

THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTION OF A LIBERAL
EDUCATION

by

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P R E F A C E .
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University of Cape Town,

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Somarsundaram Cooppan.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPTION OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION.

Introduction.

The significance of the topic we are about to study is succinctly expressed by one writer when he says,

"The tradition of liberal education is a golden thread woven into the fabric of civilisation. Viewed in the perspective of history, the thread is often broken. It is worked into various patterns according to the divergent interests of successive ages, each pattern expressive of the values and meanings which men once held important. The patterns, whether lovely or grotesque, whether they are woven in or are merely appliquè, are the creations of time. The thread belongs to all times,....." (1)

In so far as we are interested in the civilisation of the West, we may trace the origin of this golden thread of liberal education to ancient Greece. The basic structure of Western civilisation is Graeco-Roman, and to trace our beginnings to this remote period is but further affirmation of the far-flung influence of Greek thought and aspirations on the shaping of Western education.

In essence a "liberal Education" may be defined as that education worthy of a 'free man'. The concept immediately postulates a social order in which some individuals are free and others not free. In ancient Greece a 'free man' was one who had not only political freedom i.e. civic rights and liberties, but also one who had economic independence i.e. freedom from the necessity of toiling and engaging in menial occupations, or any of the skilled arts and crafts, for his livelihood. Political freedom and economic independence obviously presented that section or class of the community with leisure and opportunities for the pursuit and exercise of their talents in occupations other than the arts and crafts. The freeman utilised his energies in the study of

(1) "Meaning of a Liberal Education" by Everett Dean Martin.

ultimate questions, such as, the nature of the universe, the purpose of existence, the nature of morality, and so on.

The concept then arose in a society so organised that a large section was disenfranchised and confined to the pursuit of the industrial arts and other occupations of a materially productive nature - from all degrees of craftsmanship to the menial occupations. The enfranchised section was thus freed to pursue other interests which constituted the so-called liberal studies of a free man. Such a class division was made possible in ancient Greece because of the existence of slavery as an integral part of the body-politic. We may say then that the concept of liberal education found its first definite expression in a society which permitted slavery, and utilised slave-labour for the production of its basic needs. In primitive society the conception had no opportunity of arising because primitive man necessarily had to pay a considerable amount of attention to the primary needs of life, wrestling with Nature for his very existence.

Primitive education was essentially a training in the art of procuring food and shelter; it was a very precarious existence leaving neither time nor leisure nor inclination for thoughts unconnected with immediate needs. Nor did primitive social conditions permit very much opportunity for the exploitation of labour. It is only when a social group has expanded and so organised itself to pass the bare subsistence level, and has accumulated surplus wealth, that we find the rise of a class of men devoting themselves to speculative thinking and cultivation of the higher intellectual and emotional life. We do find such a gradual process of differentiation in larger, more stable primitive societies in which the medicine-man and witch-doctor hold a prominent position. We have here a class of men possessed of almost tyrannical power and freed from the necessity of plying the usual arts and crafts for their livelihood; the group provides for their necessities. This practice continued because primitive men believed that the witch-doctor possessed a form of superior knowledge which placed him in the position of an ambassador to the numerous gods and deities of primitive religious life. The point of relevance to us is that, here we have the beginnings of a differentiation in the evaluation of

the priestly knowledge of magical formulae, and skill in the ordinary arts of primitive life i.e. hunting, fishing, building, tilling the soil and rearing children.

"Education" is distinguished, however, vaguely, from "training". "Education" is synonymous with a process of obtaining mental and spiritual power, the privilege of a favoured few--the priestly class. "Training" is identified with the acquisition of a skill, the trick or "knack" of doing something. Since the generality of primitive men acquired such skills early in life as a necessary equipment of the individual taking his place in the corporate body, no special distinction was attached to such acquisitions. But when a few members of the group were exempted from such daily occupations, and permitted to pursue other interests, presumably for the good of the group, the conception of a higher and lower knowledge received its emphasis. In this study we commence when this conception received its practical expression on a large and well-organised scale in ancient Greece; when the sine qua non of a liberal education was leisure and political and economic privileges.

these estates. Here then there was clearly no necessity for them to prepare their boys for any profession or trade, or even to instruct them in the principle of agriculture. (1) The Athenians and the Ionians were busy manufacturers and great commercial peoples. Yet, contrary to expectation, business methods and utilitarian branches of study found little favour in their schools.

We may note then that the Hellenes had advanced to an economic status very much beyond the subsistence level of primitive communities; that free slave labour, extensively used in the industries and other skilled trades and professions, had not only contributed to the wealth of the ruling class, but also formed the basis of that leisure which characterised the life of the Greek free-man.

The duties and responsibilities of citizenship devolving upon a free-man, and the consequent rightful employment of leisure, determined the general character, aim and conception of Greek education. "To a Hellenic education meant the training of character and taste, and the symmetrical development of body, mind, and imagination." (2) We find in the Greek conception a distinction drawn between education and the training by which pupils mastered their future trade or profession, or any accumulation of knowledge (e.g. teaching) with the object of making money. As a nation they regarded all forms of handicraft and specialised skills as vulgar, contemptible and unworthy of a free-man. Xenophon's expla-

(1) Freeman, E.J. "Schools of Hellenes" p. 42.

(2) Freeman, E.J. *ibid.* p. 43.

nation is that these manual occupations ruin the symmetrical development of the body because of the unnatural and unhealthy conditions of working; to the Greeks, poor physical development was identified with effeminacy and weak moral character. Further, tradesmen and professional men have little or no leisure for serving their friends and the State. All degrees of manual occupation were identified with servitude, and hence despised.

This in brief is the political, social and economic background of Greek education. Let us now examine the education of the earlier period for traces of a liberal education. The Athenian system aimed at training the son of the citizen in the mores, in the civic duties of a citizen of the State, for participation in the religious observances, and at preparing him militarily for the defence of the State against enemies. In Sparta, education for citizenship meant an education for usefulness in an intensely militarised State; literary and artistic sentiments were neglected. In Athens the literary and artistic aspects were cultivated to the fullest but because of the paucity of literary works it could not but be a meagre education. The pupil of the older period read, sang, and memorised selections from Homer, Hesiod, Solon, and Aesop, all authors who lived before 560 B.C. There was no form of secondary or higher education in this period. A liberal education proper could be said to commence only when a country or nation has at its disposal a fund of material for education, a variety of literary forms, developed systems

Chapter One.

Greek Conception of a Liberal Education.

If we are to search for the forces moulding and influencing the Hellenic conception of a liberal education, we shall find them in the political, social and economic structure of the Greek city-states, and in the degree of development in art, science and philosophy.

During the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C., politically Greece was built on the dominant power of a ruling class which closely guarded its ranks against any infiltration from the other classes. Even after a democracy had been evolved all could not become citizens of the State. Citizenship came with birth and the special class privilege of education. Before 509 B.C. foreigners were seldom admitted to the privileges of a citizen, except in the case of some special act of patriotism, and that by a special vote of the citizen-body. The extreme form of democracy in Athens of the 5th century was a democracy exclusively for free citizens, and excluded all others. Eligibility to public offices, the right of protection in the courts of law or attendance at the public assemblies, or rights of land tenure were the prerogatives of only a male citizen. Citizenship also carried with it the privilege of participation in religious festivals and rites, for religion was an affair of the ruling families of the State. Consequently family, religion and citizenship were closely interwoven, and education and training were for citizenship and religious (moral) ends. Citizenship in

the earlier period (before the Persian War of 479 B.C.) was a distinction to be attained only after proper education and preliminary military training. Education, being limited only to a small percentage of the total population, became essentially the education of the ruling class to perpetuate the rule of that class. (1)

Socially there were three main divisions of the population. Firstly, there were the citizens--free men. They formed about one-fifth of the population. Then there were the aliens, numerically less than the citizens, but not assimilated into the political structure of Athens until about the end of the 5th century. The third class, forming four-fifths of the population, was the mass of working slaves rendering all types of menial, technical, agricultural, and intellectual services. This class, of course, could not hope for citizenship. In Sparta they occupied a lower status than in Athens, being tied to and sold with the land. The slaves then provided the chief source of labour. The other source of labour came from the free-men who had taken to the skilled arts and crafts because of their poverty.

Laconia (the chief city of which is Sparta) and Crete were mainly agricultural countries having little concern with trade or manufactures. Their citizens comprised a landed aristocracy, supported by hereditary estates originally allotted by the State; the subject population cultivated

(1) Gubberley, Ellwood P. "History of Education" p. 19.

of philosophy, and collected works on science. For this we have to wait till the second half of the fifth century. We may conclude then that the earlier Greek education could not in any sense be called liberal; in so far, as they emphasised military training for the defence of the State against their numerous enemies it was a practical and utilitarian end.

After the successful outcome of the Persian War of 479 B.C., many important changes took place in the political, economic and social life of Athens. As a result of these complex changes the whole educational conception of a liberal education received its first definite expression, both in the writings of the great educational theorists and in the actual practice of teaching.

Athens, as the imperial master of the surrounding states and islands, took on a more cosmopolitan character. Increased commercial activity brought the possibility of accumulating individual wealth, which in turn led to more opportunities for the pursuits of pleasure and the patronage of the cultured arts. Greatness was now measured in terms of wealth and power, and not in terms of birth or of genuine service to the State. The larger realm of imperial diplomacy and statesmanship increased the utility of political skill. Even citizenship was opened to all free inhabitants. The liberation of such forces, with undreamed of opportunities for personal advancement in the state or empire, developed a desire for

personal aggrandizement and personal glory. In this manner the new conditions were a break from the old Greek tradition of placing the state before self; the older ideal of social service and public usefulness was changed to one of "rugged" individualism. (1)

The demands made of education in this period was a preparation for personal advancement. A factor which favoured such a development was the extreme form of democracy in Athens. The source of all political power was the "Ecclesia" or assembly of all free citizens. Government was by "primary" assemblies of the whole citizen body, and not by "secondary" assemblies of elected representatives. Justice was administered through popular juries before whom plaintiff and defendant had to appear in person. Hence the ability to speak to convince became most important. He who could persuade the majority to think his way controlled the policy of Athens. Almost every free young man of Athens aspired to a post in the public service of the country. These demands were met by a group of teachers who came to Athens from the colonies. These were the well-known Sophists, who were eminently equipped to offer this type of education. Such great names as Hippias, Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and Isocrates belong to this influential group. Though in the beginning Sophistic teaching was beyond reproach, in honestly attempting to establish an educational system suited to meet the real needs of the time, yet in time there crept in a narrowness of (1) Wild, E.H. "Foundations of Modern Education" p. 98.

of aim, an utter disregard for the maintenance of the principles of truth and justice, and a tuition in the tricks and dodges of debating for scoring a mere verbal victory over rivals.

Another development that greatly facilitated the growth of secondary and higher education was the creation of the materials of education. The Periclean Age of Greece was noted for its unsurpassed output in the field of art, literature, science and philosophy. It was an era of rich practical performance in many fields; but it was also an era of analysis of that performance and of formulation of the factors ministering to its effectiveness. This period manifests that perfection of Greek architecture, sculpture and painting. Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides produced their Attic tragedies; Aristophanus his comedies; Thucydides, Herodotus, and Xenophon developed the prose narrative as a form for history; the Pythagoreans developed mathematical science; Hippocrates wrote on medicine; the spirit of rational criticism found expression in the philosophical works of Democritus, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Even subjects of instruction were created by the demand of the restless Greek mind for a knowledge of the theoretical principles or elements involved in these practical achievements. The rich materials of contemporary literature were analysed by men like Protagoras of Abdora and Prodicus of Ceos; this developed into the science of Grammar. From the superabundance of oratory there grew the science of rhetoric which made an analysis and description of the art of effective speech. The numerous public and private

debates and argumentations led to the formulation of "some rules of the game"; rhetoric needed ^{not} only plausibility but also validity of the statement. From this need grew the science of logic, finally classified by Aristotle into a coherent science. There were also formulations of principles of poetics, ethics, politics, and even of horsemanship and cookery. We have here then, the materials of the new secondary and higher education: grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. (1) Mechanics might have been included if the Greeks had not despised it because of its affinities with practical achievements. While the political, economic, and social structure of Athens created leisure and the necessary conditions, it is inconceivable that a truly liberal education in the Greek sense could have arisen in the absence of these materials of education.

The education of a free-man centred around the study of rhetoric, which may be defined according to current notions and practice, as the art of persuasion and disputation. It had a broader basis in an education in general subjects like ethics, politics, and metaphysics. These general studies were only superficially dealt with, as the only aim of including this in the curriculum was to give material for debate, and to enable one to talk intelligently, and make and understand allusions to the vital problems of the day. At its best, liberal education under the Sophists aimed at making "ready and practical citizens, men able to collect

(1) Reiser, E.H. "Foundations of Modern Education" p. 43 ff.

and express their thoughts, and give sound advice on public matters". (1) Elementary education consisted of the traditional Greek music and gymnastic, with a little arithmetic. At the secondary level, to these were added the Greek sciences (mainly mathematical) and rhetoric. At the academies of Plato, Isocrates, and Protagoras where a form of higher education was given ethics, politics and philosophy were taught. A distinct feature of the education of this period was its emphasis on the cultivation of the intellect; secondary subjects replaced the military drill of the older period as there was not the same necessity for military preparedness. After the decline of the Sophists these subjects came to form the conventional education of the Greeks.

