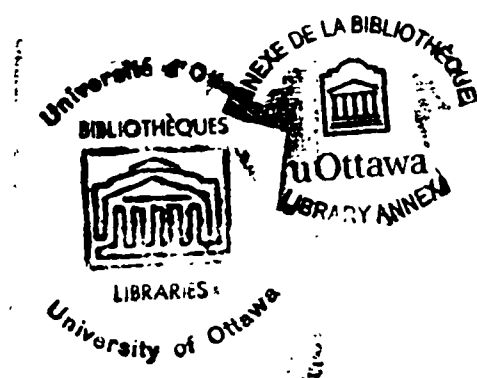


SIR RICHARD W. LIVINGSTONE: SOCIAL EDUCATOR

by Sister M. Nolaseo, R.S.M.

Thesis presented to the School of
Psychology and Education of the
University of Ottawa as partial
fulfillment of the requirements
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Sister M. Nolasco was born October 11, 1916, in Bay Bulls, Newfoundland. She received her Bachelor of Arts degree from Mount St. Vincent College, Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1940 and her Master of Arts degree in Education from the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., in 1956. The title of her thesis was An Analysis of Errors Made by Grade Eleven Students in Algebra in the Secondary Schools of Newfoundland.

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INTRODUCTION

It is as a classicist that Sir Richard W. Livingstone is most universally known. In the field of education he is acknowledged to be an educator of considerable merit, and though many of his writings are devoted to an exposition of his views on Greek culture and its implications for modern civilization, yet the educational motif predominates in all his works.

The purpose of this study is to determine, from an analysis of his writings, if Sir Livingstone may be classified as a Social Educator. It is an attempt to appraise his educational theory in general, with specific reference to the social aspect of it; hence the hypothesis is advanced that Sir Livingstone is a Social Educator.

There are, of necessity, limitations to a study of this nature. In the first place, it should be clearly understood that no attempt is being made to evaluate the educational theories of Sir Livingstone in the light of principles of Catholic education, though it may readily be conceived that much of the thinking behind this investigation will be within the framework of such principles.

Secondly, Sir Richard Livingstone is an English educator and is himself the product of English schools; consequently, much that he has to say about education applies

directly to the English school system.

Thirdly, this is not meant to be an exhaustive study of all the writings of the author. No analysis of personal documents is possible, hence, the conclusions reached will be derived solely from an examination of the available writings in printed form.

At the outset, a clarification of the scope of the problem seems necessary. It is not a question of establishing Sir Livingstone's claim to the title of educator -- this is a basic assumption of the study. The real issue revolves around the term "social educator", and here, an explanation of the origins of the study may serve to elucidate the issue.

The problem arose out of a desire to ascertain the full extent of Sir Livingstone's interest in the education of the common people, and to check, as it were, the sincerity of this interest. A second question centered around the possibility of reconciling his own educational background and professional attainments with his concern for the education of the ordinary man, and of determining the genuineness of this concern. Many of his statements seemed to indicate a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the ordinary man; a systematic study of his writings might serve as a test for the sincerity of these statements.

From a perusal of his earlier works on education the present writer had no difficulty in discerning Sir Livingstone's aim in individual education and the emphasis he gave to it, but questions arose as to his interpretation of the social aim as well as to the significance of the main theme in so many of his writings, that the improvement of men is a necessary prelude to the improvement of society. These are some of the questions which prompted this study; an analysis of Sir Livingstone's writings should provide an answer to them and thus help to bring into relief his role as an educator, particularly in the realm of social education.

At this point, for purposes of further clarification, a definition of the term "social educator" seems imperative. A social educator may be defined as an educator who considers education to be the complete development of the individual in his culture, consonant with his true nature, and in accordance with Christian principles of life and of education.

It is assumed that the term "educator" is accepted in its most comprehensive meaning to apply to one who trains character as well as instructs, and not merely to one who instructs, or to one who in any way contributes towards the educational development of another.

"The complete development of the individual within his culture" connotes the all-round development of the human being, and this, in turn, includes a training in his physical, vocational, intellectual, moral, spiritual and social aspects.

"Consonant with his true nature" implies a training which recognizes that man is a creature made up of a body and soul; that he is endowed with an intellect capable of attaining the truth, and a free will which makes him responsible for his conduct; and that he has a social as well as an individual nature.

"In accordance with Christian principles of life and of education" subsumes acceptance of the following basic truths of Christianity:

1. All created reality owes its existence to God and is governed by His Providence;
2. The doctrine of the Incarnation is the basis of the Christian concept of human life;
3. Divine Revelation is the source of certain supernatural truths;
4. Man has supernatural aid in his conduct;
5. As a result of original sin, man has a darkened intellect, a weakened will and a nature more inclined to evil;
6. The ultimate aim of education is eternal happiness

with God.

The procedure for the study will take the form of an inductive development of Sir Livingstone's views on individual, social and adult education. These views will be evaluated in the light of criteria formulated from a survey of the educational literature and through a synthesis of the thinking of representative writers in the field.

With reference to the criteria the following distinctions should be noted. They are being established from a study of the writings of conservative social educators; the writings of radical social educators will serve a negative purpose. By radical social educators is meant those educators who reduce man to his social milieu and who personify society and destroy the personality of the individual; among these are the socialist educators. Opposed to them are the conservative social educators who take into consideration man's true nature as being individual and social.

Another delimiting factor must also be noted. Oriental systems of education are beyond the scope of this study. Therefore when the term "social educator" is used the implication is that of an educator in Western Civilization and to delimit it still further, in a Western Civilization that is Christian in its foundations.

With regard to the status of the question in the literature, there is little to report. At the time of Sir

Livingstone's inauguration as President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the Times Educational Supplement¹ published a short biographical sketch of the new president and paid tribute to him as an educator and a classicist. Time² carried a pen portrait in 1946. Richards³ has written of his status as a contemporary educator and Prudell⁴ has attempted to evaluate his theories and principles in the light of the Catholic principles of education. Prudell's study reveals that, though Sir Livingstone makes the correct analysis of present day social and educational problems, he fails to prescribe the right remedy. The above mentioned sources have made no pretense of evaluating the author as a Social Educator, hence, it is reasonable to assume that this study is entering a yet unexplored field.

In the report which follows Chapter I will be devoted to establishing a historical background to give

1 "New President of Corpus, Oxford", Times Educational Supplement, No. 953, July 29, 1933, p. 253.

2 "Classicist", Time, July 15, 1946, p. 69.

3 H. E. Richards, "Contemporary Education and Sir Richard Livingstone", Religion in Life, Vol. 18, Spring Number, 1949, p. 251-262.

4 Harold Prudell, Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, unpublished Master's thesis presented to Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1953, xi-109 p.

perspective to the study. Chapter II will develop Sir Livingstone's views on individual education. In Chapter III the main points of his theory of social education will be set forth, while Chapter IV will treat of his outlook on adult education. A detailed description of the criteria and their sources will be given in Chapter V and in Chapter VI a critical evaluation of the views developed in the preceding chapters will be made in the light of the criteria. Here, too, an effort will be made to coordinate the findings and to synthesize them into a definite conclusion. A brief general appraisal of Sir Livingstone's role as an educator will follow and the report will conclude with tentative suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An appraisal of Sir Richard Livingstone's role as an educator appropriately begins by a biographical sketch as well as a cursory glance at the writer, the classicist and the critic.

1. Biographical Sketch.

Sir Richard Winn Livingstone was born at Liverpool, England, on January 23, 1880, the eldest son of the Rev. Canon and Mrs. W. J. (Allanson-Winn) Livingstone.

He was educated at Winchester,¹ one of the Great English Public Schools, and at New College, Oxford University.² Both at school and at the University, his training was predominantly classical.³

1 According to Meyer, in The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century, p. 180, Winchester, founded in 1382, is the most venerable of the public schools. It developed a prefect system, stressed the school's communal life and extended it to all activities, and has as its all-embracing aim the development of character.

2 Who's Who, 1958, London, A&C Black, 1958, p. 1820.

3 R. W. Livingstone, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, unpublished Master's thesis presented to Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1953, p. 107.

The secondary education he received was that of a typical late-nineteenth-century schoolboy. Of it he writes:

I learned Greek and Latin pretty thoroughly, and enough French to read it easily, and some German; as much mathematics as I have ever needed; history, some of which was well taught but none of which left any deep impression on an immature mind; 'divinity' mostly in such a form that it gave me no knowledge of either religion or Judaism or Christianity, being largely concerned with the probable dates of some New Testament writings and with close attention to the explanation of such phrases as 'the abomination of desolation'; and some chemistry and other science which was so taught as to leave nothing behind except a memory of totally wasted hours and a bitter sense of ignorance of a great subject. Such was much secondary education in late-nineteenth-century England.⁴

That utilitarianism had not yet entered into the teaching of modern foreign languages in the secondary school may be inferred from a personal memory of Sir Livingstone:

Pedagogically, our German teacher's method was indefensible, educationally (in the highest sense of the word) it was right, that in a literature which has so little above the second rank we should have met its one great genius. We learnt German, but also something more.⁵

At New College, "he had a career of great distinction including a double first in Classics, the Hertford

⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Education for the Modern World", Some Tasks for Education, New York, Macmillan, 1944, p. 16.

⁵ ———, Education for a World Adrift, Cambridge, University Press, 1943, p. 35.

Scholarship and the Arnold Latin Prize".⁶ He won the Hertford Scholarship in 1900, the First Class Moderns in Latin in 1901, the first Literary Humanities Award in 1903 and the Arnold Latin Prize in 1905.⁷

The undergraduate period at New College constituted an important formative influence for him; it brought him into contact with great minds in literature. On his shelves, he writes, were rows of books by Carlyle, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, George Meredith, John Morley, Pater, Stevenson, Froude, indicating, as he says, "some of the influences which, outside our ordinary studies, presumably formed my mind, and I think, the minds of my contemporaries".⁸ Elsewhere, he admits, that of all the writers of his undergraduate days he owes most to Ruskin, whose appeal lay not in his purple patches, nor in his elaborate analyses of cloud forms, nor in his Gothic architecture, but in his reflections on life.⁹

⁶ "New President of Corpus, Oxford", Editorial, Times Educational Supplement, No. 952, July 29, 1933, p. 253.

⁷ Who's Who, p. 1820.

⁸ R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 18.

⁹ -----, "Glimpses of a New World", The Listener, Vol. 41, June 9, 1949, p. 970.

Plato's influence came later.¹⁰ Sir Livingstone had read the Republic of Plato as an undergraduate but had failed to grasp the underlying theme of the problem of the "good life" with all its implications.¹¹

In Sir Livingstone's estimation, Plato is a far greater man than Ruskin. He understands Whitehead's saying that "he [Plato] laid the foundation of all our finer thoughts" and that "the European philosophical tradition consists of a series of footnotes [...] to the wealth of general ideas patterned through his writings".¹²

Sir Livingstone was graduated from New College in 1903 and one year later became Fellow, Tutor and Librarian at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Thus began a teaching career which lasted nineteen years.¹³

On July 8, 1913, he was married to Cecile, eldest daughter of George Maryon-Wilson, J.P. The Livingstones had four children, two sons and two daughters. One of the sons was killed in 1944.

¹⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Glimpses of a New World", The Listener, Vol. 41, June 9, 1949, p. 970.

¹¹ -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, Cambridge, University Press, 1948, p. 16.

¹² -----, "Glimpses of a New World", The Listener, p. 970.

¹³ -----, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 107.

On the completion of his Master's Degree at New College he went as temporary assistant to Eton where he remained two years, 1917 and 1918. This period represents his only practical experience of teaching in a secondary school.¹⁴

In 1924 he went into university administration and from 1924-1933 was Vice-Chancellor of Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland. In 1933 he was appointed President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, a post which he held till 1950.¹⁵ At the time of this appointment an editorial in the Times Educational Supplement paid tribute to his work at Queen's University. The following is an excerpt from this editorial:

News of the appointment of Livingstone as president was received with great satisfaction in Northern Ireland and at the same time with regret. As Vice-Chancellor he has done much to bring Queen's University into closer contact with the public and to enlist the cooperation of all classes of the community in the cause of education. In great demand as a speaker at public functions his views have commanded the closest attention and on occasion he did not hesitate to express them with clarity and vigour. He devoted much time to pressing problems of accommodation and finance.¹⁶

¹⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 474.

¹⁵ Who's Who, p. 1820.

¹⁶ "Northern Ireland", Editorial, Times Educational Supplement, No. 953, August 5, 1933, p. 258.

From 1944-1947 Sir Livingstone was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University. The office of Vice-Chancellor is usually held for three years and it rotates by seniority among the heads of the Oxford Colleges.¹⁷ He had also served as Chairman of the Council of St. Hugh's College, 1935-1937.

He was knighted in 1931. He holds Honorary D.Litt. from Cambridge, Belfast, Toronto, Durham, Manchester, London, Columbia and Yale Universities; Honorary LL.D. from St. Andrew's, Scotland and Dublin. He is an Honorary Fellow of Corpus Christi College and also of New College.

He was a member of the Prime Minister's Committee on Classics in 1920; editor of the Classical Review with J. T. Sheppard from 1920-1922; general editor and originator of the method employed in the Clarendon Series of Greek and Latin authors.

In 1936 he served as President of the Education Section of the British Association, as President of the Hellenic Society from 1939-1941 and as President of the Classical Association from 1940-1941.

He is Commandeur de la Légion d'Honneur and he has received the King Haakon VII of Norway Liberty Cross.¹⁸

¹⁷ "Classicist", Time, Vol. 48, July 15, 1946, p. 69.

¹⁸ Who's Who, p. 1820.

On ten different occasions Sir Livingstone has visited North America¹⁹ and he has lectured widely in Canada and the United States. In 1934 he delivered the Martin Lectures at Oberlin College, Ohio; these Lectures were later incorporated into the book Greek Ideals and Modern Life. In 1945 he gave a series of four lectures at the University of Toronto, three of them at Victoria College, under the Burwash Foundation, the fourth the Sir Robert Falconer Memorial Lecture. At Pittsburg, in 1946, he delivered the Pitscairn Crabbe Lectures; these lectures, two in number, appeared in a volume of Modern Education and Human Values. In 1950 he was invited to give the Chancellor Dunning Lecture at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and in the same year, he lectured at Princeton under the Vanuxem Foundation. His last lecture in the United States was the Sarah Vanderbilt Lecture, given at Smith College in 1956.

At one time he was a member of the American Philosophical Association and during the Autumn of 1952 he was Visiting Professor in the Department of English and History at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.²⁰

¹⁹ R. W. Livingstone, Personal Correspondence with Author, letter dated November 10, 1958. Copy in Appendix 1.

p. 45. ²⁰

Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 189, January 1952,

Now in retirement, Sir Livingstone lives at 14 Rawlinson Road, Oxford, England.²¹

2. The Writer.

It is as a writer that Sir Livingstone is of interest in this study. He writes of the place of classical studies in contemporary education and the modern world's debt to ancient Greece; he laments the disconcerting trends in present-day educational theories and practices; he asks for the restoration of traditional values in education; he emphasizes the training of character as a pre-requisite for good citizenship; he urges the formulation of a positive philosophy of life and he pleads for an extension of adult education along new lines.

Though many of his writings are devoted to an exposition of his views on the classics and classical writers, yet Education appears to be the underlying motif in all his works. He confesses that the origin of a number of his books may be attributed to his desire to do something to help people who do not know Greek, to read Greek classics and Translations.²²

²¹ Who's Who, p. 1820.

²² R. W. Livingstone, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 107.

An excerpt from a personal letter gives a fuller explanation:

My earlier writings, on Ancient Greece, came from my strong belief in the importance of preserving our classical heritage as a part of Western Civilization and not merely as a study for scholars. Civilization gets its soul from Christianity and Ancient Greece and the latter is the fore-runner of the former. (The Catholic Church has never forgotten this.) So I tried to write about Greek civilization in a way intelligible to the ordinary educated reader. (I think that the Legacy of Greece was a particularly useful book for this purpose; and it continues a steady sale after more than 30 years.) I also published translations (with notes) from Greek Literature, and of some great Greek books.²³

His philosophy of life may be gathered from a study of his writings. In concise terms he states it thus:

I should sum up my philosophy of life by saying that the life of the Western World seems to me essentially to derive from and depend on what it owes to ancient Greece and to Palestine. I feel that Greece took the world as far as natural religion and natural morals can take it, and that what it did was corrected, enriched and supplemented by Christianity.²⁴

Since the decade of the thirties the educational theme has been coming to the front in Sir Livingstone's works. He writes "My later books have been on education. I am no 'educationist'; they are based on my experience as

²³ R. W. Livingstone, Personal Correspondence with Author, letter dated November 10, 1958. Copy in Appendix 1.

²⁴ -----, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 107.

a teacher, in the University and, for a short period, at Eton".²⁵

His philosophy of education may be inferred from his books on it especially from Future in Education which emphasizes the importance of adult education and Education for a World Adrift which was intended to suggest some way in which a more satisfactory standard may be recovered.²⁶

Sir Livingstone's first published work was The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us which appeared in 1912 and was translated into Greek, Japanese and Spanish.²⁷ This was followed in 1916 by A Defense of Classical Education, a book which has itself come to be accepted as something of a Classic.²⁸

Next came Caesar's Gallic War, Books IV and V in 1920 and Books VI and VII in 1921. In the same year he was an editor of and contributor to the Legacy of Greece, a book which was translated into Spanish, Italian and Arabic. In 1923 he edited the Pageant of Greece and in 1928 the

²⁵ R. W. Livingstone, Personal Correspondence with Author, letter dated November 10, 1958. Copy in Appendix 1.

²⁶ -----, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 108.

²⁷ Who's Who, p. 1820.

²⁸ "New President of Corpus, Oxford", Times Educational Supplement, No. 952, July 29, 1933, p. 253.

Mission of Greece: Some Greek Views of Life in the Roman World.

Greek Ideals and Modern Life was published in 1935; the substance of this book was delivered as lectures on the Charles Martin Foundation at Oberlin College, Ohio in 1934. It was translated into German, Spanish and Greek. Veracity, the Essex Hall Lecture came in 1937. He edited Portrait of Socrates in 1938 and in 1940 he prepared Selections from Plato for the World's Classics. In 1941 appeared the first edition of the Future in Education, a work which has been translated into German, Polish, Greek, Italian, Danish and Arabic. The same year saw the publication of Classics and National Life, the presidential address to the Classical Association. In 1943 the first edition of Education for a World Adrift was published and translations followed in German, Polish and Italian. The American edition of the Future in Education and Education for a World Adrift was published under the title On Education in 1944.²⁹ In this year Thucydides was prepared for the World's Classics.

Plato and Modern Education was published while Sir Livingstone was the Rede Lecturer at Oxford in 1944. Ruskin, the Annual Lecture on a "Master Mind, Henriette Hertz

²⁹ R. W. Livingstone, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 109.

Trust of the British Academy, appeared in 1946. Some Tasks for Education, published in 1947, contains four lectures given at the University of Toronto during the Fall of 1945, the first three on the Burwash Foundation at Victoria College, the last as the Sir Robert Falconer Memorial Lecture. Translations were made into Greek and Italian.

Some Thoughts on University Education, the fifth of the Annual Lectures delivered under the auspices of the National Book League, was published in 1948. "Leadership in Education", appeared in the Walker Trust Lectures in Education in 1950, and was the tenth in the series of lectures delivered at the University of St. Andrew's Scotland, 1930-1949.

In 1952 came the publication of Education and the Spirit of the Age. The origin of this book was the invitation to lecture under the Chancellor Lunning Trust at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and it embodies the lectures given there in 1950 and at Princeton University, at the Vanuxem Foundation.

Thoughts on the Education of Character, the second Vaughan Memorial Lecture given in Doncaster Grammar School in May 1954, appears to be the last of Sir Livingstone's publications in book form.

A long list of periodicals carries articles from the pen of Sir Livingstone. The chief among these are: Adult Education, London; Association American Colleges

Bulletin; Atlantic Monthly; Catholic World; The Hibbert Journal; The Journal of Education, London; The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts; Ladies' Home Journal; The Listener; New Era; National Parent Teacher; School and Society; The Spectator; Times Educational Supplement; Universities' Quarterly; Yale Review. More recently, articles have appeared in The British Medical Journal, Time and Tide and Educational Forum.

3. The Classicist.

It has already been noted that Sir Livingstone's education, both at school and at university, is predominantly classical. Possessing as he does so strong a classical background, he is naturally inclined to colour much of his thinking by Greek influence. He maintains that a man who has been brought up on Greek is more likely to know clearly what he thinks because he has lived with men who knew what they thought and who formed a clear and consistent view of life. He feels that:

One brought up according to the pattern of the Greeks will have seen the Greek picture of life, will have a pattern with which to compare his own time, a standard by which to judge it. And he will have seen the world not as an Englishman, or a Frenchman or a German or a Russian but as a human being, for Hellenism is a universal and a super-national culture which each nation can adopt and modify it as its own genius and tradition may

suggest.³⁰

He "is best known as the leading champion for the retention of the classics in their foremost place in our educational system".³¹ "The classics are not in education", he says, "[...] by accident or even by tradition or even because they open to us one great and one supreme literature". They are there because some people find in them a training for life and a help in living it.³²

Despite his claims for the retention of the classics, Sir Livingstone has no myopic view of classical education. He realizes the limitations of the classics and he is ready to admit that the education given under the old classical system had many weaknesses; it "was given indiscriminately to those for whom it was suited and those for whom it was not"; it left boys in ignorance, not only of science, but of the importance of science in the world.³³ He feels that to be ignorant of the place of science in

³⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Classics as a Pattern of Life", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1356, April 26, 1941, p. 198.

³¹ "New President of Corpus, Oxford", Times Educational Supplement, No. 952, July 29, 1933, p. 253.

³² R. W. Livingstone, "Greek Ideals in Modern Civilization", Yale Review, Vol. 24, June 1935, p. 780.

³³ -----, "Education for the Modern World", Some Tasks for Education, p. 15-16.

civilization is to be ignorant of powers which people need, especially people in high positions. This ignorance he considers disastrous.³⁴

Sir Livingstone would not have the classics for all. The first aim of the school should be "to avoid driving boys with mechanical or scientific tastes who have no aptitude for linguistics into studies that will be barren to them".³⁵

He is no believer in Greek for Greek's sake, but in its power to acquaint students with greatness. He reiterates this thought time and again and says that one of the reasons why Greek has such high educational values is that it continually poses fundamental problems, forces them on one's attention and so is an introduction to literature and to thought.³⁶ He is firmly convinced that anyone who knows Greek has had the best of training in distinguishing the first-rate in this literature and thought.³⁷

³⁴ R. A. Livingstone, "A Wider Outlook", The Universities' Quarterly, Vol. 1, November 1946, p. 243.

³⁵ ———, Defense of Classical Education, Toronto, Macmillan, 1916, p. 241.

³⁶ Id., ibid., p. 18.

³⁷ Id., "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1312.

Perhaps, his clearest explanation for his insistence on the study of Greek is to be found in these lines:

I may seem to have slipped into a plea for the study of Greek. That is not my aim. My plea is for the study of greatness and of Greek only because it is a supreme example of what is great and because those who remain ignorant of its literature and thought miss one of the greatest achievements of man. Obviously, only a small minority will learn the language, though those who do not, but who are interested in the problem of living should at least read in English the Apology, Crito, Phaedo, and Republic of Plato. But my real point is that in one way or another, everyone should see human greatness, the highest reach and scope of the spirit of man.³⁸

To those who would question the position of the classics Sir Livingstone says:

What have Greek and Latin to do with the twentieth century? I might reply that with Christianity they are its makers, and that a knowledge of the parents is a considerable help to knowing the child.³⁹

Concerning the relationship between the two languages he states that the two languages, literatures and histories grouped together under the general title of 'the classics' are complementary, each having qualities which the other lacks.⁴⁰

³⁸ R. W. Livingstone, "Education for the Modern World", Some Tasks for Education, p. 21.

³⁹ Id., ibid., p. 18.

⁴⁰ Id., Greek Ideals and Modern Life, Oxford, University Press, 1935, p. 12.

When only one language is to be learned he advises the claims of Greek. Personally, he contends, he owes infinitely more to Greek than to any other subject in his education.⁴¹ "Greek comes first in excellence and the masterpieces are more easily acceptable to beginners". In view of the fact that science borrows so much of its terminology from Greek he would recommend the study of that language for science students.⁴² He considers it a great loss for anyone interested in literature and language to be ignorant of Greek.⁴³

He argues his case for Latin in no less emphatic terms. That language is the source of much in English poetry and prose. A knowledge of it is necessary to be able to understand and to write English "and there is no better instrument for making us think". It, too, is the key to a great literature.⁴⁴

As for the knowledge of Greek which might reasonably be given in the later years of the secondary school Sir

⁴¹ R. W. Livingstone, "What's the Point of the Dead Languages?", The Listener, Vol. 34, July 5, 1945, p. 19.

⁴² -----, "Greek or Latin?", New Era, Vol. 16, February 1935, p. 40.

⁴³ -----, The Future in Education, Cambridge, University Press, 1941, p. 104.

⁴⁴ -----, "What's the Point of the Dead Languages?", The Listener, p. 19-20.

Livingstone says:

I would suggest that the pupil should at least be introduced, if possible, to Aristotle, and certainly to Socrates, Plato and the Stoics, and to the conception of areté, which runs like a gold thread throughout the achievement of Greece. There is no equivalent for the word areté in English, though there is plenty of the thing in English life. It is 'virtue', not in the modern but in the old sense of the word 'excellence', with no moral sense necessarily attaching to it.⁴⁵

A further suggestion of his is that before they leave school those who have not learned Greek should be introduced to Greek thought in translation.⁴⁶

He would not underestimate the place of the teacher in imparting a classical education. He writes, "as always in education, the essential thing is the teacher and the success of a classical education depends less on the curriculum than on the use we make of it".⁴⁷

It is not to be thought that Sir Livingstone is possessed of a blind devotion to Hellenism. He sees its limitations and he sees it in relation to Christianity, and he acknowledges that Christianity corrected and completed Hellenism. Of this relationship he writes:

45 R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 99.

46 Id., ibid., p. 122.

47 Id., A Defense of Classical Education, p. 261.

Christianity indeed developed and enriched Hellenism. It gave to those who accepted its revelation a definiteness and a sense of certainty about the nature and will of God which is absent from the Greek view of life. By insisting that the supreme virtue is love it put the highest spiritual good within the reach of the humblest of mankind. By its doctrine of a suffering God, it suggested an attribute to sorrow other than mere endurance or defense. But thereby it corrected and completed Hellenism rather than superseded it.⁴⁸

To him, then, Christianity is neither a cancellation of nor a declension from Hellenism but a development and completion of it; it enlarged the Greek conception of man, defined more fully the idea of God and emphasized more justly the place of religion in life.⁴⁹

In so many texts, he insists that, for the Christian, the best thing in life, the highest thing in man, can be possessed and enjoyed by the most obscure, insignificant and humble of mankind, an idea not to be found in Greek thought, an idea, which "without the life of Christ", would be fantastic. Greece to him, is, therefore, the mother of political democracy, Christianity the mother of spiritual democracy.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ R. W. Livingstone, "Greek Ideals and Modern Life", Yale Review, Vol. 24, June 1935, p. 779.

⁴⁹ -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 174.

⁵⁰ Id., ibid., p. 166-167.

4. The Critic.

Sir Livingstone has been described as "one of education's most articulate thinkers".⁵¹ Certainly, no one perceives more clearly than he the confusion existing in modern life and education and he has spoken and written on all aspects of the problem, on life, on education, on the secondary school and its curriculum, on the university and its deficiencies. True, his criticisms reveal nothing new; they are, for the most part, merely the repetition of much that has been said by others. Nevertheless, they are timely.

He has attempted to analyze the causes of so much confusion and has found that most of the ills stem from such sources as liberalism with its forces of freedom and reason, science, especially the growth of applied sciences and technology, and the accumulation of knowledge.⁵²

This age he has called "a child of Liberalism",⁵³ "an Age of Analysis",⁵⁴ "an Age without Standards",⁵⁵ and an

⁵¹ "Classicist", Time, Vol. 48, July 15, 1946, p. 69.

