The monograph provides a historical perspective on the role that liberal arts has played in preparing individuals for careers and examines the role it will have to play if the liberal arts are to remain a meaningful form of education. The argument has four parts. First, it examines recent definitions of career education as an education calculated to ask with particular clarity what a person's vocational and life purposes are. Second, it examines the history of liberal education from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries as an education also calculated to refine people's vocational skills and shape their life purposes. Third, it examines deviant nineteenth century traditions which argue for the separation of education from the formation of vocational or life purposes in the interest of a pursuit of knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Fourth, it displays how the older marketplace version of liberal education also persisted through the nineteenth century up to today and how effective modern versions of this sort of education have emerged which emphasize that a liberal arts education must be open to the real world. It concludes that the new career education and a reformed liberal arts study can and must support one another. (Author)
THE LIBERAL ARTS
AND CAREER EDUCATION:
A Look at the Past and the Future

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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THE LIBERAL ARTS AND CAREER EDUCATION

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This paper, one of a series of monographs being issued by the Office of Career Education, is written primarily for those working in career education, particularly those who have an interest in the relationship of career education to the liberal arts.

The purpose of this monograph is to provide an historical perspective to the role liberal arts has played in preparing individuals for careers, and to examine the role it will have to play if the liberal arts are to remain a meaningful and useful education.

The question of the relationship between career education and liberal arts education has often been raised, in some cases, the traditions of liberal education have been seen as incompatible with the emphases of career education. This essay argues that the tradition of the liberal arts is compatible with the goals of career education and that some new forms of liberal education which are developing have much in common with more recent formulations of the goals of the career education program.

The argument has four parts.

First, it examines recent definitions of career education as an education calculated to ask with particular clarity what a person's vocational and life purposes are:

Second, it examines the history of liberal education from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries as an education also calculated to refine people's vocational skills and shape their life purposes.

Third, it examines deviant nineteenth century traditions which argue for the separation of education from the formation of vocational or life purposes in the interest of a pursuit of "knowledge for the sake of knowledge".

Fourth, it displays how the older marketplace version of liberal education also persisted through the nineteenth century up to today and how effective modern versions of this sort of education have emerged which emphasize that a liberal arts education must be open to the real world, respectful of the pluralistic cultural history of the country and of the mode of the culture which it serves, dedicated to inviting the student to define his life purposes and career purposes in relation to his group, and conducted in a sufficiently small
The recommendation is simple. Recent changes in the mode of liberal education are consonant with recent proposals for change in the organization of the common schools and of industry, changes which are designed to make each of these more effective agents of career education. It follows then that the new career education and a reformed liberal arts study can support each other and must do so. Career education can contribute its concern for making education ask the question "What am I for?"; "What is my job?"; it can contribute its explicit knowledge of new management modes and new ways of building institutions to bridge the distance between the marketplace and the classroom window. The liberal arts can contribute their experience of long standing in relating theory and practice and the experience and skill which they have recently picked up while developing units to bridge precisely the same distance which career education is supposed to bridge. The cluster college, the field work center, the "without walls" university, the contracted in-community practicum for looking at the practical implications and limitations of a theoretical formulation.
One should not have to write a statement about the relationship between the liberal arts and education for a career. Most Americans who think of themselves as having careers—"career diplomats," "career bureaucrats," "career women," "career poets"—think of themselves as free women and men, educated in a liberal fashion. Career education is supposed to prepare people for work in the sense of "life's work" to assist women and men to become complete unalienated persons having a purpose for living and acting. It may be argued that education which prepares people to be purposive individuals and part of a purposive society is the only kind of education that social groups can sustain with any intensity of economic or spiritual support. We may have had plenty of education for stupidity, in Jules Henry's phrase, and plenty of education for alienation, in Kenneth Keniston's. But that is not what we pay for. We pay for an education which will make us free and endow us with purposiveness.

Career education, for one reason or another, partly because of the circumstances in which it was first proposed, has come under attack as diffuse, anti-professional, anti-intellectual, and anti-humanistic. These charges may be true of some of the forms of career education defined in some of the state or local school districts or defined by the producers of career education materials. In this essay, I do not wish to speak to all of those forms, only to the statement about Career Education contained in James O'Toole's *Work in America*, that contained in James Coleman's (and others') *Youth in Transition*, and those contained in the present U.S. Office of Education definition, and in the present Federal legislation authorizing career education. As I understand the Career Education described by these definitions, it is an effort.

- To ask people, through education, to conceptualize their lives in terms of some extended or long-term meaning fulfilled in service to others;

- To move both education and the world of work toward more decentralized and "democratic" or "participatory" modes of making decisions, setting goals, and assessing what has been done in an institutional context so as to reduce the elements of coercion and alienation.

- To develop meaningful relationships between the village square and the academic groves—developing a whole series of structures for bringing together the worlds of work, education, childrearing, and culture which would involve universities without walls,
learning networks, work-study situations in which theory is used to transform the work situation, and so forth.

Career education is thus a program to create a new sense of purpose for individual lives, to create a new sense of democratic responsibility and self-fulfillment in our overly-mechanized, bureaucratized central work and study institutions, and, at the community level, to recreate the sense of participation, consonance, and collegiality among the institutions of a community, particularly among those which reach into, and out from education.

A name, a misused conception, a definition can destroy a program. But on the other hand, names can give a program its sense of integrity and mission. The recent, most vigorous sponsors of the career education bill were Senator Hathaway and Representative Quie, hardly repressive figures. The persons who have contributed in a major way to the ideology of Career Education include persons whose work could hardly be considered products of racism, secular puritanism, or hatred for youth such persons as James Coleman, James O'Toole, and Tom Green. It will not do to argue that, if some springs of a program are polluted, therefore no useful waters can flow from it. I wish in this essay to argue that the history of the liberal arts in the Western world prior to the nineteenth century is the history of a movement designed to make men more purposive in their service to others and more creative in using theory or research to transform work and that what is needed now is (1) a recapturing of the old vision, and (2) a rejection of its anti-democratic bias as well as of the apparent elitist or classist biases of some early forms of career education. If these two things are done—and they are in the process of being done—we may well be able to use the new emphasis on bringing together the school and the marketplace to make both more decent places. I wish to treat first of the history of liberal education in this connection and then of its future.