Mention was made of the academies where higher education was imparted. They were divided into two distinct groups until they later merged to form what has come to be known as the University of Athens. One group maintained by men like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle was known as the school of the philosophers; the other, organised by men like Isocrates is known as the school of the rhetors. Both catered for the education of the free-man but they differed in the emphasis placed on subjects of the curriculum. The theories of education held by the principals, and the practice of teaching in these schools reflect the conception of a liberal education when Greece was at the height of her glory.

(1) Mahaffy, J.P. "Old Greek Education" p.95.

Isocrates occupied a position midway between the philosophers and the sophists. He was against the boastful claims of the latter, and did not look with favour on the metaphysical speculations of the former. He placed a training in Rhetoric above everything; he felt that it was the most necessary element in the education of a free-man. There were two reasons contributing to such a view;

(a) it was an age when books were scarce and the reading public small,

(b) and when state affairs were settled by discussion in assembly or private meeting of every free citizen.

In such a society the power of clear and elegant utterance was the highest and best outcome of education; no man was educated who lacked that power; it was the touchstone of culture and freedom. (1) Eloquence was therefore made an intense study. The matter of higher education was subordinated to form of presentation. To summarise, the school of the rhetors conceived a liberal education as an education in elegance of form, and a superficial but graceful culture, instead of the exactness of science and deep knowledge of metaphysics, which they considered unfitted men for public life. While this was not much of a departure from the education of the Sophists, yet it received the respect of the philosophers because it was recognised that no free-man could serve well in a democratic society without the art of persuasion and disputation.

The philosophical schools were essentially a reaction against the extremely pragmatic and individualistic trend of sophistic education. We have already noted the deterioration of their education to the point where it was undermining Greek institutional life. The Sophist maxim "Man is the measure of all things" tended to reinforce the forces of growing selfishness and greed in Athenian life. Some of the lesser Sophists trained their pupils to play upon the uncritical mass opinion to achieve their objects. Socrates commenced a campaign against such men. He addressed the young Athenians in the market-place and private assemblies and attempted to teach them critical thinking. He would have his free-man seek knowledge, seek the true universal concepts of piety, courage, temperance and justice,--concepts on which the conduct of free-men should be based. The application of such knowledge would constitute virtue, the practice of which is the highest aim of life and hence of education. Everett Dean Martin states that Socrates set the precedent for all subsequent liberal education when he sought to educate the Athenian youths to understand themselves, to think their way to some degree of freedom and mastery, to ground their ideas of virtue, justice and government in well-considered reason, to gain temperance of judgment, to re-examine what they thought they knew, and see if they were knowledge or only opinion. (1)

His pupil, Plato, carried the ideals of the master a

(1) Martin, E.D. *ibid.* p. 199.

step further. If men are to live a life of reason, their knowledge must give them a definite outlook upon life. Knowledge was not merely clear thinking, but to know is to possess reality, the "true being", the form or idea of the Supreme Good. The highest education would then prepare one for philosophic contemplation of the ideas of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. Plato was fully aware that this was an ideal possible of achievement only by a few philosophers.

Plato's "Republic" is a treatise on what he considers to be a liberal education. It was a return to the old Greek conception of training in virtue, character, taste, and symmetrical development of body and mind. The truly liberal education had three aspects: moral education, intellectual education and physical education. A liberal education would seek a harmonious combination of these three aspects for the good of the state and through the state of the individual. The ideal state was to be ruled by his philosopher-kings whose will was to be supreme in the state. While his course of liberal education to the age of thirty-five made for harmonious development and no small amount of intellectual power, yet even those who have these attainments are to subordinate their reason and judgment to the guardians. He was quite "totalitarian" in his conception of the end of a liberal education.

Up to the age of twenty he follows the traditional Greek curriculum of music, gymnastic and military training with certain modifications in content. The aim at this stage

stage is to build up that body and character which will be able to stand the strain of the studies of the next age. At twenty selection is made of those who are to continue an intellectual education. From twenty to thirty they study the Greek sciences which are mainly mathematical in character: arithmetic, geometry (plane and solid), astronomy, and harmonics. Those who pass in these disciplines were admitted to the highest study of all -- dialectic (philosophy, including ethics and politics). Unlike the pupils of the Sophists those joining the academies of Plato and Socrates and Aristotle made a deep study of these subjects for their own sake. In contradistinction to the education of the Sophists and the Rhetors, Plato's higher education deals with abstractions and higher principles. The free-man was expected to lead a good life and a liberal education was expected to show the way. But a good life necessitates the knowledge of the Supreme Good, and this may only be perceived by a study of the laws and principles underlying the Cosmos.

Aristotle modified and made more acceptable the abstract "Forms" or Ideas of his master, Plato. Plato's forms existed in a timeless and spaceless realm removed from all material manifestation. According to Aristotle forms are always existent in their material embodiment. There was mutual interaction of "form" and inchoate matter to produce the particular. It was the law of life that matter should seek its highest form or perfect realisation; and that form ranked highest which was nearest in nature to

the pure form of God, and farthest in nature from unformed matter. And so man was most truly man when he approximated most closely the rule of reason in his conduct.

From such a philosophy he built up his educational ideals. Aristotle grappled with the problem of his day, "Whether education should be a training in what is useful in life, or in more our of the way subjects". He states that the highest aims of education are (a) to produce such character as will issue in acts tending to promote the happiness of the State, and (b) to prepare the soul for the right enjoyment of leisure in accordance with reason. To him also the highest life for man is a speculative or theoretic life, but this is an active life involving the pursuit of science, literature, art and philosophy for their own sake. Aristotle exalts the condition of leisure because such higher studies are only possible to one who has the time and energy at his disposal; only free-men, not occupied in the skilled occupations, have this leisure, and hence it is mete that they should learn to rightly employ that leisure to promote their own well-being and that of the state. True happiness of an individual is an activity of the soul according to reason. We are indebted to Aristotle for an unequivocal expression of the true conception of a liberal education. In the following quotations from his "Politics" (1) it will be noted that emphasis is placed on the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake and not for any ends beyond itself;

(1) Burnett, John. "Aristotle on Education" p. p. 102-111.

education loses its liberal character when pursued for pecuniary motives, or even for promoting one's personal prestige and standing amongst strangers. Exhibitionism was considered then, as now, a vulgar trait.

"It is, of course, obvious that we shall have to teach our children such useful knowledge as is indispensable for them; but it is equally plain that all useful knowledge is not suitable for education. There is a distinction between liberal and illiberal subjects, and it is clear that only such knowledge as does not make the learner mechanical should enter into education. By mechanical subjects we must understand all arts and studies that make the body, soul, or intellect of free-men unserviceable for the use and exercise of goodness. That is why we call such pursuits as produce an inferior condition of body mechanical, and all wage-earning occupations. They allow the mind no leisure, and they drag it down to a lower level. There are some liberal arts, the acquisition of which up to a certain point is not unworthy of free-men, but which, if studied with excessive devotion or minuteness are open to the charge of being injurious in the manner described. The object with which we engage in or study them also makes a great difference; if it is for our own sakes or that of our friends, or to produce goodness, they are not illiberal, while a man engaging in the very same pursuits to please strangers would in many cases be regarded as following the occupation of a slave or serf."

"We conclude, then, that there is such a thing as a subject in which we must educate our sons, not because it is necessary, but because it is fine and worthy of free-men."

"To seek utility everywhere is by no means the way of free-men with a sense of their own dignity."

At the secondary level Aristotle stresses the training of the emotions by means of gymnastic, music, and drawing. His higher education was a civic training and development of reasoning by a course in the Greek mathematical sciences, with the addition of logic and the natural sciences. There was also the usual course in ethics, politics and metaphysics.

If we may combine the specific aspects emphasised by these three philosophers, we may say with Everett Dean Martin, that Socrates' critical intelligence, Plato's nobility of Spirit, and Aristotle's sanity (the happy man), were the three essentials of a liberal education in the Periclean Age of Greece. (1)

(1) Martin, E.D. *ibid.* p. 212.

CHAPTER 11

Roman Conception of a Liberal Education

For a proper understanding of the Roman conception of a liberal education we must pause to consider the peculiar genius of the Roman people in contrast to that of the Greeks. The Greeks rated highly attainment in art, literature, science and philosophy for its own sake; they found satisfaction in a subjective state, a state of happiness, a life of contemplation, of aesthetic enjoyment, of intellectual activity. The Greeks were attracted to speculative philosophy; ethics and politics specially interested them. They defined for all ages the most worthy aims of life -- aesthetic enjoyment, intellectual power, moral personality, political freedom, and social excellence -- these form the common elements of our culture. In striking contrast to the inner development of the Greeks, the Roman genius ever sought to give concrete form and structure to its thought; it sought some form of excellence or achievement of concrete, even of material, value to the social group. The Romans furnished the means, the institutions or the machinery for realizing the culture so well analysed by the Greeks; they showed their genius in elaborating the institutional organization necessary to make effective the aspirations of other people. (1). The Greek standard of judgment was the intellectual or aesthetic one resulting from an analysis of ultimate aims and values; the Roman standard was practical and utilitarian, drawn from a consideration of the serviceableness of a thing in their institutional life.

The Roman ideal of education is shown in their conception of the rights and duties of a free citizen. The free-man received these rights by birth, for by descent each Roman was a free-man, a citizen and a member of a gens (family). There were five clearly defined rights: the patria potestas (right of father over his children), manus (the right of husband over wife), potestas dominica (the right of master over slave), capere (right of a free man over another through

through contract or forfeiture), and dominium (right over property). The point of importance is that every right had its corresponding obligations. Hence the Roman's highest conception of life was given in some form of duty, of a life in terms of law. It was essentially a moral view of life. For the performance of these duties certain definite virtues were demanded and it was the business of education to cultivate these Roman virtues: piety, obedience to the commands of the gods and parents, manliness (constantia), chastity, prudence, fortitude, justice and earnestness (gravitas). Greek liberal education was based on an essentially aesthetic interpretation of life; the Roman conception was based on an essentially moral view, a view demanding the discharging of one's obligations to the individual and to the state.

When we speak of a liberal education amongst the Romans, we should then keep in mind that it was in a sense an education of the "free man" for some form of service to the State; it was expected of the educated person that he would show this by concrete achievements in the political, administrative, judicial or military departments of the state or empire.

This point brings us to a brief consideration of the classes in Roman society which received this liberal education. There were four social classes -- the senators, the equestrians or knights, the plebians or the common people, and the slaves. The ruling caste was the senatorial class, from which the officers of state and military leaders were chosen. They were not permitted to engage in commercial enterprise. These men were generally wealthy land-owners, men of substance who were expected to serve the state. There was no entry into this class except by birth. Economic independence and hereditary succession determined the rank of a senator. The second class, the knights, also belonged to the privileged section of the community. Their numbers were fixed, but a citizen could be raised to this status by a special favour of the emperor or ruling head. They were also

also invariably men of wealth but were permitted to engage in commercial activities. While the senators generally engaged in political activities, the knights usually practised law as advocates and jurisconsults. There was no sharp division between these two groups socially, and their interests in education were common. They were together known as the patricians in contradistinction to the third class -- the plebians or the mass free citizens. As a matter of fact the plebians were not admitted to the full privileges of the Roman civil law until the fourth century B.C.. Under the Empire citizenship was awarded fairly generously to the conquered peoples. The slave class, amongst whom there were some learned and cultured Greeks, formed a large proportion of Roman society. They were often set free and were designated "freed-men", but they were not "free Roman citizens" who could claim the protection of the civil law. The privilege of coming under the civil law is significant to us it gave direction to the education of the period. Civil law studies became an important occupation of the young patrician who hoped to become an advocate or praetor. Even the plebian could aspire to a magistracy (judex).

While the higher civil and military posts were open to the members of all classes, except the freed-slaves and slaves, yet they were not open to all classes as such. Exceptional individuals could attain the highest public honours by sheer merit. The upper classes received an education which fitted them for posts in the government service. The practice of law became inseparable from a public career. In fact the judicial functions of the Senate with respect to offences by public officials made it imperative for the senators to study law. An individual senator was often called upon to serve as counsel when such cases were heard in the senate. Further, the administration of the empire was based on judicial precedent and the success of a civil office depended on possessing a lawyer's attitude and training. In order to gain personal honour and fame the senators often pleaded in the civil cases brought before the magistrate's court. During the earlier period of the Republic they did not charge fees as this would have been beneath the dignity of a senator. To be an eloquent speaker

speaker was to gain general esteem and was a source of profit to the advocates of the equestrian class; no pursuit gave larger possibilities of exercise of eloquence than pleading in the courts. The education of the upper classes was, therefore, centred around the study of law and exercise in effective public speaking. Eloquence was useful not only to the politician and lawyer but also to the military leader. Culture in Roman times came to be identified with eloquence or oratory.

The place of oratory in Roman life must be clearly grasped to understand the emphasis and attention given to it by Roman educationists. Besides the demands made on it in the assembly and law courts, there were many occasions in Roman life -- banquets and funerals and festive gatherings --, which demanded a graciously and effectively made oration or speech. (1). While it is true that eloquence and law formed the essential elements of the education worthy of the free man, it must be emphasised such education was the privilege of a few. The plebians had neither the ability to pay for it nor unfettered opportunity to use it. When, therefore, we describe the liberal education in Roman times, a further qualification has to be made: that it was an education not for all free men but for the privileged classes, i.e. the senators and equestrians, who hoped to take part in the political life of the State, and who aspired to high honours of office.