⁵² R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, Oxford, University Press, 1952, p. 9.

⁵³ Id., ibid., p. 65.

⁵⁴ Id., ibid., p. 80.

⁵⁵ Id., Education for a World Adrift, p. 10.

age which "has knowledge without clear values and beliefs; it drifts on the tides of the moment".⁵⁶

Writing in the second decade of the present century he remarks that the age is becoming exclusively humanist and consciously adopting humanism as its creed of life.⁵⁷ Sir Livingstone, himself a humanist,⁵⁸ is not deceived by a false form of humanism. He goes on to say:

The word humanism or some derivative of it is a favourite with both Comtism and Pragmatism, and all agnostics, whether they make a religion of humanism or not are bound to pay it the highest respect. For not recognizing God in the world, nor admitting divine ordinance, they must form their ideas of what man should be from a consideration of the circumstances and possibilities of human nature. And so conscious humanism creeps in. Popular thinkers like Maeterlinck, Wells and Galsworthy start unaffectedly from human premises and search in the human being for a revelation of what the human being should be. They do not ask what God requires of him. They simply inquire if he is true or false to what is best in himself and judge him by that standard, condemning him for treason to his nature, praising him for loyalty to it. They are humanists and nothing more.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ R. W. Livingstone, Plato and Modern Education, New York, Macmillan, 1944, p. 23.

⁵⁷ -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, Second Edition, Oxford, University Press, 1915, p. 180.

⁵⁸ Harold Prudell, Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 95.

⁵⁹ R. W. Livingstone, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 180.

He asserts that unless the ordinary man is a Christian or a Marxist he has no principles on which to regulate his conduct "but lives by a tradition of which the best elements are Christian, but which, unrooted in any firm belief is shifting and insecure".⁶⁰

No small part of this confusion would he attribute to an increased efficiency in a material civilization, a condition which has resulted, in large measure, from the growth of science. There is the dualism of the machine continually growing more efficient and complicated, and the human being; there is the problem of the relation of the individual soul to this civilization and to the state. "The state may cramp the human soul", he says, "material civilization tends to suffocate it painlessly".⁶¹ Elsewhere, he notes that the value of the discoveries of this material civilization is wasted because "we have not learned to use them wisely".⁶² He is in agreement with Ruskin when he champions the human spirit in its struggle for supremacy over the material forces, whether economic, industrial, technical or other which lay insidious siege to it. "For

⁶⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Philosophy and Religion", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1762, February 5, 1947, p. 89.

⁶¹ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 21.

⁶² -----, "Greek Ideals and Modern Life", Yale Review, Vol. 24, June 1935, p. 766.

that reason", he says, "his Ruskin's teaching is more needed today than when he wrote, nor until the nature of men or the conditions of human life change will it lose its importance".⁶³

To turn from life to a consideration of education it is found that Sir Livingstone is no less critical of modern educational standards. He sees a relationship between one's theory of life and one's theory of education. He recognizes that false theories of life have resulted in false theories of education.

The positivism, the agnosticism of our age is reflected in its education with fatal results. At the worst it adopts the philosophy of Micawber and acts on the delusion that child nature left to itself will automatically unfold into goodness. More commonly it is arbitrarily selective, adopting as its goal some catchword of the hour and place which the mass opinion of the moment approves and exempts from criticism. Education dissolves into 'Projects', and chaos is more likely to be its results than virtues.⁶⁴

He feels that if education does not send out its pupils into life with at least the rudiments of a philosophy of living it has not given them what they most need. "But education has not done this, the most important part of its duty seriously".⁶⁵

⁶³ R. W. Livingstone, Ruskin, Oxford, University Press, 1946, p. 20.

⁶⁴ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 17.

⁶⁵ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 31.

He regrets that education is defective in so far as it lays stress exclusively on analysis. The critical attitude may be overstressed. It is important, he says, that pupils should be taught to see and to feel as well as to criticize.⁶⁶

Among other influences, he agrees that the doctrines of Rousseau and the emphasis on vocationalism have made inroads into the theory and practices of education with disturbing results.⁶⁷

To Sir Livingstone it seems that secondary education suffers, in general, from lack of integration, from the absence of a spirit to order and guide its processes, and that it is more concerned with what its pupils should know than with their outlook on life. He insists that "we have lost our grip on education, at any rate in the post-primary school".⁶⁸

Concerning the curriculum of the secondary school, he deplures the proliferation of subjects. He believes quite positively that it is overcrowded and lacks proper aim

66 R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 101.

67 -----, Plato and Modern Education, p.15-17.

68 -----, Future in Education, p. 126.

and direction.⁶⁹

Equally as detrimental to education as an overcrowded curriculum he considers examinations and over-specialization. "They draw teachers' energy and exclude the wider human and spiritual issues", and cause emphasis to be placed on material advantages rather than on true education.⁷⁰ As he sees it, with emphasis on external examinations, education becomes a "savage competitive system" and the specialist tendency leads to materialism in effect, though not in intention. Over-specialization tends to produce scientists who are admirable technicians but no more.⁷¹ By a mere technician he means a man who knows everything about his subject except its ultimate purposes and its place in the cosmos.⁷²

There is a principle that has been completely ignored in education, observes Sir Livingstone, the "cross-fertilization of theory and practice". He holds that such subjects as literature, history, economics and politics

⁶⁹ R. W. Livingstone, Future in Education, p. 28.

⁷⁰ -----, "Education for a Civilized World", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1379, October 4, 1941, p. 474.

⁷¹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 128.

⁷² -----, "A Wider Outlook", The Universities' Quarterly, Vol. 1, November 1946, p. 244.

cannot be taught satisfactorily in the secondary school and that experience of life is necessary to effect a real appreciation of these subjects. He urges a realization of the limitations of their study in youth.⁷³ Behind this argument lies one of his reasons for adult education, a topic which will be considered at length later.

A practice which he thinks is neglected in modern education is that of developing the habit of learning great literature by heart and so storing up a treasure which later life will enable a student to use. The same principle, he observes, applies in having children learn religious doctrine. In all this learning he believes there is a "law of delayed action" by which seed sown and long forgotten grows only in later years.⁷⁴

His comments on the Burnham scale⁷⁵ and the teacher situation reflect his thinking on teacher qualifications. At the time of his writing the scale was so fixed that the maximum salary paid to secondary-school teachers was neither

⁷³ R. W. Livingstone, Future in Education, p. 7-32.

⁷⁴ Id., ibid., p. 25.

⁷⁵ So called from the fact that the committee concerned with the drafting of teachers' salaries, was under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham.

attractive nor adequate to people of high intellectual ability. This paves the way for admission into the secondary school of inferior teachers. Such teachers, brought into the schools, he warns, mean disaster for the schools, for the universities and for the nation.⁷⁶

Sir Livingstone's years of experience in university teaching and administration enable him to pass judgment on the educational status of the university. To him the influence of the universities in the world is disappointingly limited; this he ascribes to their being too little concerned with ends, with human values, with a philosophy of life.⁷⁷

He intimates that the universities have not given the leadership demanded of them. "They do not regard spiritual ideals, except the ideals of knowledge, as their business". They provide the tools of civilization but give no guidance for their use.⁷⁸

In democratic countries, he says, the universities make no provision for communicating a philosophy of life. The two studies that will give this needed philosophy of

⁷⁶ R. W. Livingstone, "Salaries for Teachers: Burnham Scale", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1680, July 12, 1947, p. 361.

⁷⁷ -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, Cambridge, University Press, 1948, p. 27.

⁷⁸ Id., ibid., p. 9.

life, religion and philosophy, are not honoured in the universities.⁷⁹

Apart from having little effect on spiritual and moral life, the universities do not affect political life as far as this is determined by spiritual and moral forces. Outside the countries which accepted Communism and Nazism the universities have provided no alternative philosophy to counteract them.⁸⁰

As Sir Livingstone views the problem, even the practical end of the university, suggested by Newman to be, if a practical end there must be, the training of 'good members of society' has not been achieved.⁸¹

Specialism has wrought havoc in the university no less than in the schools. The specialization is either in science or mathematics or the humanities. Science concentrates on nature and ignores man, the humanities concentrate on man and ignore nature. There is always the element of exclusivism. The scramble for scholarships and honours degrees has produced a dangerous absorption with specialisms whereby the parts may flourish but a sense of the whole is

79 R. W. Livingstone, Some thoughts on University Education, p. 13-15.

80 -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 29.

81 -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 11.

lost; even a history honours course is no longer immune from decline into routine and mechanism. Such, in brief, is Sir Livingstone's judgment on the detrimental effects of specialism in the university.⁸²

Much of the present interest in education he sees as political or social rather than educational. He commends this interest in so far as it is an attempt to procure equal educational opportunities for all. But he fears a danger: it is that the emphasis on educational machinery may "make us so concerned with providing schools that we do not consider what is to be taught inside them". Machinery is indispensable to education, but when it has been provided there remain the bigger problems as to what is to be taught, how it is to be taught and why it is to be taught, and it is with these bigger issues that Sir Livingstone is concerned. It is above all with the problem of "what man should be and how he should live".⁸³ These are the issues around which he evolves his theory of education.

The purpose of this chapter has been to establish a background for the study and to give a brief survey of Sir Livingstone's position in the educational world. The

⁸² R. W. Livingstone, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 13-15.

⁸³ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. x-xi.

chapters which follow will have as their objective to elucidate his theory of education and to determine, if in the light of certain criteria, he may rightly be called a Social Educator. Chapter II will be devoted to a discussion of his concept of individual education.

CHAPTER II

LIVINGSTONE'S VIEWS ON INDIVIDUAL EDUCATION

The aim of this chapter is to interpret Sir Livingstone's views on individual education. It is assumed that by individual education is understood the development of the human being in his physical, vocational, intellectual, moral and spiritual aspects. At first, it seems necessary to determine his concept of the human being as an individual and then proceed to analyze his views on the various aspects of individual education.

1. Concept of the Human Personality.

Clearly, Sir Livingstone views the individual as a human being with a body and soul, an intellect and a will capable of limited perfectibility.

[...] we are human beings, with a body, a mind and also something elusive and indescribable but very real, which we call a soul or spirit - three elements which combine in our personality and which interact on each other; and we wish to make the best of all of them so far as our natural endowments allow. Nor even if there were no Great Assize before which at the end we shall be summoned to say what we have done with ourselves and our talents, the world will judge us; and, what is more disquieting, in moments of insight and reflection we shall judge ourselves.¹

¹ R. W. Livingstone, "What is Education?", British Medical Journal, Vol. 96, August 1953, p. 454.

In defining the ultimate aim and essence of education as character training he says it is "to be achieved by discipline of the body, the will and the intelligence".²

He views the individual as a creature endowed with a social as well as an individual nature. "All men have to live in society" and "All men have a personality to develop"³ are the expressions which best exemplify his thinking on this point.

He views the individual as a creature made to the image and likeness of God, in need of God's Grace to live his life and destined for eternal life hereafter. "All men and women are made in the image of God"⁴ he writes, and in another context in which he is comparing the relative merits of Christianity and Hellenism he states:

Hellenism dispenses with the need for a deity, a future life, and a purely spiritual world [...]. Abolish the unseen world for the Christian and the whole meaning and value of life is altered. If there is anything permanent in Christianity it is the certain persuasion that the world is not an adequate theatre for man nor is he capable of reaching the perfection of his nature unaided.⁵

2 R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 81.

3 -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 46.

4 -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 80.

5 -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 195.

He views the individual as a creature suffering from the effects of original sin but capable of overcoming these effects through the Grace of God. "There is an incurably evil element in [man] which can only be quenched by the Grace of God", and commenting, during the war, on the hardships which war inevitably brings with it, he advises "we must not expect things to be easy [...] even in a warless world new problems arise. Original sin [...] will see to that".⁷

He believes that even the meanest of God's creatures, as a human being, has rights of which nothing can deprive him and capacities of which something can be made.⁸

Fundamental to all his thinking on education is the notion of the dignity of the human personality. Borrowing from the Greeks, he defines the education of personality as the education of body, mind and character to the highest degree of which each is capable.⁹

6 R. W. Livingstone, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 195.

7 -----, "The Road Ahead", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 182, November 1948, p. 65.

8 -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 467.

9 -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 48.

This is what he means by respect for personality:

If you ask further what I mean by respect for human personality, I should reply that every human being has a body, a mind and a character and that if you respect him you will give him the chance of making the most of each, so that each citizen in the state has as good a body, mind and character as circumstances and the limitations of his nature permit. To give this chance is to show respect for his personality. Accordingly, you will see that he has the food, housing, conditions of life and physical training that produce good bodies, the education, adult as well as adolescent that develops the powers of the mind and such influences in early and later life as may keep the mind healthy in the presence of cheap journalism and popular entertainment. If you can do this for the body and mind of the citizen, you will have done something at least for the far more difficult problem of training the character.¹⁰

To these reasons he adds others: man is something more than an animal; he is a spiritual being who must make his choice between good and evil and who grows in stature and worth by that choice rightly made.¹¹

Finally, he says, the strongest roots for respect for human personality are to be found in the belief that all men and women are made to the image and likeness of God.¹²

Sir Livingstone further recognizes that individuals differ, as he expresses it, "Each human being is individual

¹⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 467.

¹¹ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 9-10.

¹² Id., ibid., p. 75.

and different from any other",¹³ The reasons for these differences he ascribes to various sources, some to heredity, some to environment and some to other causes:

Nature, that incorrigible aristocrat has never heard the word /equality/ and distributes her great gifts, in intelligence, personality, energy, physique, with capricious inequality - to this man much, to that man little. And when we do our best by education, to bridge the gulfs and lessen the differences between man and man, we make things worse. Nothing, as Ruskin has pointed out, brings out and deepens inequalities as much as education. Each human being has traces at least of certain capacities, which all possess, though some have more and some have less. The taste for poetry and art sometimes supposed to be the privilege of the few, is universal. You have universally distributed the germs of the love for art, poetry and music.¹⁴

Apart from these limitations, most of them set by nature, he discerns differences from home to home. One child has wise, affectionate and unselfish parents, while another's life is hindered or poisoned from the cradle by the weaknesses of the family into which he is born, and sometimes by the misfortune that he is born into no family at all. Equality, as he understands it, in the full sense of the word, is obviously impossible.¹⁵

¹³ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 75.

¹⁴ -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 468.

¹⁵ -----, "Inequality in Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, November 1947, p. 83.

Sir Livingstone counsels attention to individual differences in the school and makes a plea for the brighter children that they be given the fullest chance to develop their gifts and make the best of their potentialities.¹⁶ Comparing the American and English systems of education, he claims the English schools are superior. In these he thinks the curriculum is devised to provide for different types of abilities. They uphold the principle that education should be adapted to the child. That seems to him the right kind of equality, not the kind which shuts its eyes to natural inequality and classes all children together, but one whose motto is, "To each according to his needs and powers without respect to wealth and position".¹⁷

His concept of the individual determines his concept of education. To him education is the development of the complete human being, as he expresses it, "The human instrument is a lyre with many strings, and it is not enough to extract beautiful sounds from one or two of them while the rest are silent and give discordant notes".¹⁸ Again, he says, "Education is a sculptor aiming at a masterpiece,

¹⁶ R. S. Livingstone, "Inequality in Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, November 1947, p. 86.

¹⁷ -----, "Are Americans Better Educated?", The Listener, Vol. 48, July 3, 1952, p. 18.

¹⁸ -----, Ruskin, p. 12.

attempting to create a complete human being, not a botched creature",¹⁹ and finally, "Man, when you look at him, clearly, is a creature with many sides and if you wish to do justice to him you must treat him as such",²⁰

2. Physical Development.

The physical is one aspect of man's personality and of this fact Sir Livingstone takes full cognizance. He continually repeats that man is body, mind and character and the finished human being should have a body strong and healthy, its powers disciplined and developed, and attaining the perfection within its reach.²¹

He doubts whether the English schools give sufficient attention to physical training; they seem to him to be more successful in character education than in physical education. He notes that since the war provision has been made for proper nutrition, school medical services, opportunities for games and exercises.²²

¹⁹ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of Education, London, Vol. 75, October 1943, p. 449.

²⁰ -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 180.

²¹ -----, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1311.

²² -----, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 1942, p. 676.

Over-emphasis on the intellectual and failure to develop and train the body, he maintains, "will have a mere intellectual - either a spiritless creature or an emotional creature lacking stability and staying power".²³ He agrees with Plato that the mere athlete is brutal or philistine; the mere intellectual is either unstable or else overcivilized or spiritless, and the "right education must tune the true strings of mind and body to perfect spiritual harmony".²⁴

3. Vocational Development.

"A community's efficiency", says Sir Livingstone, "depends on the technical and vocational training of its members, their skill in their various trades, crafts and professions". By vocational education he means the education which helps to earn a living; it varies with what that living is to be. An unskilled labourer needs little or none, doctors and engineers and other professionals need an elaborate specialist training.²⁵

Keenly aware of the fact that earning a living is of prime importance, he acknowledges one of the essential aims

²³ R. W. Livingstone, "Educating the Young", The Ladies' Home Journal, Vol. 66, October 1949, p. 183.

²⁴ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 10.

²⁵ -----, "Choosing the Educational Menu", The Listener, Vol. 26, September 11, 1941, p. 359.

of education to be to train people as breadwinners.²⁶

He considers technical studies to be vocational, "not that technical studies are not cultural at the same time; the training of eye and hand to their perfection is cultural". He judges this kind of culture important and remarks that one of the main advances of recent years is the recognition of its value.²⁷

Higher technical education in England is generally admitted to be inferior to that in America, he agrees, and he suggests that some equivalent of the training given in American post-graduate schools of business and law, for example, might be devised for English schools.²⁸

He favours the establishment of technical schools and he is of the opinion that had more attention been given to the vocational aspect of education, the Central School²⁹ with its practical bias, would have existed fifty years ago (he was writing in 1947), and the Technical School of the

²⁶ R. W. Livingstone, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1311.

²⁷ -----, "Inequality in Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, November 1947, p. 84.

²⁸ -----, "Are Americans Better Educated?", The Listener, Vol. 48, July 3, 1952, p. 18.

²⁹ Established in London, Manchester and other cities in 1910, to provide both general and special training without offering specific vocational courses.

Spens Report³⁰ would long have been part of the English school system.³¹

He encourages the establishment of technical schools, it is true, but he emphatically declares that these schools would be impractical if just designed for boys with a practical bent or who need opportunities for practical work.

[...] such schools cannot, and were never intended, to omit the studies called humanistic, of which literature, history and politics are chief - the visions of human life which religion and poetry and thought have conceived.³²

He regrets that the modern world recognizes and almost expects a divorce between interests and occupations.³³ This notion is at complete variance with his conception of true education, and he fears that, with too great emphasis placed on vocation education, general education may be forgotten. The chief educational equipment for many occupations, and an important one for all, is the power to express one's thoughts, to enter quickly into the minds of others and understand views which one does not

³⁰ Made in 1938, proposed the creation of technical high schools designed to meet the needs of boys and girls "with a practical turn of mind".

³¹ R. W. Livingstone, "Need for Clinical Studies in Education", Journal of Education, London, Vol. 75, January 1943, p. 6

³² -----, The Future in Education, p. 35.

³³ -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 179.

share, to know when a thing is proved and when it is not, to see quickly to the heart of a question and to have a broad outlook.³⁴ These are the powers which Sir Livingstone designates as being best trained by a general education.

That everyone should know the best in his own occupation, whether he be a politician, a minister of religion, a lawyer or business man, an artisan, shopkeeper or anything else, is his plea. Everyone ought to know, in his own job, the difference between first- and second-rate.³⁵

He recommends self-respect in all professions. The roots of this virtue lie in work done to the best of one's ability, hence the teacher should train her pupils in the best habits of concentrating on doing well the work which comes to their hands "without looking over their neighbour's shoulders to see whether their neighbours are admiring them or despising them". With Ruskin when there is talk of "parity of esteem", Sir Livingstone agrees that "all professions should be liberal and that there should be less pride felt in peculiarity of employment and more in excellence of achievement".³⁶

³⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 26, 1942, p. 675.

³⁵ -----, "The Knowledge of Good and Evil", The Listener, Vol. 30, December 30, 1943, p. 743.

³⁶ -----, "Inequality in Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, November 1947, p. 86.

4. Intellectual Development.

Sir Livingstone views man as body, intellect and will, each capable of a perfection of its own. With his intellect man is capable of knowing and understanding; he is able to create philosophy and science and all "that we compendiously call thought".³⁷ The primary purpose of the intellect, he says, is to discover truth, and "without truth and the desire to seek it and the power to find it, the whole nature of man suffers".³⁸ Intellectual study, then, has two sides, "the twin ideals of truth and knowledge".³⁹

Proper training of the intellect implies development of the intellectual virtues. Sir Livingstone cites those virtues enumerated by Aristotle, "wisdom, intelligence and the practical virtue which is the virtue of a ruler".⁴⁰

The training of the mind he regards as a slow imperfect process. When it is complete the mind should be able to adjust itself, as occasion arises, to any field of

³⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "The Meaning of Civilization", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 191, March 1953, p. 40.

³⁸ -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 468.

³⁹ -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 28.

⁴⁰ -----, "Greek Ideals in Modern Civilization", Yale Review, Vol. 24, June 1935, p. 778.

vision to the natural sciences, to history and literature, to economics, to social and political questions and to human nature within and around one.⁴¹

He stresses the development of a right intellectual attitude and this he defines in a threefold way: "to find the world and life intensely interesting; to wish to see them as they are; to feel the truth, in Plato's words, is both permanent and beautiful".⁴²

The attitudes and aptitudes of mind developed in the process of acquiring knowledge are to Sir Livingstone more important than knowledge itself. Among these he speaks of the habit of concentration, of accuracy in dealing with numbers and learning languages, of sensitiveness of eye and ear which are trained by art and music, of sureness of eye and hand which carpentry and kindred subjects train. These and other aptitudes acquired in studying history and literature he deems more important than "the brute knowledge of facts" which those subjects give.⁴³

However, he sets limits to mental discipline and transfer of training, as the following passage shows:

⁴¹ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 74.

⁴² -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 31.

⁴³ -----, Thoughts on the Education of Character, Doncaster, The Gazette Press, 1954, p. 7.

Education in science is no guarantee of the scientific spirit outside the field of natural science and veracity in this field is consistent with its absence elsewhere. It is an excellent example of the limits of 'transfer' in education.⁴⁴

Throughout his writings Sir Livingstone cautions against an overemphasis on intellectual education. Knowledge may become an end in itself irrespective of whether it is worth knowing.⁴⁵ "Knowledge", he says, "is not merely a collection of facts; it depends on imagination as well as on reason".⁴⁶ There is an emotional side to man which must not be neglected. The poet should keep company with the rationalist, he insists.⁴⁷ The creative powers need to be developed. Imagination needs to be trained and controlled, and he cites recent developments in art, music and drama to show the power of these influences, unconscious though it may be, to mould thought and feeling and personality.⁴⁸

Education is a handmaid of the art of living, he maintains, and to conceive of it otherwise, is to reduce it

⁴⁴ R. W. Livingstone, On Speaking the Truth, Toronto, the University Press, 1946, p. 16

⁴⁵ -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 18.

⁴⁶ -----, "What is Education?", British Medical Journal, Vol. 96, August 1953, p. 455.

⁴⁷ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 102.

⁴⁸ Id., ibid., p. 109.

to a mere activity of the intelligence.⁴⁹ The highest powers in man are a triad - knowledge, love and worship, and he adds "strong in the first, we are weakest in the last two".⁵⁰

He remarks that Plato was more convinced that men should not only know the truth but that they should live by it.⁵¹ He agrees with Ruskin that the tree of knowledge is not the tree of life⁵² and that education does not mean teaching people what they do not know; it means teaching them to behave as they do not behave.⁵³ He also poses the question:

Is not the pursuit of knowledge in itself the child and parent of moral qualities? Does it not require for any measure of success, industry, perseverance, disinterestedness, faith and above all truth?⁵⁴

5. Moral Development.

The dominant theme in Sir Livingstone's educational writings appears to be that of moral education, or, as he is

⁴⁹ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 76.

⁵⁰ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 88.

⁵¹ Id., ibid., p. 41.

⁵² Id., ibid., p. 88.

⁵³ Id., "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 82.

⁵⁴ Id., Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 10.

went to call it, character training. It is impossible to compress his thinking on this subject into a few pages; there is ample material for a study on Character Education in its own right. Hence, here, an attempt is being made merely to draw together the main threads of his ideas on moral training by considering what he understands by moral education and what he regards as its fundamental principles.

Moral education, as understood by Sir Livingstone, is synonymous with the training of character,⁵⁵ to be achieved by the discipline of the body, the will and the intellect.⁵⁶ Character formation he describes as a slow process; it is hindered by outside causes, by the fitful and imperfect nature of human insight and by weaknesses of will.⁵⁷

With Thomas Arnold who defined his ideal as the training of Christian gentlemen, he agrees⁵⁸ though he admits that the gentleman code by which many Englishmen regulate their lives is indefinite, narrow and fluctuating.⁵⁹ Arnold, "the great headmaster of Rugby" and "the greatest figure in English education", he reveres as an educator who

⁵⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1311.

⁵⁶ -----, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 82.

⁵⁷ -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 73.

⁵⁸ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 39.

⁵⁹ -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 89.

partly by the force of his character and partly by means deliberately chosen but without deliberate study of the problem made a real attempt to mould character. Sir Livingstone credits Arnold as having created an ideal type and a method which have profoundly influenced the English nation and still persist. In comparing Arnold and Plato as character educators he considers Arnold as wholehearted in aim as Plato but admits that Arnold's methods are less thought out and they belong to his own time.⁶⁰

Two other experiments in character training which Sir Livingstone deems worthy of commendation are those of Vittorino da Feltre⁶¹ and the training of a Jesuit.

The main principles underlying his theory of character education may be summarized under the following headings: (1) The formation of character requires the inculcation of virtues, particularly the moral virtues; (2) There should be a rational basis for character training; (3) There is need of a continual vision of greatness, of ideals, in character education; (4) The principle of habituation underlies all moral training; (5) Standards of conduct should be based on Christian belief and Christian ethics; (6) The

⁶⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 84.

⁶¹ Renaissance scholar and humanistic educator.

formulation of a philosophy of life is an essential part of character training.

The formation of character requires the inculcation of virtues, particularly the moral virtues. This is a basic principle in Sir Livingstone's theory of character education. Virtue he defines as "a quality of character which 'causes a man to perform well his function of being a man in the true sense'",⁶² and virtues are classified as either individual or social. From Plato and Aristotle he borrows a list of those virtues which make the complete man.

There are the intellectual virtues [...] There are the moral virtues, not only the four cardinal, courage, wisdom, temperance and justice which Plato recognized, but truthfulness, liberality, good temper, amiability, and two qualities which may be roughly translated as 'magnificence' and 'greatness of soul'. These are the things which make the complete man.⁶³

Other principles of Aristotle's moral theory to which he subscribes are expressed thus:

Happiness is the supreme aim which men consciously or unconsciously seek; that to know in what happiness consists we must know what is the function of man; that to know his function we must know his nature; that his nature has two elements, one purely rational, one non-rational but capable of being ruled by reason; that man is happy when these two elements achieve their virtue or excellence,

⁶² R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 50.

⁶³ -----, "Greek Ideals in Modern Civilization", Yale Review, Vol. 24, June 1935, p. 778.

when the rational element exercises its power in thought and allied activities and when the non-rational element submits to the rule of reason
[...]/ These principles, I think, are an intelligible and practical basis for a way of life.⁶⁴

Sir Livingstone notes the omission from Aristotle's list of such virtues as humility, truth (except in a limited sense), man's duty to his neighbour and the civic virtues. He accounts for this omission by saying that humility becomes more prominent in Christian thought because of the growing sense of the surpassing greatness and goodness of God in comparison with which man is nothing. He feels that man's duty to his neighbour is implied in Aristotle's conception of justice, while the civic virtues are taken for granted as these virtues were surely not wanting in Greek life.