The original medieval conception of the liberal arts gave rise to the twelfth century schools and the thirteenth century universities. The technical distinction between the liberal arts and the practical arts as it was set forth in Roman times, was not a particularly meaningful distinction to the masters of the twelfth century in that the conditions of freedom and of "slavery" had changed radically by the thirteenth century. However, some knowledge of the classical background is necessary to an understanding of the later shifts. The liberal arts, according to those who thought about them in classical times, were the arts which belonged to a free man, responsible and capable of determining his own direction, whereas the technical arts were those of a slave who had to
be guided as to purpose and could learn only the tricks of the trade. The difference lay in the degree of responsibility which one could take for one's own labor. For most classical thinkers, the study of the liberal arts was never divorced from work and general civic activity. Aristotle develops another conception much admired in the nineteenth century of the free man, the man given over to eudaemonia—the intellectual contemplation of "leisure which looks on the nature of things" examining them for what they are as apart from any civic appropriation. Tragedy, in Aristotle's world, is designed to appeal to eudaemonic man. Aristotle's picture of the leisure, or the free, class as given over to eudaemonia is at variance with Plato's tougher picture of the contemplative as a man who looks on the image of justice and is also the ruler of the ideal republic. It is from Plato that Cicero develops his somewhat similar Roman republican vision of the educated man as contemplative and ruler simultaneously. In Cicero's Republic (modeled on Plato's but set in history), the dream of Scipio is used as a vehicle for telling Scipio how to rule the commonwealth of Rome and how to serve the common profit of the people there. And Scipio's conception of the distinction between the liberal and the practical foreshadows the medieval conception. Chaucer paraphrases Cicero's conception nicely:

Thanne preythe hym Scipion to telle hym al
The wye to come into that hevene blisse.
And he seyde, "Know thyself first immortal,
And look ay besyly thow werche and wyssse
To commune profit, and thow shalt not myssse
To comen swiftly to that place deere
That ful of blysse is and of soules cleere."

Cicero's own mandate, put in the mouth of Scipio the Elder, is clearer as to the consequences of right contemplation:

Nothing that occurs on earth, indeed, is more gratifying to that supreme God who rules the whole universe than the establishment of associations and federations of men bound together by precepts of justice which are called commonwealths. Indeed, Cicero is not far from setting forth the paradigm for the "liberal arts" in the middle ages. The development of the conception of liberal education as we know it comes from the twelfth century growth under the auspices of Christian secular clergy in Paris and environs and, to some degree, in the English mid-country, of those grammar schools which foreshadowed the development of the University of Paris and Oxford and Cambridge. The most helpful introduction to those schools were written by schoolmen themselves: Hugo St. Victor, his Didascallon, and John of Salisbury, his Metalogicon. Whereas many things went into the resurrection of humanistic
studies at the schools of the twelfth century, it is clear that a primary impetus for their growth was the hope that, by studying more deeply in the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium, men would learn how better to explain the Bible so as to live, in a collective sense, more purposefully charitable lives. The revival of exegesis was connected to an effort to create a cadre of priests and Biblical exegetes who could serve the parishes more effectively. The three verbal subjects in the trivium (rhetoric, grammar, and logic) were studied as means to understand the verbal surfaces of the scriptural texts (and also classical texts). The four scientific subjects of the quadrivium (music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy) were taught to impart an understanding of the nature of things so that the scriptures, poetry, and experiences, which depended on seeing meaning in things would be understood. Students who studied at the schools of Paris and mid-country England were often not “career scholars.” They were men who were in search of a purpose and a place: A place at the secular or ecclesiastical courts, in the diplomatic or legal corps. Their period in school was not unrelated to a purposeful and a vocational emphasis. Indeed, the whole discipline of the liberal arts in the twelfth century was directed toward the discovery of purpose in life. Hugo of St. Victor speaks of the quadrivium and trivium as designed to help people understand the words of texts and the things of nature in a way which leads to the double love of God and neighbor, the guiding purposes of man’s existence. Whether such goals were always kept in mind or not is not entirely clear, but it is clear that men who studied and pondered and argued and gave their lives for a good portion of their lives to books in the twelfth century did see themselves as finding new meaning for those lives. This meaning may have been, in the case of an Abelard, an ascetic meaning very remote from the meanings which most modern men are likely to find as a consequence of “liberal” or any other study.

Through the senses as if through certain windows there is formed an entrance into the soul for vices. The capital and stronghold and fortress of the mind cannot be seized unless the hostile army passes through its gates. If anyone is delighted by the circus, by the contest of athletes, by the gestures of actors, by the beauty of women, by the splendor of gems, or of clothes, or of other similar things, the liberty of the mind is captured through the windows of the eyes, and the prophetic saying is fulfilled. “Death is come up through our windows” [Jer 9:21]. Thus when battle wedges of the passions enter into the fortress of our minds through these portals, where is the mind’s liberty? its tortitude? its thought of God? Especially when the sense of touch pictures, for itself past pleasures, and through memory forces the mind in a certain way to suffer them and in a way to experience them, what does the mind not actually perform?
Moved by these reasons many philosophers have relinquesh the crowds of the cities....

The Pythagoreans, declining this kind of resort, used to live in solitary and deserted places. Even Plato himself, although he may have been a wealthy man whose couch Diogenes used to trample down with muddy feet, in order that he might devote himself to philosophy chose for his Academy a villa remote from the city that was not only wasteland but unhealthy as well, so that the force of libido might be broken through the care and anxiety of diseases, and so that his disciples might find no other pleasures except in those things they learned.  

Abelard seems to propose a purely "removed" conception of intellectual life. But given the twelfth century's conception of the function of the liberal arts, as practical and purposed, it is not altogether surprising that even an Abelard, one of the great teachers of the twelfth century and one of its great contemplatives, developed the orderly praxis of a model society, the convent of the Paraclete where through the liturgical and work routine designed by him, the Paraclete nuns carried into worship, action and work, his vision of an ascetic society.