The history of Roman education falls into four periods:-

- (a) entirely Roman, free from all foreign influence. From the beginning to 250 B.C.
- (b) period of Hellenic influence: 250 - 100 B.C.
- (c) the Graeco-Roman period: 100 B.C. - 100 A.D.
- (d) period of decadence during the Empire.

In the first period education was severely practical and based on the *mos maiorum*. There was no trace of a liberal concept at all. During the second period Greece and its colonies came under the sway of Rome, which had extended its power over all Italy. This period is significant to us because Roman culture is gradually Hellenised,

and as a result there becomes available the material of a liberal education. At first the material is patently Greek -- mere translations of Greek literature into Latin; towards the end of the period, leading well into the next period, we have a blending of the two cultures and a distinctly Roman literature grows. Some of the more important persons who stimulated literary activity in Rome are Livius Andronicus, the translator of the "Odyssey" into Latin; Crates of Mallos, grammarian and lecturer on literary subjects (incidentally he marks the period of the introduction of the first Greek language teacher - the grammaticus); Carneades, Critolaus and Diogenes who lectured on philosophy. Schools of Greek rhetoric were first established, and as Latin literature grew schools of Latin rhetoric were founded.

All this interest in Greek literature is important because the Romans by that time had accepted general literary culture as the necessary preliminary to practical training. By the middle of the second century B.C. the Hellenistic ideal of a culture based on a study of literature, rhetoric and philosophy was accepted in Rome. But the Greek idea of a liberal education consisting in the harmonious development of body and mind was not fully accepted. (1). For instance, Greek gymnastics were disliked, dancing and music were gradually introduced but only for amusement. Even philosophy was regarded with suspicion unless it was closely linked with actual, everyday conduct, i.e.e. a theoretic interest in metaphysical speculations was not approved of by the Romans. They readily accepted the school of the rhetors because of the practical nature of the studies. They concurred with the teachings of Isocrates that "nothing helps so much towards the practice of virtue as the study of political wisdom and eloquence".(2). Finally, the agencies of secondary and higher education were rapidly absorbed and adapted from the Hellenic to Roman conditions: the litterator was the means of imparting elementary education in which practically all the free citizens and even slaves participated; liberal education

1. Gwynn, Aubrey: Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian: p.18.

2. " ibid. : p.46.

education proper was imparted in the school of the grammaticus (equivalent to the secondary school), and the finishing touches were given by the school of the rhetors.

Before we examine the highest conceptions of a liberal education as propounded by leading Romans like Cicero and Quintilian, let us note the education given in the school of the grammaticus, and of the rhetor. The teaching of the grammatici is very important to our discussion, because the broad basis of a liberal education is laid in their schools. When Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian speak of the "institutio" (the instruction) of the young patrician they have in mind the school of the grammatici (the school of literature). The instruction given here aimed at the art of speaking correctly and at the interpretation of the poets, but the art of speaking involved also correct writing, and interpretation depended upon correct reading and criticism of authors. The range of reading was to include not only the poets, but every kind of writer, for subject matter and vocabulary. Rome was a bilingual country, so facility in both Greek and Latin were required of the young patrician. The following quotation from Quintilian, given at length, should give an idea of the scope and nature of the curriculum considered necessary for a broad basis, on which alone the instruction of the school of oratory may proceed:

"Nor can such training be regarded as complete if it stops short of music, for the teacher of literature has to speak of metre and rhythm; nor again if he be ignorant of astronomy, can he understand the poets; for they, to mention no further points, frequently give their indications of time by reference to the rising and setting of the stars. Ignorance of philosophy is an equal drawback, since there are numerous passages in almost every poem based on the most intricate questions of natural philosophy, while among the Greeks we have Empedocles and among our own poets Varro and Lucretius, all of whom have expounded their philosophies in verse. No small powers of eloquence also are required to enable the teacher to speak appropriately and fluently on the various points which have just been mentioned. For this reason, those who criticise the art of teaching literature as trivial and lacking in substance put themselves out of court. Unless the foundations of oratory are well and truly laid by the teaching of literature, the superstructure will collapse.

The study of literature is a necessity for boys and the delight of old age, the sweet companion of our privacy and the sole branch of study which has more solid substance than display." (1).

The higher education in oratory was really supplementary to the peculiar Roman institution of tirocinium fori and tirocinium militiae (education by apprenticeship in the forum and the army), wherein the youngman is taken through all the various stages of office -- from the lowest to the highest. It was an education of life for life.

Cicero, who lived during the Republic when freedom of political expression was unhampered, expresses the Graeco-Roman ideal of culture. It was not based on the mos maiorum which stressed the force of family tradition, nor was it the paedeia of the Greeks which stressed instruction in the art of civilisation, but it was based on what he calls " humanitas". This word includes culture, sympathy and human kindness based on a wide and deep knowledge and experience. " Humanitas " introduced into the Roman ideal of culture a note lacking in the more intellectual Greek ideal: human dignity and human sympathy. In Cicero's use, it meant the intellectual and moral refinement of an educated man, in which the notion of human kindness is ever present. (2). This broad ideal is well-expressed by the Latin poet when he says,

" Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto."

Cicero's ideas of a liberal education are expressed in his "De Oratore", "Brutus", "Orator", and the lost "Hortensius". He supplemented the "puerlis institutio" of the grammaticus by a system of higher studies which he calls "politior humanitas" and which is akin to the Athenian "enkyklios paedeia" (a term synonymous with liberal education). In his liberal curriculum he aimed at producing the ideal orator, i.e. the "doctus orator". It is in the production of this "doctus orator" that we obtain an insight into the highest conception of Roman liberal education.

1. Reisner, E.H. : *ibid.* + Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, Bk.1 : p.154.
2. Gwynn, Aubrey : *ibid.* : p.58.

Cicero says, " In my opinion no one can hope to be an orator in the true sense of the word unless he has acquired knowledge of all the sciences and all the great problems of life." (1). Rhetoric is the least important subject in his "politior humanitas". He goes on to say in his "De Oratore" that since an orator must be ready to speak with knowledge and persuasive power on every subject, therefore, he should be instructed in rhetoric, ethics, psychology, history, jurisprudence, military and naval science, medicine, and the sciences such as geography and astronomy. He lays special emphasis on history (which in Roman times was but incidental instruction in the teaching of literature), jurisprudence and philosophy. Note the significant omission of music and poetry and mathematics; further, he does not request specialization in any one subject; he requires only such general principles as would be of use for application later. The terms "philosopher" or "orator" do not adequately express his ideal; "humanitas" is the only word which fully expresses this, and it is essential to all great oratory and to all proper civic virtues. He himself sums up this social and ethical ideal in the words,

"To be a man in all that is human, and to be human in one's relation with all other men." (2).

Varro who was a contemporary of Cicero gives a list of nine subjects as forming the basis of a liberal education: grammar (or literature; both Latin and Greek), dialectic (logic), rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, music, medicine, and architecture.

Seneca, who expressly calls these subjects "artes liberales", enumerates: literature, music, geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy. He omits rhetoric and philosophy. Seneca tells us that Posidonius had classified the "artes" under four heads:

- (a) those which teach virtue,
- (b) the "enkyklioi" or "liberales",
- (c) the frivolous: dancing, singing, painting, sculpture.
- (d) the manual arts: not worthy pursuits for free men. (3).

1. Gwynn, Aubrey: *ibid.* : p.100.
2. " " : *ibid.* : p.120.
3. " " : *ibid.* : p. 88

This programme seems to have been well-established by the second century B.C.

Vitruvius, who lived in the decadent period of the Empire, writing for architects, lists the subjects in his "enkyklios disciplina" as : literature, drawing, geometry, optics, arithmetic, history, philosophy, music, medicine, law and astronomy. He omits rhetoric. He considers a purely professional training as illiberal.

Galen, writing in the second century A.D., for doctors gives us: medicine, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, logic, astronomy, literature, and law, with sculpture and drawing as optional subjects. But Seneca expressly excludes sculpture and drawing. Cicero considers architecture, medicine, and school-mastery as illiberal, but ranks them higher than cooking, dancing, shop-keeping, and manual labour. It is interesting to note that Cicero considers agriculture as a study worthy of a free man.

Quintilian, Strabo, and Plutarch endorse the Greek "enkyklios paedeia" (the ordinary curriculum of education) of Aristotle. The Grecian programme consisted of the teaching given by the grammatistes, the musicos, the paidotribes, the grammaticos, and the mathematice. The Roman programme combined these studies in the work of the three schools of the litterator, the grammaticus and the rhetor; to this was added an education in dialectic, rhetoric, and political theory.

However, from all these varied opinions of a liberal curriculum, we find that the following, at least, are common to all ~~curriculum~~ ^{curriculum} -- though a regular curriculum with clearly defined parts had not yet been established; these are : literature (Greek and Latin), rhetoric, dialectic (logic), arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. There has been very little change from the Greek secondary and higher curricula. The main difference in the conception lies in the Roman conception of all these studies being but a preparation for oratory. The ideal orator to the Romans was a more inclusive term than the Platonic "philosopher". The Roman orator possessed the broad education

education of the Greek philosopher, and the additional accomplishment of oratory, by means of which he is a greater force for good in the state.

Since this conception is no where more clearly expressed than in Quintilian, who comes at the close of the Augustan period, we shall conclude this section with a brief reference to his views of a liberal education. Quintilian's fame in Rome commences from 65 A.D. under the Emperor Galba. His famous book on the liberal education of an orator is the "Institutio Oratoria". This education had a dual objective :

- (a) technique of speaking or skill in oratory, and
- (b) a knowledge of all the elements of a liberal culture to add to the perfection of his art, the scope of his information, the maturity of his judgment and the elevation of his moral purpose.

He expects the foundation of a liberal culture to be laid in the school of the grammarian. An earlier quotation indicates what he expected of the grammarian. Like Cicero, he hopes this liberal education would produce a good man; virtue is to be perfected by instruction in the liberal arts. Moral character and a liberal programme of studies are to be the pre-requisites for training in oratory. He sets out the qualities of his ideal orator thus:

" The man who can really play his part as a citizen and is capable of meeting the demands of both public and private business, the man who can guide a state by his counsels, give it a firm basis by his legislation and purge its vices by his decisions as a judge, is assuredly no other than the orator of our quest to have genuine title to the name of philosopher he must also be a thorough master of the science and art of speaking, to an extent that perhaps no orator has yet attained." (1).

Later on in his book he writes,

" No-one will achieve sufficient skill even in speaking, unless he makes a thorough study of all the workings of nature and forms his character on the precepts of philosophy and the dictates of reason." (2).

And again:

"The life of an orator must be wedded to the knowledge of things human and divine." (1).

All this is reminiscent of Cicero both in its insistence on moral virtues and almost encyclopaedic knowledge. Quintilian adopts the various subjects of the Greek "enkyklios paedeia", not omitting music, gymnastic and mathematics as was common to the Roman educationists. He included gymnastics for correcting awkward and ungainly postrure in the orator; and geometry for the mental training it gives. The perfect orator was, ofcourse, expected to be bilingual; ignorance of Greek would hve been a serious defect in his liberal education. An important difference between Cicero's "politior humanitas" and Quintilian's supplementary studies, is that the latter stresses the command of vocabulary for effective oratory, whereas the former emphasises all these later studies for the abundance of ideas (copia rerum) which they yield. So Quintilian's higher studies really becomes a literary activity, a continuation of the work of the grammaticus. Though there is an apparent similarity in their ideas, yet Quintilian did not borrow his ideal of the "vir bonus dicendi peritus" from Cicero's "doctus orator"; Gwynn thinks that Seneca's influence is greater in the "institutio Oratoria" than the author acknowledges.

During the closing years of the Empire, owing to the loss of political freedom, there was a drop in the Roman traditions of citizenship, and new standards of education came to be established. Public oratory as the end of a liberal education ceased to be a main factor in Roman political life. The ideal of the "doctus orator" had lost half of its meaning. The forum was no longer the centre of Roman life.

The new elements which gained recognition in Roman society did not find the "politior humanitas" a practicable ideal. The rise of a professional class made oratory a profession; eloquence was no more an end in itself but an instrument of trade. Therefore, the element of rhetoric in the programme of studies came to be elevated

elevated above the other subjects; and public speaking became a mere intellectual pursuit and an exhibition of artificial declamation. In brief, the whole concept of a liberal education, with eloquence as the highest reflection of Graeco-Roman culture, had degenerated to mere verbalism and cheap rhetorical exposition. By losing the ideal of true oratory, the liberal arts lost not only their vitality and unity, but also their liberal character. This period of Roman decadence seems to parallel the decadence that had set in Athenian education, when rhetoric was once learnt for verbal victory over a rival in violation of all moral principles.

Chapter Three.

Medieval Conception of a Liberal Education.

Our studies of the Greek and Roman ideals of a liberal education have indicated the educational conceptions of classical antiquity. Though the final overthrow of the Roman Empire had not been accomplished till 476 A.D.--nearly five centuries after the commencement of the Christian era--no reference had been made to the influence of Christianity on the aims and ideals of education. During these five centuries the declining Roman civilisation and the steadily growing Christian culture existed side by side. There was no break between the humanism of the middle ages and the ancient, or even the post-Renaissance humanism. The educational institutions of the middle ages were the direct offspring of the educational institutions of Greece and Rome. Yet there was a distinctly new objective in education introduced by the Christian way of life, that marks it off from the pagan cultural ideals of Greece and Rome.