That Aristotle's doctrine falls far short of the Christian ideal, Sir Livingstone perceives quite clearly and he sees that "Christianity, while doing justice to the importance of reason found something higher in a virtue of which all are capable, the virtue which St. Paul calls Love".⁶⁵ He goes so far as to say that some of the items on Aristotle's list may be regarded as nothing more than social graces.

⁶⁴ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 50-51.

⁶⁵ Id., ibid., p. 49-59.

From the foregoing it may be inferred that for Sir Livingstone a condition sine qua non of all character training is a training in virtue, that is, in natural virtues. He is convinced that "the individual in whose make-up there is a larger proportion of virtues is more likely to weather the storms of life than one in which there is less".⁶⁶

There should be a rational basis for character training. This principle is also important in his scheme of character education. "It is common and disastrous", he writes, "to forget that character must be trained through the intellect as by other means".⁶⁷ Citing Plato's Republic, "still the greatest of all books on education", he recalls that Plato planned his whole scheme of education so that intellectual education was in no way distorted or ignored, and he finds that Arnold, too, recognized the necessity of training character through the intellect.⁶⁸ At the same time, he records that Ruskin saw not only the primacy of moral education but the dependence of intellectual education on it.⁶⁹

66 R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 3.

67 -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 51.

68 -----, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 84.

69 -----, Ruskin, p. 18.

There is need of a continual vision of greatness, of ideals, in character education. Regarding this principle Sir Livingstone makes the following statement:

I suggest fundamental principles in character training which are summed up in two sayings, separated in time by two thousand years; 'moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness' (Whitehead); and 'We acquire virtues by having practised them' (Aristotle). It would be difficult to find anywhere except in Plato as much educational wisdom as is contained in these brief sentences.⁷⁰

He writes and speaks at length on the necessity of ideals in character formation and he remarks that one is apt to think of moral failure as being due to weakness of character, whereas, more often it is due to an inadequate ideal.⁷¹ The subjects which he recommends as supplying patterns for these ideals are religion, history and literature.

Of religion he says it "is the supreme instrument for that purpose in education which I defined as bringing before the mind ideals of conduct, patterns of the finest kind in life".⁷² He makes explicit his interpretation of religious ideals in these lines:

⁷⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

⁷¹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 52.

⁷² -----, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 9.

The most obvious of these are found in religion and this is the purpose of religious teaching in schools. Such teaching, if it is merely 'religious knowledge' and dogma (both of which have their place in it) is not what I mean. What matters most is to get some sense of the person and teaching of Jesus Christ and of the ideal of a Christian society as it appears in the practical advice given in St. Paul's epistles to the small Christian communities in the Graeco-Roman world.⁷³

History he conceives as a portrait gallery wherein many noble characters are portrayed. However, he cautions against confusing greatness with goodness; history has as much power to corrupt as to instruct; it then ceases to be an instrument for moral education.

Literature is another great portrait gallery of human excellence. Like history it, too, can become an instrument for good or ill, and Sir Livingstone urges that a distinction be made between art and morals, between greatness as a writer and greatness as a man.

The main purpose of his argument in making a plea for these studies is that pupils be shown the first-rate in life and character as they are revealed in history and literature. He believes that people who are brought up in the company of the first-rate in art, thought, morals or anything else will, instinctively, detect what is inferior.⁷⁴

⁷³ R. W. Livingstone, "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

⁷⁴ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 56-89.

The principle of habituation underlies all moral training. On this point Sir Livingstone thinks that "of all the techniques discovered by mankind this principle of habituation is the most important and effective".⁷⁵ He insists that those habits be based on a rational foundation for "habits which have no foundation in principle dissolve under strain",⁷⁶ and he warns against virtues which are only good habits.

Knowing right is one thing; practising it is something vastly different. Sir Livingstone is aware of this and the following passage seems to sum up his point of view:

To know the best is an essential part of moral education. But it is not the whole of it. Ideals are not enough; to know good is not the same as to do it; people as different as St. Paul and Ovid were impressed by this, and that brings me to the second element in the training of character which is summed up in Aristotle's prosaic commonsense, 'We acquire virtues by having actually practised them, just as with arts and crafts; men become builders by building houses, harpers by playing on the harp, and similarly we become just by doing just acts, brave by doing brave acts'.⁷⁷

Standards of conduct should be based on Christian belief and Christian ethics. This is a principle on which

⁷⁵ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 50.

⁷⁶ -----, "Leadership in Education", Walker Trust Lectures in Education, Oxford, University Press, 1950, p. 10.

⁷⁷ -----, "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

he has strong convictions. He believes that "our aim should be to mould character on the principles of what we have come to call Christian civilization",⁷⁸ and he fails to see how those who reject Christian beliefs can count on keeping Christian morals.⁷⁹

With all his respect for the philosophy of Greek humanism, he does not believe it can do for character what Christianity rightly understood and firmly held can do for it.⁸⁰

He suggests that one of the reasons why an advance in technical achievement, in science and in social services, has not been accompanied by a comparable advance in character is due to the fact that standards of conduct have been weakened, and in some cases destroyed, because men have lost their moorings from Christian principles, and have rejected Christian beliefs and Christian ethics. The Christian, he feels, still has firm beliefs and clear standards, and it is his conviction that "Christianity will become again the

78 R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 73.

79 Id., ibid., p. 69.

80 Id., Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 89.

philosophy of the Western world; but the day is not yet".⁸¹

The formulation of a philosophy of life is an essential part of character education. This principle is one that keeps repeating itself on page after page of Sir Livingstone's writings. He maintains that "an education which leaves us without a philosophy of life is as incomplete as one which leaves us unable to think or to express our thoughts",⁸² and he defines people with a philosophy of life as those who have clear ideas of what is right, what is wrong and what is worth while in life.⁸³

Imparting a philosophy means for him training youth to desire, to recognize and pursue the first-rate. In childhood, goodness is acquired in non-rational forms, but when people grow up and use their reason the grounds for early habits are seen and a rational philosophy develops which justifies, explains and fortifies them.⁸⁴

81 R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 3-4.

82 -----, "What is Education?", British Medical Journal, Vol. 96, 1953, p. 456.

83 -----, "The Humanities in Technical Education", Reprint from Education, August 6, 1954.

84 -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 91-92.

A definite philosophy comes late, he thinks, and it is here that he recognizes the responsibility of the university to send out into life people who have definite views of the ends to which life should be directed and of the principles by which it should be ruled and a clear idea of good and bad in conduct. The direct road to these principles is through religion and philosophy.⁸⁵

6. Spiritual Development.

There are three strands in the rope which bears the weight of humanity, says Sir Livingstone, the spiritual, the intellectual and the political, and he upholds the primacy of the spiritual. This strand he defines, using the word in its widest sense, as religion.⁸⁶ It is impossible, within the scope of these pages to make an exhaustive study of his views on religious education, consequently, the best plan seems to be to determine (1) what he means by religion, (2) what importance he attaches to the subject and (3) what content and methods of teaching he advocates.

That Sir Livingstone regards religion as a personal relation between God and man may be inferred from a criticism of his concerning Herodotus. He describes him as "not

⁸⁵ R. W. Livingstone, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 17-21.

⁸⁶ ———, Education for a World Adrift, p. 63.

a spiritual man, and he is entirely wanting in that sense of a personal relation to God without which religion wanes as knowledge grows".⁸⁷ Further insight into his concept of religion may be drawn from his description of Christianity which follows:

Suppose [...] I were ambitious enough to essay a book on the genius of Christianity, I might speak of it as a religion which put before all things the peremptory claims of the service of God, which found the principal obstacles to such service in individual selfishness whether it took the form of lust for pleasure, of great possessions, which hated mere rules and forms because it was the gospel of the spirit of life and which therefore drew most of its disciples from the poor, the sinful, the rejected and the despised; and I might cite as the completest expression of its nature, the Beatitudes and the Chapter on Love in the First Epistle to the Corinthians.⁸⁸

An explicit statement of what he means by religion as a subject of study is to be found in these lines:

By religion I mean a study of what we should think of the meaning and ultimate nature of the universe; how in the light of the view we form, we should live; the different answers which have been given to these questions by great religious thinkers. Philosophy treats the general problem of religion from a more detached and general point of view.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ R. W. Livingstone, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Id., ibid., p. 18-19.

⁸⁹ Id., Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 25.

That he accords a high place to religion in the scheme of things may be judged from these words: "Whatever we may think about it, religion is the most important of all subjects both in history and in itself and to ignore it is to narrow the outlook and starve the mind".⁹⁰

He doubts if any civilization will last long without religion⁹¹ and to understand Western Civilization, he contends, it is necessary to understand Christianity.⁹²

He sees a place for religion in politics no less than in morals. "Religion, morals and politics blend indissolubly", he states, and in the same context, he adds, "The view that religious belief is relevant to political conduct is not merely the pious and poetic imagination of Aeschylus".⁹³

He considers religion the greatest instrument for raising man to high levels; it contains the purest and finest archetypes of human excellence.⁹⁴ "It is amazing, he

⁹⁰ R. W. Livingstone, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 25.

⁹¹ -----, "What Do You Mean by Civilization?", The Listener, Vol. 19, March 16, 1938, p. 557.

⁹² -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 34.

⁹³ -----, "The Rights of the Weak", The Hibbert Journal, Vol. 39, October 1940, p. 71-72.

⁹⁴ -----, "The Essentials of Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 189, 1952, p. 47.

writes, "that a person not intellectually bright, perhaps not even educated, is capable of grasping, and living by, something so advanced as the principles of Christianity".⁹⁵

Without Church schools and religious education, he feels "man will relapse into the mud from which he came".⁹⁶ His comment on the absence of religion in the public schools of the United States is pertinent: "it seems to me irrational to exclude the most important of all subjects from the state's schools".⁹⁷

Commenting on the Butler Act⁹⁸ the day it took effect he observes:

The second great service of the Act is to save the country from the disaster of a purely secular education. No compromise about religious teaching will satisfy everybody; and religious instruction is not education in religion but an opportunity for it. Still, it is an enormous gain to have recognized that a subject which must be central in life cannot be omitted from education. This is a truth of which our universities as a whole are not yet aware.⁹⁹

95 Id., ibid., p. 48.

96 Id., Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 67.

97 Id., "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 109.

98 Education Act of 1944 which provided religious education in county and auxiliary schools.

99 R. W. Livingstone, "April the First", The Spectator, Vol. 174, March 30, 1945, p. 256.

He makes a stand for religion in the universities as well as in the primary and secondary school. The argument he uses to support his claim is this:

This would have mattered less in the last century when Christianity was the accepted, if not the practised, creed of this country, when the Bible was familiar to all educated people and when the mind was shaped and steadied in a definite moral atmosphere. That age has passed. [...]. Ought we not secure that everyone, at some time in his life, should have a chance to consider methodically principles of conduct and try to acquire a philosophy of life? Is this not especially an essential of higher education? And should not therefore philosophy and/or religion be an element in all university studies?¹⁰⁰

With reference to the actual content of a religion course, he states that religious education is not a question of knowing the dates and authorship of the Bible, but of seeing Christianity as a way of living, as a life that was actually lived. Too often, he believes, Christianity is regarded, both by those who profess it and by those who reject it, as an intellectual belief and not as a way of life; in teaching it is important to stress the latter aspect.¹⁰¹

He recommends the study of the New Testament as a means of presenting a way of life; it "is full of simple

¹⁰⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Philosophy and Religion", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1762, February 5, 1947, p. 89.

¹⁰¹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 106-110.

phrases clear as profound springs which reveal deep beyond deep of religion truth as we gaze into them".¹⁰²

He assigns an important role to the teacher in the matter of teaching religion, and he is confident that the success of a religion program depends on the teacher; "in a school where the Headmaster is indifferent to religion the forms are observed but the spirit is likely to be absent".¹⁰³

As a method, he suggests that teachers, at school and at college, present Christ to students as a person living a human life in the actual world of His day and make them see the small Christian communities as they are revealed in the Acts of the Apostles and in the practical advice and admonitions to these communities recorded in St. Paul's Epistles. That might be a way to give a Christian philosophy and it would have the advantage of concrete Christianity actually lived. At a later step would come abstract argument and the intellectual foundation needed for a philosophy. He further suggests that teachers begin with religion, and in religion with Christianity; only less important should be the study of natural religion and

¹⁰² R. W. Livingstone, Defense of Classical Education, p. 92.

¹⁰³ -----, "Personal Letter to Harold Prudell", Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 109.

natural morals, "which both logically and historically are prior to revealed religion".¹⁰⁴

After the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles, should come the Creed, and he believes the individual should arrive at it and not start from it; it will mean more to him if he comes to it as the early Christians did as a rational account of facts which he knows and of an experience which he has had. This to Sir Livingstone seems the right method in education, first practice, then theory. However, he does not dispense with dogma; a certain amount is inevitable.¹⁰⁵ To him dogma is not religion; it is a guide towards truth, a fence against error.¹⁰⁶

Elsewhere, he says he would, from a study of the Acts and the Epistles, emphasize the virtues that make human relations good and the vices that frustrate them. He sees an advantage in having pupils make their own lists of qualities which St. Paul thought part of the Christian life, and he would make pupils learn by heart the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians and try to make them

¹⁰⁴ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 34-35.

¹⁰⁵ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 106-116.

¹⁰⁶ -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 17.

see what it means. He realizes they may not see its full meaning then, but life will reveal that if the words are lodged in the memory.¹⁰⁷

In the university and at the adult stage Sir Livingstone favours a study of great religious teachers, selections from great religious bodies of the world, central problems of the philosophy of religion.¹⁰⁸

At the university he fears compulsion is out of place and impractical in religion and he makes a compromise: to proceed by optional lectures. However, he deems some philosophy compulsory for all degrees and in the area of conduct he proposes moral philosophy. He presents two alternatives for the time to study philosophy, either at the end of the course when the mind is more mature or at the beginning when it may be related to other subjects. He seems to prefer deferring it to the end of the university course when the student has acquired some knowledge of actual religions to which philosophy can be related and he is more aware of what he is to consider.¹⁰⁹

107 R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 9.

108 -----, "Creating Resources for This Time", Association American Colleges Bulletin, Vol. 37, March 1951, p. 66.

109 -----, "Philosophy and Religion", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1762, February 5, 1947, p. 89.

The frequent references to religious education scattered throughout the writings of Sir Livingstone seem to indicate his concern for a reemphasis on the primacy of the spiritual. In the following paragraph is to be found a good example of the perspective in which he places the spiritual:

A community's efficiency will depend on the technical and vocational training of its members [..] and its cohesion and stability will depend largely on their social and political education. But the quality of its civilization will depend on something else. It depends on its standards, its sense of values, its idea of what is first-rate and what is not. The vocational and the social aspects of education are essential but the most fatal to omit is the spiritual.¹¹⁰

For Sir Livingstone, then, the spiritual is the integrating force in all forms of education; it is the force which binds together into a coherent whole the many diversified elements in education, the physical, the vocational, the intellectual and the moral, and all these elements form an essential part of the training of an individual. However, the individual aspect is only a partial answer to the education of the complete human being. There remains the social side of man with all that it connotes, and Sir Livingstone is indeed concerned with this side of man, for

¹¹⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Choosing the Educational Menu", The Listener, September 11, 1941, p. 360.

"without social training", he says, "no character is prepared for life".¹¹¹ It is his views on social education which will be developed in Chapter III.

¹¹¹ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 85.

CHAPTER III

LIVINGSTONE'S VIEWS ON SOCIAL EDUCATION

An analysis of Sir Livingstone's views on social education presupposes an understanding of his total concept of social education and this, in turn, implies an understanding of the relationship in which he sees the individual with respect to society. The first part of this chapter purports to develop these two aspects of the problem. The remainder of the chapter will attempt to analyze his thinking on the various institutions which contribute towards the socialization of the individual, namely, the family, the Church, the school, the community and the state.

1. Concept of Social Education.

The characteristic note of Sir Livingstone's theory of social education appears to be the primacy of the individual; the fundamental reality in the world is the human personality and the ideal society is a community of such personalities, self-controlling, self-developing, self-respecting and respecting others.¹

¹ R. W. Livingstone, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 78.

Basically, he considers the social problem a problem of human character,² and, citing Aristotle, he affirms that social and political problems are, at bottom, moral problems.³ He affirms, further, that "states collapse and schemes fail for many reasons, but the commonest and most fatal cause is the weakness of human character".⁴

In the final analysis, he states, the quality of a civilization depends on the quality of the human beings who make it. What men are, that their civilization is,⁵ and he explains that "we are civilized if we are the sort of people who live and can live in societies rather than the sort that do not and cannot".⁶

It is evident then that he judges a society in terms of the individuals who compose it and it is the character of the individual which is his prime concern; it is the individual as a real human being; it is a man whose essential characteristic thing is to be found, not like Marx, in the

2 R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 81.

3 -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 91-95.

4 -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 27.

5 -----, "Choosing the Educational Menu", The Listener, Vol. 26, September 11, 1941, p. 359.

6 -----, "What Do We Mean by Civilization?", The Listener, Vol. 19, March 16, 1938, p. 557.

economic animal, nor like Freud and many modern novelists in a sex-ridden phantasm, "but in a man straining his eyes to catch sight of the vision of a better world, and to incorporate what he can see in the life of himself and his society".⁷

All human beings, he writes, possess in some degree the gifts necessary for living in society; the Greeks had a profound view that the gifts required are a sense of justice and a sense of right.⁸ From this he infers that "all men need the elements of social education. Without it no state can survive. The best community is that where this lesson is learnt best". On the social and political education of its members, he adds, depend largely the cohesion and stability of a community.⁹ But he also interposes another comment, "the quality of a society depends on something behind and beyond politics, on our religion, or philosophy of life".¹⁰

The first element in training in social behaviour is, in Sir Livingstone's judgment, that men should be able

⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "The Essentials of Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 189, January 1952, p. 48.

⁸ -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 468.

⁹ -----, "Choosing the Educational Menu", The Listener, Vol. 26, September 11, 1941, p. 360.

¹⁰ -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, p. 469

to live together as good members of their family, of their community, of their nation and of the whole human race.

This means:

We must learn to live with others and respect their rights and feelings. It also means that we have to play a part in the community, make a contribution to it, often accept the decision of a majority which goes against our private interests, opinions and desires, otherwise the community will not prosper and may not survive and in its shipwreck we shall be drowned.¹¹

He insists upon the responsibility of every individual to contribute towards the well-being of the community, and he deplores the baneful effects on society of irresponsible and unsocial members. "Human society", he comments, no less than the human body, suffers from cancers, from cells in it developing their own activity without relation to the whole".¹²

How many of the world's troubles, he remarks, can be traced to a failure, "to people having never learned the art of living with others, in the family, in the community, in the nation, in international relationships".¹³ He puts them in order of ascending difficulty, for in the art of living

¹¹ R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 84.

¹² -----, Ruskin, p. 13-14.

¹³ -----, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, p. 84.

as good members of the human race, he fears, men have almost everything to learn.¹⁴

There is only one way to learn social habits, and that is by living a life in which such habits automatically develop, in other words, live in society.¹⁵ But men cannot live at all in societies without certain virtues,¹⁶ and no society can exist long without a modicum of the virtues.¹⁷ These lines sum up Sir Livingstone's conception of the contribution of virtues to the preservation of any society. There are no doubts in his mind that social virtues constitute an essential element in the training of character and that these virtues need just as much emphasis as individual virtues do. He realizes that a person may be greedy, self-assertive, arrogant, egotistical when he is by himself but when that individual finds greed, self-assertion, arrogance and egotism to be unpopular he begins to discard or diminish these vices and to acquire the opposite virtues.¹⁸

¹⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 84.

¹⁵ Id., ibid.

¹⁶ Id., "What Do We Mean by Civilization?", The Listener, Vol. 19, March 16, 1938, p. 557.

¹⁷ Id., "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

¹⁸ Id., ibid.

Referring to the virtues which connote character to the English people, truthfulness, courage, trustworthiness, a sense of honour, independence, fair play, public spirit and leadership, Sir Livingstone writes, "These are national ideals and, on the whole, national virtues. They are the virtues necessary if men are to live in society", and he goes on to show that the English insistence on them partly explains why they have, so far, been able to work passably well the most difficult form of society, democracy.¹⁹

Writing during the days of the Nazi terrors, he is inclined to attribute the inhumane conditions in Germany to the fact that "four lights of the human mind, four essentials of any real civilization, have gone out in Germany, mercy, freedom, justice and truth". These virtues, combined with respect for the rights of the weak, he esteems as the pillars of any community.²⁰

Frequently, he reverts to this main thesis, that social virtues are not developed independently of individual virtues, that both are complementary to each other, that many notes must be harmonized if the full music of the human

¹⁹ R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 41.

²⁰ ———, "The Steadfast Mind", The Listener, Vol. 22, October 19, 1939, p. 767.

instrument is to sound, "gentleness and courage, boldness and prudence, inquisitiveness and reverence, tolerance and firmness, confidence and humility, stability and freedom".²¹

Sir Livingstone advises that there are limitations to social education as this remark aptly shows: "Without social training no character is prepared for life. But by itself it is incomplete and even dangerous unless concurrently men learn to take a master and the right master".²² The master he suggests is excellence, a vision of what is best in all aspects of life.

By all means, he agrees, develop the qualities for life in a community, but he warns that by itself such training has two dangers: it might produce either a world of human bees or ants, efficient but limited and static, or a highly disciplined mass like the Nazi youth whose social virtues were directed towards disastrous ends. Hence, he says, the importance of knowing the right ends.²³

In answer to John Dewey's statement that "The only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situation in which he

21 R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 84.

22 Id., ibid., p. 86.

23 Id., ibid.

finds himself", Sir Livingstone replies:

If we listen to this subtly materialistic doctrine, we must rewrite the ancient text to run 'In the beginning was not the Word, but the Situation'. It is a dangerous creed. If it is followed the child is not likely to be any better than the society of his time.²⁴

He concurs with the belief that the child should be formed by contact with the world, but it must be the right world, and not merely the world of every day; it must be the world at its best, a society representative of reality, but far better and higher.²⁵

He is in complete disagreement with those current philosophies which would attribute to society the making and unmaking of morals, virtues, rights and truth. He states quite definitely that morality is buttressed by God, not by conventions of society; virtues and rights are absolute and in no way dependent on society for their existence; truth is absolute and not the plaything of conventions. The whole idea of conventional morality is untenable to him.²⁶

To offset those dangers likely to result from too close an adherence to the tenets of modern society Sir

²⁴ R. W. Livingstone, Plato and Modern Education, p. 17.

²⁵ Id., ibid.

²⁶ Id., Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 116-143.

Livingstone recommends that education "build up in every man and woman a solid core really and truly human which will resist the attrition of everyday life in our mechanized world".²⁷ He also recommends that attention be given to a recognition of a hierarchy of values in all forms of education, thereby insuring that

the perfectly educated man would have a standard, a perception of values in every province, physical, aesthetic, intellectual and moral; in his profession or occupation, in personal, vocational and international life. He would know the first-rate in all of them and run no risk of being deceived by the inferior. Further, so far as this is possible he would have a hierarchy of values, so that lesser did not dominate greater goods.²⁸

Building up this awareness of a hierarchy of values calls for an integrating force in education; Sir Livingstone holds that this force is the power of training character. He asks, "Is not this the principle of integration that we want, and could there be a better?"²⁹ But to him character training is a training in the virtues, individual as well as social. The latter are learned by living in society, from the smallest unity of society, the family, to the most complex of all societies, international society.

²⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "Education for the Modern World", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, November 1946, p. 76.

²⁸ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 25.

²⁹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 39.

2. The Family as a Social Institution.

References to the family as an educational agency are comparatively few in the whole range of Sir Livingstone's writings. However, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that he regards the family as the primary social unit. It is in the home, he says, that early social training begins, or at least it should begin there.³⁰ The following lines illustrate his thinking on the place of the family in the scheme of social training:

Social virtue is learnt by social life. So its infant school is the family, where the members, living together, learn how to live together as members of a tiny community. The smaller the family, the worse the school.³¹

There are no details as to the specific training which the home should give or the particular virtues which it should aim to develop. There is the statement that "love is the strongest of social bonds, the basis of the family",³² and to Sir Livingstone, this virtue is the essence of all community living and the bond which makes for a

³⁰ R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 6

³¹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 150-151.

³² -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 18.

fundamentally Christian society.³³

3. The Church as a Social Institution.

References to the Church as a Social Educator are also meager in Sir Livingstone's writings, yet it may reasonably be assumed that many of his statements regarding the role of Christianity in the history of civilization implicitly include the role of the Church. Commenting on the influence of Christianity on the English national mind, he remarks that in so far as the English have a national mind at all, it has been made mainly by Christianity.

For many hundred years most of the population of these islands heard its message preached. The conception of the Fatherhood of God leads logically to the Brotherhood of man; texts like 'Ye are members one of another' imply no doubt a wider citizenship than anything on earth, but they imply citizenship and enforce a sense of community. Men cannot listen to such words Sunday after Sunday without some trace of them remaining, even if it is only an ideal in the background of the mind, a pricking of the conscience, a call to the deeper side of their nature.³⁴

Among the institutions "whose members learn to be something more than individuals, to feel and act as members of a body, where they get as it were preparatory lessons in

³³ R. W. Livingstone, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 165-168.

³⁴ ———, Education for a World Adrift, p. 151.

citizenship", he lists the Church.³⁵ In another text, he writes that the history of the Church is the attempt to apply the religious ideals expounded by the Bible to the complexities of the social and political life of mankind,³⁶ and again, "The Churches are democratic, they can reach the whole people and every class in it".³⁷

He speaks of the waning influence of the Church on so many people in modern times and he recalls the powerful influence it exerted on the Middle Ages. Today, as then, he considers the Church a natural institution to give people a philosophy of life which will make them good members of society. With the university, he says, the Church shares this duty, but, he adds, "unfortunately the Churches have lost their hold on many whom the university reaches".³⁸

4. The School as a Social Institution.

There are ample references to the school as a social agency to warrant the conclusion that Sir Livingstone

³⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 26, 1942, p. 675.

³⁶ -----, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 6.

³⁷ -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 68.

³⁸ -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 12.

defines a major function of the school as training in good habits of social behaviour.

Since he has written in much detail on this aspect of education a break-down of the topic seems desirable. The question resolves itself into the following sub-divisions: (1) the over-all function of the school as a social agency; (2) the role of the teacher; and (3) the various levels of training: the nursery school, the primary school, the secondary school and the university.

The main object of the school is not learning, not acquiring knowledge, says Sir Livingstone; this is only a subsidiary function. Its main object is acquiring habits, the habits and virtues necessary for living well.³⁹ Among these are the individual and the social virtues. "School", he writes, "is a natural place for training the latter, because it is a society, a microcosm of the larger society outside it. The training begins the first day a child enters school".⁴⁰ It is in school that he learns to overcome greediness, self-assertiveness, arrogance, egotism, and to substitute the opposite virtues.

³⁹ R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 6.

⁴⁰ -----, "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

School also develops another important social quality, public spirit, a quality which Sir Livingstone defines as the sense that anyone belonging to a community should render some service to it. The seeds of this quality will be sown in school if the school is a community and not merely a place to be taught; if it has a life outside the classroom in which all share and to which all contribute. The virtue begins to grow by doing individual acts for the community; he suggests it may be anything from keeping a classroom clean to running a school library or society, from filling inkpots to acting as prefect.⁴¹

Sir Livingstone realizes the importance of games in the cultivation of social virtues. Apart from their contribution to physique and health he sees their use in the training of character, in developing such habits as patience, endurance, fair play, and in team games, team spirit. "No one plays them in order to 'acquire virtue', but by playing them people do acquire, more or less, on the Aristotelian principle, the virtues which each game requires". He refers to the use of games for the training of character as an important, though accidental, English discovery.⁴²

⁴¹ R. W. Livingstone, "The Vision of Greatness", Time and Tide, Vol. 38, January 25, 1958, p. 91.

