students into their own environment, and topics chosen for projects reflect this factor. In this program aesthetic experience is seen as integral to students' lives. This was in harmony with Gregg's view that his role as an art instructor was to enhance the lives of his students and not to create artists.

The integration of art with other subjects, also practised by Gregg, was seen by Alfred Howell as a great advance. By using art as an integrating force between all subject fields the role of art would gain new significance. He stated that: "Modern education is poised for a movement in which art will be fused with every branch of learning" (1950, p. 2).

A growing trend towards utilitarian non-intellectual concerns in general education occurred towards the end of the nineteen-forties. This can be traced to the increasing conservatism of the decade, and to the influence of the Life Adjustment Movement which developed in the post-war era. This was a practical vocational scheme designed to

prepare adolescent students for integration into the work force. Beginning in the Vocational Education Division of the United States Office of Education in 1944, these activities culminated in the formation of the Commission on Life Adjustment Education for youth in 1947. This movement resulted in the extension of the function of schools to include social, health and vocational programs. The new curriculum included a multitude of non-intellectual courses which effectively trivialized the content of education and art education. Although Life Adjustment did not meet with Dewey's approval, it was based on the Instrumentalist thesis that the goals of education should be integrated with the needs of society. Lawrence Cremin notes that of all the post-war innovations in progressive education, none was more strongly opposed than the Life Adjustment Movement (1964, p. 333), particularly by the scholarly community.

Summary

The early nineteen-forties were turbulent years, marked first, by the question of American entry into World War II, and in 1942 by involvement in the war itself. Post war years were disturbed by internal conflict between those who feared socialistic trends towards totalitarianism, and those who feared a return of the Depression years. The former advocated a return to traditional economic individualism, the latter favored more Government control of the economy. Fear of Communism and concern for internal security grew in the post-war years, reaching a climax in the late nineteen-forties and early fifties.

Education reflected these events, and, in the sensitive climate of the late nineteen-forties was seen as an area of crucial importance to national security. During the pre and post-war periods of cultural

upheaval, child-centered theory which emphasized the individual was favored. But during the socially insecure years at the end of the decade, Instrumentalism, which stressed social solidarity seems to have been more dominant. The conservatism of this era was reflected in the utilitarian concern for vocational education, indicating a desire for the maintenance of the status quo.

Art education, which became established in the school system at the end of the nineteen-thirties, developed an increasingly professional attitude which can be seen in several important publications of the nineteen-forties. This was due in part to the more widespread use of psychology used to substantiate child-centered theory. The latter approach, popular before and after the war was given a more practical redefinition by Ralph Pearson and others who held that knowledge of design is essential to self-expression. The addition of structure to an activity which was originally defined as free emotional expression appears to be a contradiction of terms. However this combination derives from professional art training and Bauhaus influence where knowledge of the formal elements of design were considered essential to any approach.

The therapeutic orientation in child-centered education continued to attract adherents. But inappropriate use of clinical studies to support diagnosis of children through their work in art education was increasingly criticized. During this decade art therapy was in the process of becoming a separate discipline.

Viktor Lowenfeld's work was identified as a watershed in art education, giving psychological support and substance to child-centered theories of creative self-expression, and a foundation to theories of child development through art. His emphasis on child-centered notions

of individuality which included emotional development, re-emphasized the personalistic trend in art education.

Instrumental ideas present in art education during the nineteen-forties included: (a) the integration of art with other school subjects, (b) the use of the child's environment as a basis for art, (c) art as a way of socializing children and (d) art as preparation for adult life. A continuing awareness of the collective nature of education is implicit in most of these goals.

The schism in progressive art education is clearly discernible during this period, as a comparison of views indicates. Lowenfeld's emphasis on the individual and inner development is in sharp contrast with Thomas Munro's criticism of the individual artist, as a remnant of the Romantic era. Munro found collective art forms more socially relevant, and stressed greater social responsibility. These personalistic and Instrumental notions continued to divide art education, and indeed the Progressive Education Movement itself. During the late nineteen-forties the latter view, emphasizing the social aspects of education, was dominant, largely due to the political conservatism of the period.

The Nineteen-fifties

Social and Cultural Context

The conservatism of the late nineteen-forties and early fifties was unsympathetic to free enterprise or a lessening of Government power in any sector. Attempts to reinstate the laissez-faire approach met with resistance from a strong conservative element who saw any Government retreat on these matters as a threat to American security. At the height of anti-communist feeling many members of the military, political, intellectual and artistic communities became the targets of

unsubstantiated allegations. There was general fear at that time that the 'American Way of Life', which represented individual freedom, civil rights and respect for the due process of the law, was in serious jeopardy. After 1954, when Senator Joseph McCarthy was publicly discredited, general opinion supported Eisenhower's policy of 'progressive conservatism' which encouraged individual initiative, and discouraged 'creeping socialism' (Nye and Morpurgo, 1965, p. 707).