In this chapter it is proposed to study not only the period from 450 A.D.--1450 A.D., which is generally accepted and designated as the Middle Ages, but also the Christian centuries before the fall of Rome. The latter period is the period of fusion between Graeco-Roman and Christian conceptions

of life, and as such, forms the basis of the medieval conception of a liberal education.

The most potent factor in moulding the cultural activities and, in particular, education during these centuries, was Christianity and the organised Christian Church. The religion of Jesus had been a simple, direct, religious-ethical appeal. It operated on lines of faith and emotion rather than on lines of intellect. However, as the Church developed it took on very definitely an intellectual content, and it is just this intellectual factor which has been responsible for the close union of religion and higher education in the subsequent history of Western education. An element of Greek metaphysics was introduced into the religion of Jesus during the three centuries after His death. The central points of Christian doctrine were adapted to, and interpreted in terms of the prevailing intellectual fashion. In order to preserve itself against the various Hellenistic and Oriental religions claiming the attention of the people, the Church had to come to an agreement upon some of the formulae, which had the sanction of the Church authorities. The year 325 A.D. (Council of Nicea) marks the conclusion of doctrinal development and the triumph of organising and administrative tendency.

This achievement, however, led to a decline of intellectual freedom. For 700 years of classical antiquity there was no compulsion upon the individual as to what he should

believe. That which characterized the Greek and Roman intellectual life was the freedom of the individual to enquire, to investigate and to express his beliefs. But from 325 A.D. on men were persecuted for the divergence of their beliefs from the accepted canon irrespective of the propriety, even holiness, of their conduct. On the decline of the Roman Empire and during the subsequent period of barbarian invasions, the Church came to dominate the religious, the intellectual, and to a large extent the political life of Europe for over 1000 years. It derived its strength and unity from a set of intellectual formulæ, which it was determined, and bound at all costs to maintain. The history of the Church became an integral part of the general history of the times, and all education, in a real sense, became Christian education.

The Christian outlook, further, changed the objective of education. Until the fifth century, the Graeco-Roman object was to fit a man to be a good citizen and a successful man of the world. This aim did not re-appear till 1450 A.D. The aim of Christian education was the moral regeneration of society; ultimately, it narrowed down to the saving of one's own soul. It prepared man for the next world. The aim was no longer to be a good citizen or successful man in this life, but to be a good Christian, and to attain a place in the world to come. In short the Christian Church substituted religious devotion for patriotism and civic responsibility, and the saving of one's own soul for the

promotion of the interests of society. This view is inherent in the "mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic composition". (1) It was a philosophy which propounded "the essential oneness and perfection of God, the emanation of the universe from Him, the participation of mankind in the nature of God while at the same time being bound in the mesh of material substance and fleshly desires, and the way up again to God through the suppression of the material element that estranges man from the realm of blessedness and peace. (2) So the highest Christian life came to be a life of self-denial and contemplation; one in which love, earthly goods, social position and all the things of the world were eschewed, since they were a hindrance to the full exercise of the spiritual nature of man. It is to this ascetic tendency that we owe the rise of Christian monastic education. "Religion lost its previous relationship to aesthetic culture and to literature, philosophy and its innate connection with the practical life through ethics. For many centuries education took upon itself a moral and religious character to the neglect of the aesthetic and intellectual phases so essential to the education of the classical world." (3)

(1) Monroe, Paul. Textbook. p. 241

(2) Reisner. opus cit. p. 175

(3) Monroe, Paul. ibid. p.

We have seen that the fight for self-preservation against the barbarian hordes and rival religions of the East led to a narrow formulation of Christian doctrines and an authoritarian manner of dealing with divergence of views. This naturally limited the curriculum of education. We have also seen how the other-worldly objective of education tended to further narrow intellectual studies. There is one other factor which influenced the requirements of a liberal education. The Church became the only large-pattern system of administration which was able to maintain a continuous existence in Europe; besides exercising authority over matters ecclesiastic it even became an institution of law and justice within certain limits. The necessities of administration called for educated men:

- (1) to keep the records of appointments, receipts, and disbursements, and judgments rendered in church court;
- (2) to carry on correspondence with church officials;
- (3) the extensive judicial function called for a knowledge of precedent and of rules of procedure;
- (4) religion itself lived on the ability to read the Bible and the forms of worship; the sacred literature and body of ritual were too extensive for verbal transmission. Hence even the parish priest had to learn to read in order to carry out his every-day duties. (1)

Thus in all ways the Church came to have a monopoly of learning, especially amongst the members of the clergy. As the one dominating institution of the Middle ages it gave direction

character of the age was the monk, the mendicant friar, who spoke of things divine and other-worldly; the perfect attitude of the Christian was one of reverential belief, of faith and unquestioning obedience. What a far-cry this is from the critical philosopher-king of Plato and the active "doctus orator" of Cicero! The needs of the times had shifted the emphasis from a study of philosophy (dialectic) and oratory to theology. It must be made clear that a study of Christian theology is not the equivalent of studying the pristine teachings of Jesus. Theology is the doctrinal adumbrations of the Church fathers on the simple religion of Jesus.

For such a preoccupation with the knowing faculty medieval society developed privileged classes with the necessary leisure. The hierarchy of the Church consisting of the Pope, the archbishops, bishops and presbyters down to the readers and janitors, formed a considerable portion of the privileged. They were exempted from taxation, military service, and later in the history of the Church, even from the jurisdiction of the normal secular courts. As a rule only those entering into the service of the Church obtained any higher education. Besides the clerics there were the nobility belonging to the hierarchy of the feudal system. The nobility were the militar-men who enjoyed the use of the land and were supported by it in return for military service. The serfs and villeins who did the work were social nobodies and formed the third class of medieval society. They passed

to educational conceptions. The medieval conception of a liberal education can only be understood by reference to the dominant urge of the period--religion; and, even more, by reference to the needs and requirements of organised Christianity--the Catholic Church.

It will be remembered that the chief traits of a liberal education were its association with leisure and its exclusive connection with the faculty of knowing. Only a leisure class can devote itself to the cultivation of mind for the sake of the mind. Aristotle emphasised the exercise of the knowing faculty for its own sake, for pure knowing was concerned only with the rational relations of immaterial forms and hence it was the highest thing in the universe. Doing or practice sprang from the appetites, which are bodily, and are due to man's share in the animal and not the divine nature. Therefore the highest pursuit became theoretical contemplation and inquiry which were supra-civic. This very assertion of the supremacy and divinity of the purely theoretic life found ready acceptance in the Christian system, and was employed in the middle ages to justify theology as the supreme study. (1) It placed the monastic life above secular careers, and even above the parish clergy, because the latter were devoted to necessary practices and not to the exclusive cultivation of divine knowledge. The ideal

(1) Monroe, Paul. Cyclopaedia, Vol. IV, p. 5.

into the possession of a new lord along with the ploughs and cattle. Outside of a bare subsistence, the fruits of their labour were appropriated by the lord. Even the Church, because of the immense wealth in land it came to possess, was a member of this feudal organisation. The archbishop and abbot, as the chief executives, were powerful lords with extensive ecclesiastical powers and control of fighting units. The privileged classes of the clerics and nobility maintained their existence on the exploitation of the large mass of peasantry. About the fourteenth century owing to the rapid growth of towns and cities and accumulation of wealth through commercial enterprises, we have the rise of another class in medieval society--the burgher class or the middle class. While this class influenced the educational progress and growth of new institutions, they in no significant way determined the conception of "liberal" education in our period.

Since the menial work was done by the serfs and villeins and the arts and crafts by the laity, all such training was considered to be illiberal, and to this extent there is no departure from the Aristotelian distinction.

On the other hand, the sensual and worldly interests of the nobility did not find favour with the ascetic tendency in Christianity. Hence, the chivalric education, considered to be worthy of a free man and noble, was in no way a liberal education. In the education of the noble the intellectual element was at a minimum. Whereas the Greek and Roman

conception of a liberal education worthy of a free man was largely based on intellectual studies, on the cultivation of the mind and aesthetic values, the nobility of the medieval period were trained in the knightly code of conduct. The ruling motives were religion, honour and gallantry. The training was in respect to elders, politeness, courtesy, and the etiquette of love. The noble learnt to play chess and other games; he played the harp and the pipe; he learnt to sing, to read and write a little Latin (in England French was included), and to compose in verse. Much time was spent on running, wrestling, boxing, hunting, jousting and the warlike sports. This education of chivalry, though containing little that was intellectual, afforded an excellent discipline in the rudiments of love, war, and religion. It counter-acted the other-worldliness of monasticism and asceticism.

The true spirit of medieval liberal education is to be found in monasticism and scholasticism, and in the medieval universities. Before we examine these aspects, let us dispose of one other tendency in medieval education---mysticism. Mysticism was a reaction against the extreme formalism of the Christian Church. It was an effort to grasp through intuition the ultimate reality or the Divine Essence, and thus obtain direct communion with the highest. It was an emotional and immediate experience. "Logical" gymnastics were recommended to strengthen the mind for mystic contemplation. It should be mentioned that it is very

difficult to draw a line between a mystic and the monk and scholastic. Some of the ablest monks and scholastics were also confirmed mystics. Such mystics as John Scotus Erigena introduced dialectic and a broader learning in the equipment of the mystic. The finer distinctions may perhaps be of greater philosophic interest than for our present study.

When medieval Christianity borrowed its educational institutions from the Graeco-Roman institutions, it also borrowed the curriculum of a liberal education. In order to trace the adaptation of this curriculum we may have to refer to the centuries immediately preceding the "Dark Ages" (450--1050 A.D.) During these centuries we have the creation and definition of the materials of a liberal education for the subsequent thousand years. The men who created these materials of education were Christians themselves well versed in pagan culture and Christian doctrines. These writings were compendia of information or individual text books on the seven liberal arts--grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. The whole course of liberal education was determined by, and confined to the content of these books. The seven liberal arts were taken over by the Western Church from the ancient world by St. Augustine and Martianus Capella during the fifth century. This period was one of preparation of a form of concentrated, although rather unpalatable intellectual rations from the classical heritage. ~~These from~~ These text-books and compendia containing but abstracts of

the Greek sciences, were for five to six hundred years the only contact with the intellectual and institutional life of classical antiquity. While whole works of Vergil, Cicero and Livy were extant in the vast libraries of the monastic institutions, yet these original sources were little used. As for Greek it was almost forgotten. So during the "Dark Ages" a liberal education came to be identified with a knowledge of the seven liberal arts as presented in these textbooks and encyclopaedias. Liberal education as that worthy of a free-man came to be that education contained in the book. Owing to the restraining and restricting influence of the Church on independent inquiry, investigation and free speculation, medieval liberal education was but "bookish studies". Further, just as the Roman course of "politior humanitas" was subordinate to oratory, so the course in the Seven Liberal Arts were but a preparation for the highest science of all---theology. With the rise of the universities in the later middle ages, the seven liberal arts were regarded as a prerequisite for entering upon such professional courses as canon and civil law, medicine, and teaching.

Though the subjects listed in the liberal curriculum are taken from the ancients, yet the content and treatment were not the same. To account for the vast modifications introduced we must try to appreciate the attitudes of the Eastern and the Western Churches towards pagan learning. The Greek Christian Fathers, because of their deep study of Greek learning before conversion to the Christian faith, could

not but show a partiality towards the inclusion of pagan studies and whole works of Greek philosophers and historians in the liberal curriculum. Their fundamental attitudes were to bring all this learning to the service of the Church. Justin Martyr (175 A.D.) held that the teachings of philosophy were included in those of Christianity, and so far as they were correct, harmonised with its. Clement (160-215 A.D.) head of the catechetical school at Alexandria, held that the Gospels were perfected Platonism, and taught that pagan philosophy was "a pedagogue to bring the world to Christ." Origen, his successor, (185-254), speaking of the Greek sciences, wrote:-"They are to be used so that they may contribute to the understanding of the Scriptures; for just as philosophers are accustomed to say that geometry, music, grammar, rhetoric and astronomy all dispose us to the study of philosophy, so we may say that philosophy, rightly studied, disposes us to the study of Christianity." (1) Through his teachings concerning the harmony of the pagan sciences with the doctrines of religion, of Greek culture with Christian faith, he reconciled the Greek world to the new religion and aided in its dissemination. St. Basil, writing in the last quarter of the 4th century, sums up his judgment on the education of children thus:-"Are we then to give up literature? You will exclaim. I do not say that, but I do say that we must not kill souls.....In fact, the choice lies between two alternatives: a liberal education which you may get by

Monroe, Paul. "History of Education" p.239.

sending your children to the public schools, or the salvation of their souls which you secure by sending them to the monks. Which is to gain the day, Science or the Soul? If you can unite both advantages, do so by all means; but if not, choose the most precious." (1)

On the other hand the Roman Christian Fathers considered Hellenism almost synonymous with hostility to the Church. Yet Tertullian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Gregory, Jerome, and Augustine were saturated in pagan learning. To Tertullian (150-230) all Grecian learning was bound up with heresies; he inveighs against philosophy for "philosophy is the material of the world's wisdom and rash interpreter of the nature and dispensation of God. Indeed heresies themselves are instigated by philosophy." St. Jerome (334-423), saturated in pagan learning, contrasted a Christian and a Ciceronian to the extent of not finding a place for the latter in heaven. He permitted such studies "rather to judge than to follow them". Augustine (354-430), had begun a cyclopaedia on the liberal arts, completing portions of grammar, and music. He also wrote a treatise on dialectic. He himself utilised his extensive learning in combating the heresies in the Church. While in his earlier years he sanctioned the spoiling of the Egyptians, yet in his declining years prohibited the philosophical and literary studies of the ancients. Ultimately the views of the Western Church overcame the pagan partiality of the Eastern Church, and so

(1) Monroe, Paul. Opus cit. p.240.

we have the Dark Ages when learning was at its lowest level, deprived of vitality. Education was gained at second hand from the condensed and superficial exposition of the Seven Liberal Arts.