Generally theoretical studies in the liberal arts of the twelfth century schools were fitted to giving one a sense of religious-philosophic purpose for life and potent in giving one some of the skills necessary for action in the upper reaches of the ecclesiastical or civil courts, they were also important tools in the shaping of the the tasks of the practical or vocational artist. Otto von Simson has shown how the Gothic cathedrals of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, from the Abbey at St. Denis to the Cathedral at Chartres, were informed, in their architectural design and workmanship, by a sense of numerology, proportion, and harmony developed by quadrivium studies, and by their metaphysics of light. He has also shown how much of the architectural adornment of the medieval cathedral grew out of trivium studies of the Biblical iconography and symbolism. The great cathedrals of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were not simply a product of art for the sake of art; they were an eudolon through which the civilization mediated its own sense of what it was and what was its purpose for being, an artifact in which the intellectual, the technician, and the clerical politician collaborated and in which their roles overlapped.

The practical functions for the liberal arts study did not change radically with the rise of the university in the thirteenth century. Anyone who has scoured the bibliography of Oxford scholars covering the thirteenth through the early sixteenth centuries done by A. B. Emden will discover how closely
the "liberal arts" curriculum of the medieval university was attached to specific vocations. The vocations of bureaucrat, clerk of the court, parish priest, parish clerk, barrister, lawyer, diplomatic courier, and diplomat. The medieval university "liberal arts" program was a career education program which provided people with the basic skills necessary to a whole range of legal, quasi-legal, and ecclesiastical vocations requiring literacy in Latin, a capacity to do a careful exegesis and application of one or another kind of text, sophistication in logical analysis and argument, and a range of formal oratorical and disputational skills. It is difficult to trace exactly when these so-called "arts of the free man" came to be deemed important to leaders in the civil courts as well. It is clear that by the late fourteenth century with the courts of Charles V of France and Richard II of England, the secular prince and his bureaucracy were also expected to know the liberal arts to carry on their business and not simply to depend on clerks.

As the history of Western education progresses, there are few radical changes in the basic medieval ideology with respect to liberal education. In the sixteenth century, there is something of a fight with respect to the inclusion of the mathematical subjects basic to sixteenth and seventeenth-century science on the grounds both of the superior theoretical content of the new information and its possible practical application. There is a continuing debate with respect to the uses of rhetoric in relation to grammar and dialectic whether grammar ought to be placed in the grammar school or in the university and whether it ought to be placed in either place primarily for its theoretical, scholarly content or for its practical value in assisting people in the writing of letters and the performing of routine civic responsibilities. There is the Ramistic debate about rhetoric as the search for persuasive truth or the search simply for persuasive capacity—a debate very germane to our times. But all of these were debates as to the form of the practical uses of liberal education, not as to whether it was a practical, career-oriented pursuit.

In more recent times, the ancient-modern debate at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, whether the "ancient" (classical) or "modern" (Renaissance and post-Renaissance scientific and vernacular) subjects in the liberal curriculum were valuable, did not change the prevailing sense that liberal studies were to inform the wisdom, purposefulness, and practical sense of the career man. Swift's Munodi, the fictional representative of the ancients, is a learned practical farmer with a strong sense of career. Sprat, on the other hand, said that the moderns would produce Bacon's "New Atlantis." What was in dispute was whether certain empirical studies and certain reinterpretations of the physical world developed by the modern physical scientists ought to be included in the curriculum to maximize its practical usefulness. Neither side in the ancient-modern controversy took the view that the function of the liberal disciplines was learning for the sake of learning. The function of the new disciplines was purposive and practical. The advocates of the Royal Society's position speak of "the
promotion of useful knowledge," or "useful arts" (Bacon before he had
spoken in the same vein). The early Royal Society members' letters to the kind
and to the various patrons stress the useful job-related content largely in the
theoretical investigations which were about to be pursued. The whole design of
the Royal Society was built up against the background of the new
purposefulness which the nation hoped it would develop under Charles II as
part of the royal ascendency and the dawning of a new peculiarly British-style
monarchy.

Obviously the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also saw the growth of
the university "gentleman," the antiquarian, the university "grand touring"
effete, and decadent, products of ages of wealth and of wealthy classes for
whom learning was a decoration. John Cleland's Memoirs of an Oxford Scholar
suggests that liberal higher education for the eighteenth century gentleman
could smell more of the boudoir than the study and could be pretty largely
divorced from the sense of career, vocation, or life's work. And Kenneth
Charlton remarks how the "grand tour" lost the practical functions which
earlier periods had attributed to it.

Whereas the chief purpose of the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century was cultural, this was not the case
in its nascent years in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then the aim was strictly "useful" and
"practical," to gain practical experience of other countries, of foreign people, of their languages, and of
the terrain and resources of these countries. All of which would be useful in a future diplomatic or
political career. At the same time as the Latin language was ceasing to be the vernacular for
ecclesiastical, diplomatic, legal, and learned discussion, Latinists began to argue
for Latin as "a mental discipline" independent of civic usefulness, when the
trium-quadrivium learning of the old schools lost its clear civic functions, it
too became "useful as a discipline." Thus, Charles W. Llot, in his great article,
"What is a Liberal Education," (1884) could, looking backward, argue that the
"mental discipline" developed by a study of Euclid and Archimedes could in
no way be replaced by modern "analytic mathematics" (i.e., algebra, analytical
gemetry, calculus, quaternions) which might be more practical but less useful
for mental training.

Simultaneous with the eighteenth and early nineteenth century development of a range of conceptions of education divorced from vocation and from
life purpose came the gradual dissolution of the old world of villages, small
group organizations, guilds and corporations described in Jan Van den Berg's
Changing Nature of Man, a world which did not change radically in rural areas
between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. The new world was a
world of mobile populations in Europe, Africa, Asia, and America—between
them, of routinized and alienated work of massive and unit industry, and
equally massive and alienating neighborhoods. It was a world which had
seemingly set aside the old communal in the city and urban districts which had
claimed a divine sanction; a world seeking a secular order—spurred by the muses
of Reason and Experience. It was a world where individualistic "careers" were
possible—with all the good and bad that that implies.