During the late nineteen-forties and early fifties, there was increased criticism of the vocational and utilitarian aspects of progressive education, particularly from the scholarly community. A large number of polemic publications appeared at that time, including Arthur Bestor's Educational Wastelands (1953) and Robert Hutchins' The Conflict in Education (1953), both strongly opposed to the anti-intellectual aspects of Progressivism, particularly the Life Adjustment Movement. Statements against Progressivism increased as the effects of popularized education, particularly the latter movement, began to effect college education.

In 1957, when the first Russian satelite was launched, Progressivism was seen as being totally inadequate to the demands of a technological society. Dewey's methods, originally designed to produce scientifically oriented citizens, was seen to be lacking in the basic routines of learning. A different type of education based on traditional academic norms was reinstated, with a foundation of 'hardcore' subjects such as mathematics, science, and foreign languages. Emphasis was placed on the content of subject fields, rather than on the immediate needs of the student. These events coincided with the collapse of the Progressive Education Association, in 1957 due in large part to the fact

that the main tenets of progressivism had been absorbed into general education. Continued dissent within the Association, and the lack of cooperation between the various forces of reform in education were undoubtedly additional factors which contributed to the demise of a movement which in many ways had outlived its usefulness.

A new orientation appeared in art education after the mid-nineteen-fifties when empirical methods of research began to influence methodology. Graduate Studies in art education became established in such major universities as Columbia, Pennsylvania and Oregon. The trend towards the use of what were perceived as more stable and reliable teaching criteria met with considerable resistance from those who were still committed to the child-centered approach. Psychological data remained as the main substantiation for ideas in art education, particularly through the influence of Lowenfeld's work which dominated teacher education for several decades. Possibly through this influence, and certainly through the influence of the main body of child-centered advocates, the notion of creativity as a focus for art education became the shibboleth for all art education in the nineteen-fifties. Instrumentalist pedagogues identified creativity as a behavioral activity which could be developed through education in art and transferred to other areas of learning.

Art Education

Conservatism and the results of the anti-Communist movement are reflected in art education literature of the nineteen-fifties. In his editorial comment in the journal Art Education (1950) Italo de Francesca noted the trend to increased conformity in education and warned of the detrimental effects this could have on the child as a person and artist. With Barkan (1953) he found individual rights were being eroded, and

feelings of self-worth harmed by prevailing political and social ideologies. By 1956, Charles Cook noted that the crisis in American Democracy had passed, and that, "we have just been through one of our recurring, intense periods when we have been subtly, and not so subtly pressed to conform" (p. 12). He added that the storm had passed, but had left much damage in its wake.

The continuing presence of 'Life Adjustment' in the early nineteen-fifties reflected the conservatism of the period. Art education was respected for its utilitarian values; as a way to improve taste, help earn better livings and improve leisure. This can be seen in Whitelaw's (1950) definition of art as anything which fills a need and is well made from conception to completion. This author believed that art education should be taught, like other subject fields, along the lines of the experimental empirical scientific method.

The eclecticism noted in art education of the nineteen-forties continued into the fifties. This tendency is present in Manfred Keiler's (1951) work which focuses on the social goals of art education which include: (a) developing positive social attitudes, (b) encouraging respect for democratic living, and (c) understanding the social and natural environment. He suggests that topics for art education should be taken from everyday life and that linking art education to community projects would help to accomplish these objectives. He also lists the child-centered goals of emotional and psychological growth of individuals. This suggests a conscious attempt to balance Instrumental social theory with concern for the 'inner' individual.

Social objectives in art education continued as the main focus of many programs. Margaret Erdt (1954) taught art as a collective activity

because she believed that other skills, such as learning to lead and take part in a debate, would also be accomplished. Working with others also teaches the virtues of cooperation, sharing, and the opportunity to practice unselfishness. Thomas Munro writing in 1956, believed that in the wider social context art education could further international relations. In its more local application it could influence and improve home, school and community life. Like Dewey, Munro believed that art is present in any memorable experience, which could include gardening and cooking.

Manuel Barkan (1953) was critical of utilitarian tendencies in art education, and suggested that an approach which was sympathetic to inner well-being and personal values would be more effective in dealing with technical and quantitive trends in society. He thought it significant that the National Art Education Association Conference title that year was 'Art and Human Values'. Interest at the Conference focused on the quality of life available to the individual student. Delegates were critical of the utilitarian tendencies of general education, and the promotion of the stereotypical over the unique personality. A general wish was expressed to establish imaginative qualitative human concerns in art education.