About 450 A.D. Martianus Capella, a very popular author in the Middle Ages, wrote a book called "The Marriage of Mercury and Philology". It was a compendium of textbooks on the Seven Liberal Arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Medicine and architecture are omitted because they were too mundane. Augustine, writing in the same century, makes mention of only six liberal arts, omitting astronomy. Cassiodorus (490-585) assigned the limit of seven as authoritative. He wrote the "De Artibus et Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum" as a companion piece to a work on sacred literature; both works were written for a monastic order for the education of the monks. He gives the Seven Pillars of the Temple of wisdom referred to in the Proverbs as conclusive evidence of the fixity of the curriculum. Boethius (480-542) wrote one of most widely known and read books "Consolations of Philosophy". It was translated into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great. It was a book of general nature reflecting the best spirit of classical ethics and politics. "He gave to the middle ages logic and ethics, or the basis of the entire dialectic element in their education, and also wrote on arithmetic, geometry and music." (1) His translations were the only

(1) Munroe, Paul. Opus cit. p.

means that medieval schoolmen had of knowing the philosophy of Aristotle until the 12th and 13th centuries. His work on music continued to be used well into the 18th century. His chief service was the transmission of a little knowledge of Greek writers by translation into Latin. Isidore of Seville (570-636) composed an encyclopaedia called the "Origines" or "Etymologies", which purported to be a summary of all knowledge worth knowing. He limits the liberal arts to seven, and uses the terms trivium and quadrivium; trivium for grammar, logic and rhetoric; and the quadrivium for arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. Isidore's book dealt with the seven liberal arts, medicine and libraries, law and chronology, the books of the Bible, heavenly and earthly hierarchies, the Church and the sects, languages, peoples, birds and beasts, physical and political geography, land surveying, road-making, agriculture, horticulture, war, litigation, public games, dress, and a host of other subjects. The monks for whom he wrote this were forbidden to read the original Greek and Roman works. Other text-books, forming the basis of the liberal studies were;-the "Ars Minor" of Donatus, a Latin grammar produced in the 4th century; Priscien's larger Latin Grammar with numerous quotations from the classics belonged to the fifth century and was far more widely employed in the teaching of the elements of the language. Cato's "Distichs" made their first appearance as a collection in 375 A.D. and became the first reader from the 8th to the 17th century.

After 1050 A.D. the liberal studies gain a new vitality through contact with Saracen learning and a re-discovery of classical works through Saracenic sources. The intellectual discussions of the schoolmen and the establishment of universities added new vigour to such studies. But the general characteristic of 'bookish' pre-occupation does not quite disappear. From the 12th century the liberal arts become associated with the natural, mental and moral sciences. Under the influence of scholasticism, with its extreme emphasis on logical analysis and logical presentation of a subject, the liberal studies really formed a preparation for erudite exposition of Church dogmas; so rhetoric and logic came to be very important subjects under scholasticism. The trivium now came to be regarded as a necessary course for the training of the mind, and as a preparation for higher studies. With the institution of theological courses at the universities, the Seven Liberal Arts were regarded as a preparation for the pursuit of true science, by which was meant the continuation of philosophy and theology. We may note here how once again, under the scholastics Anselm, Abelard, Roscellinus, Erigena, Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus and William of Occam, classical philosophy comes into its own, however, not as an end in itself but as a means of rationalising the theological doctrines. To the books already mentioned the scholastics now added works on philosophical theology.

The most widely used were:—"Sententiae" by Peter the Lombard, "Summa Theologiae" by Aquinas, and "Sic et Non" by Abelard. The intellectual studies of scholasticism were narrow because of the severe restrictions of the Church on speculation. It manifested a slavish adherence to Aristotle's deductions, over subtle distinctions and verbal quibbles. A keen and learned disputant defending the doctrinal formulae of the Church came to be the ideal of liberal education towards the close of the middle ages.

Let us now glance into the content of liberal arts to obtain an idea of the change that have come over the conception of a liberal education.

Grammar monopolised the attention of students during the early half of the middle ages and formed the broad foundation for the elaborate curriculum of the later middle ages. Isidore defines it as the "science of correct speaking and of the sources and foundations of literature." (1) Rabanus Marcus, in the 9th century, speaks of it as the science of interpreting the poets and historians and the method of correct writing and speaking. (1) For the 700 or 800 years of classical antiquity grammar had been a study of literature, not only from the standpoint of structure and literary forms, but also from the standpoint of criticism and appreciation. In Capella's work, grammar is just the mechanics of the language--definitions, rules, declensions and conjugations. Greek had almost entirely disappeared from

(1) Monroe, Paul. Cyclopaedia, Vol. IV, p. 1 ff.

Western Europe except in the Irish monasteries. Alfred the Great emphasised both Latin and Anglo-Saxon language studies. Whole works of Greek and Latin writers were available, for Alcuin in the 9th century mentions Pliny, Aristotle, Cicero and Virgil. But the general attitude to this literature is expressed in these words of Alcuin, the most outstanding teacher during the reign of Charlemagne, "The sacred poets are sufficient for you; there is no reason why you should sully your mind with the rank luxuriance of Virgil's verse".(1) It is known that in the 10th and 11th centuries extensive use of pagan literature was made in the monasteries at St.Gall. In prose writings, however, preference was given to Orosinus, Gregory and the Church Fathers.

Rhetoric or oratory in ancient tradition represented the higher training of youth for public administration and the practice of law and formed the focal point of Roman education. During this period it became the least important of the trivium because there were no dominant political interests for the individual citizen; there was little significance in the training of the clergy because church services required little or no oratory, and public affairs developed no learned or trained class aside from the clergy. For Capella, rhetoric is a scrappy selection of definitions of the parts of the oration, of methods of proofs and so on. Rabanus Maurus sums up the situation thus:-"Even then not all who expect to enter the priesthood, but only those who are not
as (1) Graver, F.P. "Education during the Middle Ages", p.31

as yet obliged to devote their time to pursuits of greater usefulness, should study the subject. At any rate one who wishes to acquire the art of eloquence can do so more advantageously by reading and hearing the rules of rhetoric from the mouths of great orators." (1)

Rhetoric came to have a different content from the ancient concept. In an uncultured society there was need for a professional class that could write and compose documents-- ecclesiastical, political, and legal. The two objectives aimed at were (a) training in composing letters to various people in authority and (b) constructing various documents such as contracts, wills, decrees, deeds and the keeping of records of any kind. The words "epistolae" and "dictamen" express the medieval requirements. With the founding of the universities the study of t rhetoric merged into the study of Roman Law.

Dialectic, which for Plato had been the highest reach of philosophy and for the great age of antiquity the symbol of the most abstruse and comprehensive speculations, is for Capella and the other medieval text-book writers nothing more or less than a highly condensed treatise on Aristotle's formal logic. Especially in the early middle ages metaphysics and philosophy were entirely foreign to it. In the 11th century with the development of theological interests metaphysical doctrines became of great importance; but it is only with the growth of universities and the recovery of Aristotle's

works that philosophy was added as a separate subject of the curriculum. The medieval ages drew on Boethius for formal logic. With the growth of theoretical discussions following upon Rabanus Maurus and Erigena, logic became of transcendental importance, and was made part of the trivium. In reality it came to replace grammar and its inclusive though superficial study of literature. From now on to the close of the middle ages logic was the one subject of greatest importance because it was bound up with all other aspects of study and all phases of intellectual interest. Yet as one of the Seven Liberal Arts it was only formal logic. Logical metaphysics was reserved as part and function of theology. The favourite text-book used for nearly 350 years was that of Petrus Hispanus.

Under Arithmetic Capella devotes almost all his space to the mystical symbolism of number. The chief interest of the monastic schools was the calculation of Easter and other Church festivals, and as such was known as Computas. There was no advance made till the 13th century, when with the introduction of columnal calculation and the arabic system of notation, tuition in arithmetic was extended to the keeping of accounts. But the older texts of Boethius, Cassiodorus, etc., made no reference to practical arithmetical operations. They mainly dealt with classification of numbers, a study of their properties and mystical symbolism.

Geometry included mainly geography and surveying.

In the beginning only those elements useful in surveying architecture and map-making were studied, but later the complete system of Euclid came to be a regular part of the course. Till the 10th century only four books of Euclid were known. Capella devotes a few pages to the most elementary geometrical definitions; the bulk of the work is on geography.

Astronomy was the most popular and practical subject of the quadrivium. In conjunction with arithmetic it was useful in fixing the dates of festivals and fast days, the proper time for planting and harvesting crops, and for engaging in other practical pursuits. Astronomy was more popular because of its connection with astrology, with the planetary influences over the destiny of the individual and the mass. Even medical diagnosis was effected by a knowledge of astrology. Isidore's treatment in the 'Etymologies' consisted of a list of definitions--like those of mathematical geography, names of stars, and astrological speculations.

Music, as a liberal art, was concerned with a mathematical study of sounds, and was closely connected with the mystical and symbolic study of numbers like the Pythagorean school. Singing, chanting and even ability to play was considered illiberal. In this the medieval writers continued the Greek tradition. Boethius' "De Musica" in five books was the highest authority for many centuries.

In the medieval universities of Salerno, Bologna, Paris,

and the 79 universities which were established by the beginning of the Renaissance, the Seven Liberal Arts formed the preliminary qualification for admission to the faculty of law, medicine and theology. By the 13th century the content of the curriculum in the liberal arts was more or less fixed. The extant compendia and text-books were enriched by Arabic treatises on mathematics and dialectics, and many works of Aristotle were translated into Latin either from the Arabic or the original (logical treatises, organon, ethics, politics, poetics, rhetoric, and the natural sciences.) Little attention was paid to the Roman classics. There was, however, great emphasis placed on formal disputations in Latin to afford "acuteness and vigour of intellect". By the 15th century the aim came to be to win and to secure applause without regard to truth or consistency.

The university curriculum reflecting medieval liberal education at its highest point of development, dealt entirely with books, and cared little for developing the imagination and aesthetic side of life, and did not encourage investigation and original thinking. Monroe puts it very neatly when he says:-"The education of the early universities was wholly one of books, of a very limited selection of books in each particular field, but of books that were looked upon as furnishing in the written word absolute ultimate authority. It was directed much more to the mastery of form and the development of power of formal speech, especially

argumentation, than to the acquisition of knowledge, the pursuit of truth in the widest sense, or even to familiarising the student with the literary sources of knowledge which, though lying within his grasp, were outside the pale of orthodox ecclesiastical approval." (1)

(1) Hunroe, Paul. "History of Education" p. 324.

CHAPTER IV.

Renaissance Conception of a Liberal Education.

The re-awakening of the intellectual and spiritual energies of Europe, after the barren formalism to which thought had been reduced by the authoritarian church of the Middle Ages, dates as far back as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The crusades, the growth of wealthy cities, the rise of a burgher class, the expansion of commerce, industry and banking; the increasing influence of the guilds and of apprenticeship in the trades; the growing spirit of nationalism and the development of literature in the different vernaculars, are some of the factors in the revival of an interest in things of this world in contrast to the sterile other-worldliness of the medieval period. In the expansion of this new spirit, attention passed from the divinities to the humanities; from a contemplation of the other world it became fixed upon the joys of living, the beauties and wonders of nature, the human relationships of life, and the desires, ambitions and aspirations of individual beings.

Discussing the essentially spiritual features of the movement, E.H.Wild writes,

"Thus the thought processes developed by scholasticism; the broadening out of the universities; the incoming of Moslem learning from Spain; the increased supply of books; the findings of exploration and scientific discovery; the degeneration of the church -- all helped to develop the intellectual freedom and individual personality that brought about the intellectual, artistic, moral and spiritual re-birth of western Europe, provided the genesis of its modern culture, the emancipation of its will, and an enthusiastic delight in freedom of thought, speech and action." (1).

There were two phases to the Renaissance, namely, the Italian phase which had reached its climax about 1450, and the Northern European phase which commenced about 1450. Historically the whole movement is known as the humanistic movement, meaning thereby active interest in the pursuits and activities of man in this life. In Italy

Italy humanism took on an individualistic character. It strove for the expression of individual personality through art, literature, music, architecture and nature. Its keynote was versatility. The immediate aim of the Italian humanist was to restore the magnificence of Roman culture, and therewith the virtue of the Roman citizen and the Roman polity. The virtue of the medieval church was its suppression of individual personality, but the Graeco-Roman ideal was diametrically opposed to it. As W.H.Woodward says,

"Development of personal force, with its corresponding assertion in society, in politics, in letters, or art, was in reality the virtue of the Renaissance." (1).