II

The nineteenth century is the watershed. To move from the world of
Fielding and Austin to the world of Dickens is to move to a world where
education and liberal education have different purposes in relation both to jobs
and life-purpose. The old vocation-oriented "liberal arts" of the ancien regime
had lost both their idiom and functions. The French Revolution required that
the educated dilettantism of the old master classes, if it was to survive, become
deeper thing and be given serious justifications. Clearly, the torch had passed
from the university to those centers outside the university where science in the
eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had had its primary development and
from the petty school to the trade schools whose factories prepared young men
and women for the more skilled manual enterprises. Whereas the French
Revolution had created the theory of a public schooling which is free,
universal, compulsory, and utilitarian—yet allowing full scope for the develop-
ment of "human understanding without any need of supernatural revela-
tion," its great destructive work was to uproot the Latin-based institutions
of the old order and their conception of human learning and its great real-life
achievement was to establish the centers of pragmatic study called "institutes".

In the English-speaking world, no French Revolution and no Napoleon
altered the basic structure of institutions, but the old vocational order and also
the old aristocratic order were as surely things of the past, in impulse if not in
behavior. Bentham's education papers and his University College are the
dividing place in England, betokening the rise of utilitarianism in education.26
The new order was either to be a higher dilettantism, a defending of university
study as everywhere concerned with mental discipline as separated from
contingencies, or it was to be an order which made university "liberal studies" serv-
ants of industry, of a new scientific vocation, and of the new applied
policy-studies such as economics.

Newman and Mill spoke for the first conception. Newman could both point
out that eighteenth and early nineteenth century scientific advances had not
been made in the "liberal arts" universities and also argue for a university
centered at liberal education defined as "knowledge which stands on its own
pretensions, which is independent of sequel, expects no complement, refuses to
be informed by art and so absorbed into any art. Mill, who was at the
other end of the political spectrum from Newman argued in his inaugural
address as Rector of St. Andrews for a university which did not "fit men for
some social model, or make them the fellows of the skilled lawyers and
physicians or engineers," but "rather capable and cultured human beings."
On the other hand, T. H. Huxley, who had a position similar to Mill's at
Aberdeen University, emphasized the importance of contingent learning as
cultivation and placed education at the heart of the scientific, industrial, and
community building enterprise.

One can observe the dialectics between the utilitarians and the purists in
England metaphorically represented in the tension between Dickens' Gradgrind
(the utilitarian educator featured in Hard Times) and his Sleary, of Sleary's
Circus, also an educator working with the pure materials of the imagination. The
dispute also gave rise to Hastings Rashdall's great nineteenth century
history of the medieval university which drastically undercut the purists' position in pointing out "that what Victorians understood by culture was
unappreciated by the medieval intellect and that the medieval universities were
eventually concerned with professional training for life's work."

In America, the same issues were joined between the Jeremiah Day and the
Charles Eliot types, on the one hand, and the George E. Howard types, the
proponents of the Morrill Act and the Drexel Institute, on the other Howard,
in 1881, is very clear about what the state university and the state school are
for.

The common school as a political institution is already thoroughly affiliated
with other members of the social body. It no longer sustains merely a
relation to the social organism; it has become a part of it. It is a township in
miniature, whose meeting votes taxes and makes by-laws as naturally as does
the town meeting itself.

The secularization of higher education has been a matter of much slower
growth, and the causes are not far to seek. In method, organism, and
sometimes in spirit, the foundations of the colonial era were reproductions
of Cambridge or Oxford colleges. The principal defects of the English
system were perpetuated. The English universities were modeled directly
upon the University of Paris, and therefore were dominated by monastic
traditions. They were state institutions placed in subordination to a church
establishment. Most of the early American colleges were intended prac-
tically to be the same. In fact, if not always in theory, they represented the
union of church and state. They were created primarily to provide a learned
ministry, and next for the general public. good Divinity, mathematics, and
the dead languages—the principal elements of the traditional "classical"
course, until a few years since the only honorable part of our curriculum—
were the chief subject of study.
A second and more important step was taken in 1862. By the Morrill Act of that year one of the noblest monuments of American statesmanship, every State is given thirty thousand acres of land "in place" or its equivalent in "scrip," for each of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, for the purpose of endowing at least one college, where the leading object shall be, "without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." Here the central thought is utility, to do something for society which the existing colleges are not doing. In his own words, the fundamental idea of Senator Morrill was to assist "those much needing higher education for the world's business." 

One important element of a real university is inherent in the very nature of a university supported by the State, she must, when fully developed, aim at the universitas of knowledge. For her curriculum must satisfy the demands of a complex and progressive society, whose creature she is. First of all, a helping hand must be extended to the industries. The natural and physical sciences hold, and must continue to hold, a very high place in the academic life. Costly laboratories filled with expensive appliances are rapidly appearing. These challenge public appreciation, and money, therefore, is freely supplied. Nor are studies sometimes regarded as less practical neglected. Classical and modern philology have found a congenial home in the West. Sanskrit has gained zealous votaries beyond the Missouri. There also, a laboratory of psychophysiology has been erected by a disciple of Wundt. Colleges of medicine and law are likewise coming in response to popular demand. For in few things is the State more deeply concerned than in the growth of medical science. And in an age of social revolution, when every part of our legal and constitutional system is being probed to the bottom, when legislation is resorted to more and more as a healing for every public ill, real or imaginary, the State surely has urgent need of an educated bar as a safeguard to herself. 