Opinions differed as to the validity of the Instrumental approach to art education. Frederick Logan stated that: "It is worth making the effort to understand how Dewey's philosophy of art is the motivating power of the most valuable current approaches to art education" (1955, p. 203). He regretted that Dewey's work was relatively unread and only vaguely understood, and thereby pointed to the ultimate problem inherent in Instrumentalism.

After 1955, Instrumentalism is less visible in contemporaneous art education literature, in practice, however, there is some evidence that Dewey's theory was still popular. In 1956 Kenneth Winebrenner surveyed sixty leading art educators to discover their preferences in the literature of the field. Out of 800 possible choices, Dewey's Art as Experience (1934) and Art and Education (1954) were leading selections, placing sixth and twenty-first, Ray Faulkner's Art Today (1956) based on Dewey's theory placed third. The same survey found that child-centered publications were more widely read. Viktor Lowenfeld's Creative and Mental Growth (1947) was first choice, his Your Child and his Art (1953) fourth, Natalie Robinson Cole's The Arts in the Classroom (1942) was fifth, and Herbert Read's Education Through Art (1943) was eighth.

The child-centered approach again appeared relevant to art educators, and was frequently seen to strengthen feelings of self-worth and individuality. Interest in problems of adolescence emphasized the psychological and analytical aspects of making art. In 1957, the National Art Education Association Year Book, Art and the Adolescent, noted that there was a growing emphasis on freedom of choice and action for the purpose of developing creativity, helping the growth of personality, and furthering the progress of the whole individual. In 1951, Florence Cane's The Artist in Each of Us was re-issued, perhaps helping to revive interest in this approach. Child-centered therapeutic tendencies present in her work can also be seen in the work of others such as William Jansen who outlined his theories in Art for the Elementary School (1951-52). He saw art education as a cathartic activity which helps students to understand themselves, and express themselves in constructive creative ways. Art production was thought to give the instructor insights into

student personality. Daniel Mendelowitz (1951) describes art activity as a release from emotional tension, and a way of ridding the individual of unhealthy emotions. Creative expression brings reassurance and understanding of the unique quality of personal experience.

The U.N.E.S.C.O. Symposium of Education and Art (1952) held in Paris featured many distinguished speakers including Henri Matisse, Jean Piaget and Herbert Read. The contributions of these speakers were biased towards the child-centered view of art education. Matisse emphasized the freshness of the child's vision of the world and noted that: "The artist has to look at life as he did when he was a child, and if he looses that faculty, he cannot express himself in an original, that is, in a personal way" (pp. 21-22). Jean Piaget saw the role of art education as a means of validating and reinforcing personal expression against the restraints of school and family life (p. 22). Herbert Read re-emphasized that the role of education is the development of the whole person and urged the reconciliation of intellect, intuition and imagination through art education (p. 27).

In an evaluation of art education in 1956, Charles Cook suggests that the eclecticism of the period was due to the sensitivity of the field to problems in society. He believed that the frequent use of contradictory theory was the result of a variety of tensions and pressures present in society. He reserved his main criticism for those art educators who insist on psychoanalyzing student work, and called this a poor substitute for creative expression.

The tendency to analyze children's art work was increasingly criticized in the nineteen-fifties. Continued use of the therapeutic approach to art education was seen by many to be inappropriate because

art therapy was, by that time, a clearly defined and separate discipline. The collapse of the Progressive Movement in the late nineteen-fifties swept both Instrumental and child-centered approaches from the forefront of art education theory, although elements of both approaches are still present in the contemporary literature of the field. After the advent of Sputnik, the first Russian satelite in space, concern for the relevance of American education to the problems of maintaining supremacy changed the emphasis in that sphere. A new concern for subject field content in general education caused a similar change in art education. A new focus, which became known as aesthetic education replaced Instrumental and child-centered theory with an emphasis on the study of art history, art criticism and an interest in the artist.

Summary

The conservative trend of the late nineteen-forties continued into the first half of the nineteen-fifties, when the fear of Communist activities abated. In education 'Life Adjustment' extended the function of the school to include vocational and recreational concerns, encouraging the inclusion of courses which inevitably trivialized the content of learning. Life Adjustment was based on an over-extension of Dewey's belief that education should be relevant to present social needs.

Art Education followed the reactionary trend, basing its position on social needs, and including such criteria as earning potential, and the use of leisure time. The whole notion of education as a process of student adjustment to society was particularly repugnant to the scholarly community who were highly critical of progressive education as a whole. By the mid nineteen-fifties progressivism had begun to disintegrate, not only from external criticism, but also from continuing internal dissent,

and lack of solid support from the profession. With most of the major tenets of Progressivism absorbed into the general philosophy of education, Progressivism, as a movement, was seen to have outlived its usefulness.