⁴² Id., ibid.

He exhorts teachers to pay special attention to those virtues which a school does not always foster: friendliness, independence of mind, willingness to oppose public opinion and tolerance. He feels, that often, the school trains pupils to live in society but it does not always train them in the power of standing up against public opinion. He also fears that the school trains pupils to look after themselves but not always to look after others.⁴³

In his estimation, the teacher holds a prominent place in social education. With reference to the ideals and patterns of conduct which the school should bring before the pupils' minds, Sir Livingstone writes:

That is where the personal character of the teacher is so important. He is a pattern, which, whether he likes it or not, is set before the pupils' eyes for each hour of the school day. If he is courageous, honest, just, sympathetic, hard-working, patient, disinterested and unselfish, his pupils will have an example which will affect them as profoundly as anything outside their homes and which they will never forget.⁴⁴

Where there is a strong personality the whole atmosphere of a school, created and carried on with a definite ideal, moulds its members accordingly. Of this he has much to say. He is also concerned with the development of

⁴³ R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Id., ibid.

leadership among pupils and it is here that he accords the palm to Thomas Arnold, who, by his personality and idealism, his power of arousing the imagination and disciplining the mind, strengthened character and awakened spirit, and that during the critical years of adolescence. Without in any way underestimating the influence of the primary school teacher, Sir Livingstone contends that emphasis on leadership is not so important in the primary school; it is in the secondary school, during the crucial years of a pupil's life, and at the university, that wise leadership is most essential.

Ideally, he knows, education should be individual, practically, he realizes school leadership must be mass, and it is the teacher's responsibility to provide a challenging atmosphere. Hence, there should be unselfish devotion on the part of the teacher, a good rapport between pupil and teacher, and the latter should possess a fund of virtue and knowledge, the magnets of whose forces he is the conductor, and from which he draws his power.⁴⁵

"First in time, and high in importance is the nursery school, where in infant years the child learns to live in a community".⁴⁶ Such is Sir Livingstone's impression of

⁴⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "Leadership in Education", Walker Trust Lectures in Education, p. 5-15.

⁴⁶ -----, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 85.

the nursery school. Commenting on the Section of the 1944 Education Act which made provision for the implementation of the nursery school into the school system, he says, "Nursery schools will give an opportunity, especially where homes are bad, of shaping character rightly in those early years which are the most critical period of education".⁴⁷ He feels that the nursery school helps children to form good habits at an age when habits are most easily acquired; it is especially valuable in the case of children who are denied the chance of forming good habits in the course of home life.⁴⁸

For the germ of the nursery school he cites Plato:

Plato thought that the state should educate children 'before they can understand language and are therefore incapable of appreciating any sort of instruction'; for the first 'three years are a considerable part of life to be passed ill or well'. The nursery school is based on this idea, though it takes children a little later and, while the character is as little set as the body, trains them by the mere attendance at school in the art of living in a community. Nursery schools, like all institutions, have dangers but there is no reason why they should impair family life and responsibility; they supply something which the small family cannot give, and they can do much to correct the disastrous influence of bad homes.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "April the First", The Spectator, Vol. 174, March 30, 1945, p. 286.

⁴⁸ -----, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 6.

⁴⁹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 154.

Next in time comes the elementary school, and here Sir Livingstone assumes there is a continuation of the training in social habits begun in the nursery school. Much can be accomplished, he thinks, if the interests and life of the school are made to center around the life of the community.

Then follows the secondary school, the day school for some, the boarding school for others. In the day school community life can be developed through school games, societies, camps and journeys abroad, in other words, through common activities. He holds that the more democratic the organization of the school the better the pupils learn to manage their own lives.⁵⁰

"The greatest instrument of social education in England [..] is the so-called public school, which should rather be called the residential school".⁵¹ These lines and those which follow contain the full import of Sir Livingstone's thinking on the value of the boarding school as a socializing agent. There the pupil

⁵⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 85.

⁵¹ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 152.

[...] lives wholly inside the little community for eight months of the year; he has his place, rights and duties in it; he has to obey and live and cooperate with its other members. He acquires in a narrow field the community habit, and there is a reasonable hope that it may become part of his nature and show itself in the larger theatre which is called a country and that still larger one which is called the world.⁵²

He regrets that this admirable training has been, by force of circumstances, confined to a small class and he envisages a future where the residential school will be thrown open to the nation.⁵³ His comment on the newer universities, which, themselves mainly non-residential, draw their students from non-residential schools, indicates the esteem in which he holds residential education. This is his comment:

The newer universities [...] have in general little corporate spirit or loyalty. They have done a great work in the country which must rely on them for a large part of its future leaders, but they teach rather than educate.⁵⁴

He admits a possible weakness of the residential school, a character trained along too narrow lines.⁵⁵ "At its best, the residential school has been and is admirably

52 R. W. Livingstone, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 26, 1942, p. 676.

53 Id., ibid.

54 Id., Education for a World Adrift, p. 156.

55 Id., ibid., p. 45.

successful in producing men with right values and a clear view of life", he writes, but he also admits "it has not always been at its best, and then it has both succeeded and failed; succeeded in training moral qualities, and failed because our definition of character has been too narrow".⁵⁶

The university has its part, and a large one, to play in social education; so Sir Livingstone maintains, and its function in this respect should be to

train men to be not merely masters of a special field but to know what Plato meant when he wished his ruling class to learn to be 'spectators of all time and all existence'. It should have wide aims and a sense of practical needs; and its graduates should go into life not so much expert in the battle-cries and tactics of the moment, as conscious of the deeper issues at stake and of the values involved in them.⁵⁷

In recommending Plato's Republic to university students as a book to be studied, he asks them to look at these problems: what is goodness; why men should believe in it; in what kind of state the good life can best be lived; what part education should play in the state; what different ideals rule individuals and states and to what kind of lives they lead. He encourages all students to find the

56 R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 41.

57 -----, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 12.

answers to those questions, whether it be from Plato or from some other source, and he asserts that "if the university ignores them, it will not train 'good members of society'".⁵⁸

His suggestion to the universities to enable them to fulfil their social function in education is first a revision of their undergraduate program of studies with a view to imparting a philosophy of life by the inclusion of such subjects as religion and philosophy, and secondly, to provide their scientists with such training in the humanities as will enable them to play their full part in national life not merely as superior technicians or expert specialists but as citizens and directors of policy. The humanities, being in the human field, should give, he thinks, "what is needed to train Newman's 'good members of society'", for

Literature reflects all the thoughts and feelings of man; religion and philosophy deal with his attempts to understand his nature, his place in the universe, and the principles that should regulate his conduct; history records his adventures in society. All these keep or should keep the human problem before the mind and show ways of interpreting it.⁵⁹

It becomes manifest from Sir Livingstone's writings, then, that on the school and university, if they are to

⁵⁸ R. W. Livingstone, Some Thoughts on University Education, p. 27.

⁵⁹ Id., ibid., p. 15-16.

fulfil their respective roles in social education, rests the responsibility of developing those principles that regulate conduct and prepare students to live as good members of society and, at the same time, to withstand the evil influences which come to them through society. In brief, the school and the university must prepare their students to live as good members of the society in which their lot is cast, and this preparation implies that they be ready to discriminate what is good from what is bad in community resources.

5. The Community as a Social Institution.

To Sir Livingstone it is clear that the community, as an educational agency, exerts a powerful influence in moulding the lives of its members. He speaks of the role of such influences as cultural and recreational agencies, the Trade Unions, the Cooperative Movement, the Guide and Scout Movements, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, Professional Clubs, in short, any group in which members learn to be something more than individuals.⁶⁰

Among cultural and recreational agencies are to be included mass media, literature and drama. The term mass media, or communication media, is understood generally to

⁶⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Choosing the Educational Menu", The Listener, Vol. 26, September 11, 1941, p. 360.

comprise such influences as the films, radio, television, the press and the novel, in fact all those influences which absorb the leisure time of the members of a community. It is no understatement to say that Sir Livingstone is concerned about the use of leisure time. He writes:

Aristotle may have gone too far when he said that the object of education was to help men to use their leisure rightly. But we have treated the majority as if they were to have no leisure, or as if it did not matter how they used what leisure they had. Art, music, science, literature were for the few. The rest were disinherited from some of the purest and highest pleasures [...]. It mattered, perhaps, less in the past [...]. Fifty years ago leisure was no concern of any but the well-to-do, who mostly wasted it. Today its use is becoming a problem.⁶¹

Of mass media in general, he is prone to think that they are as effective as what goes on in the classrooms "for they create an atmosphere which influences continually the sensitive, uninitiated creatures that we are and moulds us unconsciously to their own likeness".⁶² "Every film, newspaper and novel teaches. Every advertisement page, every platform on the Underground Railway preaches a sermon on the Virtue of Acquisitiveness".⁶³

⁶¹ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 4-5.

⁶² -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 70-71.

⁶³ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 114.

He writes at length of the influence of the films on modern education, and he agrees that they have a tremendous part to play, and that they have great instructional value. "They are an enormous force in giving a kind of atmospheric education to which we are all subject. They create an atmosphere, but it makes all the difference in the world whether this atmosphere is good or bad".⁶⁴

He sees in the film a hope for international solidarity.

Yet the documentary film has shown the unrivalled power of the cinema to make us known to each other; it could be used far more to remove the insensibility to our neighbours' lives, trials and problems, from which so much intolerance and friction spring, and thereby to create the mutual understanding and sympathy without which national and international solidarity are impossible. Here is one great virtue of the cinema to set in scale against many sins.⁶⁵

That it has many sins he knows full well. He is well aware that there is plenty that is third-rate and fourth-rate in it and that there is a danger, because of it, that civilization may lose the sense and imprint of what is first-rate.⁶⁶ He knows that the film used, or rather

⁶⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 477.

⁶⁵ -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 70-71.

⁶⁶ -----, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1312.

abused, for commercial purposes, is a constant influence on the minds of people. It utters loudly and with the confusion of many unharmonious voices such doctrines as the prospect of immediate profit inspires.⁶⁷

The radio exerts a powerful influence on the minds of people, also. This fact he readily accepts and he evinces a certain degree of optimism with regard to its use:

In Britain radio, allowing for the limitations which the character of its public imposes on it, seems to me to have been a most important instrument of national education, in opening the minds, quickening the intelligence, and raising the quality of popular taste, and to have shown a sense of responsibility and a conscience.⁶⁸

It is with good reason that he advocates proper control by the proper authorities of such communications as radio, television and the films.

To come to a practical point, I should like to see radio, TV, and the films controlled, not by the state directly, but by some public body. These three are today probably the most influential instruments of public education, for they are at work on most of us throughout our lives; the artists and technicians who produce them are gifted people who know their job thoroughly; they move us as unfortunately education in school and college does not; and their influence is the greater because for the most part we do not realize it. I do not think that forces of this kind should be directed in the last

67 R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 86.

68 -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 68.

resort by motives of private gain.⁶⁹

"The journalism of a country is an index of its intellectual and moral state". So Sir Livingstone writes and he wonders what a future generation will think of the quality of modern journalism. He excoriates the cheap newspapers which recognize no distinction between the important and the unimportant and very little between good and evil and in whose columns, murders, the private lives of film stars, betting tips and political news are mixed on no fixed principle except, perhaps, that the scum tends to come to the top. Such newspapers, he maintains, are partly created by the public and partly corrupt it.⁷⁰ He believes that today there is far more journalism which is cheap, in every sense of the word, than there was fifty or sixty years ago. He blames this on the unforeseen development of popular education which created a large public to buy certain newspapers. As a remedy to stem the tide of cheap journalism, he suggests giving people the kind of education which will make them demand better newspapers and he extends his suggestion to include better films, better radio programs, and

⁶⁹ R. W. Livingstone, "The Meaning of Civilization", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 191, March 1953, p. 43.

⁷⁰ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 12.

better amusements of all kinds.⁷¹

Sir Livingstone's strongest plea in this whole matter of amusements and leisure time pursuits is for a clear definition of standards, a sense of discrimination whereby to discern the first-rate from that which is second-, third-, or even fourth-rate. It is a plea for a continual vision of greatness and of excellence. Education, properly conceived, can provide this vision and therefore send its pupils out into the world with a precise knowledge of what is first-rate and what is not.⁷²

Among the community agencies which contribute to social education he recognizes the Trade Unions as occupying an important place. He is impressed by the fact that millions of men learn to subordinate private wishes and opinions to a common policy and a mass of individuals become a disciplined army. Even a strike has a part to play.

A strike may be inconvenient or even unjustifiable, but men who will throw up their work and livelihood for a common cause, possibly against their desire or even their judgment, have learnt one at least of the lessons of social education, how to act as a community.⁷³

⁷¹ R. W. Livingstone, "What Do We Mean by Civilization?", The Listener, Vol. 19, March 16, 1938, p. 559.

⁷² -----, "The Essentials of Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 189, January 1952, p. 46.

⁷³ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 152.

Sir Livingstone is well aware of the influence of the Scout and Guide Movements as instruments of social education. "Membership of the Scouts or Guides", he says, "[...] gives a first-rate training of character, quite apart from their other uses".⁷⁴ He mentions, with reference to social education, not only the Scout and Guide Movements but also the Boys' and Church Lads' Brigades, the Boys' and Girls' Clubs, and he notes that these are among the "several institutions which give [social education] in a specific form, institutions whose members learn the habit of citizenship by being citizens".⁷⁵

6. The State as a Social Institution.

The question of the State and social education may be approached from several angles. Since Sir Livingstone writes somewhat fully on education for a democracy it seems appropriate to develop this phase of the question first and then attempt to complete the picture by analyzing his views on civic education and ways and means of accomplishing it.

"All human beings possess in some degree the gifts necessary for politics [...]. That is the point on which

⁷⁴ R. W. Livingstone, Thoughts on the Education of Character, p. 6.

⁷⁵ -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 152.

all men are equal, and there is the basis of democracy".⁷⁶ These lines serve as an introduction to Sir Livingstone's concept of the place of the individual in a democracy. If every man possesses in germ the art of politics, he argues, then to forbid the germ to grow, by depriving anyone of a share in politics, is to stunt human growth. He defines his ideal of democracy in terms of the individuals who compose it.

What is the ideal of Democracy? It is not prosperity and comfort of the masses. These can exist in any autocratic state; indeed the autocrat must satisfy the masses or his power will not last. Its essential ideal is respect for human personality, for men and women, for white men and coloured men, for the rich and the poor, the healthy and the sick, the intelligent and the stupid, the forceful and the inert, even for the knave and the criminal; it is the sense that the meanest of God's creatures is a human being with rights of which nothing can deprive him and capacities of which something can be made. That is the doctrine implicit in the first great statement of liberal democracy which breathes the spirit of respect for the individual person, whatever his gifts, his tastes and his income.⁷⁷

Such a democracy he calls a child of Justice. There is also, he recalls, a democracy which is a child of self-assertion. From this results a polity which is not a community but a collection of individuals making claims on the state, its ruling principle being the greatest selfishness

⁷⁶ R. W. Livingstone, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 467.

⁷⁷ Ibid., ibid.

of the greatest number, and it ends, at best, in a struggle between rich and poor, at the worst, a social order in which a degenerate mass has no other care than to enjoy the ignoble pleasures of vulgar men. Such a state, he assumes, excites no enthusiasm and inspires no self-sacrifice and its life is inglorious and short. Herein, he points out, lies the great danger of democracies.⁷⁸

The most obvious condition that Sir Livingstone postulates for the ideal democracy is respect for the human beings who compose it. He criticizes Plato for having sketched in his Republic a state which calls for the enslavement of the individual to the interests of the community,⁷⁹ and further on in the same text, he adds that "all the political thinkers of Greece, with the exception of Plato, speak of the state as existing for the individual".⁸⁰

He associates the greatness of a democracy, not with its social services, though these are essential to any democracy, "they rise out of its ideal and are ancillary to it but they are not the ideal", but with the demands it

⁷⁸ R. W. Livingstone, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 467.

⁷⁹ -----, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Id., ibid., p. 66.

makes of its citizens. This entails self-sacrifice on the part of individuals, and it is this very giving of self which enables each of the members of a democracy to climb to the height of human nature which is within its reach. This is Sir Livingstone's firm conviction and so is the belief that "a personality grows not by what is done to it but by what it does for itself and others".⁸¹

He believes that in no age of the world has the social conscience been so awake as it is now; for evidence he cites the nation-wide system of education and the attempt to procure a minimum standard of living by the social services. In this awakening he sees a recognition of the duty of giving equal opportunity to all, a condition far different from that which prevailed among the Greeks where the institution of slavery defaced civilization.⁸²

"Citizenship is learned by being a citizen, by living as a member of a community, and so getting into the way of living with others, recognizing their rights and acting with them".⁸³ This is the way Sir Livingstone would train

⁸¹ R. W. Livingstone, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 468.

⁸² -----, "The Meaning of Civilization", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 191, March 1953, p. 44.

⁸³ -----, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 26, 1942, p. 676.

to citizenship. For him citizenship has a broad meaning. It goes far beyond voting, paying taxes, sitting on a jury and other duties which are required by a state of its members. It involves all a man's actions which affect his fellow-citizens, as well as those which affect the well-being of the state. It is almost co-extensive with a man's duty to his neighbour. It includes everything which the law requires but also many duties which it does not mention and which are left to the individual conscience.

It is his conviction that citizens are made, not born, and though all human beings have the capacity to be citizens, yet mere capacity is not enough; it needs developing and training. He suggests three methods to be applied in developing and training citizens: instruction, the presentation of ideals and living as citizens.

By instruction in citizenship he means the teaching of civics for the purpose of imparting knowledge of political institutions and stimulating interest in social problems and current events. This instruction is a necessary part of training for citizenship, but it is only a part, and he insists that it is conduct not theory, action not knowledge that make a good citizen. Here, as with other subjects, he admits the power of an inspired teacher to vitalize a class and make civics a means of real education. He favours the teaching of citizenship through the normal

subjects of the school curriculum rather than through civics, exclusively. He questions the practicability of giving knowledge of government and the fabric of civilization to schoolboys. It seems to him that school is neither the place nor the time to impart such knowledge; it is better given to adults, at a time when they have immediate need for it.

There is a fruitful side to civics which he recommends: visits to town councils, lawcourts, parliament, factories, slums, distressed areas; they leave in the mind a sense of real problems to be solved.

The second element he proposes for training in citizenship is the presentation of ideals. He advises that this element, though small in bulk, is of vast importance, and if a Bible of citizenship were to be compiled the two articles which sum up the creed of all citizens might well be: duty to country and duty to fellow citizens.

Duty to country or patriotism he terms "falling in love with one's country", and he believes that men fall in love with a country because of something great in it; this greatness is created by the courage and sense of duty and unlimited self-sacrifice of individual citizens, and it inspires others to these qualities and so is maintained and extended.

Duty to fellow citizens suggests loving one's neighbour as one's self, he explains. This implies that the state be regarded, not as a mixed collection of individuals but as a united and affectionate family. However, he knows that it is possible to see visions of goodness without following them and to have knowledge of the right without doing the right. Something over and above instruction and ideals is necessary.

This third element is the practical end and Sir Livingstone repeats that citizenship is practical, not speculative, active not passive, an art not a theory, the art and virtues of living in a community. It calls for a harmony of clashing forces: independence and respect for authority, individualism and teamwork, self-assertion, self-discipline and self-sacrifice, initiative and subordination. All these qualities may be acquired by living in a community.

His most pertinent remark concerning civic education is this: knowledge of civics will help men to practise citizenship, ideals will inspire and show the goal but men become good by doing what good citizens do; social virtue is learnt by social life, in the family, in the school, in the Church, in the community, in the state.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ R. W. Livingstone, *Education for a World Adrift*, p. 134-158.

There are three other aspects of social education of which Sir Livingstone treats, namely, war as educator, parliament as a school of citizenship, and international co-operation, all of which are indirectly linked with the state, hence it seems fitting to consider them here.

War, he writes, imposes a great common purpose on a nation and burns up minor and meaner forces in its consuming flame; it imposes the attitudes and conduct which result from a common purpose; the nation becomes something like a society, a band of companions; in fact it becomes a nation. The question he asks is, how to maintain in peace time the great common aim and the spirit of friendship engendered by war?⁸⁵

Of Parliament as a training ground for social living he speaks thus:

Citizenship is learned in the admirable school of parliamentary government, where men learn to fight without becoming enemies, to lose without resentment, and to win without pushing a victory too far, and where the verdict of the majority is accepted and the rights of the minority are not forgotten.⁸⁶

Since World War II a new political conception has arisen; it is a conception of a world whose people though

⁸⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "Education and the Training of Character", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 178, July 1946, p. 83.

⁸⁶ -----, "The Ideals of Democracy", The Listener, Vol. 23, March 7, 1940, p. 467.

varying in language, tradition, culture and political institutions, yet feel themselves fundamentally one, united beneath all their differences by a common humanity and co-operating in the pursuit of a common goal. In these lines are to be found Sir Livingstone's grasp of the international situation. The next advance he anticipates is international cooperation, but how to effect this is the task. It will not be accomplished, he feels sure, by setting up international machinery, though this is indispensable; still less by pious aspirations, pessimistic complaints or edifying speeches. As he views it, it is a preparation of the spirit, a remoulding of the inner man that is required, not only in one nation but in all.

He advises "the best preparation is to take seriously the second of Christ's great commandments, to love our neighbour as ourselves and to define our neighbour as He defined him". He sees in the new political order a vision that is fundamentally Christian and that was foreshadowed by the words of Christ concerning the love of one's enemies.

His comment on this ideal and the possibilities of its implementation is worthy of note:

We have far to go: the ideal has yet to be translated into practice. Nationalism, in its many forms will oppose and retard progress, and many will reiterate the question of Cain, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' The new conception of international relations has not penetrated into our normal way of thinking or become an automatic reaction to political problems. It involves a transformation of our natural outlook.⁸⁷

He feels optimistic about the new order and he thinks "the first shoots of a new plant in the human garden are visible above the soil".⁸⁸

In the emergence of the concept of re-education, assumed by Sir Livingstone to be an offshoot of the second World War, he discerns the first sign that men are beginning to appreciate the true nature of the political problem, and to see that it is a question of human nature rather than of organization and, hopefully, he writes, "Re-education is what the world needs".⁸⁹

This concludes the analysis of Sir Livingstone's theory of social education. It seems logical to infer from the ideas developed in this chapter that he recognizes social training as an essential element in education, and that

⁸⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "The Meaning of Civilization", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 191, March 1953, p. 44.

⁸⁸ Id., ibid.

⁸⁹ Id., "Education and the Training of Character", Some Tasks for Education, p. 37.

the various social institutions share the responsibility of contributing towards such training. It is also apparent that the basis of his whole educational structure is respect for human personality. However, his educational theory has not yet been completely explored. With him "education is a life-long process",⁹⁰ hence the element of adult education has still to be considered. It is with this aspect of the problem that Chapter IV will deal.

⁹⁰
1946, p. 69.

"Classicist", Time, Vol. 48, July 15,

CHAPTER IV

LIVINGSTONE'S VIEWS ON ADULT EDUCATION

Sir Livingstone is recognized as "one of adult education's most persuasive salesmen",¹ and it is his position as an adult educator that the present chapter endeavours to define. The topic lends itself to the following subdivisions: historical perspective, that is, the genesis of his interest in the adult education movement and the general background of the movement itself; the need for adult education; types of adult education; its aims; and ways and means of accomplishing these aims.

1. Historical Perspective.

As early as 1912 an awareness of the need for some form of adult education to meet the growing demands of a people to whom an extended use of the suffrage had been granted, is discernible in Sir Livingstone's writings:

If we think of the recent demand for education from our own labouring classes who like the Athenians have suddenly been called to politics and find themselves unequipped for the task, and perhaps in some of the tutorial classes now being held under the auspices of the Workers' Educational Association we may see in minds capable of knowledge and from

¹
1946, p. 69.

"Classicist", Time, Vol. 48, July 15,

which knowledge has been hitherto withheld some image of the Greek passionate desire to know.²

Also discernible is the influence of Plato in orienting his thinking on adult education. He recalls that Plato advised the system whereby statesmen were alternately retired from political life for study and returned to govern their country in the light of their studies.³ It is to Plato that he attributes the germ of adult education.

At the other end of life Plato is the parent of adult education. He did not hold the strange view which we are beginning to abandon, that education could be completed at school or at university; his ruling class only reach the climax of their education at 50, and even then continue to divide their lives between action and thought, the world and the study.⁴

In a personal letter Sir Livingstone writes that his period of teaching at Eton, which, it may be recalled from an earlier reference, lasted two years, trying to see how his pupils reacted to education and a visit to Denmark about 1926, when he saw something of the Danish Folk High School, convinced him of the importance of adult education and of the advantages of the residential form.⁵

² R. W. Livingstone, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 209.

³ -----, "Colleges for the People", The Spectator, Vol. 170, January 1943, p. 71.

⁴ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 7.

⁵ -----, Personal Correspondence with Author, letter dated November 10, 1958, copy in Appendix 1.

Since much of the inspiration for his writings on adult education has its source in the Danish Folk High School movement it is necessary to take a glance at the growth and development of this movement as expounded by Sir Livingstone.

The First Danish Folk High School was founded in 1844 to combat German propaganda in Schleswig-Holstein. By insistence on Danish culture, achievements and ideals, it was hoped to fortify the country against German aggression. This issue passed but the aim of forming the outlook and personality of the people through an ideal still persists.

The creators of the movement were a clergyman, Grundtvig and a cobbler's son by the name of Kold. The idea and inspiration came from Grundtvig; Kold, a man of the people, founded schools, taught and drew men after him by strength of character and spiritual force.

The High Schools are nearly all residential, with a summer term of three months, chiefly for women, and a winter term of five months, chiefly for men. They are private ventures, owned either by the principal or by a number of persons who form a company. The Government gives grants in aid. The pupils are mostly farmers and small-holders and, in a less degree, labourers. Little progress has been made in interesting the town-dwellers. Not only are they more tied to their work than the country folk, but they have at

their door cheap amusements which compete with the High Schools, which require no sacrifice and which can be enjoyed without mental effort.

The age for entrance to the High School is eighteen and the school will not take students who are below that age. Only a small percentage of them have had anything more than an elementary education; the majority have spent the years between fourteen and eighteen in farming and other work. There is no compulsion to attend the School, and no reward in the form of a degree or a diploma. The cost of living and education is paid by the student, but the Government offers scholarships which pay half the fees of those who could not afford to attend without such help.

There is nothing vocational in the High School curriculum; it is thoroughly humanistic, even though all the students are, and will continue to be, workers on the land. The main subjects taught are literature and history. To these are added composition in Danish, mathematics, elementary science, gymnastics and, for the women, sewing.

The success of this Danish national educational system may be attributed to the following three factors: education is given to adults; it is residential and it is essentially a spiritual force.

The Danes have never attempted to solve the problem of national education by raising the school age and most Danes leave school at fourteen resuming their education in

the People's High School after the age of eighteen. The decision to maintain this entrance age was one which was reached only after considerable trial and error and it rests on the principle that experience of life is necessary to learn certain subjects and to derive real value from them. Hence, it is to adults that education is given in those schools.

The second factor in determining the success of the Danish Folk High School is its residential life. The Dane lays aside the task of bread-winning and lives for three or five months steeped in the atmosphere of education. The schools, usually built outside the town, have such pleasant attractions as gardens and wholesome surroundings, all of which create an atmosphere which promotes optimum interest in education.

Residential life is corporate life, and Danish adult education is essentially social. Living together the pupils learn from each other's views and personalities, from contiguity and personal talk. They learn to enjoy themselves together; they have communal singing, with stress laid, not on the method of singing, but on its value to awaken a feeling of comradeship.