But in no way does the State university discharge her public trust more faithfully than in the study of those questions which directly concern the life and structure of our social organization. Administration, finance, constitutional history, constitutional law, comparative politics, railroad problems, corporations, forestry, charities, statistics, political economy—a crowd of topics, many of which a few years ago were unheard of in the schools, are being subjected to scientific treatment. Unless I greatly misapprehend the nature of the crisis which our nation has reached, it is in the absolute necessity of providing the means of instruction in these branches that we may find a very strong, if not unanswerable, argument in favor of the public support of higher education. Henceforth the State must concern herself with the economics of government and with the pathology.
of the social organism. The fact is that in the science of administration, municipal, state, or central, we are as a nation notoriously ignorant. Beguiled by the abundance of our resources, we have allowed ourselves to become awkward and wasteful in nearly every department. But the growing discontent and misery of the people admonish us that the time for reform has come. Hereafter taxation and finance, the tariff and corporations, labor and capital, social evils and the civil service, must absorb the attention of statesmen. How, all these things are precisely the problems which can be solved successfully only by specialists. Surely the outlook is full of promise. I do not believe that in the end the ideal of culture will be lowered by too fierce utilitarianism. True, a new standard of culture may be established, one which shall adjust itself from generation to generation, according to the conceptions of an advancing civilization and a new definition of culture may be constructed, one which shall embrace the industries and the mechanic arts.\textsuperscript{34}

The new university is to be secular, the servant of industry and the State. It is to prepare people for the vocations and professions. It is to lead in the democratization of society and the production of affluence. It is to be liberal in its concern to provide people with theoretical and scientific perspectives for handling day-to-day industrial activities and secular in its formation of human values—drawing its inspiration from no single sectarian forms. The new university is to be large, Germanic and specialized. Howard's view has prevailed in America. One would wager that well over fifty per cent of America's youth who enter higher education attend institutions like those which Howard envisaged.

Howard's 1881 view of what the universities and common schools were to be made sense to those who ruled American education as long as there was a widespread belief:

- That what industry and government were doing for America was benign, a not uncommon assumption during the period "when the West was Won."

- That the university as a secular institution served a variety of communities which did have roots, assisting all in a neutral symmetrical way.

- That the life purposes of people were formed by their own religious communities or by some common consensus-based sense of rational morality—in Howard's vision a morality free of class spirit, filled with a sense of social duty, honest, truthful, manly, sincere, conscientious and concerned to try all things at the bar of "teaching by investigation."

Such a vision of the university is essentially what America has had as its "career education-liberal arts university" for the last century. The schools have
emulated the universities, particularly the comprehensive high schools. The vision has served well some segments of the society—those described at the beginning of this section. It cannot serve entirely adequately in a new period.

Now large segments of our populace do not accept on faith—cannot so believe—that the intentions of industry and government are benign, that the university or the common schools have served all communities equally. Few would argue that "life purpose" can safely be left out of education because it is adequately handled by religion. And almost no one would say that there is a melting pot common morality assented to by all decent cultures and people in the country.

The school and higher education have ceased to be the servants of society and become its ends—its primary social institutions, having a budget larger than the military. monster-mothers in which the citizen can be eggcrated and protected from socially "full participation" as much as he is exposed to it, in which large numbers of youth can be kept from finding responsibility or work and in which they may be defended by a questioning mode, from ever making the leaps which are required for finding a purpose.

The new "liberal arts career education" university or common school, if it is to amount to anything, will have to have a new ethos and purpose and will have to show several things:

- It will have to show that the processes of industry and government are sufficiently open, sufficiently participatory and concerned for citizen-worker interest, to earn a confidence which will inspire some faith in education related to each. Education related to industry and government, whether career education or any other sort of education, must, on the other hand, emphasize the critical as well as the acculturational functions of education sufficiently to insure "full participation" to young and adult citizens on grounds other than victimization. In connection with understanding modern business, this would, at the least, mean education in such matters as the nature and structure of modern capitalism, alternative modes of organizing work and workplaces, the nature of the stock market, of modern power structures, of legal rights and constraints, on modern labor. It would include education in the relationships between work, education, and play (expressive activity) and in the characteristics of pre-industrial, and industrial and post-industrial societies in each of these areas. It would bring people into a living relationship with the history of labor unions and other agencies designed to secure a participatory voice for labor, including education in such matters as labor law and the expressive culture of the labor movement. It would talk about how licensing and placement processes work. Similar things might be said about the governmental processes.
- It will have to show that the university and the common schools can respond better in a more neutral way to the constituent interest groups to which they relate. They should be able to do this along lines set forth, with respect to testing, by Justice Douglas in the De Funis case and in other areas along lines set forth by a series of court decisions summarized by Lawrence Freeman in his "Some Legal Developments and Their Possible Impact on the Future of Education."

- It will have to show that the community and education can provide institutions—religious or secular—in which people's life purposes can be formed or in which the question of life purpose is seriously tested in interaction with a human group with whom the young person identifies and in which he has the right to "maximum employment" and "full participation." Such groups would make no assumptions, beyond those asserted by the courts, as to the "uniformity of common values in America." They would admit, for each culture and community, that there are different ways of coming to a sense of citizenship, obligation to the group, and "participation."

Such an education would recognize that, in a mobile secular society, the condition of anomie is very general and that its being overcome is likely to depend on the creation of new sorts of social institutions in which, following Lytton and Scott and Van den Berg and other UNESCO studies, no one stands alone. Work is not separated from play or recreation, in which the important groups are small and open; and in which continuity is sustained by expressive institutions—customs, traditions, attitudes—which give both education and labor meaning.35

One form of "liberal education" which career education might support, might well be like that described in the Western Association of Schools and Colleges 1973 accreditation report for Johnston College.

Students and faculty agree on the selection of courses (seminar and tutorial) offerings for each semester and negotiate next the nature of student and faculty responsibility for the conduct of the course. Each student actually renders a written record of his intentions for the course, against which his final performance is compared by the instructor in a written evaluation that replaces letter grading. Accountability covers faculty performance, too, with each instructor's work evaluated in separate written reports by each student. (These reports comprise official evidence that enters into the process of faculty retention and re-hiring.)

Thus supply-and-demand model within a system of shared power between students and faculty means that neither party bends totally to the other's purpose. The faculty appears fully able to manage the unpredictable stresses of contractual education. The primary identification of faculty seems to be
with Johnston as a whole and, thus to the unifying philosophy of contractual agreements. Faculty have imposed no detracting departmental or other power structures on themselves not the segregating effects of the standard ladder of academic ranks. As we have already stated, faculty members have arranged governance in such a manner as to facilitate their quite total engrossment in the task of shaping and implementing an overall medium of contractual learning.