The dominance of Instrumentalist theory in the early nineteen-fifties did not mean that art educators had acquired a greater understanding of Dewey's theory. More likely they preferred to work in harmony with educational philosophy, and maintain the position of usefulness established in the previous decade.

Eclecticism continued as a noteable feature of art education literature during this period. Those authors who supported Instrumental theory seemed to feel the need to include elements from child-centered education such as self-expression, creativity and emotional development. It is significant that child-centered educators rarely included Instrumental theory in their approach. This suggests that those using Instrumental theory felt the social approach to making art was lacking in its orientation to the individual, while those using child-centered theory remained content with their established position.

Arthur Efland dates the child-centered era from the adoption of child-study theory in the late nineteenth century, and traces its continuation through the psychoanalytic phase of the nineteen-twenties to the psychological period of the nineteen-forties and fifties (1971, pp. 12-24). This supports the thesis that personalistic emphasis on the 'inner' person, emotional and personality development, creativity, and self-expression, were present in varying degrees for the duration of Progressive education and beyond.

Personalistic notions played a minor role in the early nineteen-

fifties, and tended to emphasize the cathartic and therapeutic uses of art, particularly in relation to the new interest in adolescent problems. As the socio-political crisis receded and President Eisenhower's policy of progressive conservatism began to take effect an increased emphasis on the child-centered ideas of freedom, self expression and creativity can be seen in the literature. The position of art in education was further strengthened by the general belief that art fostered the ability to be creative, and helped in the development of a well rounded personality. Later interest in aesthetic education which characterized art education in the nineteen-sixties began in the post-sputnik era as a reflection of the tendency towards subject content in general education. In art education the empirical approach which resulted from doctoral studies begun in the early nineteen-fifties encouraged the more analytical trend present in aesthetic education.

General Summary of the Implications of Ideas of Individualism and Collectivism in Art Education during the Progressive Education Movement 1920-1960

It has only become possible in recent years to make generalizations about the larger trends and sequences which occurred in the short history of art education. As a culturally sensitive area, education has always responded to social needs, movements and crises, this was particularly true during the years covered by this study.

The review of selected literature showed the influence of both the child-centered and Instrumental approaches to pedagogy. The first emphasized individualized education and was concerned with 'inner' emotional development, freedom, creativity, and self-expression. This view was found to be consistent with personalistic notions which

stemmed from the philosophy of theistic Personalism, and emphasized the same concerns, but focused on moral rather than artistic education.

The second approach present in progressivism, Dewey's Instrumental view, was based on a contextualist approach which merged individual and social concerns. This approach recognized no separation between individual, group, home, or community interests. Learning which followed the scientific mode, was defined as a collective experience, and stressed 'outer' as opposed to 'inner' development.

As part of the public system of education, art education has traditionally followed the same norms as education, rather than developments in the art world. The exception to this has been child-centered art education, which remained close to expressive art theory while, at the same time answering cultural needs. During periods when education followed the Instrumental collective orientation, art was used in a utilitarian capacity. Dewey's democratization of the fine and applied arts, which found quality experiences of any nature to be aesthetic, translated into a negative approach to art in general education. At best, art was seen as a mimetic communicative activity, at worst, it was used to enhance other learning material.

These findings raise the question of the role of art in the educational context, and at the same time help to explain the undesirable fluctuation in the fortunes of this discipline. Art has been seen to move from a central position in the nineteen-twenties to playing a decorative and even utilitarian role during other periods. The following chapter will examine the questions of role and content, and will discuss the relationship of art education to the context of general education

PART FOUR

REVIEW AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter VIII

Review and Conclusions

Review

This study has examined the cultural and philosophical backgrounds of the American theistic Personalist and Instrumentalist positions, and related the former with Individualism, and the latter with the collective orientation. These positions were compared to education, and then to art education, during the era of Progressivism, nineteen-twenty to nineteen-sixty. Theistic Personalism was found to be similar in many respects to child-centered education theory, by reason of a common background in German Idealism and the Romantic Movement. In this study the Personalist position was used to support child-centered theory, and was compared to and contrasted with Instrumentalism developed by John Dewey from William James' Pragmatism.

Individual and collective rights were both found to be an important part of American democratic ideology. Of the two, the ideas and objectives of various types of Individualism were found to be dominant, with collective orientations playing a minor role. Three major types of Individualism were identified: first, philosophical Individualism which developed from the ideas of the Enlightenment and promoted a self-sufficient independent way of life, second, economic Individualism which advocated freedom in the market place, and third, idealist Individualism which developed from German Idealism and the Romantic Movement and emphasized emotional and transcendental human qualities.