He goes on to say on the same page, that to the Italian of the Quattrocento progress meant "a restoration of past perfection, not the evolution of a new idea", and hence there was an emphasis on a return to the antiquity of Graeco-Roman ideals. In the rich Northern Italian cities and city-states this desire led to a revival of classical learning and paganism.

Humanism across the Alps was social in its aims. The religious basis of humanism was stressed in the North. It was believed that if due care is taken of one's religious beliefs and practices, social and moral reform of individual and society would inevitably follow. Northern humanism looked to religion for providing the best means of rich and full lives; it continued to preserve an interest in the church. But it also turned to the ancients and their writings for knowledge and inspiration to effect its purpose. It included in its programme of studies Hebrew classics and Latin and Greek classics, because of its interest in the original sources of Biblical literature and the writings of the Church Fathers. Unlike individual humanism which was aristocratic and catered mainly for the upper classes, social humanism was democratic since it aimed at abundant and full lives for the masses as well as for the privileged few. However, that phase which is most concerned with a liberal education is the Italian individual humanism.

In the opening paragraphs we have considered the general significance of this revival of learning for Europe, and the specific manifestations in Italy and across the Alps. To consider the conception of liberal education during the Renaissance is to examine the aims and conceptions of Italian humanism. Individual humanism and liberal education are inseparable aspects.

A brief survey of the social conditions during the birth of this new spirit is useful to an understanding of the liberal conception of education. In the fourteenth century Northern Italy had accumulated a considerable amount of wealth. The thriving cities of Genoa, Milan, Florence, Pavia, Mantua, Bologna, Ferrara, and Venice were not only centres of commerce and trade but also seats of vigorous intellectual and artistic development. Wealth and power gradually passed into the hands of prosperous merchant families from that of the clerics and nobility. This new class found opportunity for gratification of expensive tastes, and their wealth gave them a large amount of leisure. By the thirteenth century much of the sharp distinction between the nobility and the merchant class had been eliminated. The noble had been compelled to leave his castle and reside in the towns; intermarriage between the families of the rich bankers and merchants and the sons of the nobles became frequent. Both noble and merchant met on common spiritual ground and turned to the cultivation of the fine arts of leisure. While the noble by predilection and tradition turned to the profession of arms, and arts and literature, the merchant turned to business, and arts and literature.

With the disappearance of the feudal system in the commercial centres, a new class of mercenary soldiers supported by the merchants arose for the protection of the city. Such a military arrangement in its turn led to the growth of a specialised class of soldiers -- the condottieri or professional military leaders. Under them military science underwent improvement, for only a soldier with technical skill, grounded in mathematics and mechanics for use in mechanical aids to attack and defence, could hope to become a leader.

Knowledge and specialised training in military science was exalted above the personal prowess of the knights of old. One could infer the nature of the new demands made on education.

There arose a group of rulers of city-states from among the professional soldiers and wealthy bankers. They are known as the "despots", for they were really military usurpers. These despots exerted a beneficial influence upon the growth of individual humanism in Italy. Some of the better known were patrons of art and learning, e.g. Cosimo dei Medici and Lorenzo dei Medici of Florence; the Sforza family of Milan; the Scaliger family in Verona; the Gonzagas in Mantua; and the d'Este family in Ferrara. The point about these despots was that they were social upstarts, who had come to hold the reins of government with none of the "divinity that doth hedge" a legitimate king. They, therefore, desired to create at their courts the social distinction which is secured by a patron of learning. This they did by making the little Italian courts the centres of classical study, and by spending lavishly on the works of gold-smiths, sculptors, and painters, and by encouraging scholarly research. At these courts noble and merchant vied with one another in "the fine art of passing time agreeably and with distinction". (1). In time the courts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gave rise to the class of "courtier" or "gentleman". Individual humanism and the pursuits and activities defined by it were, therefore, the privilege of the few -- the despots and their families, the nobility, the wealthy bankers and merchants, the condottieri and the courtiers. The education which they received was a liberal education, the prerogative of the privileged class. All books and tractates on education dealt with the education of the nobility, the courtiers, the ruling princes, and high officials of church and state. The set of schools that arose to meet their needs are known as the "Court Schools" or "Palace Academies" founded and maintained by the Italian princes for the Court. There were court schools at Venice, Padua, Florence, and Verona; the most note-

worthy of these was the Mantuan school of Vittorino da Feltre, and that at Ferrara conducted by Guarino da Verona.

Italian humanism aimed at (a) the Greek ideal of a liberal education i.e. the harmonious development of mind, body and character. The ideal personality to the Italian humanists was a the "universal man", an individual with a fully rounded development on all sides; (b) a renewed emphasis upon individual excellence and personal self-realization.

The earliest and best statement of a liberal education is that by Paulus Vergerius, a client of the despot of Padua, writing in 1404 in his book "De Ingeniis Moribus",

"We call those studies liberal which are worthy of^a free man; those studies by which we attain and practise virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains, and develops those highest gifts of body and mind which ennoble men, and which are rightly judged to rank next in dignity to virtue only. For to a vulgar temper, gain and pleasure are the one aim of existence; to a lofty nature, moral worth and fame." (1).

The whole educational aim of the new learning is succinctly expressed in this statement. Reisner commenting on it says,

"It is to enlarge the experience, sharpen the intelligence, refine the taste, strengthen the body, develop the moral sense, and mature the character of the growing boy. No longer does the limited aim of preparing for later professional studies or for practical employment engross the educator. His aim has now come rather to be the all-round development of the pupil, and utilitarian purposes, at least in the statement, fall into the background." (2).

Liberal education is defined in terms of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, and as such the aim conceived is that of producing the perfect man fitted for participation in the activities of the dominant social institutions. One important aspect of this education is its emphasis on expression; evidently this is due to Quintilian's

1. Woodward, W.H. : Vittorino da Feltre : p. 102.
2. Reisner, E.H. : ibid. : p. 328.

Quintilian's ideal of an educated man with ability to speak. Lionardo d'Arezzo writing on the study of literature in 1477, says,

"Poet, Orator, Historian, and the rest, all must be studied, each must contribute a share. This learning thus beomes full, ready, varied, and elegant, available for action or for discourse in all subjects. But to enable us to make effectual use of what we know, we must add to our knowledge the power of expression. Those two sides of learning, indeed, should not be searated; they afford mutual aid and distinction." (1).

Pope Pius II writing a tractate on "The Liberal Education" (1475) considers the aim of a liberal education to be character, which is to be obtained by a study of philosophy, letters and by religious nurture. Even he stresses the importance of eloquence: "Eloquence is a prime accomplishment in one immersed in affairs." (1). The humanistic ideal was to learn to express with distinction, with style, and in a manner worthy of the subject. Hence Grammar was considered to be a portal to all knowledge.

The Graeco-Roman emphasis upon the importance of oratory found ready acceptance in Renaissance Italy. Apart from the patriotic spirit present in the classical movement, the opportunities presented by the rich and self-governing cities, rendered Graeco-Roman doctrines of education acceptable. The Italians were convinced that the secret of ancient perfection in literature and political skill was embedded in the Roman system of education. Woodward describes how in Renaissance Italy "with its multiform political units, republics, city-states, highly-organised despotisms, their diplomacies, and civil services, a large proportion of the upper and educated classes was inevitably concerned in duties and careers in which a sound intellectual training, coupled with skill in expression, was essential to success. Oratory was a practical exhibition of knowledge and personality in its application to affairs." (2). The "ottimo cittadino" of Palmieri is identical to the perfect orator of Cicero and Quintilian; the ideal of the age is a

1. Monroe, Paul : Text-book : p. 367.

2. Woodward, W.H. : Education during the Renaissance : p. 9.

a scholarly man of affairs, and therefore, 'eloquentia' assumed such importance in humanistic education.

But the orator was required to be versed in the whole circle of available knowledge. The Renaissance writers used the word "eruditio" to express this ideal, and it is equivalent to the Greek "enkyklios paedeia". "Eruditio" included all kinds of knowledge which contributed to the interpretation of an author's meaning and an intelligent understanding of the history, geography, and mythology of the ancient world. (1).

There is, however, one important aspect of Renaissance education which must be noted. Graeco-Roman educational practice is combined with the best elements of chivalric education. It is this combination of Graeco-Roman education with the education of chivalry which constituted the liberal education of the Italian Renaissance times. It was this new conception of a liberal education which found expression at the Court school of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua. Woodward states that Vittorino's aim was "to effect a reconciliation of the moral and religious teaching of the Church with classical instruction on lines approved by Quintilian, and with the knightly disciplines of the Italian Castello, all being suffused with something of the Greek feeling for grace and harmony." (2). It was to be a training of mind, body and spirit in one relation.

Briefly expressed, the Renaissance conception of a liberal education is the Graeco-Roman ideal of Quintilian's "perfect orator"; but to this ideal is now added all that was noble in the old knightly code of chivalry. In the most lofty Renaissance conception is a harmonious blend of the Greek, the Roman, and the Christian elements of culture.

Let us now proceed to a survey of the humanistic course of study by which this end was to be achieved. The humanists considered all human interests as their province of study, and a character-

1. Woodward, W.H. : Education during the Renaissance : p. 44.
2. " : ibid. : p. 12.

characteristic of individual humanism was its variety of interests and an intense desire for more light. Leonardo da Vinci, a great Renaissance figure, was not only an artist but also an engineer, musician and philosopher; Galileo was physicist, astronomer, artist and musician. Hence the humanistic curriculum was broad as life itself, and their studies opened up three aspects of life almost forgotten in medieval education:

(a) the life of the past -- of the Greeks and Romans -- as reflected the incomparable literature and art of those who had lived it. There was an element of humanness in the classics not present in the dry abstracts and theological studies of the medieval period. Hence classical literature and classical art were sought and studied as an expression of this full life, and they were used as models and themes for a national art of painting, sculpture and literature of poetry, drama, romance. In time the derived art came to rival the best classic models.

(b) the subjective world of emotions: an attempt was made in their studies to develop a joy of living and the contemplative pleasures of speculation about things of this life; to inculcate an appreciation of the beautiful. A characteristic of humanism was its emphasis on aesthetic education; it aimed at appreciation not only of literature but also of art, architecture, music and drama. This aestheticism was absent from medieval education.

(c) a third world which opened up to the humanist was the world of nature and its manifestations. Science in the eye of the medieval scholar was debasing because it dealt with material phenomena and not with abstractions and logical subtleties. The Church and the theologians, with their eyes focussed on the other world, had frowned upon an investigation of the laws of nature because it meant a questioning of the authority of revealed religion. (1).

A liberal education comprised literary, ~~aesthetic~~, aesthetic, physical and moral elements. Its essence was humanism -- the study of man through the writings of the classical authors. This programme was mainly carried out by the court schools which dealt with the education of a pupil from the age of 10 to 20. At first the work was of a secondary nature but later it began to supersede the work of the universities which persisted in the medieval course of studies. After a broad basis had been laid by a humanistic curriculum the course in liberal education may bifurcate either to a course of training in arms or to a further study of letters; Vergerius thinks that distinction in either sphere was worthy of a man of noble spirit. (1).

Since ancient perfection was enshrined in ancient literature it followed that great emphasis was placed upon the learning of classical Latin. Cicero was held up as the model of perfection in style. Instruction in Latin aimed at making it a living language, and therefore, much attention was paid to articulation and proper accent. Selections and whole works of Cicero, Quintilian, Vergil, Lucan, Horace, Seneca, and Claudian were studied. There was a conscious effort to employ vocabulary and constructions used by the classical authors. To the older aim of command of Latin as an instrument for gaining knowledge was added the aim of writing in Latin with distinction, as the great writers wrote, and of using only such words and constructions as could be justified by the examples of classical authors. It is a significant contrast to the Middle Ages that a variety of whole works were studied for content and a stress was made on the appreciation of style. Grammar, as Quintilian knew and used the term, and as based on and including literature, was the foremost subject of the humanistic curriculum. At first it was only Latin grammar, but later Greek was introduced. Finally it was considered that a person with a liberal education should have complete mastery over both Latin and Greek. So the Greek authors Homer, Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plutarch were also read and studied for their

for their subject matter. In the school of Vittorino literature from the patristic sources were included.

History was introduced as a new subject of study, though the history was that of ancient Greece and Rome, drawn from the authors studied. Nothing that happened after the fall of Rome was considered of importance. So imbued were the Italian humanists with the spirit of the past glory of Rome. Greek classics and Greek history were studied only for the light they throw on Roman glory. Vittorino's attitude to history is interesting for he considered it as a contemplation of notable deeds told by a master of words. Livy and Plutarch and Thucydides were the chief historical writers used. It was by the end of the sixteenth century that History and Mythology grew up as a separate subject from Grammar. By this time technical Grammar had become separated from Literature, which was now the more important subject. Rhetoric of the trivium developed into a critical study of literary art and Logic assumed a lowly place. In teaching Rhetoric Guarino da Verona accepts the Roman ideal of "vir bonus peritus dicendi". To him the quality of sincerity was the crucial virtue. In the court schools of the fifteenth century rhetoric included Latin and Greek composition and declamation as training for public speaking.

Vittorino taught Geography from Strabo or Ptolemy or Mela or Dionysius. Geography and Astronomy were still regarded as one subject. The Natural Sciences were taught from Aristotle, Theophrastus and Pliny. The quadrivial subjects -- Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy -- were greatly expanded by the introduction of much new knowledge. Later in the sixteenth century Algebra and Trigonometry were organised as separate teaching subjects. During the revival of learning Physics was separated from Astronomy and was taught as a separate subject. (1).