Johnston has increasingly opted for the development of this medium and has become less beholden to specific contents of learning. Fixed categories of educational experience characterize almost all curriculum plans. Johnston, however, has departed from this conventional pattern. Its experimentation has been daring, and—as far as the Visiting Committee can judge—it has been successful. From the inception of Johnston College, experimentation has been safeguarded by the absence of academic-departmental structures, prescribed subject concentrations (majors), or fixed graduation requirements in terms of residence or credit loads. In this has probably been—partly, at least—the secret of its success.

In giving such priority to the contract concept and to the explorations launched under it, Johnston is willing to confront and test the consequence of this learning medium, its pitfalls and its strengths. The near absence of other systematic learning philosophies (such as core curricula) is a wise avoidance of basically competing strategies that would likely obscure a clear evaluation of the road which Johnston has felt, more and more, is the right one for itself.

The off-campus program, aside from an immensely relevant curriculum on campus (relevant to Johnston students’ and faculty members’ present needs and interests and possible future needs and interests), is an exciting and significant segment of learning that takes place off-campus. The 1973 Visiting Committee sampled this program by visiting one of the off-campus programs at Indio where a group of Johnston students are working for a year as intern correctional officers in a Riverside County facility for juveniles who have been arrested. We cannot report in detail here, but the Visiting Committee members were delighted and favorably impressed with every aspect of this program. Our impression was that the educational experiences gained there are of great value to the students. The students were making decisions that had an important impact on peoples’ lives. Accordingly, they took their decision-making seriously, and they revealed a sense of fulfillment when their decisions proved to be good.

As for other off-campus programs, judging by the written and oral descriptions of them, we believe them also to be of high educational value. It is important to see this value as central in Johnston’s scale of priorities. These programs are not primarily designed to give pre-professional training.
(though it is clear, as in the case of Indio, that they can accomplish such an objective quite nicely) but are seen as significant means of meeting the general liberal studies objectives of Johnston College.

Perhaps the boldest and most creative use of the contract concept involves the graduation contract. Two years before his projected graduation, the student prepares and presents a written record, in collaboration with his advisor, of educational work completed and a written proposal of work to be done in areas of concentration corresponding with career commitments. For as many times as the student may redefine his plans thereafter, the graduation contract is presented to a standing graduation-contract committee of faculty and students. A separate student-faculty review committee determines whether the work of the approved contract has been satisfactorily done.

The tally between the practice and theory of the graduation contract is impressive. The student's quest to reconcile past record with future proposal leads to contracts that are often profoundly incisive documents of personal development and identity. The Visiting Committee's sample readings of these contracts in both 1972 and 1973 and visits both years to graduation-contract and graduation-review committees at work impressed us with the urgency of the student's wish to reveal his intellectual growth and experience and to have his competence rigorously tested and recognized by the College.

Students' responses in our interviews with them depicted Johnston as providing an indispensable support to the development of the full person. The graduation contract was often singled out as the prime example of the integrity shown by Johnston toward student development. Obviously, graduation at Johnston is a culminating experience in a far larger sense than elsewhere, for it can be more readily timed by the student to his own rhythm and rates of mental and emotional growth rather than to the more arbitrary clockwork of standard higher education.

The sort of education described in this Johnston College accreditation report—dedicated to the development of purposefulness in a social milieu and to a sense of work (job) as a by-product—is but one sample of what liberal arts career education ought to be. The sort of education described in this accreditation report is "liberal." It is also consonant with the definitions of what career education at its best can be, definitions and rubrics set down in the Federal legislation, the OE definition, and the general prospectus provided in Youth in Transition and Work in America. It is hard to see the education described in the report as diffuse, anti-humanistic, anti-intellectual, or incompetent. "Unprofessional" it may be, but if it is, it is so only because the teaching profession has too largely defined its sense of profession in ways which isolate from criticism in the marketplace, from
man's search for meaning, and from efforts to practice activities important to the seeker after learning's conception of what it is to serve one's fellow man. 37

One may extend this argument by looking forward to what the liberal arts may have to contribute to career education, and vice versa, and to what next policy steps ought to be.

First Arts and sciences colleges in universities or independent liberal arts colleges have nothing to fear from the "vocationalism" of career education. Liberal arts training throughout the centuries has primarily been directed toward the goals of serving one or another of a range of vocations. 38 Our students are taught, in "liberal studies" courses, in school and college, to talk not only about what sort of a life they are going to live, but about what kind of job they will have and about their life's work. Career Education can serve the liberal arts not so much by altering their interest in "vocation" but making that interest explicit and simultaneously by insisting that liberal education can be something more than education for a vocation—that it be genuinely critical. If American education in the "liberal" sector suffers from anything, it suffers from being too narrowly vocational and accommodating. Too often it does not provide people with alternative theoretical perspectives which have real power in transforming the adjacent region's ecological systems or the local culture's work spaces, the conditions of malaise of oppressed cultures, and other significant political-cultural realities encountered by young people which might give them life-purpose.

Second Career education can help liberal arts programs in school and college to be clearer about the ways in which people can be assisted in developing their sense of purposefulness. One of the interesting features, one of the happy features, of American education is that it apparently does have some impact on the moral development of people. Recent studies by Kenniston and Gerzon, Newcomb, Trent and Medsker, Perry, Kohlberg and Sanford suggest that students come to college with a lack of, what I shall call for want of a better phrase, intelligent purposefulness. 39 They believe that things are either right or wrong. They are without much capacity to relate to other people or to make sense of the events around them. As they develop in college, many students come to the sense that everything is relative, that there are no norms, and that everything is a matter of private judgment. They are, as it were, on the edge of alienation—a condition career education is designed to remedy. Later they come to a sense that they do have a set of norms, they can construct a meaning for themselves, but that they have obligations to see into other persons' worlds and ways of doing
things. To this final sense needs to be added one other sense. That is, that they can surrender themselves to the common profit of the social group to which they are committed and that they have theoretical tools which can be used in that surrendering. Coleman addresses some of these problems in his suggestions to career education in *Youth*, but too little thinking and actual program work in career education has gone into this area. To assist the development of purposefulness, the teaching unit in the liberal arts college and in the schools will have to be smaller, a real community.