Transformations from one form of Individualism to the next were seen to represent important changes in the general perception of the American Way of Life. Socialist movements which developed from the early communitarian systems became more socially relevant in the late nineteenth century as working conditions deteriorated. During this period

the excesses of laissez-faire economic Individualism contributed to the exploitation and oppression of the working population the growth of trusts and monopolies and the neglect of social institutions. Although the American economy continued to prosper, it became apparent, particularly to the middle classes, that the social cost had become too high. Subsequently a drive for reform developed in this sector of the population which became known as the Progressive Movement. This movement aimed at redressing the wrongs of laissez-faireism, through reinstating the democratic ideals of social justice and equality of opportunity.

Progressive education was part of this reforming movement, with the principal aim of making the child central to the process of education. With the founding of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, two different orientations emerged. Prior to the founding of the Association Dewey's social reformist ideas influenced the movement, but in the experimental era of the nineteen-twenties, the child-centered individualist approach seemed more appropriate to the spirit of the times.

Child-centered pedagogy, like theistic Personalism was based on a cluster of assumptions which developed from Romanticism. A similar orientation was also found in psychoanalytic psychology and Expressionist art theory which evolved from the same source. Child-centered pedagogy was influenced directly by the two latter positions and, this study suggests, was supported in an indirect way by personalistic notions present in the cultural context. All positions which developed from the Romantic Movement recognize the transcendental, irrational, imaginative, creative and emotional aspects of human experience and emphasize the primacy of the individual.

This study found that child-centered pedagogy and Personalism express different facets of Romanticism. Pedagogical goals derived from Personalism focused on the moral development of the child, while child-centered pedagogy is concerned with the child's art expression. However, a similarity was found between these approaches to art and religion. Common roots in Romanticism recognize that both art and religion deal with the delicate area of the human psyche, and recognize the importance of freedom. Both positions use a similar descriptive language and see art and religion in an empathic and emotional way rather than as an intellectual exercise.

In education the child-centered approach focused on the inner individual, and expressive ways of learning. Art, is defined as a creative expression of self and is central to all child-centered education, enhancing inner development and fostering emotional wholeness. The content of art education in this position is art, although the process was seen as a therapeutic activity, results were approached with empathy, in the same way that Expressionist art is approached. In addition the work itself was frequently acknowledged to be aesthetically pleasing and important in itself. Problems which developed in this approach resulted from the notion that ability in art is innate and that no instruction was needed. In spite of the fact that original practitioners of this method, such as Florence Cane were emphatic that help should always be available on request from the child. The idea that no instruction or help need be given may also be seen as an economic measure.

Dewey's Instrumental pedagogy is an extension of his philosophy of Instrumentalism. He believed that education is a social experience, as all areas of life are social, and provides the most effective way of achieving social growth and progress. Like his philosophy of

Instrumentalism, Dewey's theory of education is contextualist and merges the individual with the group in learning, as in all other areas of experience. Subject areas are combined under one topic in the Project Method which was used to implement Dewey's theory through the experimental, empirical scientific method of working. Art in this approach was integral to the topic and was seen as useful for studying, recording and constructing. Widespread use of Dewey's theory in the nineteen-thirties had the advantage of consolidating the position of art as a subject field in general education. But it also meant that art lost any claims to being 'different' from cognitive learning material, or to requiring specialist teachers. As in child-centered education this was perhaps more a matter of economy than conviction. Art was seen as communication, a shared experience in which all efforts combined to further a common goal. From the educationists viewpoint Instrumental pedagogy offered a practical solution to the problem of socializing children and a unique way of enriching all subject fields through the scientific method. Topics in the Project Method were chosen for their relevance to students' lives, and for the possibilities they offered for wider research. Separate subject areas such as the arts were completely absorbed into the total program.

A comparison of child-centered pedagogy and Instrumental education must take into account that the first developed from the Romantic Movement, the second from the practical scientific orientation of Pragmatism. Child-centered education addresses the inner person including emotions, memory, imagination and all transcendental states. In contrast Instrumental education emphasizes the human position as an organism in the natural biological world, and denies transcendental

states. Inner functions such as mind, and memory are connected to physical causes. As part of Dewey's contextualism, Instrumental pedagogy stresses the active principles of doing, making, experimenting and sharing which are external activities. Development of the inner person was seen by Dewey as a selfish approach and an effort to withhold something from the group (Chapter 4, p. 86). In this view it is believed that collective accord also satisfies individual needs and interests. Conversely child-centered pedagogy held that education which aimed at the emotional stability of individuals would automatically benefit other members of the group. This belief is in accord with other forms of Individualism discussed in Chapter 1, which held that freely developed self-interest automatically benefits the collective.