The third factor which contributes towards the success of the Danish People's High School is its spiritual and moral character. The emphasis is on the spiritual

element; its origin imposed such a tradition on it. To the Danes adult education elevates the mind and strengthens the will by the vision of great ideals, and the High School fulfills for its students something of the offices of a church by steadily insisting on a spiritual philosophy of life suited to the needs and capacities of the ordinary man. Its pupils learn something more than history and literature and some elementary mathematics and science; they learn a way and view of life.

The Danish People's High School has influenced Denmark individually, economically and politically. It has enriched countless human beings, awakening their intelligence, enlarging their interests, deepening their outlook on life. It has transformed Denmark from a depressed country into the most successful farming country in Europe. Besides educating the individuals it has had a deep influence on politics. It has raised the peasantry from an insignificant underclass to a well-to-do middle class which, politically and socially, now takes the lead among the Danish people.⁶

The account of the Danish People's High School, given above, summarizes Sir Livingstone's thinking on the whole movement of adult education in Denmark. The lines which follow seem to synthesize, as he visualizes it, the real contribution of the movement to the life of the Danes:

⁶ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 45-59.

[...] we see the influence of the P.H.S., binding people together through a corporate life, developing a sense of social equality, giving them an inspiration and the sense of a great human ideal, so that social change comes, and comes not as an economic class-war of a materialist type, with the attendant evils of immediate brutality and ultimate spiritual barrenness, but as a deliberate movement towards a higher life for men. The P.H.S. not only inspired a new order, but gave it a soul. Here it has lessons for the world on which it is needless to dwell.⁷

Passing from the Danish Folk High School movement to the various attempts made in England to establish a system of education for the people, Sir Livingstone reviews the status of adult education in his own country. He admits that something has been accomplished but much still remains to be done if England is to have anything like an educated nation.

That success there has been with adult education in Britain he refers to the Workers' Educational Association. This body, popularly known as the W.E.A., was formed in 1904. Its recognition by Oxford University in 1908 led to close association of the University with the work which has had a deep effect on the political and social development of the country.⁸ This association of adult education with the University differentiates the system in England from that which prevails in Denmark.

⁷ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 59.

⁸ -----, "Help from the Universities", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1323, September 7, 1940, p. 349.

Writing in 1944, Sir Livingstone estimates that the W.E.A. teaches about 0.5% of the population⁹ and this small percentage comprises only an intellectual élite. Herein lies the greatest weakness of the W.E.A.¹⁰ However, he is careful to add:

The W.E.A. is not to blame for that; nor indeed are the masses. It provided for their intelligentsia, and wisely concentrated on this need, instead of frustrating its own work by pursuing a variety of inconsistent aims, and it has met the needs of a certain class of students so admirably that there is no need to enlarge on its virtues. But necessarily it has left untouched the vast mass of the population.¹¹

Mindful that education is atmosphere as well as instruction he calls attention to the dreary surroundings in which many of the W.E.A. classes are held. The bare room taken for an evening in a school or institute or cooperative hall in the crowded streets of a big city is hardly conducive to the creation of an outlook or an attitude. When he contrasts this condition with the pleasant and inviting surroundings of a Danish High School, he confesses, "The more honour to the successes of the W.E.A."¹²

9 R. W. Livingstone, "Colleges for the People", The Spectator, Vol. 170, January 1943, p. 71.

10 -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 64.

11 -----, The Future in Education, p. 40.

12 Id., ibid., p. 51.

He extols the spirit of those students who, in their zest for knowledge, but with bodies wearied from a long day of manual labour in mine and factory, come evening after evening to the tutorial classes bringing a "fully grown intelligence, a sense of the value and meaning of education, and that practical experience of life, without which history, literature and philosophy are lifeless phantoms".¹³

Sir Livingstone is not unmindful of the contributions of the residential college to adult education in England. He commends these institutions but at the same time, he notes that, in proportion to the size of the population, their number is almost negligible. Besides, the clientèle of the colleges is an intelligentsia, and their studies of a W.E.A. type. Hence, admirable as they are, they cannot solve the problem of educating the masses.¹⁴

The first real stirrings to adult education on a large scale are to be found, says Sir Livingstone, in the establishment of men's and women's institutes, community centres and unemployment clubs.¹⁵

p. 49. ¹³ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education.

¹⁴ Id., ibid., p. 47.

¹⁵ Id., "Help from the Universities", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1323, September 7, 1940, p. 349.

Men's and Women's Institutes, Townswomen's Guilds, Community Centres, Unemployed Centres or Clubs, the Rural Music School, the British Drama League were created to satisfy a variety of needs, but all have, or have developed, a cultural side; they include purely humanistic studies, and they have brought them to classes hitherto unreached. These institutions or something like them may provide the education of the masses for which we are looking.¹⁶

These movements, he points out, both show the demand for adult education and suggest how it may be met. Their weakness is that, for the most part, the education which they give is casual and episodic, consisting of stray lectures or courses of lectures, and providing stimulus rather than education.¹⁷

Commenting in 1940 on the effects of the war on adult education, he expresses surprise that people are able to pursue their studies despite adverse conditions.

War might be supposed to deal a severe blow to adult education. Money is tight, normal accommodations are often used for other purposes. The army takes students away. Men and women who are 'going to it' have little or no energy for study. The blackout makes things difficult. Yet last year the decline in attendance was slight and for the most part confined to industrial areas [...]. On the other hand the Oxford area shows an increase of tutorial classes from 46-51 and of students from 830-898. This surprising result is intelligible and instructive. It wakes the mind and stirs the

16 R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 42.

17 Id., ibid., p. 43.

conscience; religious, moral, social and political issues sleeping or half-asleep in peace come to life and demand to be faced. Here is adult education's chance.¹⁸

He is confident that education is one way of maintaining morale during wartime and he feels that "since 1939 a hand-to-mouth-improvised beginning has been made in army education".¹⁹ In fact, he is encouraged by the success of army education, and it seems to him to indicate that it is possible to reach the ordinary man.²⁰

"Finally on the pages of the Act there appears a figure long neglected in our educational system; its form is shadowy, impalpable, indefinite, but the form is there. It is adult education".²¹ This is Sir Livingstone's reaction to the clause concerning adult education in the Education Act of 1944. He is assured that at last an obvious truth is dawning on the minds of the authorities, that many people see no use in education during the school years and they get little from it then, but value and profit from it later, if

¹⁸ R. W. Livingstone, "Help from the Universities", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1323, September 7, 1940, p. 349.

¹⁹ -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 65.

²⁰ -----, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 475.

²¹ Id., ibid., p. 474.

only the opportunity is given when experience of life brings appetite and the power of appreciating it; that human beings need to learn throughout life and should have the chance of doing so. He continues, "Leave adult education out and the New Act is not much better than a repetition of the Act of 1918".²²

Among the merits of the Bill of 1944 he notes:

the greatest is that it does survey education as a whole, from the nursery school right up to adult education, i.e. to say from the cradle to the grave. Mr. Butler has made provision for adult education to be provided for by the local authority and he has made another provision which will be most fruitful; he has made it possible for private associations and individuals to apply for grants for adult education work.²³

He is in agreement with the clause of the Bill which makes provision for the establishment of Young People's Colleges;²⁴ they keep people in touch with education until they are eighteen and they run concurrently with practical work.

²² Known as the Fisher Act, completely reorganized English education. Provision was made for the establishment of nursery schools, and for compulsory attendance from five to fifteen years. Up to the age of eighteen a child was to attend a continuation school. Because of bad economic conditions a substantial part of the Act was discarded.

²³ R. V. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 474.

²⁴ The Butler Act provided that by 1950 all persons under eighteen who were not receiving a full-time education would be required to continue their schooling on a part-time basis in a county college.

"Thus", he says, "the Young People's College recognizes the principle that if you are doing a job you should be thinking about it".²⁵ Just one year before the passage of the Act which made provision for these Young People's Colleges he writes:

Unless we establish a compulsory part-time continuation system which will carry them to 18, the education of the earlier years of the youth of the nation will still be largely wasted. If we can establish such a system, they will remain in contact with those subjects to the rudiments of which their elementary education has introduced them, carrying them on to an age when the mind is growing sufficiently mature to begin to apprehend their value and grasp their meaning. Our next step, therefore, should be to put in force the provisions of the Higher Act, and retain those who leave school before the age of 18 under some educational control - not involving whole-time school attendance - to that age. We shall thus escape their abrupt and untimely expulsion from educational influences, and we shall take them to the threshold of adult education, where the solution of our educational problems must be found.²⁶

However, he makes note of a limitation: "Giving everyone under 18 some education is a great improvement, but without adult education it will still leave our human statue an unfinished torso".²⁷

He expresses the hope that the clauses of the 1944 Act which treat of adult education and the Young People's

²⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 474.

²⁶ -----, The Future in Education, p. 39-40.

²⁷ -----, "Adult Education", Journal of Education, London, Vol. 75, October 1943, p. 449.

Colleges will have far-reaching effects. Even more so does he hope for competent leadership to carry through the ideals they propose. Governments, ministries, committees, he says, though their help is indispensable, will never do it; great movements are created by individuals in a society which is ready to move. He recalls, "Grundtvig created the Danish Folk High School, Mansbridge the W.E.A., Baden-Powell the Scout Movement. It will be the same with a national system of adult education".²⁸

2. Need for Adult Education.

Sir Livingstone conceives of the need for adult education as threefold: to educate the masses, many of whom have left school at the age of fourteen; to keep pace with the advances of a modern technological age and to give a proper appreciation of certain subjects in the school curriculum which are best learned in adult years.

In the last hundred years, he writes, the growth of democracy has transformed education from the privilege of a few to the right of all.²⁹ To call the masses into power is to dilute existing culture. They must be humoured and satisfied. "Already", he says, "we have seen the influence of

²⁸ R. W. Livingstone, "This Uneducated Nation", The Hibbert Journal, Vol. 37, April 1939, p. 385.

²⁹ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 1.

the masses drawing our civilization in their wake. We have called a new class on to the stage, but done little to prepare it for its role".³⁰ He attributes the change in great measure to the advance in applied science which, in replacing slaves by machinery, has brought the good life within the reach of the masses.³¹

He perceives this need for educating the masses as a pressing one and he believes that neglect of it would have mattered less in the last century when the convictions and conventions of the Victorian age marked a clear path of normal conduct, when the word of God was read at home and heard week by week in church and chapel. "It matters very much in an age when for the masses cinema-going has replaced church-going. This is the century of the common man. What will he make of it? We have not done much to help him".³²

He warns that the solution to the problem is not merely an extension of the present educational system to the masses whom it does not reach. More teachers, more schools and the rest of the population brought into them is too simple a solution. Concerning the problem his comment is:

³⁰ R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 7-9.

³¹ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 20.

³² Id., ibid., p. 24.

The problem before us in 1900 was to organize and expand an unorganized and inadequate secondary education. The problem today is to educate the masses. Those who at present receive higher education are the better brains of the community. This is not wholly true; there are still able boys and girls, who, owing to the poverty of their parents or for other reasons have no education after the age of 14. Still the pupils in the secondary schools are on the whole the abler children of the country, and the majority of those who never get beyond elementary or central school are less able. This class, which needs education and does not get it is the problem.³³

He does not think the cure for the ills of an uneducated nation is to bring large numbers into the universities and so transform their character and lower their standards. The remedy lies in an extension of adult education for those who do not attend the university.³⁴

The second need for adult education, as he sees it, arises out of the exigencies of the times, the effort to keep pace with the requirements of a technological world, for the world changes every year more rapidly and the amount of knowledge needed to do one's job efficiently, to give a vote with intelligence, and to be a rational spectator of the panorama of life, increases.³⁵

³³ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 36.

³⁴ -----, "Are Americans Better Educated?", The Listener, Vol. 48, July 3, 1952, p. 18.

³⁵ -----, "What do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1312.

The third reason advanced by Sir Livingstone for the establishment of a system of adult education revolves around the placement of subjects in the curriculum of the schools. He is convinced, from his own practical experience, no less than from the experience of others, that certain subjects do not fit well into the curriculum of the schools; mature vision is needed to study them to the best advantage. He says:

One's teens are the right time to learn languages, mathematics and science, and to feed the imagination on the pictures in history and literature. But one needs to have seen something of life to read history and literature with anything approaching real understanding; for their subject is life and man; and how can we really understand them till we know something of life and men? It is when one has seen something of life and its problems that one feels the need of an opportunity to study and think about them. From which I draw two morals: that we should keep up our studies in later life, that is the age when we get most from them; and that we should try and develop in this country a serious system of adult education for all. Until that happens we shall not have an educated nation.³⁶

Man's capacity for assimilation depends on his experience. The young have many advantages over their elders, advantages of memory, of freshness, of intensity of feeling, but later life has one advantage over youth, the knowledge of the world, the experiences of life which enable it to digest so much that the schoolboy and the undergraduate cannot assimilate. Therein lie his reasons for including in the

³⁶ R. W. Livingstone, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1312.

curriculum of the secondary school such subjects as mathematics, languages and science, and keeping the serious study of subjects like economics and citizenship till later. He regards these last two subjects as dangerous ones. Economics he reckons not among the great ends of civilization but among the indispensable means; it is the foundations of the social order, and if it is unsound, the social order will collapse. Citizenship is equally important and the state will not function unless its component humans have some understanding of what citizenship is and an awareness that they are citizens.³⁷ He fears he is indulging in skeptical thinking when he professes that except in the hands of these rare teachers who can make any subject attractive the average pupil would be bored by studying the organization of a world which he has not really entered.³⁸

The above conclusions are the result, among other things, of Sir Livingstone's practical experience, his own schooldays, his two years of teaching in a secondary school and his contacts with the best products of the secondary schools at Oxford.³⁹

³⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "This Uneducated Nation", The Hibbert Journal, Vol. 37, April 1939, p. 369-385.

³⁸ -----, "Education for the Modern World", Some Tasks for Education, p. 6.

³⁹ -----, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 475.

He confesses that he, himself, left school ignorant of many things desirable and important to know, but were he to complain of this he would be guilty of the deadly heresy that education must be completed in school and university; that this is a person's last chance and therefore he should be forcibly crammed with all the food of knowledge needed for the journey of life. That heresy often unconsciously held is current and leads to educational damnation.⁴⁰

Drawing on his experience as a classroom teacher he writes that except for what his students got in character training at least 50% of them need not have been in school at all. The intellectual side of the secondary school did not touch that 50%; in fact their situation was, to say the least, defective. Many people in school do not want to learn, they are not interested in the things taught. He does not think such people, by any means, hopeless cases; because there are many whose intellectual interest awakens only when they have a practical problem to face. Here he discerns the advantage for adult education.

Even the undergraduate he judges pretty raw when he leaves the university. The truth is that people are not really ready and do not possess sufficient experience of life to assimilate such subjects as philosophy, religion,

⁴⁰ R. W. Livingstone, "Education for the Modern World", Some Tasks for Education, p. 17.

history and literature. They get something out of them, of course, but clearly, to derive full profit, their studies must keep pace with their experience.⁴¹

The remedy Sir Livingstone suggests for this situation is not to overcrowd these subjects into an already overcrowded curriculum or teach them to children few of whom are interested in them and none of whom have the maturity to grasp them properly. They are subjects for the adult whose mind is mature and to whom they are practical and urgent problems and there is no greater need than to give opportunities for their study through adult education.⁴²

He envisions the perfectly educated community as one in which people would know the best in imperial, national and municipal politics, in town planning, housing and social services; in the earning and spending of money; in social and family relations; in thought and art; in intellectual and individual life. The more fields and the clearer the vision the richer and the greater national life will be. School and university cannot do more than begin such a work; their pupils are too undeveloped, their time too short, to take in such a panorama. It must be begun at school but it needs to be carried on and completed in later life and it

⁴¹ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 474.

⁴² -----, Education for a World Adrift, p. 33.

demands a provision for adult education.⁴³

3. Types of Adult Education.

Sir Livingstone distinguishes between two types of adult education, one for the masses and one for the educated. For the former he proposes a type of education similar to the technique of the Danish People's High School rather than to the tutorial classes of the W.E.A. Many of these are people who have been excluded from the influence of any school before the age of fourteen and he feels sure "we cannot have an educated nation, a true democracy, till they are educated, and adult education is the only road to the goal".⁴⁴

The second group in whose behalf he pleads for a systematic form of adult education, are the educated, those in whose hands, though the composition of the class may change, the direction and leadership of the country will always rest. Paradox as it may sound, they appear to him to need education more than anybody. He argues that it is absurd to regard formal education as ended when a man has been through school and university but he has no doubt that an

⁴³ R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 53.

⁴⁴ -----, The Future in Education, p. 87.

individual has a better education if he leaves school at twenty-one or twenty-two than if he should leave at fourteen or fifteen. Neither does he suppose that spiritual and intellectual growth ceases and knowledge and wisdom are finally achieved when a university degree is taken.

Sir Livingstone concedes that the graduate, when he leaves the university, has derived some benefits from university training. Presumably, he has a thorough mental training, that is, he knows how to read a book, how to weigh evidence, how to tackle any new subject, in short, how to use his mind, at least in the field in which he has studied and in fields cognate to it. That is, or should be, in Sir Livingstone's opinion, the first and most important result of education.

Secondly, the student has, presumably, acquired a background of knowledge; he has some grasp of those patterns, religious, intellectual and moral by which prophets, poets and thinkers have tried to interpret life, and he has a background to his life, but there is still need of increased knowledge and wisdom to provide for the passing years of life. As people grow older they attain to positions in life where their influence on others is greatest and most momentous. They get into their hands more power, power over the fortunes, it may be, of the nation, of a government office, of a municipality, of a federation of

employers or a trade union, of a university, or college or school, of a business, of a family. In these later and more important stages, Sir Livingstone wonders if education cannot do more than it did in early years and if it cannot prepare a man to make his reckoning with new problems, ideals, forces and methods which reveal themselves.

He asks whether this further reckoning can be made without methodical study under some guidance from experts, and he suggests an answer.

Some people can perhaps make it, without such study, by private reading. But private reading has its limitations: people may not always know what books to read: we cannot ask books questions nor (equally important) can they question us: and do all people read even when they can? We need at least occasional periods when we can resume our education methodically and have leisure to renew our studies, deepen our knowledge, rethink our position, and, possibly, revive our ideals.⁴⁵

4. Aims of Adult Education.

The aims of adult education as conceived by Sir Livingstone may be stated thus:

1. To fill up the gaps in the education of those who have left school at an early age.⁴⁶ An uninstructed public, he maintains, is a temptation for the bar, the charlatan and

⁴⁵ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 86-90.

⁴⁶ Id., ibid., p. 92.

the fraud.⁴⁷

2. To repair the omissions in the education of those who have received an education.⁴⁸

3. To give a sound political judgment to the mass of voters.⁴⁹ His comment on this issue is as follows:

Without adult education the electorate for the next generation, a generation which must face some of the greatest social and political problems in our history, will mainly consist of voters who have had no education after 14. The raised school age, Young People's Colleges can do nothing for these.⁵⁰

In another context, he states that if the mass of voters show a sound political judgment it does not come from anything that has been done for them. "Here", he says, "is a great political weakness yet to be tackled and only to be tackled through a nation wide system of education".⁵¹

4. To prepare people to cope with the growing complexity of modern society.⁵²

47 R. W. Livingstone, On Speaking the Truth, p. 14.

48 -----, The Future in Education, p. 87.

49 -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 65.

50 -----, "Adult Education", Journal of Education, London, Vol. 75, October 1943, p. 449.

51 -----, "Education for a Civilized Democracy", Some Tasks for Education, p. 65.

52 -----, "What Do You Get from Education?", The Listener, Vol. 17, June 30, 1937, p. 1312.

5. To provide an opportunity of systematic study for everyone engaged in routine or practical work to refresh, reequip and reorientate his mind. This aim is amplified in the paragraph which follows:

At present we use the term as if adult education was a means by which those who leave school early could repair the gaps in their knowledge or the deficiencies in their mental training. But it is a need for all; for all men have such gaps and defects, and the gaps grow greater as the world's knowledge advances. We need to become familiar with the idea that everyone engaged in routine or practical work, especially if he occupies a directing position needs periods of systematic study in order to refresh and reequip and reorientate his mind. There is no occupation or profession in which the resumption of systematic education in later life would not be profitable and there are few human beings who would not greatly profit by it.⁵³

6. To prepare people to live as good members of their family, their community and their state.⁵⁴

7. To give an understanding of the functioning of social and political institutions. The following passage conveys Sir Livingstone's line of thinking on this matter:

[The citizen] ought to know something about the machinery of government and the fabric of his civilization, and at present we fail to give him this. Certainly: but school is not the time or place to give it. It should be given when it can be used, when men and women are citizens, with votes for parliament and local government, which cannot be given effectively without knowledge and, if given

⁵³ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 92-93.

⁵⁴ Id., ibid., p. 89.

effectively, can change the conditions of their life. This is the time when the knowledge is needed, is welcomed - and is not available [...]
this is a matter for Adult Education, hitherto so neglected in this country.⁵⁵

5. Ways and Means in Adult Education.

Sir Livingstone stresses three essentials for the spread of adult education: residential facilities; new methods of teaching; a sense that the whole future of the country depends on whether "we can get not a few people highly educated but the mass of the people imbued with the most important things which education exists to impart".⁵⁶

Adult education should be residential. This condition he makes imperative if a system of adult education is to be successful. In residential colleges, he feels men and women alike, whatever their income or work, could at least once in their lives, for a few months or even weeks, withdraw out of the press and turmoil into quiet and beautiful surroundings where they could take up again their education and study, learn about new problems and the world as it is and think about life itself. Their studies would be more real because they come from the hard realities of the

⁵⁵ R. W. Livingstone, Education for a World Adrift, p. 142.

⁵⁶ -----, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 473.

practical world and they might, it is to be hoped, go back to the world inspired to make its realities better than they are.⁵⁷

He does not think a successful system of adult education can be developed unless it is made more social. He agrees that the lamp of wisdom can burn in solitary shrines and in dismal lecture halls, but for the many, he feels sure, it will not burn brightly, if at all, unless fanned by that social corporate life which exists in a residential school and which educates and makes education attractive. It is as important, for practical purposes, that education be attractive as that it should be good.⁵⁸

Unless adult education is compulsory, one of the great difficulties is to induce people to take it. Sir Livingstone, therefore, insists that education has this in common with industrial products, it must be brought into the consumer's notice. Publicity is just as important in the educational world as it is in the business world.⁵⁹

He sees in the residential element an oasis for the poor man in a life of hard work and comparative isolation.

⁵⁷ R. W. Livingstone, "What Human Beings Should Be", The Listener, Vol. 28, November 26, 1942, p. 676.

⁵⁸ -----, The Future in Education, p. 52.

⁵⁹ -----, "Colleges for the People", The Spectator, Vol. 170, January 1943, p. 71.

He doubts whether any nation-wide system of adult education is possible without it. To attend lectures after a day's hard work, and regularly, week after week, to leave one's fireside for a room in a dismal provincial town, which is generally much less attractive and comfortable than the local cinema, requires an effort that is overcome only by a real desire for education and most human beings, so Sir Livingstone believes, have a capacity for education rather than a desire for it.⁶⁰

In British farming, he remarks, the cooperative movement proved a failure; mistrust of one's neighbour and individual selfishness have been too much for it. He hails the People's High School as an antidote to these vices. It is easy for men to trust each other when they have lived and worked together for months under one roof; the suspicion based on ignorance melts away. The individual becomes part of a larger pattern, and a spirit grows up and checks selfishness, encourages men to feel themselves members of a community, and makes cooperation not only possible but natural.⁶¹ It is to be noted that Sir Livingstone advises that residential study neither can nor should replace the non-residential type, each complements and assists the

60 R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 53.

61 Id., ibid., p. 58.

other.⁶²

He agrees that conditions in England and Denmark are different; Denmark is predominantly agricultural, England largely industrial, but he wonders if anything equivalent to the People's High School can be established in his own country on a scale sufficiently seriously to influence national life. He fears that only experience can give the answer, but of one thing he is certain, it will require sacrifice and effort to effect any great change.

There are classes, he thinks, which could attend a residential school without finding themselves unemployed when they left it, domestic servants, for example. Government and municipalities could, if they wished, arrange to release their employees for a period. Also, farmers and small-holders might find it possible to relinquish their work for a short period.

He recalls that when compulsory military service was introduced into the British Isles, pending World War II, men had to leave their employment to perform it; a sacrifice actually made for military needs could, he is sure, also be made for other purposes, if people came to believe that education is no less important than readiness for war. If they do not believe that they are not likely to make a sacrifice.

62 R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of Education, London, Vol. 75, October 1943, p. 449.

It will be made if the driving force is there but he debates the question: from whence comes the driving force? There is no tradition in England and the English cannot find an inspiration in nationalism. Recourse must be had to a different set of motives.

The following suggestions are given by Sir Livingstone as a possible means of building up an adult education system:

Private enterprise may found and endow colleges as Coleg, Newbattle and Woodbrooke were founded, but it can only be on a limited scale; financial interests and political trends will, of necessity, be limiting factors.

Or adult education, instead of being created from above may grow up from below, as Women's Institutes and Women's Clubs, starting with quite different objects, have developed into an agency of informal education and may further develop residential colleges of the Danish type.

Or the State or Local Educational Authorities may take the lead in providing colleges for the people.⁶³

He sees no reason why every town should not have a community institute with good lecture rooms, concert hall,

⁶³ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 59-64.

reading rooms, library and canteen.⁶⁴

He views the teacher situation in adult education as an acute problem. Teaching people in the universities is different from teaching the man in the street; interests are different. Teachers of adults should be able to show people that the subjects they teach them have a bearing on their lives; that is the end from which they should approach the masses.⁶⁵ He cautions that though the teachers may be mainly university graduates they will have to forget university standards, outlook and approach.⁶⁶

In the paragraphs which follow are to be found Sir Livingstone's views on the subjects to be taught to those adult students. The subject matter should be such as best helps to make human beings.

There is the study of the material universe and the study of man as a sentient, thinking and spiritual being. The first of these consists in the sciences which study and explain the material universe. The elements of the different sciences can be taught, but it is even more desirable to bring home to the students the meaning and importance of

⁶⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 475.

⁶⁵ Id., ibid.

⁶⁶ Id., "Help from the Universities", Times Educational Supplement, No. 1323, September 7, 1940, p. 349.

science in human life. That perhaps, can best be done, historically, by a description of the growth of science, and biographically, by some account of great men of science, their personalities and their work.

The humanities, history, literature and religion should form a part of the program. To the majority of the population history and literature are a closed book, but these subjects must be included if "we are to have an educated nation and not merely a nation of which a minority has been educated".⁶⁷

History is fundamentally the record of human belief and actions, folly and wisdom, disaster and success. The researches which appeal to scholars and students do not interest and only indirectly concern the ordinary man, and to teach these subjects as they are taught in the universities or in the higher forms of school is like talking a foreign language to people who neither know it nor wish to understand it. They are not concerned with scholarship and cannot be reached through it. All human beings are interested in the problem of how to live and history will have a meaning for the ordinary man if he sees in it the faces of human beings engaged in the common struggle of humanity for better things.

⁶⁷ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 74.

The Bible has a place in the subject matter of adult education. It is a philosophy of history as well as a collection of stories and in general, if not in detail, it is the best philosophy ever written for the ordinary man.

In literature, the common man has his own preferences. He is not primarily interested in literary criticism; but he may be interested in poetry, that is, in what interested the poet. The History of Literature and most of the contents of annotated editions or works of criticism have little or no meaning for him. What does appeal is the approach through the more human side of the subject matter.⁶⁸

Other subjects which should find a place in the curriculum of the adult school might be music, art and crafts; everything which can enrich life and make it better.⁶⁹

Finally, the needs of the mass of the people cannot be met except through religion. Philosophy is beyond the ordinary man and philosophical systems however powerfully they may influence an educated minority, leave the mind of the mass untouched. It is religion, not philosophy that reaches and moves humanity and satisfies its needs.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 66-66.

⁶⁹ -----, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 473.

⁷⁰ -----, Education and the Spirit of the Age, p. 38.