Third. The liberal arts segment of the schools and colleges of the nation must contribute to career education their present expertise in the relating of theory and practice—an expertise refined under the pressure of the cry for relevancy in the 60's which issued in the development of the cluster colleges, universities without walls, field-based education, the career-based institutions (such as Ferris State, The University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, and Evergreen State) and in special seminars like the Kent State Sociology Practicum. The large land-grant institutions of the country, such as Michigan State and Alabama, as well as the new institutions such as Evergreen, have participated in this effort to fuse the civic and the intellectual to give people tools for finding out what they can do and what they wish to be. This resource, created apart from Federal funds, represents an investment of millions of dollars on the part of the states and private persons, and it can give us some sense of how such liberal studies can be used in the development of the goals of career education.

Fourth: Career Education can contribute to liberal education a sense of the humane theoretical considerations which can go into the management of education. For instance, the U.S. Office of Education and Career Education can spare themselves an enormous amount of difficulty if they, in developing Competency-Based Education, attend to the critiques of the unscholarliness and inhumanity of conventional behaviorism which have been made by such linguists as Noam Chomsky, Courtney Cazden, Ron Wardaugh and individuals at the Center for Applied Linguistics. The Office of Education and Federal officials administering or seeking to establish career education's importance in American education generally will save themselves further difficulty if in developing career education's mandate for "full participation," they reject Taylorism and its narrow view of the management of work and heed the concerns for the "purposeful" and "community building" factors in work and education set forth in recent management research based on "liberal arts theory".

[The] relationship between authoritarianism and rigidity in the schoolroom and the workplace—with the implicit view of man as inherently undisciplined and ignorant—probably has not directly occurred to
modern educators. But the similarities between the processes were clear to Frederick Winslow Taylor, who wrote.

No school teacher would think of telling children in a general way to study a certain book or subject. It is particularly universal to assign each day a definite lesson beginning on one specified page and line and ending on another, and the best progress is made when a definite study hour or period can be assigned in which the lesson must be learned. Most of us remain, through a great part of our lives, in this respect, grown-up children, and do our best only under pressure of a task of comparatively short duration.

Although mass education may have served its purpose well of preparing our youth for the kind of work served up in the past, the fact that today's workers are not "grown-up children," but are revolting against authoritarianism, fragmentation, routine, and other aspects of the inherited workplace, suggests that the schools are anachronistic in their "production" methods. The success of the schools in helping to produce Industrial Man indicates they could be successful in helping to produce the Satisfied Worker yet they are mired in the model of Industrial Man.

If to produce Industrial Man, the schools had to become an "anticipatory mirror, a perfect introduction to industrial society," then to help produce the Satisfied Worker, the schools need to become another kind of anticipatory mirror, providing another perfect introduction to a changed world of work. It may be the case that a Satisfying Education would be the best precursor of Satisfying Work, and, in that sense, be a major component of "career" education.

"If the goals of education were maintaining curiosity, maintaining and building self-confidence, inducing a sense of learning and developing competence, education would be directly relevant to the major needs expressed by the workers. Some of these, it may be recalled, are the opportunity to use one's skills and education to the full, to be reasonably autonomous in doing one's work, to have a sense of accomplishment, and to have the opportunity to learn while on the job."

Such criticisms of the rigidities of the common schools and of industry, based in psychological theory which has a prominent place in liberal arts colleges, also has a meaning for those colleges which stick to rigid credit hour-contract hour units, use teacher assignments as the only mode of determining what students are to study, and use large lock-step section courses as the only means of reaching the goals of mass education.

Finally, liberal arts educators in schools and colleges can look at themselves with a view to possible restructuring in terms of the recommendations
contained in Coleman's Youth. These recommendations are designed to make education function to achieve the purposes which George Howard identified for education but which now relate to a period of growing skepticism, secularism, and anomie not in intellectual circles only but in the whole society where few people have a sense of roots and few middle level human groups seem to count for anything.

The first recommendations concern modifications of the high school, in some cases supporting existing innovations in schools, and in others proposing new directions. Two of these, closely related, are the development of more specialized schools, as distinct from current comprehensive ones, and a reduction in size of high schools. A pattern of simultaneous attendance at more than one specialized school makes possible both the benefits of specialized schools and the benefits of small size. A third proposal recommends the introduction of roles other than student role for a young person in a school, particularly that of tutoring or teaching of younger children. Finally, it is proposed that some schools experiment with acting as agent for youth in placing him in fruitful settings outside the school (not only for work experience, but through museums and other cultural institutions, for cultural enrichment as well) concurrent with his continued schooling.

The second proposal is a general encouragement for those innovations which involve a mixture of part-time work and part-time school, all the way from a daily cycle to a trimester cycle. Where those experiments are already in progress, the report calls for a careful evaluation of the results on the objectives discussed in Part I, and not only the narrow objectives of cognitive skills and job skills.

The third proposal recommends pilot programs involving a much more intimate intermixture of school and work, carried out at the workplace. The proposal is to incorporate youth into work organizations with a portion of their time reserved for formal instruction. The change envisioned would mean that persons of all ages in the work organization would engage in a mixture of roles including learning, teaching, and work.

It is proposed that the principles of residential youth communities, in which youth provide most of the services, have most of the authority, and carry most of the responsibility, be experimentally extended to non-residential settings. A youth community can provide early assumption of responsibility, and thus fulfill certain of the objectives that are necessary for the transition to adulthood. Experimentation with non-residential communities would increase our information about their benefits and liabilities, for the youth within them.

19
A sixth proposed change is the introduction, on a pilot basis, of broadly usable educational vouchers from age 16, equivalent in value to the average cost of four years of college. Such vouchers would be usable for a wide range of skill training as well as higher education. The existence of such vouchers would put the decision for further training in the hands of youth who will themselves experience the consequences, and would likely encourage wiser management of one's affairs than do current institutions.