Dewey's Instrumental approach to art in education followed his contextualist thesis in the notion that art should be integral to everyday experience, and possible in any type of experience. This was a deliberate attempt on his part to eliminate the isolation of the art object with its connotations of class conscious culture and to reinstate art in the life of the child. This approach emphasized cognitive over aesthetic criteria, in contrast to the child-centered approach which was concerned with expressive emotion first and cognition second. Child-centered education also returned art to the immediate experience of the child and effectively, if not deliberately, also eliminated the hierarchy of the museum object. By focusing on emotional health as a prerequisite to learning, external stimuli were eliminated.

In neither Child-centered nor Instrumental art education were the philosophical intentions of the originators carried forward in the succeeding decades of education. In the Instrumental method art

deteriorated into a utilitarian concept, and in the child-centered approach art expression became increasingly concerned with therapeutic factors and less concerned with art.

A review of art education literature between 1920 and 1960 showed the individualist position of child-centered pedagogy and the collectivist position of Instrumental education alternating in importance during the era of progressivism. The majority of art educators, however, particularly in the later decades, attempted to use a combination of both theories. The appropriateness of using education theory to address art and the degree of compatibility between the goals and needs of these different spheres will be the concern of the following discussion.

Conclusions

This study has focused on notions of the individual and the collective as they appear in the context of American history, philosophy, education and art education. In the two latter fields individualist theory was identified in the child-centered position and collectivist theory in Dewey's Instrumental pedagogy.

The following discussion will examine the aims of public education and compare them to the needs and practice of art in the education setting with the aim of determining similarities, differences and the possibility of harmonizing the two positions.

First it is essential to establish the function of education in a democratic system, bearing in mind that in a democracy individual and collective rights must be in equilibrium.

The following discussion of the goals of public education must necessarily be broad and generalized. In a democracy, public education reflects the purposes and values perceived to be common to the

population. As a social institution education therefore functions as a setting in which the young are socialized and inititated into the mores of the culture. In addition the needs of society dictate that an educated population must be available to serve essential needs. These important social goals guide education policy, and to a large extent determine whether methodology follows individualistic or socially oriented directions. In the interests of democracy, the Government tends to attempt a balance between autocracy, or absolute rule, and the free economic system of laissez-faire Individualism: "The ideal course for government, never,..quite possible of realization, would be a via media which would balance the necessary control with a reasonable degree of freedom" (Sayers & Madden, 1959, p. 78). The dilemma between individual and collective interest is reflected in the field of art education, and can be seen in the period covered by this study in which art education varied between social-centered and individualist orientations. The eventual rejection of child-centered education in favor of Dewey's collective approach to pedagogy tends to support the notion that education is primarily a social institution with social aims. Dewey understood this when he said:

> By various agencies, unintentional and designed, a society transforms the uninitiated and seemingly alien beings into robust trustees of its own resources and ideas....When we have the outcome of the process in mind, we speak of education as shaping, forming, molding activity - that is, a shaping into the standard form of social activity (1916, p. 10).

Education is, therefore, primarily a social process with social goals, and is only secondarily interested in the separate individual.

This refers not only to the collective nature of the educational setting, but also to curriculum content. The review of literature (Chapter 7) indicated that the content of education is largely determined by social, political and economic events. Examples of this influence include: (a) the emphasis on social and collective learning during the Great Depression, (b) the patriotic content of education during wartime, and (c) the emphasis on scientific and technologically related subject matter during the cold war arms race of the late nineteen-fifties. From the Instrumental collectivist view, since the individual is society, individual needs are subsumed in the needs of education and society. From the individualistic child-centered view, however, collective American needs are best served by an educational system which develops the strong self-sufficient individual.

In the following discussion it will be understood that the collective orientation of Instrumental education was in harmony with the goals of public education. It is also evident, from the previous analysis that the individualistic child-centered position is contrary to the aims of educationists. Before moving to a discussion of the child-centered approach as a position in education, it is first necessary to clarify that the content discussed, will only include the activity of making art and will not deal with art history or art criticism. Emphasis on these aspects of art education entered the field at a later period and are not pertinent to the present discussion, since both art history and criticism are in accord with the cognitive and collective approach fostered in public education.

The collective orientation towards art education evident in Instrumentalism, was seen to emphasize outer over inner content, and

communication with others over personal expression. This approach is contrary to trends in modern art which have been highly subjective, particularly during the period covered by this study. E. Lucie-Smith describes the change which took place in art at the turn of the century:

> The overall change has been the way in which the artist has abandoned the outer for the inner world - he has transferred his attention from nature to the psyche. And this in itself has lead him to deal in images of change, for the first thing we learn about ourselves is the fact of changeability and instability (1968, pp. 31-32).