Music was taught in the Greek tradition special emphasis being laid on the theoretical side. Hence Mathematics came to have an important place in the curriculum. Now all these subjects were

were taught in the best court schools which had a classical bias. These subjects were taught to give the courtiers and nobility the background of a liberal education.

Besides the intellectual content of the programme of studies, great importance was attached to physical training in the Greek sense. Vittorino and the Italian humanists aimed at a standard of physical excellence to match personal bearing. It was a correlative of intellectual humanism. The purpose of diet and hygiene, exercises, games, swimming, fencing, boxing, riding and dancing was to develop an easy, graceful bearing, suppleness and dignity of figure. It had thus a social end. Closely correlated with this was moral education, the most important aspect of which, at least to the training of a courtier, was deportment, manners, voice, intonation, gesture and dress. Maxims of morality were learnt from church writers and classical authors. Morality was not limited to obedience to religious authority but it had plenty of bearing on everyday life. It is here that the education of manners for a polite and cultivated society blended with the Graeco-Roman education with a superior result.

The elements of such a liberal education then included physical education, training in conduct and behaviour, effective citizenship, moral uprightness, erudition, and above all aesthetic feeling -- a sense of harmony, rhythm and proportion. Monroe sums up the contribution of the Italian phase thus:

"The great educational contribution of the Renaissance was the recovery or reformulation of the conception of the liberal education, which included the physical, the aesthetic, the moral, the literary and social, as well as the abstract literary, theological and ecclesiastical elements. This education aimed at the development of the free man possessing individuality of his own, and power of efficient participation in everyday life, based upon a wide knowledge of life in the past and an appreciation of opportunities of life in the present. At its best it demanded that such a man should possess, as the evidence of his education, the moral purpose to make his knowledge and power of service in the needs of his country and the life of his fellow-men." (1).

Though social humanism in the North of Europe cannot be associated with the traditional conception of liberal education, it may be of interest to mention briefly some of the characteristics which distinguish it from the Italian phase. Elizabethan England is perhaps an exception in that the education of the "courtier" and "gentleman", advocated by Roger Ascham and Elyot, approached the Italian ideal.

While Italian humanism aimed at individual distinction, the northern humanists emphasised piety and humanitarian outlook. There was less emphasis on the subjective and aesthetic side of education, but more on the objective and moral results. It aimed at a practical and religious life with more harmonious social relationships. The great scholar, Erasmus, who represents the mid-way position, puts piety before learning, and moral duty before manners. He encouraged a classical literary training of the broadest type as a means to a religious and social end, rather than for its own sake. Religious instruction coupled with training in selected classical works was calculated to eliminate the ignorance of the common people, and the greed, selfishness, hypocrisy and tendency towards exploitation, of the leaders of the churches, monasteries, universities and governments.

The curriculum comprised a union of classical and biblical literature. There was intensive training in Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Elyot in his "Governour" suggests the teaching of Latin as a living language, Greek for literature, certain selected classical authors, parts of the Old Testament for ethical training, and the New Testament. He, however, included drawing, music, dancing and physical exercises. Erasmus urged the study of history, geography, and science as a help to the elucidation of the classics. Generally, physical training, music and art of the Italian court schools find little place in the secondary schools of England, France or Germany.

The broad humanism of Italy and Northern Europe, from the middle of the sixteenth century, deteriorated into a narrower formalized humanism, called Ciceronianism. In the idolatrous regard for classical usage there was the temptation to make style rather than

than matter the object of greater emphasis; rules of syntax and niceties of expression than ideas. School studies came to be restricted to a study of Cicero as a master of linguistics. Instead of the wide range of ancient literature reading came to be confined to a few selected "classics". The sole aim was the development of a fine style and correct form of expression, with Cicero as a model of perfection.

Until almost the middle of the nineteenth century this legacy of the Renaissance came to prevail in the schools of Europe. The aim of a liberal education in the study of the classics as linguistics came to be defeated. The Roman word "humanitas" lost its large and generous original meaning and shrank into a synonym for Greek and Latin learning. (1). These dead languages became the sole instruments of culture, and classical scholars were accepted as the only possible type of educated man.

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1. Wild, E.H. : Foundations of Modern Education : p. 272.

Chapter Five.

A Note on Reformation Ideals of Education.

The humanism of Italy gradually spread into Germany, France, the Low Countries and England. It has already been noted how the social humanism of the North differed from that of individual humanism. We are perhaps justified in adding a further note to this because, the humanistic tendencies released by the Renaissance fused with and stimulated the Reformation movement, which has had such considerable influence on the development of Western education. The merging of humanism with the religious moralism of the North led to a different emphasis on education. The Renaissance stimulated a critical study of original sources of Graeco-Roman culture, and emphasised the necessity of using individual reason. This emphasis on the use of the critical faculties led in the North to a revolt against the authority of the Church, and gave birth not only to the Protestant revolt but also to the Counter-Reformation. So we have two tendencies operating at the same time: one, under the leadership of the reformers like Luther, Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli, urged a complete break from the Church of Rome; the second, organisations like the Society of Jesus, the Port Royalists, and the Christian Brothers, remained within the Catholic fold and attempted not only to reform the abuses within the Church but also expressly set out to bring back the strayed sheep to the fold.

Both groups had one common ultimate aim: an education for this life and a preparation for a glorious hereafter. "The chief function of education was to develop the religious beliefs and practices, and the ecclesiastical affiliations and interests of the child, for upon these depended his eternal welfare." (1) But there was one chief distinction between the aims of the Protestants reformers and the teaching brotherhoods: the whole programme of the former was based on individual liberty of conscience and the duty of interpreting the Scriptures according to one's own reason; the latter's scheme aimed at the subjection of the individual to institutional control to achieve its moral and religious objective, as Monroe puts it: "The end which every member of the order (Jesuit) was bound to hold constantly in view in all his work was the triumph of the Church over every hostile force through the unquestioned obedience of every member and of every individual to that authority however expressed. Heroin was a complete negation of the principle developed by the Renaissance." (2) In short, the Protestants were influenced by the Renaissance influence tendency of individualism: Luther's essential work was the substitution of individual judgment and individual responsibility for the collective authority of the Church in affecting the salvation of souls.

(1) Monroe, Paul. "History of Education" p. 408

(2) Monroe, Paul. *ibid.* p. 428

This view had important consequences for the growth of education. Whereas the Italian conception of a liberal education based on the humanistic studies was clearly meant only for the privileged few--the nobility and the rich bourgeoisie--the Protestants advocated universal, compulsory education for all--rich and poor, the ruler and the ruled, the professional and the artisan to implement their ideals. The conception of universal elementary education for the masses is the unique contribution of the Reformation. This view developed in later centuries to affect the very conception of a liberal education. An education not having a vocational aim had always been associated with a liberal education, and as such it was also restricted to a privileged class. But now the seeds of a newer and broader conception, breaking the barriers of social and economic distinction, have been planted. Hence, the Reformation conception of education has a place in our study, as affording a contrast to the pagan Italian conception of a liberal education.

It must, however, be mentioned that the organisation of universal elementary education was not an established fact for centuries to come. During the reformation, both for Protestants and Catholics, the prime need was for a special class of highly qualified preachers, teachers, and religious leaders. Therefore, in practice, the liberal humanistic curriculum of the secondary schools and universities, were restricted to the selected few--but selection was by merit rather than by social or economic privileges.

The core of the curriculum was religion. In the elementary schools of the Protestants the three R's, singing, gymnastics, morals and manners were taught. Luther urged the extension of the vernacular into all the schools. Their secondary schools taught classical Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Biblical exegesis. Luther would also teach rhetoric, dialectic, history, science, mathematics, music and gymnastics. The Jesuits added geography to this curriculum. A great stress was laid on the classical languages as essential for the purpose of providing for a direct study of the Scriptures and the Fathers in the originals. This aim was more prominent in the Protestant school than in the Catholic school. A theological atmosphere appeared not only in the content of the work of the secondary schools and universities and in the spirit of the intellectual life in general but also in the concrete work of the schools. Both Jesuits and Protestant high schools came to emphasise dialectical and rhetorical training for their specific purposes. As theological disputations between the Protestants and Catholics, and even among the various denominations of the Protestants, became more frequent, logic (of the dry and subtle scholastic variety) and the art of polemics came to dominate the education of the clergy and higher officers of the Church. In the Jesuit schools for teacher training rhetoric assumed some importance because of the extreme usefulness of an excellent exposition of a theme or point of view. Philosophy

once again preceded theology in both Protestant universities and Jesuit Colleges. In brief, the educators of the Reformation period accepted the content side of the humanistic curriculum but used it for purposes different from those of the earlier humanists. It was used not for personal culture and individual distinction, but for moral regeneration of society, either by individual study of religion (Protestant) or by indoctrination into, and acceptance of the collective judgment of the Church (Jesuit Order and other Catholic organisations).

Chapter Six.

Seventeenth-Eighteenth Century Conception of a Liberal Education.

The re-awakening of western Europe manifested itself in three successive stages:

(a) the Renaissance proper identified with the Italian phase of individual humanism during the 15th century;

(b) the social humanism across the Alps merging with the great revolt of Protestantism against the authority of the Roman Catholic Church (Reformation and Counter-Reformation) during the 16th century;

(c) the beginnings of scientific enquiry and the methodical study of natural phenomena, during the 17th century.

Educationally the 15th century movement laid stress on individual attainment and personal culture, and hence was literary and aesthetic. The 16th century spirit is characterised by a devotion to religious and political or social values. These two phases we have already studied. The third phase, the high water mark of the re-awakening of European thought life, came in the 17th century with a development which was impersonal, non-social and directed to an objective determination of reality; it was philosophical and scientific.

The education arising out of the first two phases had degenerated into a linguistic study of the ancient classics.

A liberal education had come to mean, not the 'eruditio' and the 'eloquentia' of the Italian humanists, but a philological acquaintance with Latin and Greek. In brief, it was as much removed from human life and interests as linguistics could possibly make it. The reaction to this state of affairs was a powerful realistic movement in education stimulated by the scientific investigations and discoveries made outside the schools and universities, in spite of ecclesiastical disapproval--Protestant and Catholic. Realism holds that education should be concerned with the actual realities of life in all its aspects. Three trends may be distinguished in this movement: (a) humanistic or verbal realism, (b) social realism, and (c) sense realism. While the first trend harked back to the humanism of the Renaissance, the third was prophetic of the great scientific advancement of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In so far as the humanistic realists attempted to revive the earlier Renaissance conceptions they approached the ideal of a liberal education. They believed that the classical languages and literatures were the only subjects worthy of study, and the ideal means to a liberal education. It was believed that the ancient writers had attained the highest achievement possible by man, and had included in their writings all that was worthy of man's interest and attention. These verbal realists aimed at "complete knowledge and understanding of human society--human motives,

nature, institutions, and relationships both to the world of man and to the world of nature--and with such understanding, to fit the individual to the environment in which he must live"

(1) So they studied classical literature for its content--scientific, historical, and social. They believed in the utilisation of classical literature as the best available means of preparing for the realities of life. It was a bookish conception of liberal education, but its saving grace was its constant emphasis on such an education being of use in this life.

The leading writers of this school were (1) Juan Luis Vives, 1492--15 ; (2) Francis Rabelais, 1483--1553; and (3) John Milton, 1608--1674. To Vives education should develop personality, Christian virtues, and competence in business. To Rabelais the aim of learning is "the formation of a complete man, skilled in art and industry", "the development of the whole man, physically, morally, intellectually". (2) Milton writes, "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that t which fits a man to perform, justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War". (3) Their education is much more liberal than that of the Renaissance humanists for they would provide intellectual education, moral education, social education, religious education and physical education--

(1) Wild, E.H. *ibid.* p. 317.

(2) Wild, E.H. *ibid.* p. 317.

(3) Monroe, Paul. "History of Education" p. 451.

an education of the whole man for all the practical needs of life.

The content of study proposed by the verbal realists to implement their aim is inexhaustible and encyclopaedic. This encyclopaedic curriculum is characteristic of the realists; the whole circle of knowledge (*enkyklios paideia*) of the Greeks pales into insignificance before this synoptic conception. Rabelais commends for the education of Gargantua and Pantagruel, physical exercises, games, sport; Bible study and religious exercises; a long list of musical instruments to be mastered; readings from ancient authorities in science, history, mathematics, astronomy, Latin, Greek, Hebraic, Chaldaic and Arabic languages. Milton commends the study of agriculture, physiology, architecture, natural philosophy, geography, medicine, from classical authors; ethics, economics, politics, history, theology, Church history, logic, rhetoric, composition, oratory, and the ancient languages. He, however, did not provide free play and games in his programmen, but he advocated physical training for military service.

The humanistic realistic conception is then based largely on the acquisition of information from books on all subjects and in all languages. But since it placed emphasis on substance rather than on form it has an advance on the linguistic formalism. The conception however did not find ready acceptance in the universities because of its stupendous

programme. It, however, marks a step nearer towards a sense-realism.