Though those proposals are directed toward the humanizing of the common schools to make them more germane both to vocations and to the development of purpose—they are equally germane to higher education and touch at the heart of developing a liberal arts study which allows young men and women to study and simultaneously to act in manageable-size human groups on their knowledge—as citizens, critics of society, and, most of all, human beings.
FOOTNOTES:


2 The bill in Section 406, Title IV, P.L. 93-380. The relevant language is, "every child should, by the time he has completed secondary school, be prepared for...full participation in our society according to his or her ability," "to enable persons to cope with accelerating change and obsolescence," "to increase the relation between schools and society," "to relate the subject matter of the curriculum...to the needs of persons to function in society..." Kenneth B. Hoyt, "An Introduction to Career Education," pp. 4-10, gives the following as the OE definition of Career Education, "Career education can be defined generally as the totality of educational experience through which one learns about work. Work centers around the basic human need for accomplishment and the broader societal survival need for productivity...encompassing economic man [but] going beyond this to the broader aspect of productivity in one's total life style..." This "work" or "life work" is, through career education to be made "possible, meaningful, and satisfying for each individual." Later the paper suggests that people may discover "who they are" and "why they are" through their "work in the sense of vocation." Cf. James O'Toole and others, Work in America (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 141-145, for an extensive discussion, also James Coleman, Youth, Transition to Adulthood (Chicago, 1974), passim.

3 The classical conception of communitas is defined in Cicero, De Re Publica, VI, ii, cf. footnote 10 on following page.

4 Secular puritanism and "Career Education" have an interesting history. Some of the problems which the Career Education program had in its early days had to do with its adoption of the phrase, "the work-ethic," from Max Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and its applying this in a secular context. A "work ethic," in Weber's sense without the sanctions of Calvinistic religion is meaningless and becomes merely a manager's "job ethic." The emphasis of more recent Career Education literature on finding a lifestyle and life purpose and, within those, forms of non-alienated productive activity corrects the problems created by the earlier misappropriation of Weber.


7 This analysis of Aristotle is based on that of Professor T. M. Rayson in his annual lectures on Aristotle.


 Cicero, De Re Publica, ed. and trans. C. W. Keyes (London, and New York, 1928), VI, 1. I C F W. H. Stahl, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio (New York, 1952), p. 11, pp. 20-23, pp. 244-46. Macrobius explicitly denies the notion that only philosophers who are men of leisure are “blessed” and blesses policy makers, community builders, and active workers in the polis.

See C. Pare, A. Brunet, and P. Tremblay, La renaissance du XIIIe siècle (Paris and Ottawa), passim. of Hastings Rashdall, passim. cited fn 33.


John of Salisbury’s Metalogicon is particularly helpful to readers wishing to understand the mixture of pietistic, vocational motives, will to galavant, and love of learning which inspired the medieval student in the liberal arts schools.


Cf. Robertson, Abelard and Heloise, pp. 84-97.

Otto Von Simson. The Gothic Cathedral Origen of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order (Princeton, 1962), passim. This theme has also been developed by Emile Male, Erwin Panofsky, Louis Reau, and Phillip Fehl. Fehl and Panofsky are concerned with the Renaissance effort to make “art” and “architecture” liberal.


Charles V’s court included among its members a large number of people whose primary occupation, e.g., Nicholas Oresme, Raoul de Presles, and Philippe de Mézières and others, was contemplative and intellectual. persons who were masters of the liberal arts of trivium and quodivium. They were included in the court as translators of classical texts, of the Bible and texts on rulership, and as advisors to the king. Charles V had most of the significant then known repertoire of classical learning translated into French for his own education and his use as a statesman building up the edifice of French law, French military strategy, and French internal civic administration. A less clear case can be made for late fourteenth century England, although there is a good deal of evidence that something like this was happening also in England. The court of Richard II of England, the Bishop of Durham, was the first to act as a liberal arts center. Later a number of the secular courts arose where Walter Burley, Sir Simon Burley, and a number of similar Oxford scholars and translators became important courtiers and advisors. By the end of the fourteenth century. Henry of Lancaster, soon to become King of England as Henry IV, was having his son, who was to become Henry V, tutored in the standard classical texts, particularly those which might bear on the art of being a prince. The notion was that the art of state craft required something of the contemplative and something of the active knowledge of the nature of things in order to interpret what human beings ought to do. One of the favorite books of the late fourteenth century court was Aegidius Romanus’ theoretical book, De Regimine Principum, a classics-based, neo-scholastic book used both
as an introduction to the philosophy of politics and to practical statecraft. It is not accidental that a practical humanist like Geoffrey Chaucer should write a contemplative Parliament of Fools about the ideal functioning of Parliament, a commentary on, and a statement for, the British Parliament in its dealings with a king who was soon to be cast away as a tyrant. The information comes out of my own researches in the late fourteenth century royal courts in Northern Europe.


22 Cf. Peter Ramus, *Logique of Peter Ramus*, trans. Roland Millman (Renaissance Editions, 1969)."Passim Ramus makes logic into a kind of "persuasive art" and rhetoric, thus, becomes for his students an art concerned with superficial prose decoration.

23 Richard Foster Jones, *The Seventeenth Century Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature* from *Bacon to Pope* (Stanford, 1969) is particularly helpful as to the background of the formation of the Royal Society.


32 I gained this interpretation of Dickens' *Hard Times* from Professor E. D. H. Johnson of Princeton.


36 Western Association accreditation report on Johnston College, Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers' files.

37 This topic is well treated in Kenneth H. Pratt, "Answering the Critics of Career Education," unpublished paper, pp. 3-5.


Career Education studies in psychology and career counselling commonly are highly individual-centered and both assume the present industrial system and present lack of community.

Perhaps the most promising activity in this area is a consortium of the colleges mentioned and others like them directed toward mutual-strengthening and dissemination of their modes of working. This consortium was developed by Tom Pace of the Study Commission in 1973-74.


James O'Toole. Work in America, 141-45

James Coleman and others, Youth Transition to Adulthood. pp. 147-49.