This means that the bulk of twentieth century art has been influenced by the Romantic Movement in its concern for the inner world of the artist. Even work which deals with the outer world can be seen to bear the stamp of the artist's particular mood and emotions as distinct from art which is based in nature. Lucie-Smith points out that subjective approaches have frequently appeared in the history of art, but that the twentieth century is notable for its consistent interest in the subjective orientation. Child-centered art education was therefore in complete accord with the contemporary philosophy of art. As such, this approach also offered children the possibility of understanding and enjoying the art of their own time.

The Instrumental approach has been identified with the collective orientation of public education. In its approach to art education it was seen to be more concerned with cognitive than aesthetic ends. Child-centered art education is found to be in harmony with contemporary movements in art which stress subjective emotional expression.

Another aspect of art which was developed during the Romantic

Movement, particularly by J. C. F. Schiller, is the notion of art as play. This contrasts with the Instrumental use of art as part of work. In Progressive education the idea of art as play was used as the basis of learning by Caroline Pratt (Chapter 7). Pratt did not focus on the cognitive aspects of making art, but preceded child-centered pedagogy in her emphasis on individual expression of assimilated cognitive material. The metaphor of art as play is useful to the discussion of appropriate approaches to teaching art in education, since art and play are believed to be innate forms of expression and therefore natural to all children (Cremin, 1964, pp. 203-207).

Piaget's observation that there are at least two kinds of play, makes an important point. He distinguishes between make-believe play which uses symbolic forms, and constructive play which attempts to reproduce reality and calls for skills. While the first is free and self-determining, the second is an imitative, constructive activity which resembles work more than play. From this he deduced that: "Thought which is egocentric and irreducible to 'grouping' is essentially symbolic, intermediary between the image and the concept, while rational, conceptual thought presupposes socialization and 'grouping'" (1962, p. 290). This differentiates between activities which reflect the inner world, and activities which attempt to reproduce the outer world. The first resembles the individualistic child-centered approach, the second, collective Instrumental education.

In his description of these two kinds of play, Piaget connects introspective forms of play with the individual, and play which is based on rational conceptual thought with group activities. Piaget's description of private and public play is also analogous to child-centered and

Instrumentalist art education.

Child-centered art making can be compared to Piaget's notion of make-believe play which is free, self-determining and irreducible to grouping. This form of play is primarily addressed to the self. Caroline Pratt observed this important factor in her play school (Chapter 7, p. 154). She noted that, like the artist, the child "is dominated by a desire to clarify the idea for himself. It is incidental to his purpose to clarify it for others" (p. 161). The important feature of this activity is the internal, and therefore invisible process of art as an expression of self made for the benefit of the self. Art work which results from this approach is inevitably coloured by the individual's moods, emotions and feelings and is made to satisfy an inner need. It is therefore accidental if such work is aesthetically pleasing, and may equally be disturbing and unpleasant. This is also true of much modern art and is symptomatic of the honesty with which the artist addresses the work. This does not suggest that professional art and child art are comparable, but merely points out that the work of art derives from the same source. Florence Cane emphasized that "Any subject the child selects is acceptable, for this work the artist requires free choice" (Chapter 7, p. 156). Making art in this mode is therefore comparable to introspective play.

In contrast Instrumental art education is integral to the learning process and part of the collective project. In this approach art making is similar to Piaget's model of imitative constructive play which is addressed to the group. Art as a form of communication must be clear and informative rather than expressive, and mimetic rather than imaginative. It is, therefore, a tool to further cognition and not a

free activity but is rather conditioned by the needs of the group and part of work rather than play.

Art education in Instrumentalism fulfills the criteria of general education in its emphasis on the collective, but reduces art to its practical function as a method of reproduction and communication. In contrast the child-centered model promotes the inner aspects of the individual and is thus in harmony with movements in modern art. This approach utilizes the natural instinct to form which is an internal self-fulfilling activity. Martin Buber endorses the necessity for individuation in the originative process when he says:

> There are two forms indispensable for the building of true human life, to which the originative instinct, left to itself, does not lead and cannot lead: to sharing in an undertaking, and to entering into mutuality....There is a force within the person, which goes out, impresses itself on the material, and the achievement arises objectively: the moment is over, it has run in one direction from the heart's dream to the world, and its course is finished.... Yes, as an originator man is solitary (1972, p. 87).