To complete Sir Livingstone's account of the subject matter of adult education for the masses it may not be out of order to mention that he sees an important place for the use of films in creating an atmosphere and stimulating the interests of students. His last caution respecting the whole matter of methods in adult education is this: there is always a danger of being above people's heads; a far worse one is to play them down.⁷¹

Education for the educated means education not for those who have missed it in adolescence and youth but for those who have had it. Reference has already been made to the fact that Sir Livingstone recognizes this type of adult education as being absolutely necessary in a modern world, and he recognizes it as a function of the university.

He is persuaded that if doctors, business men, civil servants, teachers and others, had an opportunity, or better still, recurring opportunities, to think over their occupations in later life and to study new developments and knowledge which affect them they would go back to their work with new interest, vigour and capacity for it.

Besides the purely professional subjects he says there are other interests which are common and important to all men, economics, religion and the conduct of life. In

⁷¹ R. W. Livingstone, "Adult Education", Journal of the Royal Society of Arts, Vol. 92, August 4, 1944, p. 473.

all of them a man is better equipped for study after the age of thirty than he was as a schoolboy or undergraduate.

The best agencies to satisfy this need are the universities for they have the teachers, the libraries, the atmosphere and tradition of study and research. In a measure they have the facilities as well. But they need to conceive of such adult education as a regular department of their work; they need to organize definite curricula by shaping and grouping those courses they already have and where necessary provide new ones. Of all these things Sir Livingstone takes a practical view.

But he knows that though the universities may organize the adult study yet they cannot force the students to come to them. This demands the cooperation of others outside the university. It is the task of the employer, in the first instance, of the State and the Local Authority; they are in a better position than any other employer and the nation will gain much by their making it possible for their employees to further their knowledge. He envisages the growth of a practice by which the Government and Local Authorities will regularly second their more promising officials for periods of systematic study at the university.

Should the practice of resuming systematic study become common he foresees a practical step towards remedying a serious weakness in English national life, the neglect of

the social sciences. More research in this field is essential if political and social life is to prosper. Increasing the undergraduates in the social sciences will not remedy existing defects, he declares. The task is one for graduates. The way to go about it is to bring back to the universities those who have acquired the experience, the civil servant, the municipal official, the doctor, the business man. Not only will this add considerably to the data on which the social sciences must depend but it will secure that cross fertilization of theory and practice which is one of the most fruitful sources of advance in knowledge.⁷² Here is adult education for the educated in action.

From the foregoing account of Sir Livingstone's views on adult education it may be concluded that he has a genuine concern for the interests of the common man; in fact it is no exaggeration to say that he has an interest in the education of every man, and that in all stages of development, from the cradle to the grave. Chapters II, III and IV have endeavoured to examine his concept of education at these various stages, both from an individual and from a social point of view. One problem still remains, to evaluate his theory of education in the light of suitable criteria. Chapter V will attempt to describe these criteria.

⁷² R. W. Livingstone, The Future in Education, p. 87-106.

CHAPTER 7

CRITERIA FOR A SOCIAL EDUCATOR

An evaluation of Sir Richard Livingstone's position as a Social Educator seems to indicate the need of certain criteria to serve as a basis for appraisal of his educational theories. From a study of the literature on Education and a review of the thinking of representative writers in the field, the following criteria for a Social Educator have been formulated:

1. Does he respect the human being as an individual?
2. Does he consider social education to be the complement of individual education?
3. Does he recognize the urgency of adult education?
4. Does he regard Christianity as fundamental to education?

The purpose of this chapter is to give a description of these criteria, their sources and implications, with a view to determining, in Chapter VI, the extent to which Sir Livingstone's thinking may be considered to be aligned with them. Thereby it is hoped to establish the claim whether or not he may rightly be called a Social Educator.

1. Respect for the Human Being as an Individual.

A preliminary consideration in any discussion of this kind would seem to be an understanding of the nature of the person to be educated. According to Pope Pius XI the subject of Christian education is

man whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties natural and supernatural, such as right reason and revelation show him to be; man therefore fallen from his original estate, but redeemed by Christ and restored to the supernatural condition of adopted son of God, though without the preternatural privileges of bodily immortality or perfect control of appetite. There remain therefore, in human nature, the effects of original sin, the chief of which are weakness of will and disorderly inclinations.

The Greek, Jewish and Christian conception of man is stated by Maritain to be

man as an animal endowed with reason, whose supreme dignity is the intellect; and man as a free individual in personal relation with God, whose supreme righteousness consists in voluntarily obeying the law of God, and man as a sinful and wounded creature called to divine life and to the freedom of Grace whose supreme perfection consists of love.²

¹ Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth, Vatican, Polyglot Press, 1929, p. 21.

² Jacques Maritain, Education at the Crossroads, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943, p. 7.

Kane³ mentions other attributes of man's nature which form part of the basic teachings of Christianity, namely, the limited perfectibility of man's nature, the natural craving for happiness implanted in man by his Creator, the social nature of man, man's power to learn certain truths in the natural order and his need of Divine Revelation to discern other truths which because of his limited capacity to learn, cannot be learned otherwise.

Among the educators whose writings have been reviewed there is general agreement that a fundamental principle of all education is respect for the human being as an individual. Kandel⁴ notes that one of the lessons most widely learned during the First World War was the worth of the individual.

Redden and Ryan⁵ state that the worth of the individual human being is founded on the following truths; his creation to the image and likeness of God; his immortal soul; his rational and moral nature; his freedom of will; his inalienable rights; his redemption by Jesus Christ; his membership in the Mystical Body of Christ.

3 W. Kane, Some Principles of Education, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1938, p. 8.

4 I. L. Kandel, Comparative Education, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1933, p. 4.

5 John D. Redden and Francis A. Ryan, Freedom Through Education, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1944, p. 94.

These two writers define the grounds for the equality of all men when they say "All men are equal in origin and ultimate end. They are equal in the dignity of human personality and before the law. Each human soul is equally precious in the eyes of the Heavenly Father".⁶ But individuals differ in talents, abilities and vocational aptitudes.

That education is a unitary process and not merely a mosaic of unrelated elements, is a notion well established in the literature. That it takes in the whole aggregate of human life, is of general acceptance among present-day educators. As De Hovre⁷ puts it, education starts with the whole man as a basis and then proceeds to explain the various sectors in terms of the whole: the physical, vocational, intellectual, moral, spiritual and social elements.

Pope Pius XI expresses this unitary concept of education in these words:

[...] Christian education takes in the whole aggregate of human life, physical and spiritual, intellectual and moral, individual, domestic and social, not with a view of reducing it in any way, but in order to elevate, regulate and perfect it, in accordance with the example and teaching of Christ.⁸

6 Id., ibid.

7 Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, Translated by Edward B. Jordan, New York, Benziger, 1934, p. 141.

8 Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth, p. 32.

Since the education of the individual implies the development of man "whole and entire" it is necessary here to explain, in turn, each of the different sectors of education, the physical, vocational, intellectual, moral and spiritual. The social element will be treated separately.

As to the relative importance of those various elements Redden and Ryan observe that each of them should be developed according to its essential hierarchy. They explain that

by essential hierarchy is meant the proper logical order in which man's powers should receive development and training. His physical powers are first or earliest in the order of nature, but his spiritual powers are first or highest in the order of importance and pre-eminence.⁹

Cunningham¹⁰ gives ample justification for the provision for physical education in any plan of education when he says that the right to life bestowed by the Creator connotes essentially the duty to respect life and to preserve health in order to achieve the purposes of life. He includes in the concept of health that physical, mental and emotional well-being which will enable a man to live a normal happy life here, leading to life hereafter. He adds,

⁹ John D. Redden and Francis A. Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1942, p. 311.

¹⁰ W. F. Cunningham, Pivotal Problems of Education, New York, Macmillan, 1940, p. 164-167.

since education is a unitary process, and a unitary organism is the subject of education, mental hygiene should be an important concomitant of physical hygiene.

De Hovre¹¹ declares that moral and physical health should go hand in hand and Ulich asserts that "moral education involves responsibility not only for the psychical but also for the physical side of our existence".¹²

Pope Pius XII confirms these statements and he approves of physical culture provided it is in proper proportion.

It will be in such proportion when it does not lead to a worship of the body, when it is useful to strengthen the body and not to dissipate its energies, when it serves also as a recreation for the spirit and is not a cause of spiritual weakness and crudeness, when it supplies new incitements for study and professional work and does not conduce to their abandonment or neglect or disturbance of the peace that should reign in the sanctuary of the home.¹³

It is clear from the references cited above that physical education has its rightful place in any scheme of education. It is an essential element in the education of

11 Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, p. 131.

12 Robert Ulich, Fundamentals of Democratic Education, New York, American Book Co., 1940, p. 36.

13 Pius XII, "Education and Modern Environment", Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, Edited by Vincent A. Yzermans, St. Meinrad, Indiana, Grail Publications, 1957, p. 19.

human beings and as such should receive the attention commensurate with its place in the hierarchy of elements.

The importance of vocational development is likewise recognized by those who accept the true approach to education and they regard the vocational aim as an essential aim of education. Willmann reasons thus: "The demand that each individual do his share of work presupposes that he [..] possess the necessary amount of knowledge and skill".¹⁴ He recalls that Christianity conferred a peculiar dignity on labour; it ennobled the training for the mechanical and learned professions; it modified the sharp contrast between elegant leisure and vocational activity when it subordinated both to man's eternal interest. Further, Christianity considers manual labour and professional training as not unworthy of any man because it makes them subservient to man's highest aim and thereby supplies an element of illiberal education. Illiberal education Willmann defines as "learning for the sake of earning a living" in contrast to liberal education "which admits [..] of living for learning sake".¹⁵

¹⁴ Otto Willmann, The Science of Education, Vol. 2, Translated by Felix A. Kirsch, Latrobe, Pa., Archabbey Press, 1930, p. 394-414.

¹⁵ Id., ibid.

Though educators recognize the need for vocational education yet many of them feel that making a living becomes an end in itself instead of a means to an end and they fear, like De Hovre, that "vocational or professional training is stressed at the expense of that general education which looks to the development of the whole man".¹⁶ Brown regards these two forms of education as interdependent and he states that "conceived in sociological terms the artificial divisions between general and vocational education have no place except for the administrative goal of insuring the efficiency and integrity of vocational education".¹⁷

Intellectual development implies the development of the intellect and, according to De Hovre, "the development of the intellect is an essential factor in the complete formation of man".¹⁸

Redden and Ryan define intellectual education in these terms:

In its simplest meaning, intellectual education is the enlightenment and the training of the faculty of thought. This faculty is termed the intellect, and is usually described as the spiritual cognitive power of the soul. Being spiritual, it is intrinsically independent of matter in its

¹⁶ Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, p. 145.

¹⁷ Francis J. Brown, Educational Sociology, New York, Prentice Hall, 1947, p. 581.

¹⁸ Franz De Hovre, ibid., p. 216.

operations. This does not deny the intellect's extrinsic dependence upon matter as something of a condition for the intellect's eliciting the act of knowledge. By cognitive is implied the mental operation by which one becomes aware of objects of thought or perception. By the operation of this faculty, knowledge, truth and certitude are acquired.¹⁹

It is assumed, in this discussion, that the nature of knowledge, truth and certitude are accepted in their philosophical interpretation, according to scholastic teachings. No attempt is being made to give a philosophical explanation here as it is felt it would serve no practical purpose and it might lead to unnecessary ramifications which would have no immediate bearing on the topic under discussion.

In like manner the intellectual virtues, understanding, wisdom, knowledge, prudence and art are assumed without further explanation except to refer to a statement of Redden and Ryan to the effect that "in the field of intellectual education the intellectual virtues should receive due recognition".²⁰

De Hovre is reflecting current opinion when he writes of the danger of overstressing the development of the intellect:

¹⁹ Redden and Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education, p. 217.

²⁰ Id., ibid.

In the matter of intellectual education there is a tendency to overestimate the importance of native ability and to undervalue the contribution of social heredity. Likewise there is a tendency to stress intelligence and to ignore and neglect the will. Yet will power, which is largely the product of training plays an important role in the field of intellectual endeavour [...] all the necessary conditions for genuine study and genuine teaching, including interest, attention, mental activity and the rest, are just as much a product of the will as of the intellect.²¹

Man is by nature both moral and religious because he has an intelligence to understand that he is a creature bound by the law of his Creator. Morality includes duties towards God as well as towards one's self and one's fellow-men; it gets its meaning and sanction from relations between God and man, therefore man cannot worship God without keeping the moral law and he cannot keep the moral law without worshipping God; the two are interdependent.

In the above statements Kane²² sums up another facet of man's nature which has important implications for education, not the least of which is, that moral education cannot be separated from religious education.

To continue his explanation: Moral education which is at the same time individual as well as social, consists

²¹ Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, p. 143-144.

²² W. Kane, Some Principles of Education, p. 201-202.

in the formation of habits of virtue, the moral virtues of prudence, justice, fortitude and temperance, natural and infused. Just as there are two kinds of moral virtues, the natural and the infused, so there are two kinds of moral education. But so far as the educational process is concerned the educand has precisely the same task before him in a natural and a supernatural moral education. His educational aids are different in each sort of education; but his own functions remain the same.

Redden and Ryan note that "Moral education is in reality character education and is achieved by the process of character formation".²³

Kelly²⁴ lists the following basic elements for the successful formation and development of character: (1) the training of the will; (2) the development of worthy ideals; (3) the acquisition of correct habits; (4) the control of the emotions; and (5) the coordination of all these elements leading to the achievement of moral integrity. Of these, he says, the most important is the strengthening and the training of the will.

²³ Redden and Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education, p. 265.

²⁴ William A. Kelly, Educational Psychology, Fourth Edition, Revised, Bruce, 1956, p. 518-550.

Some controversy exists among educators as to the relative importance in education of the intellectual and the moral virtues. There are those who held that the primary purpose of the school is to transmit intellectual content and there are others who see the primary purpose as the training of character. Of this controversy Redden and Ryan remark, "Not a few like to talk about 'the moot question of the intellectual versus the moral virtues' [...] although this question may be 'moot' it is by no means 'versus'".²⁵

St. Thomas teaches that "moral virtue can be without some of the intellectual virtues, namely wisdom, science, art; but not without understanding and prudence".²⁶ Further, he says, "other intellectual virtues can, but prudence cannot be without moral virtue".²⁷ From these two statements it becomes clearly evident that moral virtue needs to be joined with right reason, and that character training should be based on a rational foundation.

Another principle of character education which forms part of the teachings of Christianity is to be found in the statement that grace builds on nature. Pius XI expresses

²⁵ Redden and Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education, p. 283.

²⁶ Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Question 58, Article 4.

²⁷ Id., ibid., Article 6.

the relationship between the natural and the supernatural in this way:

The true Christian does not renounce the activities of this life, he does not stunt his natural faculties; but he develops and perfects them by coordinating them with the supernatural. He thus ennobles what is merely natural in life and secures for it new strength in the material and temporal order, no less than in the spiritual and eternal.²⁸

The true and finished man of character, the end product of Christian education, is also aptly described by Pius XI.

The proper and immediate end of Christian education is to cooperate with divine grace in forming the true and perfect Christian, that is, to form Christ Himself in those regenerated by Baptism. [...]²⁹ the true Christian, product of Christian education, is the supernatural man who thinks, judges and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right reason illumined by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ; in other words, to use the current term, the true and finished man of character.²⁹

A full understanding of religious development demands a definition of religion itself. According to St. Thomas³⁰ religion is the virtue by which man gives to God the honour due to him. It is of obligation on everyone. It is a virtue with justice as its end; it is reckoned a part

²⁸ Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth, p. 33.

²⁹ Id., ibid., p. 32.

³⁰ Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Question 81, Article 5.

of justice which is a moral virtue and it excels among the moral virtues.

Walsh³¹ explains that religion is natural or supernatural. In the first instance it is the sum of man's duties as they can be ascertained by the light of reason alone. Such duties are to God, to his neighbour and to himself. This is natural religion. Supernatural religion is the sum of man's duties as defined by Divine Revelation.

With respect to the value of religious education Redden and Ryan make this assertion:

If education is not to neglect or omit the most important aspect of man's nature, namely the spiritual, it must include religious teaching which ought to embrace both instruction in dogma and training in moral conduct. The teachings of Christ must be made an integral part of educational content, and be inculcated by both precept and example. These teachings are fundamental, stressing as they do, the true nature of the individual; the fact that man was created by God; that man is composed of body and soul; that he possesses a free will; and that he is destined for eternal happiness. Religious education is the most important agent in the development of the whole child and must be made the central theme in all education.³²

De Hovre³³ also speaks of the necessity of religious education if the whole child is to be developed. Religion

³¹ James F. Walsh, Facing Your Social Situation, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1949, p. 182.

³² Redden and Ryan, A Catholic Philosophy of Education, p. 194.

³³ Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, p. 161.

is not merely a matter of the soul; it is something that pertains to the whole man. For this reason religion should permeate and vitalize every phase of education, whether it be physical or intellectual, individual or social, civic or national, vocational or cultural.

2. Social Education the Complement of Individual Education.

"The main lines of modern social pedagogy", writes De Hovre, "were traced not by the Radicals but by the great master of Catholic Education, Otto Willmann".³⁴ Hence, it is fitting to look to Willmann for an authoritative statement on the relationship between the individual and social points of view in education. He says:

In order to grasp the scope of education as a science, it is necessary to combine the individual and the social points of view, for only in this way can we realize the richness and the depth of the personal relation without losing sight of the various social and historical interrelationships.³⁵

Pope Pius XI writes that "Education is essentially a social and not a mere individual activity",³⁶ and he adds

³⁴ Franz De Hovre, Philosophy and Education, Translated by Edward B. Jordan, New York, Benziger, 1931, p. 215.

³⁵ Otto Willmann, Science of Education, Vol. 1, p. 30.

³⁶ Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth, p. 7.

that there are three necessary societies into which man is born: the family and civil society in the natural order, and, in the supernatural order, the Church.

At this point, for the sake of clarity, it seems desirable to glance at some of the various connotations of the term society. From the bulk of the literature on social education one gathers the impression that the use of the term is beset with confusion. Redden and Ryan define society as "the aggregate of individuals grouped together for the purpose of achieving common material or spiritual objectives through the medium of cooperative effort".³⁷

Gurvitch is more precise in his attempt to define the term. He writes: "On parlait jadis de la société avec un grand S. Or, il n'y a pas de 'société', il n'y a que des sociétés multiples".³⁸ Farther on in the same text he notes that "toute société est un 'macrocosme' de groupements particuliers et chaque groupe constitue un 'microcosme' des 'formes de sociabilité', des liaisons sociales". It appears correct, then, to accept as his definition for society, a group of men joined together for common interests.

³⁷ Redden and Ryan, Freedom through Education, p. 54.

³⁸ Georges Gurvitch, La Vocation actuelle de la sociologie, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1950, p. 21-22.

It is Gurvitch, too, who speaks of the various degrees of social integration, namely, Mass, Society, Community and Communion. Of the four, Mass is the lowest grade; it is a mere mechanical conception,

la fusion peut être très faible et n'affecter que des manifestations superficielles des Moi et des Autrui qui ne s'interpénètrent qu'en surface, tandis que ce qu'ils ont plus ou moins profond et personnel demeure à part.³⁹

Community, he defines, as a group of people linked together by natural, historical, linguistic and cultural bonds. Of it he says:

Les Moi et les Autrui peuvent fusionner en s'ouvrant et en s'interpénétrant sur un plan plus intime, et leur participation au Nous peut engager leurs profondeurs personnelles sans toutefois que cette intégration atteigne son maximum d'intensité.⁴⁰

Finally, Communion is a group of men linked together by spiritual bonds.

La fusion et l'intégration dans le Nous atteignent le maximum de leur intensité, quand le Moi et les Autrui s'entr'ouvrent et s'interpénètrent jusqu'à la limite du possible et qu'ainsi les profondeurs les moins accessibles se trouvent comprises dans la participation à l'ensemble.⁴¹

Another source of confusion is to be found in false notions of the relation between the individual and society.

³⁹ *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, *ibid.*

⁴¹ *Id.*, *ibid.*

The interests of the individual and those of society are diverse and cannot be harmonized; they are essentially antagonistic. De Hovre⁴² notes that Individualism overlooks the abyss between the individual and society and Socialism takes for granted the natural disappearance of the antagonism that exists between them. Kidd remarks that "the interests of the social organism and those of the individuals composing it are actually antagonistic, they can never be reconciled; they are inherently irreconcilable".⁴³

The conflict between the individual and society has been ameliorated, says De Hovre,⁴⁴ by Christianity. This it has done by proposing a new and higher conception of life which is summed up in the twofold commandment of the love of God and the love of neighbour. "Following the teaching of the God-Man, Christianity has raised man to the full stature of humanity; it has made our fellowmen our brothers in Christ".

For a clear definition of the true relationship between the individual and society one may, with confidence, turn again to Willmann:

42 Franz De Hovre, Philosophy and Education, p. 154.

43 Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution, New York, Macmillan, 1894, p. 83-84.

44 Franz De Hovre, *ibid.*, p. 155.

In the relationship between the individual and the community the latter is not superior to the individual; both are complements of each other, and neither of them is merely a means for the other. There are two termini in the moral world; the one is the personality of the individual, the other is the intellectual and moral community.⁴⁵

Bruehl expresses the same notion: "Christian Social Philosophy regards the individual and society as complementary, neither of the two being complete in itself, but each requires the other".⁴⁶

That the individual has an end away and beyond all social organization, is a fundamental principle of social education. The individual is, in the final analysis, the foundation of society. Kane confirms this.

The development and maintenance of social relations between men essentially depends upon the development of knowledge and virtues in individual men. [...]. The history of family life, of institutional life, of civic and national life proves abundantly that group education is forever limited by defects in individual education.⁴⁷

He adds that both because of the dependence of social objectives upon individual objectives, and because individual objectives are more enduring than social objectives a sound educator must give precedence to individual over

⁴⁵ Otto Willmann, Science of Education, Vol. 1, p. 39.

⁴⁶ Charles P. Bruehl, The Pope's Plan for Social Reconstruction, New York, Devin-Adair, 1939, p. 43.

⁴⁷ W. Kane, Some Principles of Education, p. 101.

social objectives.

Still another basic principle of social education is contained in the teaching that the social problem is at bottom a moral problem. The age-old teaching of Christian tradition holds this sequence: Religion, Morality and Sociality. De Hovre explains that "the highest social duty of man is the fulfilment of his moral obligations. Meeting these he serves society most efficiently".⁴⁸ He is also repeating an age-old Christian teaching when he says that morality, truth and human rights are absolute and not determined by society.⁴⁹

It is De Hovre, also, who speaks of the "dangers of the social instinct". Left to his social instinct man remains merely a social animal. The social man has to be trained to restrain his social passions so as to avoid the "risk of being swallowed up in the maw of social life".⁵⁰

A man's social personality is a result of composite training in a variety of social institutions, the family, the Church, the school, the community, the state, and the international community.

48 Franz De Hovre, Philosophy and Education, p. 164-165.

49 Id., ibid., p. 169-174.

50 Id., ibid., p. 194-195.

Havighurst states "the family is the first social group in which the child holds a membership and the family is, of course, the first socializing agency in the child's life". The family provides every individual with his first and most influential social system, with his first and most influential social training situation.⁵¹

Dupanloup⁵² contends that it is only in virtue of the good Christian family that the social order remains intact. The first society was the family and the family has been the origin and model of communities, of tribes and nations and kingdoms, and of all human societies.

The social mission of the Church is clearly set forth by Walsh in the following passage:

The Church as a social situation is not to be restricted to the physical environment of a building, nor to the psychical environment of a local group professing the same doctrine. God wishes all men to be saved. If it is an institution founded by the Son of God it embraces every phase of life and thus is continually influencing the personal and social development of the child. The social consequences of revealed truth are tremendous. All believers in Christ are brothers. 'What you do to the least of these my little ones you do unto me'.⁵³

⁵¹ Robert J. Havighurst and E. L. Neugarten, Society and Education, New York, Allyn and Bacon, 1957, p. 79-82.

⁵² Félix A. Dupanloup, De l'Education, Vol. 2, Sixth Edition, Paris, Charles Dunoiel, 1861, p. 106-137.

⁵³ James F. Walsh, Facing Your Social Situation, p. 178.

Of the origin of the school as a socializing agency

Pius XI writes:

Since the younger generation must be trained in the arts and sciences for the advantages and prosperity of civil society, and since the family of itself is unequal to this task, it was necessary to create that social institution, the school.⁵⁴

Havighurst and Neugarten describe the school as "a complex web of social interaction, with all types of interaction going on simultaneously and with each affecting the whole".⁵⁵

The influence of the schoolmate in the socializing process is well expressed by Dupanloup:

Le condisciple! [...] C'est un des plus puissants, des plus nécessaires moyens d'Education intellectuelle et morale! [...] Le condisciple! mais c'est la société qui commence la vie sociale, ses devoirs et ses droits; l'ardente émulation, la puissance de l'exemple, le partage des joies et des douleurs, des travaux et des succès, la naïve amitié, l'appui, le secours mutuel, la fraternité même; car le condisciple, c'est un frère quand la maison d'Education est une famille. Avec le condisciple se rencontrent aussi les froissements, le support, la patience, l'égalité, le respect d'autrui, choses si précieuses! Non, je le répète, il n'y a pas ou moins il y a bien peu d'Education sans condisciple.⁵⁶

He sees the work of teachers as a process of transmitting to a child his social heritage. The lessons the

54 Pius XI, Christian Education of Youth, p. 7.

55 Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, p. 130.

56 Félix A. Dupanloup, De l'Education, p. 558-559.

teacher gives are a compendium of the past experience of the race and the present accomplishments of mankind.⁵⁷

In the same way De Hovre⁵⁸ looks upon teachers as: real social workers; they are the spiritual parents of the young generation, the caretakers, the administrators and dispensers of the social heritage that belongs to the community.

Writers are agreed that the community is an important agent of social education. Havighurst and Neugarten⁵⁹ list the following influences: cultural and recreational agencies, youth serving agencies, economic and government institutions.

By cultural and recreational agencies they mean such things as mass media, public libraries, museums, public places of amusement, in short, all those influences which impinge upon the leisure time of people.

Mass media they describe as "organs of communication that reach the masses of the people". These have become in the twentieth century a powerful force in the lives of both young and old. They include radio, television, journalism and all forms of literature which flood the market. On his

57 Id., ibid., p. 601.

58 Franz De Hovre, Catholicism and Education, p. 224.

59 Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, p. 135-155.

part, Brown⁶⁰ sees in these influences an opportunity to develop a new appreciation of events, which otherwise seem far away, as well as an understanding of the cultures of the people of the world.

Havighurst and Neugarten⁶¹ also refer to a tremendous growth in the general direction of institutions created by churches, schools, welfare agencies, government agencies and independently formed associations of persons who have special interest in young people. They mention Y.M.C.A., CYO, Y.W.C.A., Girl Guides, Scouts and Camps.

There are two major aspects involved in the work of economic and industrial institutions as socializing agencies, namely, learning an occupation and learning an economic ideology.

With reference to the part played by government institutions it has been observed that a child becomes a member of the democratic society partly by studying government, partly by participating in the government of groups to which he belongs and partly by learning directly from government institutions.

60 Francis J. Brown, Educational Sociology, p. 55.

61 Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, p. 135-155.

The next institution which merits attention as a socializing agency is the state. Redden and Ryan⁶² give the following reasons for the existence of the state: Because of man's inability to develop his capacities alone and to supply fully his material wants and maintain peace among his fellows, a governing authority is required. Thus the state is a necessary society which man is morally bound to maintain and it may rightfully demand that its citizens acquire knowledge and training in social and civic virtues such as patriotism, justice, honesty, charity, chastity, self-control and obedience to constituted authority.

In this particular setting it does not seem out of order to apply to the state Willmann's definition of a nation, for De Hovre⁶³ regards England as a national state. Here, the nation is an outgrowth of the political community; the country was primarily a national state which has developed into a cultural nation. The lines which follow give Willmann's concept of what should constitute a true nation or in this context, a true state.

⁶² Redden and Ryan, Freedom Through Education, p. 165-166.