Thomas Munro, an art educator who was strongly influenced by Dewey, argues against the notion that the individual is the only source of creation. He suggests that contemporary art education must be based on a collective view of life, and cites collective undertakings such as motion pictures, architectural achievements and modern feats of engineering as models for the field. He emphasizes that individual artists must abandon their notions of originality and put their collective efforts to work (1956, p. 81). This idea is also present in contemporary art which has produced environmental sculpture, performance art and collaborative

ventures in various modes of expression. Collective work appears to deny the presence of an originator and emphasizes the group. In work which stresses unity it is easy to overlook the genesis of the original idea, or the genesis of the various ideas which combine to make the final work of art. It is undeniable, however, that every idea must originate in the mind of an individual. The fact that it may alter or develop in exchange with others does not change the origin of the idea. This is, perhaps more evident in art than in other fields where ideas can be more factual and less dependant on subjective perception.

Twentieth century interest in collective art suggest that Dewey's Instrumental approach may have some relevance to the fine arts. This is denied, however, by the stress on cognitive factors to the exclusion of affective content in art education. This study has found his approach to be objective and collectivist in orientation, mimetic and cognitive in intent and related to work rather than play. These qualities are of benefit to other subject fields, and to the acquisition of skills, but in emphasizing the collective this approach by-passes the originative instinct to form. This contrasts with child-centered art education which fostered the originative instinct. By focusing on the individual and on inner expression, art in this model of education encourages both independent thinking and creative activity. In spite of the advantages offered by this approach however, educationists have tended to view affective art education with suspicion. This may be partly because it increases individuation, does not offer visible or measurable rewards and originated from poorly defined theory.

Attempts by art educators to reconcile art education with prevailing aims in education has resulted in eclecticism and confusion in the

literature of the field. The dichotomy between views in education and views in art education, represented by these positions, are important, not only in terms of historical precedent, but because similar problems continue to exist in the field. In its efforts to be accepted in public education, art education has frequently confused the aims of art with the aims of education. Arthur Efland (1971) sees the indecisive nature of art education as a disturbing tendency in which one set of theories is continually being traded for another. Nietzche points out that this is not uncommon among emerging disciplines and that all new disciplines appear to suffer from similar problems. Even philosophy, "for a long time lacked the courage for itself: it was always looking around to see if someone would come and help it, yet it was afraid of all who looked at it" (1969, p. 112). This same uncertainty has been a negative factor in art education resulting in loss of credibility and a general weakening of art content. In Chapter 7 art education was seen to be vulnerable, not only to a variety of different educational goals, but also to changes in the social context.

A system of public education is inevitably a socially sensitive area which responds to changes in the cultural, political and economic spheres. This factor was particularly noticeable during the duration of the two World Wars when the collective spirit prevailed, and in succeeding years when there was a renewed interest in individual values (Chapter 7). Internal crises such as the Great Depression or the anti-communist cold war period of the late nineteen-forties and early fifties were again times when collective unity seemed important. In education interest in the individual coincided with post-crisis periods resulting in a more liberal approach and increased interest in the arts. A conservative trend could

be seen during wartime and in times of internal crisis apparently leading to a more utilitarian approach to education. It is important to note, however, that public education has never been individualistic in orientation but has only tended towards a more liberalized view of the individual.

Educational historian C. H. Bowyer (1970) contends that views of humanity which emphasize objective experience stress science and technology, views which stress subjective experience emphasize the fine arts. The review of literature in Chapter 7 suggests that during periods when the collective spirit prevailed an objective, scientific orientation was present in both education and art education. Conversely, during periods of interest in the individual, such as the nineteen-twenties, a subjective orientation was noticeably present resulting in an increased interest in the arts.

Since both education and art education are culturally sensitive areas which respond to social pressures, is it unreasonable to posit an individualistic model of art education in a field which must answer to the collective?

The problem of individual freedom and the need for collective control was apparent to pioneer progressive educators. By proposing models of education which focused on the individual both Johann Pestalozzi and Horace Mann were aware that a new problem had entered the field of education. Both asked how it is possible to free and also shape a child at the same time? In pre-progressive public education the system was almost entirely concerned with public welfare. With the advent of Progressive ideas, however, the problem expressed by Pestalozzi and Mann became a reality. As part of public education, art education has inherited this problem.

In conclusion it is clear that a system built on an individualistic

approach such as child-centered education is overly idealistic in its belief that the collective good can be left to individual conscience. In contemporary society the need for a collective spirit is essential. It is important to remember, however, that in education the collective view is secure in its position as an instrument of society. It is the individualist view which is most vulnerable and must be retained. Philosopher Bertrand Russell emphasized the importance of this when he said: "Reverence for human personality is the beginning of wisdom in every social question, but above all in education" (1956, p. 138). This study suggests that the presence of the arts in education is important if for no other reason than to maintain a balance between the individual and the collective.

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