⁶³ Franz De Hovre, Philosophy and Education, p. 318.

Masses of men, though one in language, customs and interests do not constitute a nation; they must be conscious of being bound together by ties of a common nationhood. The purpose of the nation, like the purpose of the individual and of society cannot be understood in its full significance without reference to the Christian conception of life and the Christian ideal of the Brotherhood of man.⁶⁴

It is much in the same vein that Redden and Ryan⁶⁵ interpret the notion of democracy. Democracy, in a restricted sense, that is politically considered, is only one form of government which natural civil society takes. In its broad terms it is the Christian way of life. In this latter sense, it has its origins in human nature itself, correctly understood. It is constructed on the fact that man, by his very nature, is a social being. It is founded on man's final destiny, the nature and purpose of society, the mutual relationship between man and society as governed by the correct interpretation of freedom and authority made by Jesus Christ. Democracy recognizes the dignity and worth of the individual as transcending all material purposes and ends, and it emphasizes the fundamental truth that society exists for man, not man for society.

⁶⁴ Otto Willmann, Science of Education, Vol. 1, p. 39.

⁶⁵ Redden and Ryan, Freedom Through Education, p. 97-99.

Last in the list of socializing agencies stands the international society. Havighurst and Neugarten⁶⁶ seem to express current thinking on this institution in rather comprehensive terms, hence it is their conception of the international community which follows.

Modern means of travel, trade and communication have increased the amount of interdependence of nations; as a result international relations have increased in scope and intensity.

The process of international communication and co-operation has come to be recognized as a major social process, and the problem of social loyalty in relation to the international setting is essentially an educational problem.

International loyalty has two concepts, the concept of intelligent self-interest and the concept of world brotherhood. Though the teaching of the principle of human brotherhood may be relatively less popular than the principle of self-interest yet there is a remarkably universal acceptance of the goals of brotherhood, peace, justice and truth; education based on the assumption of these goals is likely to expand and become more popular.

⁶⁶ Havighurst and Neugarten, Society and Education, p. 334-344.

The real answer to the international problem is summed up in one terse sentence by De Hovre: "The relations of nations to each other and to humanity can only be fully comprehended when they are referred to the Christian ideal of society which is the Brotherhood of man".⁶⁷

3. Urgency of Adult Education.

Learning is a life-long process. Within the limits set for it, human educability normally never ceases until death. These statements of Kane⁶⁸ point to a raison d'être of adult education.

Steiner defines adult education as a "popular movement that includes the wide variety of mature individuals learning in infinite ways under innumerable auspices the many things that make life richer and more civilized".⁶⁹

He also indicates that the need arises from the notion that in an age of nuclear fission, automation and wonder drugs a human being cannot possibly learn in his youth all the things necessary to be an effective citizen, worker and parent.

⁶⁷ Franz De Hovre, Philosophy and Education, p. 322.

⁶⁸ W. Kane, Some Principles of Education, p. 50.

⁶⁹ Celestin J. Steiner, "Our Catholic Colleges and Adult Education", Bulletin National Catholic Educational Association, Vol. LIII, August 1956, p. 147.

Pius XII⁷⁰ agrees that the rapid evolution of society makes imperative some form of adult education. Without it those unable to get a proper education in youth cannot properly defend their rights and privileges or discharge their duties in civic life and in the international sphere. An ignorant people is defenseless and at the mercy of skilled agitators or unscrupulous politicians.

The Harvard Report⁷¹ states that as the proportion of youth to adults steadily increases adult education becomes a more important key to the health of the body politic; for adults not young people set the tone of the community. It brings out that medicine has altered the normal expectation of life and the machine age has created leisure time for so many people.

Coady is of the same opinion. Children do not run society. The growing complexity of modern society makes it necessary for education to be coterminous with active human life. The education of the masses is more important than ever before in history. He feels:

⁷⁰ Pius XII, "Adult Education", Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, p. 107-116.

⁷¹ Harvard Committee, General Education in a Free Society, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 255-259.

They are playing a new and more important role in today's society. They have taken on something in the nature of a personality and they are doing what was once done by great and dynamic individual leaders. Leadership is coming from the field. This can be either a great threat or a great promise. As the masses go, so goes the world.⁷²

The consensus of opinion among the authors consulted is that two types of adult education must be visualized, one for the masses and one for the educated. With the former concentration is on remedial needs, vocational readjustment and elimination of illiteracy. With the latter emphasis is on providing advanced and liberal education which will enable each individual to achieve his full potential as a world citizen; for this group the university must provide.

The aims of adult education seem to be well stated by Pius XII.⁷³ In summary form they appear thus:

1. To give an elementary notion of political principles and their application in the national and international sphere.
2. To develop an understanding of the nature and functioning of social institutions with emphasis on establishing the proper relationship of the individual and society.

⁷² W. M. Coady, "Unlocking Life to Free People", Adult Education in Canada, Edited by J. R. Kidd, Toronto, Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1950, p. 28-29.

⁷³ Pius XII, "Adult Education", Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, p. 107-116.

3. To procure professional formation of the worker according to his own aptitudes and his educational and cultural development.

4. To prepare the young for marriage and the assumption of the obligations of fatherhood and motherhood with emphasis on preparation for family education.

In the matter of adult education psychological barriers exist. The Harvard Report⁷⁴ suggests that only personal contacts can penetrate the insulation of distrust, shyness and self-depreciation which, with so many, keep educational velleities from passing into action. It stresses the need for information and discriminating advice regarding the available offerings in adult education.

In place of the formal teacher the adult needs the person who combines wisdom and practical experience. Information alone is not the goal of adults. These are the people who have learned through life. They want human insight and understanding at its highest. Above all, adults and out-of-school youth need to escape from the classroom atmosphere.

Steiner⁷⁵ advises that the techniques will have to be those uniquely adapted to adults: discussion, forums,

⁷⁴ Harvard Committee, General Education in a Free Society, p. 259-261.

⁷⁵ Celestin J. Steiner, "Our Catholic Colleges and Adult Education", Bulletin. N.C.E.A., p. 148.

symposiums, conferences, audio-visual methods, etc.

Pius XII⁷⁶ recommends that the difference between the adult and the adolescent be recognized and method and content adjusted as circumstances determine. For content he suggests the humanities, the fine and communication arts, the physical and social sciences, and theology which will be translated into daily action and will develop the leadership so sorely needed in a troubled world.

Finally, Coady⁷⁷ upholds the primacy of the individual in any system of adult education. This fact is based both on religious and democratic teaching. Religion emphasizes the dignity of man created in the image and likeness of God; democracy stresses the value of the individual and the development of individual capacities as the aim of social organization.

4. Christianity Fundamental to Education.

If there is one principle that stands out conspicuously in the educational literature reviewed it is that Christianity is the indisputable foundation of education.

⁷⁶ Pius XII, "Adult Education", Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education, p. 112-116.

⁷⁷ M. M. Coady, "Unlocking Life to Free People", Adult Education in Canada, Edited by J. R. Kidd, p. 38-39.

The clearest exposition of this principle seems to have been made by Newman. Here is his explanation:

Christianity and nothing short of it, must be made the element and principle of all education. Where it has been laid as the first stone and acknowledged as the governing spirit, it will take up into itself, assimilate, and give character to literature and science. Where Revealed Truth has given the aim and direction to Knowledge, Knowledge of all kinds will minister to Revealed Truth. The evidences of religion, natural theology, metaphysics - or again poetry, history and the classics or physics and mathematics may all be grafted into the mind of the Christian and give and take by the grafting.⁷⁸

Kidd calls Christianity the "leaven of Western Civilization"⁷⁹ and he reminds his readers that it was intended to save not only man but men, and that its mission should be "to teach us not only how to die as individuals but how to live as members of society".⁸⁰

Bruehl⁸¹ is making an important point when he states that Christianity is practically social because it makes social justice a point of personal morality. It is not merely a doctrine, a devotional practice or a mystical contemplation but it is above all a way of life to be lived.

⁷⁸ John Henry Newman, "Tamworth Reading Room 3", Argument and Discussion IV, London, Longman's Green, 1907, p. 274.

⁷⁹ Benjamin Kidd, Social Evolution, p. 362.

⁸⁰ Id., ibid., p. 15.

⁸¹ Charles P. Bruehl, The Pope's Plan for Social Reconstruction, p. 15.

The Protestant Educator Paulsen makes this statement concerning the all-pervading influence of Christianity:

Christianity with its faith and its standards of conduct permeates the whole life of the Western World in all its forms as an omnipresent factor. In art and literature, in architecture and music, in philosophy and science, everywhere we find Christianity as the great and omnipresent content of life. Today no less than in the past no one can pass it by with indifference. There is not one inch of historical soil but has felt the influence of Christianity and the Church.⁸²

Many such statements as those already quoted could be added in support of the thesis that Christianity is fundamental to education but these additions are unwarranted. Evidence in the literature unmistakably points to the conclusion that the Christian conception of society is the basis of Christian social education and that all true education rests on a firm Christian foundation. Here then is a bedrock principle for any true social educator, and one that must be included in any set of criteria whereby a social educator is being appraised.

The survey of the literature has revealed three other fundamental principles which should be included among the criteria if an adequate basis for appraisal is to be established. These have already been elucidated.

⁸² Friedrich Paulsen, German Education, Translated by T. Lorenz, London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1908, p. 277.

A simple statement of the criteria for a social educator may now be presented in this form:

1. What is his concept of individual education? Does he respect the human being as an individual and does he view education as the all-round development of that individual?

2. What is his concept of social education? Does he regard it as the complement of individual education?

3. What is his attitude towards adult education? Does he recognise its urgency in a modern world?

4. What is his outlook on Christianity? Does he regard it as fundamental to education?

These are the questions which will be asked of Sir Livingstone in order to appraise his educational theory. In the answer to these questions lies the answer to the much broader question: Is he a Social Educator?

CHAPTER VI

CRITICAL EVALUATION

The problem involved in this chapter is an appraisal of Sir Livingstone's role as a Social Educator. His views on individual, social and adult education, as already developed, will be evaluated in the light of the criteria established in Chapter V. From a synthesis of these separate evaluations it is hoped to arrive at a general conclusion which will enable one to judge whether or not Sir Livingstone may be classified as a Social Educator.

It is not intended to force his views into a stereotyped pattern or a rigid mould; this would be unfair and of questionable value. It is proposed merely to outline the general direction of his thinking, making use of the criteria as a flexible guide.

1. Individual Education.

From the discussion of individual education in the preceding chapter it has been concluded that the fundamental ideas underlying individual development may be reduced to two main principles, namely, respect for the human personality and the all-round development of that personality. It is these two principles which will be used as a guide in making the present evaluation.

Sir Livingstone's concept of the individual, as revealed at the beginning of Chapter II, is in line with the basic teachings of Christianity. With respect to man's nature he holds such natural truths as the following: man is a creature with a body and a soul, an intellect and a will, finitely perfectible; he has a social as well as an individual nature and implanted in that nature by its Creator is a natural craving for happiness. From Divine Revelation he accepts such supernatural truths as the doctrine of original sin, God's Grace and the eternal destiny of man.

He believes that each individual has an innate dignity by reason of: his creation to the image and likeness of God; his rational and moral nature; his freedom of will; his inalienable rights. Specifically, he does not include among his reasons for the dignity of the human personality man's redemption by Christ, but one gathers from the purview of his writings that this truth may possibly be assumed.

In keeping, too, with the teachings of Christianity are his beliefs that all men are of equal value in the sight of God and that individual differences exist among men. A natural, and at the same time, a logical outgrowth of these beliefs is his firm conviction of the obligation of the schools to take into consideration the problem of individual differences among pupils and to adjust curriculum and methods to their abilities and needs. In this way children will be

given an opportunity to make the best of their potentialities and thus develop their "body, mind and character to the highest degree of which each is capable". A beautiful ideal, this, if only it were possible of attainment!

Education for Sir Livingstone is a unitary process, involving all the elements of man's personality, the physical, the vocational, the intellectual, the moral, the spiritual and the social. In these he discerns a hierarchy of values, the spiritual holding a place of preeminence.

Because man has a body, Sir Livingstone acknowledges physical development to be an essential element of education. Details are missing as to the precise direction this physical development should take and little attention is given to a facet of man's physical nature which is prominent in much of educational writing today; this is the aspect of mental health. It may be noted that on page 34 there is a reference to keeping "the mind healthy in the presence of cheap literature and popular entertainment". Occasional references like this one appear throughout his writings, but of mental health, as such, there is no systematic account. It should also be noted that, like Plato, Sir Livingstone recommends moderation in physical education for the "mere athlete is brutal and philistine" just as "the mere intellectual is either a spiritless creature or an emotional creature lacking stability and staying power".

Because man needs to earn a living, Sir Livingstone sanctions the vocational aim of education, though with the admonition that general education be not thereby neglected. His aim of vocational education, apart from preparing people to earn a living, is stated on page 41 to be the development of a philosophy of the first-rate in one's job. This, again, is a beautiful ideal, but one doubts its widespread application. However, no one will find fault with him when he prescribes a training in the humanities as a necessary part of the education of technicians and other professional men.

Following Plato and Aristotle, on whose philosophy he was obviously nurtured, he acknowledges the highest power of man to be his intellect, the attainment of truth and knowledge to be its function and training in the intellectual virtues to be an essential part of intellectual development. He maintains that the intellect is not to be developed to the exclusion of the other aspects of man's nature, in particular, the moral and emotional sides of man. All this is fundamentally sound. At times, though, Sir Livingstone has a tendency to weight a little too heavily the intellectual side of man; one might say he does this almost unconsciously. This is understandable; it is the humanist in him which is claiming expression. This tendency is discernible in his emphasis on mental discipline and transfer of training, an account of which is given on page 43. He

restricts transfer, however, to the particular field of study or to fields cognate to it; he is not a believer in unlimited transfer.

He is to be commended for his emphasis on moral education, or as he generally designates it, character training, but it is in this area and in the area of spiritual development that his greatest defects are to be found; it is here that the shortcomings in his educational theory manifest themselves. What he has to say about character training is sound enough in the formulation of general principles; it is when he outlines practical steps to be taken that inadequacies appear. To put it simply, one might say that he is sound enough as far as he goes; the trouble is that he does not go far enough.

The main principles of his theory of character education, as outlined on page 47, appear acceptable; they are in keeping with Christian tenets of character education.

He is correct in considering character training as a training in the moral virtues, but in line with the Platonic and Aristotelian parts of the Christian educational tradition it is only with the natural virtues that he is, apparently, concerned, so one may judge from the reference quoted on page 50. Of the infused moral virtues he takes no account, or if he does, he fails to make the point explicit. He admits that Aristotle's doctrine falls far short of the

Christian ideal, it is true, but then he stops at that, or at least he gives no indication to show that he recognizes the operation of God's Grace in the development of character. It is agreed, it may be possible, though difficult, to develop a certain degree of natural moral virtue, but a supernatural motive for conduct is indispensable for any real character training. Here then is the main defect in his theory of character education, a neglect of supernatural aids in the realm of moral education. He does, however, recognize the need of Divine Grace, but it is impossible to ascertain how he regards its operations.

That there is a relationship between the intellectual and the moral virtues in character training, is clear to him. He believes that the intellectual virtues cannot be without the moral virtues and the moral virtues cannot be without the intellectual virtues. This conclusion seems to be a justifiable one, when the references on pages 45 and 50 are examined. He insists that habits of virtue must rest on an intellectual foundation if they are to have any lasting value.

There is full advertence to the need of religious training in the formation of character. Sections 5 and 6 of Chapter II testify to this. On page 51 reference is made to his statement that religion is the "supreme instrument" of bringing before the mind ideals of conduct. He insists upon

an acquaintance with first-rate examples of character as found in religion, history and literature, as an aid to character formation. This habitual vision of greatness of which he speaks so much is, indeed, a worthy vision, but it can never be complete without the constant inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the ever-present image of the perfection of Christ. In summing up the relationship between moral and religious training in the formation of character, as conceived by Sir Livingstone, one may say that, in theory, he realizes that moral education cannot be separated from religious education, but in practice he fails to make explicit the implementation of the principle.

His insistence on the principle of habituation in moral education is correct, and in accordance with Christian teaching, as is also his belief that good habits in themselves do not always connote virtue.

Certainly, he deserves commendation when he states that standards of conduct should be based on Christian principles and Christian ethics, and when he admits that he does not believe "that the philosophy of humanism can do for the character what Christianity, rightly understood and firmly held, can do for it".

He holds, and correctly so, that character is the integration of all the powers of the individual, that it is to be trained through "the disciplining of the body, the

will and the intellect". It is felt that he lays insufficient stress on will training. In broad, general terms he speaks of training of the will, self-discipline, self-control, but will training per se receives only scant attention. He is perfectly aware of the truth that, as a result of the Fall, man's will is weak and vacillating, and that it requires disciplining. Evidence of this may be found on page 46.

As a final judgment of his theory of moral education, it seems fair to say, as was stated at the beginning of this discussion, that Sir Livingstone's prescriptions for the training of character are commendable but they are incomplete. Such prescriptions provide for the fulfilment of the aim of self-perfection, undoubtedly the aim of humanistic educators, but they do not measure up to the lofty standards required for Christian perfection. His ultimate aim of character education, stated on page 32, is character training, "to be achieved by discipline of the body, the will and the intelligence"; this surely means self-perfection.

To recapitulate, Sir Livingstone's theory of character education, though admirable in many ways, is lacking a supernatural foundation, or at least a clearly defined one. If one were to add to it the need for prayer, penance and sacrifice and the constant assistance of the Grace of God, there would, indeed, result a system of character education

which might well be the envy of educators.

Sir Livingstone reckons the spiritual element as being the most important side of man's life and he realizes that education entails the acceptance of Christ, His life and His teachings. He regards religion as the most important subject of the school curriculum, from the primary school to the university and beyond, to adult education, and he looks upon the teacher as a tremendous factor in religious education. To him religion is the integrating force of all education, the subject which gives direction and meaning to the other subjects of the curriculum. These are all conclusions which may be drawn from the discussion of spiritual development in Chapter II.

Theoretically, they sound complete. However, it is difficult to understand just what Sir Livingstone means by religion. On occasion, one gets the impression that he is confusing it with philosophy or with the study of great religious leaders. Undoubtedly, his definition of religion as a subject of study calls for concentration on religious leaders and religious movements. That religion is man's communication with a personal God, and that religion is something more than attendance at Church merely to hear the word of God preached, are two facets that are not clearly delineated. He fails to come completely to grips with the real essence of religion. The human element seems at times to overshadow the divine. In fact, it is thought that he

appears to stress the human side of Christ to the neglect of the divine; in different contexts he speaks of presenting Christ to people as a person living a human life in the actual world of His day. This presentation, in itself, is necessary but one would like to feel that pupils get the correct appreciation of Christ the Son of God.

His argument that religious instruction is not religious education is sound reasoning. His attitude towards dogma may puzzle one at times. He by no means dispenses with it but he seems to underrate its value somewhat. Perhaps, this may be explained when one reflects that he is, after all, a typical Englishman. De Hovre¹ says that so far as the doctrines of the Faith are concerned, the English are disposed to favour what is immediately practical; dogmatic definition and metaphysical speculations are of secondary importance.

His insistence on the study of philosophy is in itself praiseworthy but there is difficulty in discerning what philosophy is to be studied. His attempt to answer this question produces little that is really tangible. Moral philosophy, assuredly, he would have, and that, presumably, of the Greeks. Aristotle's Ethics and Plato's Republic are, as is to be expected, recommended texts.

1 Franz De Hovre, Catholicism in Education, p. 262.

What he really means by the term spiritual is, in the final analysis, only a matter of conjecture. There is no clear-cut definition of the term; vague generalities appear, interspersed throughout his writings. Even when the term is used synonymously with religion the explanation is not satisfactory. With reference to this confusion, one hesitates to suggest that Sir Livingstone is lacking the courage to declare his beliefs openly. He seems too honest and too straightforward for that. His own comment on the lack of courage on Huxley's part seems to allay any doubts one may entertain regarding his own sincerity. His reference to Huxley is this: "The real cause of our malaise is the absence of what Huxley (afraid of the word 'spiritual') called an 'ethical ideal'".² It seems fairer to suggest that the confusion of terms exists in Sir Livingstone's own mind. Possibly, he himself is lacking that unifying principle which is to be found only in the full approach to the truths of a Divine Revelation.

From the above statement it is not to be inferred that Sir Livingstone disclaims belief in Christian Revelation, by no means. The fact of his belief is evident in all his writings. He accepts the Greek thinking for what it

² R. W. Livingstone, Greek Ideals and Modern Life, p. 2.

is worth, but to him the Divine Revelation is so much the greater, as he says:

The Greeks created the conception of natural morals as of natural religion and made of both all that man could make. But they never knew the unquestionable imperative of a direct divine command. A moral law is binding but has not the urgency of an authoritative will.³

It appears that Sir Livingstone's theory of moral and religious education needs clarification, or rather, he needs to establish within his mind a sharp well-defined system where such terms as religion, philosophy and spiritual are given a correct interpretation. Then and only then, will he be able, effectively, to speak of the formulation of a positive philosophy of life. To write volumes in support of the thesis that there should be a return to the spiritual yet without a specific indication of the type of unity or philosophy is to miss the essential problem underlying the modern educational dilemma.

The criticisms made in the foregoing paragraphs indicate limitations, no doubt, but they do not, by any means, purpose to nullify Sir Livingstone's efforts in the realm of moral and religious education. He has firm convictions; he is not afraid to give voice to these convictions. Religion is to him the most important thing in life and

³ Id., ibid., p. 159.

religious education is, or should be, in his opinion, the most important subject in the schools.

Viewing the whole perspective of individual education as conceived by Sir Livingstone, and at the same time making due allowance for certain gaps and limitations, one may, with a fair degree of confidence, conclude that respect for the human being as an individual is a fundamental principle of his theory of education.

2. Social Education.

In Chapter V it was shown that the basic principles of social education stem from the Christian ideal of society, the Brotherhood of Man. It was also seen that the most fundamental of these principles is respect for the individuals who comprise society, be that society the family, the Church, the school, the community, the state or the international community. These are the principles which form the basis for an appraisal of a theory of social education and they are the principles in the light of which Sir Livingstone's views on social education, as unfolded in Chapter III, will be evaluated.

The keynote of Sir Livingstone's theory of social education is the primacy of the individual. As individuals are, so is the society of which they form a part. But

individuals must be trained to live in society; they must be taught to cultivate good habits of social behaviour and to acquire these social virtues which will enable them to live as good members of their family, their community, their state, their nation and, finally, as good members of the human race. Hence the need of social education, the elements of which should be within the reach of all for men are, by nature, social beings, having, therefore, the right to an education in conformity with their nature and the obligation to perfect that nature in so far as their natural endowments allow.

These views are correct and in accordance with principles of Christian education, but they are incomplete. In the cultivation of the social virtues the same limitations appear as were observed in the training in individual virtues -- the supernatural element is passed over. References to Christ's great Commandment of Charity are not wanting; a glance at pages 49, 75 and 101 of the study will substantiate this statement. The difficulty lies in discerning how Sir Livingstone interprets the practice of the virtue of love. It may also be recalled that in Chapter II, in the discussion of spiritual development, it was noted that he would emphasize, from a study of the Epistles, the virtues which make human relations good and the vices that frustrate them, and he would have pupils make lists of the qualities

which St. Paul thought part of the Christian life. These suggestions of his sound encouraging enough but there is no indication that the virtues of which he speaks are other than natural virtues.

Though Sir Livingstone recognizes that society is needed to round off the development of the complete human being, he sees that the individual must not become a slave to his social milieu. That there are dangers associated with too great an absorption in society and social concerns, he knows full well, and his thinking is correct.

He is also correct in stating that social and political problems are at bottom moral problems and in holding that "the quality of a society depends on something behind and beyond politics, on our religion or philosophy of life". The second statement, though correct in its meaning, is another instance of the confusion surrounding his use of the term religion.

Thoroughly in line with Christian teaching is his belief that morality, truth and human rights are absolute in origin and not determined by society. All forms of conventional morality he discredits, and rightly so.

He recognizes the role in the social development of the individual of the various agencies of education, namely, the family, the Church, the school, the community, the state and the international community.

Even though he has little to say about the family as an agent of social education, there is sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion that he regards the family as the primary unit of society and as such an important influence. It is a matter of regret that he does not develop fully his views on education within the family circle. Reading between the lines, one gets the impression that he might have some interesting comments to offer on the family as an educative agent.

With respect to the Church also, he has little to say, but there is ample material to conclude that he regards the social function of the Church as of prime importance, that its universality with regard to time and place makes it a potent influence in social education. That the Church is a natural institution to give people a philosophy of life which will make them good members of society, is a strong conviction of his and one that provokes no opposition. There is, however, the fear that he is inclined to underestimate the divine mission of the Church or rather to say too little of this divine mission.

The school is to him a social institution of great magnitude, and that in all stages from the nursery school to the university. As a training ground for the social virtues it is without rival; "the training begins the first day a child enters school", and it continues till he passes out

of the school. He takes due notice of the teacher and the schoolmates in the socializing process. In all his thinking of the social function of the school he is correct as far as he goes, but here again one is forced to admit that the social virtues lack a supernatural foundation.

He is inclined to overrate the influence of the residential school. That may be explained by the fact that he is a product of one himself, and his teaching experience, the little he had of secondary school teaching, was received in such a school. It is true, he admits the boarding school has limitations; it sometimes trains character along too narrow lines, but on the whole he has a decided bias in its direction. For this reason he perhaps overlooks the real contribution of the day schools to the life of the nation. He does not completely ignore the value of their extra-curricular activities in training character along social lines, but he fails to do full justice to them.

He evinces none of the snobbery occasionally associated with those who have been trained in the Great Public Schools. In fact he is the avowed enemy of snobbery of all kinds, and he suggests this approach as a means of expelling the vice: "There is only one cure; to develop humility in the snob and self-respect both in him and in his victim.

Then you will have a real change of heart".⁴

It should also be added that he envisions the day when the rank and file of children will be able to enjoy the benefits of a residential school education, formerly only the privilege of the few. This seems to indicate his deep concern for all the children of all the people. His thinking is idealistic, at times, it is admitted, but there is something refreshing about it.

He has a wholesome conception of the place of the university in the life of the nation. While adhering to the principle that the main purpose of the university is training in the intellectual virtues, he realizes that it is impossible to close one's eyes to the need of inculcating a philosophy of life which will make for better citizens and better members of society. His suggestion that the universities include in their curriculum religion and philosophy for the purpose of imparting a philosophy of life and his recommendation that they provide their scientists with a training in the humanities have as their aim to give "what is needed to train Newman's 'good members of society'". To Sir Livingstone, then, the university has a social function.

⁴ R. W. Livingstone, "Inequality in Education", Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, November 1947, p. 83.

His grasp of the influence of the community in the social development of its members is penetrating. He understands the power for good or ill of such media as radio, television, the films, the newspapers and all forms of cheap literature. He takes an optimistic view of the contribution of the radio to the cultural life of the nation; this may be explained by the fact that in England a certain measure of control is exercised over the programs released to the public. With regard to the films he recognizes their possibilities for instructional purposes and their power to give what he calls an "atmospheric education". To him this is important for he believes that "in education, and afterwards in life, atmosphere is the greatest influence in determining the conduct and outlook of men".⁵ He is to be commended for his breadth of vision when he speaks of the value of the films in promoting international solidarity. His condemnation of cheap and inferior journalism raises no objections; there is much that is second- or third-rate in popular magazines and newspapers.

In the whole matter of leisure-time activities while one may agree with him that the schools should develop a sense of discrimination, a clear definition of standards, a

⁵ R. W. Livingstone, "Plato and the Training of Character", The Educational Forum, Vol. 23, November 1958, p. 8.

knowledge and appreciation of the first-rate in amusements, all worthy objectives, it is conceded, yet one finds he has little to offer in the line of practical suggestions for attaining those objectives.

The wide range of his interests is also reflected in his references to other aspects of community life. He sees that Trade Unions, Guides, Scouts, Clubs, professional and other, Camps, all have a contribution to make towards the social development of their members.

It is to be expected that an outcome of Sir Livingstone's close study of the classics and Greek life would be a fervent regard for training in citizenship, since historically, such training held a place of honour among the Greeks. This regard he definitely has. His views on civic education are acceptable though his emphasis on the practical aspect of it may be somewhat overdrawn. While there may be general agreement with the principle that one learns to be a citizen by living as one, yet the dispensing of some theory to secondary school students is not altogether lost.

His definition of the state as "not a mixed collection of individuals but as a united and affectionate family" is a reflection of the finest in Christian thought.

His ideals of democracy, described on pages 28 and 29, are definitely Christian in conception. The underlying principle, respect for the individuals who make up the

democracy, is sound.

Equally Christian in their perspective are his views on international society. His solution for the ills of the world, "to take seriously the second of Christ's great Commandments, the love of neighbour", if realized would surely make for a truly Christian order. No one questions him when he seeks for the foundations of the social order in the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. There lies the answer to the social problem.

Reviewing his theory of social education, one may, notwithstanding certain limitations, justifiably conclude that Sir Livingstone regards social education as the complement of individual education. He recognizes that man is by nature both individual and social and that any true system of education must provide for the development of both aspects of man's nature but always with the understanding that the education of the individual is basic.

3. Adult Education.

Current thinking on adult education has been discussed in Chapter V; Sir Livingstone's views on the same topic have been developed in Chapter IV. A comparison of both discussions reveals a striking similarity between his thinking and that of the writers in the field of adult education. Like so many of them he is convinced that modern

life makes it imperative for all people to receive at least a modicum of education in order to withstand the demands of a present-day civilization.

He pleads for adult education for all, for the masses of the people who have been deprived of an education in youth and for the educated who need educational reinforcement to keep pace with the changing patterns of modern life. This view is general.

His aims are in keeping with those laid down by others who are interested in the same problem. These are: to fill gaps; to repair omissions in social and political life; and to provide for a richer personal and domestic life. He does not make explicit the family life aim but casual references to it are to be found in his writings. Examples of such references may be noted on pages 123 and 126.

Likewise in line with current thinking are his recommendations as to curriculum, methods of teaching and qualities of teachers. He is not alone in stressing humanistic content. But he does not stress it to the exclusion of other subjects; he would have a rudimentary knowledge of science for all people. His inclusion of music, art, handiwork, etc., is commonsense. Visionary that he is not, he would have for the rank and file those subjects within their field of interest. Philosophy is not for them; this is a

subject for the educated. Religion, he considers, here as elsewhere, an integrating force for "it is religion, not philosophy that reaches and moves humanity and satisfies its needs".

That the methods used with adult students should be far different from those used with school boys and girls, is practical thinking on his part. So also is the suggestion that the teacher be specially chosen so as to be able to cope with the problems of adults.

The foregoing comments show that Sir Livingstone, in his theory of adult education, holds views similar to other writers in the field. It shows something else, that he gives evidence of little that may be called original thinking in the matter of adult education. Stress on the residential element seems to be, in large part, his peculiar emphasis. However, this is not original; his inspiration came from the Danish Folk High School. On this very point of residential study it is reasonable to question the practicability of his suggestions. While no one doubts that a residential school promotes social training or that social education is an essential element in adult education, yet one does doubt the feasibility of large scale residential adult education except to a limited extent and under special circumstances, but Sir Livingstone himself doubts "whether any nation wide system of adult education is possible

without it".

Another question which poses itself is this: Is adult education the answer to as many problems of the future as Sir Livingstone intimates it is? A reference to this may be seen on page 116. Everyone can agree that there should be more and better adult education, but possibly a great part of the dilemma in modern education awaits its solution from more and better secondary education. This is a point he is apt to overlook. One might, quite naturally, add that a part of the solution lies in a better system of primary education; here again Sir Livingstone has nothing to offer. It is, perhaps, unfair to level this criticism at him; he makes no pretense of being an authority on primary education.

Still another question may arise: Does Sir Livingstone underestimate the intellectual powers of the secondary school student? An affirmative answer is ventured. Granted, economics, politics and philosophy are better adapted to the mental capacity of mature students; there is no disagreement on this point. But one fears he underrates the ability of high school students to cope with such subjects as history and literature when he sets such high stakes on these studies for adult students. In all probability it is his own limited experience of teaching in a secondary school which prompts such thinking. Add to this his own training in a select school, and his acquaintance at the university

with only the products of the public schools, and the best products, presumably, and there may be found the answers to some of the queries likely to be raised.

The point of all the discussion is this: in making his claims for adult education, Sir Livingstone is to be commended, but above and beyond adult education, lie the vast fields of primary and secondary education, in the cultivation of which many of the problems of the future in education must reach their solution.

No one challenges his plea for adult education for the educated. All writers agree that no matter how thorough the education received in school, it is impossible to keep abreast of all there is to be learned in a present-day technological world. His prescription that the education of these people is a task for the university is in conformity with the consensus of opinion.

The criticism of Sir Livingstone's views on adult education is not meant to discredit his deep concern for the education of all classes of people. He is sincere in his pleas for adult education. In the education of the masses lies the salvation of society; in its neglect lies disaster. The reader is therefore constrained to endorse his thinking on adult education.

The analysis of his theory of adult education seems to point to one conclusion: he recognizes the urgency of

adult education, and along new lines, as he himself has been known to express it.

4. Christianity and Education.

The evaluation of Sir Livingstone's views on individual, social and adult education just concluded, is based on the exposition of these views as developed in Chapters II, III and IV. For an appraisal of his thinking with respect to the relationship of Christianity to education an overview of the whole study is being taken.

Even the most casual reader of Sir Livingstone's works cannot fail to be impressed by his frequent references to Christianity and Christian principles. These, as it were, run like an unbroken thread throughout all his writings from his first publication in 1912 to his most recent ones.

His philosophy of life and of education is definitely Christian. True, in his nurturing there was much of the philosophy of the ancient Greeks, but it is to be remembered also that he accepts the truths of a Divine Revelation and with it the teachings of Christ. He sees clearly the relationship between Hellenism and Christianity, that the latter corrected and completed, so to speak, the former. He also sees that the Greek form of humanism lacked the level of aspiration which only a divinely inspired religion can give.

It was remarked earlier in this chapter that he has confusions in the application of some of the teachings of Christianity, but this does not detract from his belief in Christianity, a belief which is strong and virile. These confusions are, in all probability, the result of his training and associations; herein lies the reason, perhaps, why he lacks the sharply defined lines of the whole truth of a Divine Revelation which would have given him a clear and untrammelled vision.

To Sir Livingstone, Christianity is the soul of civilization. It is not merely a doctrine to be learned; it is a way of life to be lived. This fact is explained on page 60.

In general principles, his theory of character education is Christian. He is strong in the assertion that those who reject Christian beliefs and ethics cannot long retain Christian morals. A gap may be discerned here. In practice, he makes no provision for implementing Christian ethics into a system of education; the ethics he recommends is, to all appearance, that of Plato and Aristotle. There may be nothing amiss in this if at the same time he supplements the teachings of the ancient philosophers with the works of Christian thinkers.

His concept of the human personality is Christian; his concept of the absolute nature of morality, truth and

human rights is Christian; his concept of society and of democracy is Christian; his outlook on world society is based on the Christian ideal.

Examples such as these could be multiplied but after the multiplications the conclusion would ultimately be the same, and it is this, that Sir Livingstone conceives of education as having its foundations sunk deep in Christian principles. Without any hesitation then, one may say that he regards Christianity as being fundamental to education.

4. General Appraisal.

In the discussions of the preceding sections of this chapter the following conclusions have been reached with respect to Sir Livingstone's theory of education: he respects the human being as an individual; he regards social education as the complement of individual education; he recognizes the urgency of adult education; and he considers Christianity to be fundamental to education. From a synthesis of these conclusions it is logical to infer that Sir Livingstone may be classified as a Social Educator.

An evaluation of Sir Livingstone's theory of education seems incomplete without a general appraisal of his position in the educational world. Hence the remainder of the chapter will attempt to analyze this position and pass a final judgment on Sir Livingstone.

A study of the influences which moulded his mind and formed his character gives insight into the direction of his thinking in later years. Many factors have conspired to produce in him the strong classical bent for which he is so well known. There is, first of all, his training in school and at the university, a training which had in it much of Greek culture and which has left its mark on his whole career. English classical writers have also left their impress. There are the poets, the philosophers, the historians and others. Such names as Ruskin, the two Arnolds, father and son, Newman, Milton, Berkeley, to mention only a few of the Greats, have all played a part in shaping his outlook.

The impact of these influences makes itself felt throughout his writings, and for that reason one is inclined to say there is little that may be considered original in them. He has borrowed from all and sundry within the limits of his literary friendships, more heavily from some than from others. His writings on character training bear the stamp of Plato's thought and Arnold's practice with a generous portion of Aristotle's theory interwoven to complete the whole. Of Ruskin's reflections on life and Newman's ideas of a university there are examples on many pages. It might make an interesting study to trace the impact of all these influences on Sir Livingstone's thinking and thus determine the extent of his borrowing.

As a humanist he has been compared to Hutchins and Adler. Prudell⁵ concludes that he is similar to Hutchins and a classical humanist. With this last statement the present writer does not altogether agree. There are points of similarity, it is true. Both men are devotees of classical culture; there is no objection to this. Both favour general education and both denounce specialism, vocationalism and professionalism, but of the two, Hutchins is the more denunciatory and the more radical in his suggestions for improvement. Sir Livingstone sees a rightful place for vocational education. Both stress intellectual content in higher education but a difference is to be noted. Hutchins⁷ looks upon higher learning as the "single-minded pursuit of the intellectual virtues"; as scholarship he designates it "the single-minded devotion to the advancement of knowledge". Sir Livingstone acknowledges that the university has a social as well as an intellectual function, and he considers character training to be the primary aim of education. Hutchins declares that "the character building theory amounts to a denial that there is or should be content to education".⁷

6 Harold Prudell, Educational Theories of Sir Richard W. Livingstone, p. 103.

7 Robert M. Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936, p. 32.

8 Id., ibid., p. 30.

Both Hutchins and Sir Livingstone seek for a unifying principle in the modern university. The former contends that to "look to theology to unify the modern universities is futile and vain".⁹ Then he looks for a metaphysics since he feels without theology or metaphysics a unified university cannot exist, but in the final analysis, for prudential reasons, he adopts the metaphysics of Aristotle. Sir Livingstone seeks the integrating force in religion and/or philosophy and he declares emphatically that religion should find a place in university studies. However, he tolerates a compromise: lectures in religion may be optional. His whole plea for religion and/or philosophy is a strong one. It has already been noted that the philosophy he recommends is that of the ancient Greeks. He speaks of a Christian ethics but he fails to define his point.

Hutchins is a rational humanist.¹⁰ Prudell considers Sir Livingstone a classical humanist. The present writer inclines towards the classification of religious humanist in line with More and Eliot.^{11, 12} This would

⁹ Id., ibid., p. 197.

¹⁰ W. F. Cunningham, Pivotal Problems of Education, p. 47.

¹¹ Louis J. A. Mercier, The Challenge of Humanism, New York, Oxford University Press, 1933, Chapters VI & VII.

¹² Norman Foerster, Editor, Humanism and America, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1930, p. 105-112.

place him between the integral humanists of whom Maritain¹³, ¹⁴ may be cited as representative and the rational humanists like Hutchins and Adler.

As an educator Sir Livingstone is true to the English tradition. This may be judged from his emphasis on the classics, on the cultural tradition, on liberal education, on character training, on religious education, on mental discipline, on athletics, on service and on residential forms of education. According to Norwood¹⁵ these are the distinguishing features of English education.

He is the avowed enemy of compartmentalized education and analysis. The principle of integration is his directive both in education and in life. A reference to this point may be found on page 24 in Chapter I of the present study.

As an educational critic he has nothing new to offer. His criticisms are ones that have been iterated and reiterated by other educators and laymen. However, as a critic he is not caustic. Even when he condemns most strongly, and this he does on occasion, there is no acid in his

13 Jacques Maritain, Education at the Crossroads.

14 Nora Willis Michener, Maritain on the Nature of Man in a Christian Democracy, Hull, Editions "L'Eclair", 1955, p. 93-95.

15 Cyril Norwood, The English Educational System, London, Benn, 1928, 79 p.

words. Running throughout his writings is a certain subtle kindness which is not unmingled with his own peculiar brand of humour.

In his statements he is sincere, frank and convincing. His style is direct, lucid and unaffected. He disdains all that savours of affectation and, to use his own expression, of "humbug and false sentiment".¹⁶

As a scholar he merits high commendation. The scholarly grasp and breadth of reference in so many of his writings speak for themselves. He is thoroughly at home with the great Western culture and he sees the classical-religious culture in the perspective of present and future needs.

As a theorist he has much to offer but there will, inevitably, be doubts as to how much of his theorizing would bear the test of actual experience. He appears to be able to make a good diagnosis of educational ills. Being merely a good diagnostician may not altogether be to his discredit; a good diagnosis is the first step in a cure. This is what he has to say of Plato as a diagnostician:

Plato is more often a master of diagnosis than of cure; if he did not solve a problem he always knew what it was. This is no faint praise for in political and social questions true diagnosis is the first need and the rarest gift.¹⁷

¹⁶ R. W. Livingstone, Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us, p. 107.

¹⁷ -----, Plato and Modern Education, p. 5-6.

In the passage just quoted he is speaking of Plato in political and social life; possibly the same may be said of Sir Livingstone himself in the field of education. The fact that he is able to diagnose educational ills is evidence that he knows what to look for and that is no mean accomplishment in a world where educational ills abound. To make such diagnoses requires a breadth of vision and understanding which is more than parochial in its span, and Sir Livingstone seems to possess that vision.

In summary it may be said his observations are world wide in their application. He is interested in England, no doubt, but his interests stretch far beyond his own country; they embrace the world of human beings. Ideal and theoretical as many of his statements may appear, they strike an encouraging note in a world whose vision is in danger of being dimmed by a material civilization which confuses ends and means, good and evil, truth and falsehood, and which is truly in need of a philosophy of the first-rate.

Sir Livingstone is a man of many interests and many accomplishments. He is a classicist, a humanist, a scholar, and finally, he is a social educator who is firm in the conviction that the world needs a better class of inhabitants than it has today and that the attainment of this ideal rests on the principle that the improvement of men is the necessary prelude to the improvement of society.

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

A backward glance at the analysis of the writings of Sir Richard Livingstone reveals a man of wide experience in matters educational; one who has his finger on the fluctuating pulse of movements and developments in education at home and abroad, and who is keenly alert to current trends and directions in these movements and developments.

His observations are neither novel nor startling; they follow the beaten track of those who express disapproval of theories and practices which depart so radically from time-honoured customs and traditions, and one looks in vain for evidences of original thinking on his part.

His criticisms are neither extreme nor over-denunciatory; they are the frank avowals of an educator who is sincerely concerned at the failure of the schools and the university to send out into the world people imbued with a set of values and a clearly defined philosophy of life.

As a diagnostician he rates an honoured place among critics but his diagnoses are not unique. However, there is a certain uniqueness about the way in which he makes them.

The analysis likewise reveals a scholar who possesses a knowledge that is broad and deep and which is characterized by a close familiarity with the finest in classical literature, but it also reveals a scholar who evinces an

acute awareness of the importance of the natural and social sciences in the preparation of students for living their lives in a world which owes so much to science and technology.

Many factors have played their part in shaping the outlook of Sir Livingstone as it appears in his writings. Circumstances of birth and education have been all-important. His classical education in secondary school and at the university has left him a strong bias for Greek culture and his vicarious associations with English classical writers have nurtured in him a deep regard for the humanities.

His two years of secondary school teaching at Eton, his years as tutor at New College and his experience in university administration from 1924 to his retirement in 1950 have provided him with first-hand information on the educational problems of his own people.

His visits to North America, of which there were ten, have widened his educational horizons and given him insight into problems abroad. The visit to Denmark has supplied the inspiration for his active interest in the adult education movement.

In all forms of education his first concern is for the human individual and it is a many sided development of the individual which he advocates, a development that should take place physically, vocationally, intellectually, morally, spiritually and socially.

The strong classical bent of his education, the forces of tradition and other factors have conspired to give him a high regard for intellectual training, though it may be said, without any reservations, that with him intellectual training by no means overshadows other aspects of education.

These same factors have influenced, also, his attitude towards moral and spiritual development. His chief aim of education is the training of character, coupled, it is understood, with the training of the intellect. In his prescriptions for moral and spiritual development he strikes an encouraging note by his stand that religion be made an integral part of any educational system and with his insistence on the acquisition of virtuous habits as constituting the essence of all character formation. Paradoxically though, it is in this very area of moral and spiritual development that his shortcomings and limitations become apparent.

Though recognizing the principle that moral and religious training should go hand in hand yet he fails to make provision for practical implementation of the principle. In character education his emphasis on a training in moral virtues is acceptable and in itself a good thing, but what he advocates is a training in natural virtues without advertence to the need of supernatural aids to conduct. Will training receives altogether too little attention.

The apparent confusion which characterizes his thinking on things spiritual stems, it is believed, from the absence within his own mind of a clearly crystallized system of beliefs and firm convictions which can come only from the possession of the entire truth of a Divine Revelation. There is lacking a unifying principle to give clarity and completeness to his whole system of moral and religious education. A little more than lip service to the belief that Christianity corrected and completed Hellenism might be the possible solution.

In his contention that without social training no character is prepared for life lies the answer to the question as to what Sir Livingstone thinks of social education. To him social education is the complement of individual education and the most fundamental principle of his whole scheme of education is respect for the human personality. He recognizes the contribution to the social development of the individual of the various socializing agents, namely, the family, the Church, the school, the community, the state and international society. In making provision for the cultivation of social virtues he proposes a training along all too natural lines to the neglect of supernatural motives for conduct. This is his weakness and it is symptomatic of the absence of an inner principle of integration.

As an adult educator he is convinced of the urgent need for some form of education for those who have reached the years beyond school age and he is conscious of the many problems associated with the establishment of a national system of adult education. He recognizes two widely different groups who need adult education; those who have missed education in youth, and of those there are many, and those who have received it but who now need reinforced knowledge to enable them to keep abreast of rapidly changing conditions in an everyday world.

He sees the urgency of new methods, special teachers, properly equipped buildings and other facilities without which there can be no appreciable measure of success. In fact, so intense is his plea for adult education that it may be thought, at times, that he loses sight of the issues involved in more and better secondary education, or indeed in a better system of primary education. His enthusiasm for the residential element of adult education suggests something of the theorist a little out of touch with some of the problems of real life.

Sir Livingstone's educational theory rests on a foundation that is unquestionably Christian. His ideal of education is Christ the God-Man, though it is sometimes difficult to discern the tangible manner in which he would have imitation of the Ideal.

In the field of morals, politics and social life he acknowledges the guiding forces to be Christian principles and he asserts that Christianity is the soul of Western Civilization. The logical outcome of this assertion is the conclusion that he regards Christianity as fundamental to education.

Sir Livingstone's theory of education has been evaluated in the light of the following criteria for a social educator, formulated from wide reading in the educational literature: (1) Does he respect the human being as an individual? (2) Does he consider social education to be the complement of individual education? (3) Does he recognize the urgency of adult education? (4) Does he regard Christianity as fundamental to education? His views have been weighed against these criteria and judged adequate to justify the conclusion that he may be classified as a Social Educator.

In attempting to establish this claim the present writer has become aware of other possibilities for future research in the writings of Sir Livingstone. In the study just completed it was impossible to examine exhaustively all that he has written on education. Its scope was limited to Sir Livingstone as a Social Educator; consequently other interesting issues received, of necessity, only casual attention. It is with the hope that these issues may

receive closer study that the writer offers the following suggestions with reference to the direction future research on this topic might profitably take:

1. In the realm of character education Sir Livingstone has written at great length. For him the main aim of education is character formation, to be achieved through the disciplining of the body, intellect and will. The present study has been able to consider only the broader aspects of this question. To make an adequate appraisal of his theory of character education it is felt that a more intensive treatment of the topic is needed and it might well focus upon the problem of estimating Sir Livingstone's merits as a character educator.

2. A second possibility for research arises out of the consideration of Sir Livingstone's position among modern humanists. The author has ventured, rather cautiously, to classify him as a religious humanist rather than a rational humanist in the line of Hutchins and Adler. This assertion might well be challenged. It would be interesting to analyze his position with respect to the American humanists. This would entail a critical study of American humanism as well as a concentration on Sir Livingstone, specifically from a humanistic point of view.

3. Still a third problem with possibilities for further research lies in a study of Sir Livingstone as a classicist.

Undoubtedly, there would be some overlapping with the problem just mentioned but still there seems to be sufficient source material to warrant a study of the topic in its own right. Such a study would provide an opportunity to examine in detail his outlook on the Greeks and the modern world's debt to them, a debt which he consistently maintains is a large one. It is a universally acknowledged fact that Sir Livingstone is a classicist; the study suggested here might have as its purpose to justify the extent of this claim.

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The central theme of this book is that the only valid foundation on which freedom can rest are the truths of right philosophy and Divine Revelation, and the obligation of education to further the ideals of Christian democracy.

Richards, H. E., "Contemporary Education and Sir Richard Livingstone", Religion in Life, Vol. 18, Spring Number, 1949, p. 251-269.

A description of Livingstone as pointing out the issue between "Project and Probity". The article has something of a halo effect.

Stanley, William O., Education and Social Integration, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1953, vii-290 p.

Social education in the light of principles which seem to exaggerate the functions of society.

-----, B. Smith et al., Social Foundations of Education, New York, Dryden Press, 1956, xvii-638 p.

An eclectic approach to the foundations of social education, interrelating sociology, cultural anthropology, economics, political and social theory, social psychology, and educational psychology and including authors ranging in their outlook from conservative to radical positions.

Steiner, Celestin J., "Our Catholic College and Adult Education", Bulletin National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C., The Association, August 1956, p. 147-148.

An answer to the question: What is the meaning of adult education?

Thelen, Herbert A. and Jacob W. Getzels, "Symposium: Social Sciences and Education", School Review, Vol. 65, Autumn 1957, p. 245-355.

A conservative view of the contribution to education of Social Anthropology, Economics, History, Law, Psychology, Sociology and Geography.

Walah, James T., Facing Your Social Situation, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1949, x-237 p.

An introduction to Social Psychology. The rational and Christian approach to the subject is discussed.

Willmann, Otto, Science of Education, Vol. 1, Translated by Felix M. Kirsch, Latrobe, Pa., The Archabbey Press, 1930, xvi-358.

Historical types of education by a master in the field of social education. Confirmation of the thesis that social education cannot be separated from individual education.

Willmann, Otto, Science of Education, Vol. 2, Translated by Felix M. Kirsch, Latrobe, Pa., The Archabbey Press, 1930, xxiii-493 p.

Curriculum of the schools is the main theme. The author's theory of social education is woven into the fibre of this book. As a reference for social education it is excellent.

"New President of Corpus, Oxford", Times Educational Supplement, No. 952, July 29, 1933, p. 253.

A tribute to Livingstone at the time of his appointment as President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

"Northern Ireland", Times Educational Supplement, No. 953, August 5, 1933, p. 258.

Commendation of Livingstone for his work as President of Queen's University, Belfast, and regret at his leaving.

"Classicist", Time, Vol. 48, July 15, 1946.

A portrait of Livingstone depicting his views on education and giving a brief resumé of his activities in the field of education.

APPENDIX 1

COPY OF LIVINGSTONE'S LETTER

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14 Rawlinson Road
Oxford

Dear Sister Nolasco,

I shall of course be very glad to be of any help that I can. I only regret that I shall not have the interest of reading your thesis.

'Who's Who' will give you all the details of my life that you need. Since I took my degree, it falls into three periods: 19 years of teaching from 1904-23; ten years of administration as head of Queen's University at Belfast; 16 years as President of Corpus Christi College till my retirement in 1950. Since then I have spent several periods in North America which I have visited ten times.

You have already a very complete list of my writings. I have sent you under separate cover a few things which have not come your way. I also gave two lectures under the Pitcairn Crabbe Foundation at Pittsburgh which appeared in a volume on 'Modern Education and Human Values'. But I doubt if you would get anything from them which you have not got already, or from my Presidential Address to the British Association's Education Section in 1936, which has ideas developed later in 'The Future in Education'.

My earlier writings, on Ancient Greece, came from my strong belief in the importance of preserving our classical heritage as a part of Western Civilization and not merely as a study for scholars. Civilization gets its soul from Christianity and Ancient Greece and the latter is the forerunner of the former. (The Catholic Church has never forgotten this). So I tried to write about Greek Civilization in a way intelligible to the ordinary educated reader. (I think that the 'Legacy of Greece' was a particularly useful book for this purpose; and it continues a steady sale after more than 30 years). I also published translations (with notes) from Greek Literature, and of some great Greek books.

My later books have been on education. I am no 'educationist'; they are based on my experience as a teacher, in the university and, for a short period, at Eton, trying to see how my pupils reacted to education. This and a visit to Denmark (about 1926), when I saw something of the Danish Folk High School, convinced me of the importance of adult education and of the advantages of its residential form.

I might mention two other problems to which I think that not enough attention has been given. The first of these is the importance of giving everybody at least the opportunity of forming a clear philosophy of life (you will see my views in the Lecture 'Some Thoughts on University Education' which I have sent you).

The other problem which I feel does not engage nearly enough attention is the Training of Character. Two of the papers which I sent you deal with this, and one on 'Plato and the Education of Character' is to appear in the November issue of 'The Educational Forum'.

I note that my Rede Lecture at Cambridge on 'Plato and Modern Education' does not appear in the list of my writings which I sent you. It summarizes many of my views on education and I think might interest you. (I have a special fondness for it). Unfortunately I have no spare copy of it and I fancy it is out of print. It was published by the Cambridge Press in the United States by the Macmillan Company.

Perhaps I may add that of the Greek writers I owe most to Plato. Anyone who has read the Apology and Phaedo and Republic, Thucydides, and Aristotle's Ethics and Politics, seems to me to have a good liberal education.

I hope these notes are the sort of thing you want. If I can do anything further, do not hesitate to let me know.

With best wishes to you and your work

Yours sincerely

(Signed) R. Livingstone

APPENDIX 2

ABSTRACT OF Sir Richard W. Livingstone:
Social Educator

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Sir Richard W. Livingstone: Social Educator¹

This study was an attempt to determine, from an analysis of his writings, whether Sir Richard W. Livingstone might be considered a Social Educator.

An inductive procedure was followed in making the appraisal. Sir Livingstone's views on individual, social and adult education were developed and then evaluated in the light of criteria which had been formulated from a synthesis of the thinking of representative writers in the field of education.

As a preliminary step the historical background for the study was established by a short biographical sketch and a brief discussion of Sir Livingstone as a writer, a classicist and a critic.

From an analysis of his writings with respect to individual education the characteristic notes of his theory of education were found to be respect for the human personality and the all-round development of that personality, in its physical, vocational, intellectual, moral and spiritual

¹ Sister M. Nolasco, doctoral thesis presented to the School of Psychology and Education of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, 1959, xii-236 p.

aspects.

A study of his views on social education revealed his conviction of the need of social training to supplement individual training as well as his acceptance of the principle that respect for the human personality is the basis of all social education. It also revealed his recognition of the contribution to the education of the individual of the various socializing agencies, namely, the family, the Church, the school, the community, the state and the international society.

As an adult educator he was found to be aware of the urgency of adult education and the many problems associated with establishing a national system of adult education.

The following criteria for a social educator were used to make the evaluation: (1) Does he respect the human being as an individual? (2) Does he consider social education to be the complement of individual education? (3) Does he recognize the urgency of adult education? (4) Does he regard Christianity as fundamental to education? His views were weighed against these criteria and judged adequate to warrant the conclusion that Sir Livingstone may be considered a Social Educator.