In passing, we may note that the second type of realistic education--social realism--was advocated mainly for the upper classes, for the "gentleman" or "man of the world". Montaigne is the chief exponent of this education. Like the Sophists of Greece he advocated an individualistic and pragmatic utilitarian education, which had efficiency and success in social life as its aim. He is not interested in preparation for a specialised trade or for a profession. His ideal is the versatile man of affairs. He proposed a broad education which would include physical training, moral training, and intellectual training. To quote his aims:

"To a gentleman born of noble parentage, and heir of a house that aims at true learning, and in it would be disciplined, not so much for gain and commodity to himself, nor for external show and ornament, but to adorn and enrich his inward mind, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and efficient man than a bare learned man.....I would rather prefer wisdom--judgment, civic customs, and modest behaviour--than bare and mere literal learning" (1)

This conception of an education worthy of the aristocrat is one of social adjustment, the preparing of an individual for "getting on" with his fellow-men, and is opposed to the previous view of seeking information by a study of books.

(1) Montaigne, "On the Education of Children" quoted by Wild, E.H. p.327.

The German and English upper classes adopted the French system of education for their children. The curriculum consisted of modern languages, literature, mathematics, military science, political history and geography, physical training and social accomplishments, and a "grand tour".

The realistic movement in education culminated in the work of the sense realists. "Instead of a reality as found in books, instead of a reality experienced in every-day human relationships, they postulate a basic reality, the reality found in the forces and laws of nature. (1) The ultimate aim of the sense realists was to develop a natural individual and a natural society by working in accord with the laws of nature. The typical exponents of sense realism are (a) Richard Mulcaster, 1531--1611; (b) Francis Bacon, 1561--1626; (c) Wolfgang Ratke, 1571--1635; John Amos Comenius, 1592--1670.

Bacon believed that the ultimate goal of education was to give to man dominance over things, to increase human power through the utilisation of scientific knowledge. He believed that the scientific study of nature was basic to all human progress. To Comenius the ultimate goal of education was "eternal happiness with God". The immediate aim was the teaching of all things to all men for the activities of life, and this included broadly knowledge, virtue and piety.

All the sense-realists believed in the possibilities

(1) Wild, E.H. *ibid.* p. 332.

of the new scientific education for bringing about a new order of society. The encyclopaedic works of Bacon and Comenius, and the untiring efforts of the latter in the educational sphere, is to be understood only in reference to the 17th century tendency, termed the "pansophic" movement. Besides the actual application of scientific method and the laws of nature in education, they endeavoured "through the universal dissemination of knowledge concerning life and nature, and by means of the new method, to raise the average of human attainment, thought, and activity to the level reached hitherto only by the favoured few". (1) They worked towards the establishment of a unified language, unified religion, and unified political life and organisation. From this point of view their conception of education was democratic, emphasising the vernacular for the masses

From the standpoint of content the sense-realists laid stress on the scientific type of training. Their education was liberal to a very great degree for they were interested in a pansophic curriculum to implement their pansophic ideal of the "universal man". It included practically all knowledge. Religious and moral education was stressed especially by Comenius, and linguistic and intellectual training were considered as essential tools for the gaining of knowledge through sense perception.

(1) Monroe, Paul. *ibid.* p. 464.

Bacon emphasised the importance of the sciences in the curriculum, but he did not include mathematics peculiarly enough. It is to Comenius, the practical schoolmaster and writer of encyclopaedic text-books, that we must turn for the content of sense-realistic education at its best in the 17th century. Since the aim of education was "to know all tiny things, to do all things, to say all things", he taught all subjects in his schools. He demanded that all useful knowledge should be taught. His curriculum included the subjects of the trivium and the quadrivium--grammar (Latin and vernacular), rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music--physics, geography, history, morals and religion. He especially emphasised the value of history as "The most important element in man's education, the eye of his whole life, as it were". (1) Besides the manual and industrial arts, he included play activities because he recognised the importance of a healthy body for a healthy mind. He exalted the vernacular and advocated the study of foreign languages. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were included as key languages to the knowledge of the ancients in arts and sciences.

The liberal education of the sense-realists then consisted of a wide range of subjects with a scientific bias. The Comenian ideals spread to Germany to stimulate the Realschulen, instituted by Francke and Hecker in 1747 and to the "academies" of England. In the academies, besides the

(1) Wild, E.H. *ibid.* p. 340-341.

the classical languages, were taught French, Italian, Hebrew, logic, rhetoric, ethics, metaphysics, history, economics, oratory, theology, natural philosophy, anatomy, geography, geometry, algebra, surveying, trigonometry, conic sections, celestial mechanics, and even shorthand. (1) These academies mainly catered for the non-Conformists who were excluded from the classical public schools.

During the 17th century there arose another conception of education to which we shall make a passing reference. It is known as the disciplinary conception of education. Owing to the increased use of the vernacular tongues, especially of French as the international language of diplomacy, an attempt was made to maintain the prestige of Latin and the classical languages in other ways. The disciplinarians held that the process of learning rather than the thing that is learned is the important and determining factor in education. The process of education consisted in the development of certain faculties of the mind, such as reasoning, memory, imagination, judgment and so on. For this purpose appropriate subject matter was considered to be essential. It was not the content of a subject that mattered to the disciplinarian but the nature of the learning material; some subjects were considered to be better than others for the training of a faculty or a group of faculties. Therefore, mathematics and logic, because of the generality of their principles, or the classical languages, because of the formal

nature of their content and arrangement, must be included in the curriculum. The student who has developed his mind through the study of these hard subjects can readily master of his own accord the easier practical subjects, and meet the demands of vocational, political, and social life. The aim of the disciplinarian is the full development of these faculties. So for him a liberal education was built on a few well organised linguistic and mathematical studies, with their orderly arrangement of parts, their universality of principles, and their perfected technique. The curriculum was a narrow humanistic course of studies.

But John Locke (1632--1704), who writes on the education of the 'gentleman' and is an exponent of the faculty psychology on which is based the formal discipline theory, suggests a wider curriculum. He insists on the education of the whole man--physically, morally and intellectually, in the order given here. He advocated English, French, Latin and Greek, and added drawing, geography, history, anatomy, ethics, dancing, mathematics, and a few practical and fine arts as hobbies and recreations. This is social realism again. He, however, is both a realist and a disciplinarian--a realist, when he considers the information that a young gentleman should acquire, and a disciplinarian, when he considers the value of these subjects as w drill and exercises for developing that mind which would be able to adapt itself, and deal with any situation that may arise in the course of

a gentleman's life.

During the 18th century the naturalistic movement in education was represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), its leading exponent. Naturalism was a protest against the aristocracy of blood and aristocracy of intellect--two conventions which had reached such proportions, especially in French social life, as to make it extremely artificial. It desired a return to the simple and natural state ruled by the natural feelings.

The educators of the day considered the child as a miniature adult, deficient in his powers only in a lesser degree from that of the adult. The aim of the educators was so to train the child that he would gracefully fit into the artificialities and conventionalities of upper class society. The education of the gentleman was essentially in social accomplishments, such as dancing, deportment, courtseying with grace, quoting witty lines from Horace and Vergil, and so on. It had no regard for the child's nature and laws of development. Rousseau in opposing the artificial mannerisms of his day, and in advocating a return to the more simple, naive and natural state of man, really pleads for a generous liberal cultivation of all the natural endowments of the child. A liberal education to him would be that education which would liberate man from the artificial restrictions of society, and that which would develop his innate powers according to his interest and laws of development.

So content or subject does not loom large on the naturalistic horizon. The programme of education is to be adapted to the natural unfolding of the child's powers to meet his natural needs. The activities which spring naturally from the needs of life make up the curriculum.

In the latter half of the 18th century, once again classical education came to enjoy an enhanced status as a mark of social distinction. This was due to a revival of Greek studies in the universities and public schools about 1765; the art of cultured conversation which involved allusions to Vergil, Horace and classical literature; the cult of antiquarianism and growing interest in archeology. It was an education restricted to the governing class of England. Though no definition of a 'liberal education' was attempted, it is clear from the writings of such men as Vicesimus Knox, "Liberal Education" (1789) and "Essays on Liberal Education" edited by F.W. Farrar, that it was an education based on the classics.

Summing up the situation as at the end of the 18th century, the conception of a genuine primary school as the first stage of a genuine liberal education common to all alike had not been reached as yet. The growth of capitalism and large scale industry, the decay of the old agrarian system, and the growth of commerce and commercial principles of policy called into existence an ever-growing property-less wage-earning class for whom only a vocational education was

allowed by the ruling order. (1) In spite of the democratic tendencies of the sense-realists and the naturalists, a liberal education was still coupled to social distinction, to wealth, to the upper ruling classes. In content it had both expanded and contracted during these centuries--under the verbal realists it expanded to encyclopaedic proportions, under the sense-realists it revitalised itself by the inclusion of the natural sciences, and under the disciplinarians it had contracted to a narrow humanistic curriculum. A steadily recurring feature is the harmonious development of all the powers--mental, physical and spiritual--with a view to fuller participation in human activities.

(1) Clarke, F. "Essays in the Politics of Education" p.53

Chapter Seven.

The Conception of a Liberal Education in the 19th & 20th Century.

It was mentioned in the last chapter that the conception of a liberal education based on classical culture found favour again in the latter half of the 18th century. The renewed interest in the classical conception was due to the neo-humanist movement which had been gathering force in Germany since about 1756, largely through the influence of Winckelmann (1717-1768) and Lessing (1729-1781). A concept of liberal education based on the neo-humanistic conception of general culture (*allgemeine Bildung*) came to have a vogue only in the early 19th century, through the efforts of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), Villetain (1790-1865), Victor Cousin (1792-1867), and Victor Drury (1811-1894), in France, and Matthew Arnold (), in England.

Von Humboldt was head of the Prussian Bureau of Education at Berlin from 1808 till 1810. He defined the aim of secondary education which was accepted in Prussia for the next 100 years. As a neo-humanist he believed that the highest example of human development was to be found in Ancient Greece. He proposed an all-round education on humanistic lines, so that a real insight into the spirit of Greek and Roman civilisations and the assimilation of their great literary masterpieces in form and content, might furnish solid foundations for a new nationalism expressing the living

spirit and genius of the German people. (See Spens Report, Appendix II, p. 409) His basic idea was to make a synthesis between the old world and the ideals of the modern world. It may be relevant to observe here that the conception of a liberal education always should require a re-formulation and re-adjustment to the changing needs of a rapidly changing social structure; and it is perhaps because of this constant interaction between social conditions and the educational needs of the times that the concept of liberal education is such a good reflection of the highest aspirations of an age. Von Humboldt's plan to serve the needs of a new nationalism led to a concept of liberal education in which modern studies were judiciously combined with classical studies. He envisaged in his course of studies "the harmonious development of all the faculties with the comprehensive formal cultivation of intelligence, a mastery of languages, a considerable attainment in mathematics, and some knowledge of science and history." (Spens Report, p. 409) It was then to be a culture based on the development of the inner potentialities of man, then conceived as "faculties". He therefore proposed a ten years secondary course in which the following subjects were studied: Latin, Greek, German, Mathematics, Religion, Natural sciences, History, Geography, Drawing and Writing; Hebrew, French and other modern languages were optional. This liberal education was, however, still limited to the upper classes who were preparing for university studies

leading to the learned professions and higher state services in the Prussian State. This educational scheme, however, did not last long owing to a succession of reactionary ministers. In 1866 the subjects taught in the Prussian gymnasien were: German, Latin, Greek, Religion, Mathematics with Physics and Natural History, Writing, Drawing and Singing, but the liberal phase had disappeared with von Humboldt.

In France, after various changes from the days of the Directory (1795) a more settled state of affairs was reached in 1865, under Victor Duruy, Minister of Education. A form of liberal education was given in a special continuation school after the elementary school course, for managers and commercial undertakings, and for minor officials. Once again it was limited to a special group. The curriculum comprised French, Modern Languages, Mathematics and Science, Geography, History, Drawing, Surveying, and Book-keeping; the classics were excluded.

In England before the extension of complete democratic rights to the proletariat in 1870, liberal education was confined to the ruling classes. Matthew Arnold in his Report on secondary education in France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland (1866) states a concept of liberal education which has been influenced by von Humboldt's neo-humanism, and the French system of 1852. The 1852 decree in France established a common course of studies in the lycees for three years, followed by a bi-furcation into a literary

and a scientific course; certain subjects were common to both courses:-Latin, French, History, Geography, Modern Languages. This experiment had failed and was substituted by the course mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Arnold's concept of a liberal education runs as follows:-
"The ideal of a general liberal training is, to carry us to a knowledge of ourselves and the world. We are called to this knowledge by special aptitudes which are born with us; the grand thing in teaching is to have faith that some aptitudes of this kind everyone has. This one's special aptitudes are for knowing men--the study of humanities; that one's special aptitudes are for knowing the world--the study of nature. The circle of knowledge comprehends both, and we should all have some notion, at any rate, of the whole circle of knowledge....
He whose aptitudes carry him to the study of nature should have some notion of the humanities; he whose special aptitudes carry him to the humanities should have some notion of the phenomena and laws of nature. Evidently, therefore, the beginnings of a liberal culture should be the same for both. The mother tongue, the elements of Latin and of the chief modern languages, the elements of history, of arithmetic and geometry, of geography, of the knowledge of nature should be the same for all boys at this stage." (Schools Inquiry Commission, VI, 599--Secondary Source Spens Report, p. 411). After this stage he advocates bifurcation according to one's aptitudes.

The secondary school course was thus expected to lay foundations of a "general liberal culture" (Compare Humboldt's *Allgemeine Bildung*). But it will be noted that in this conception physical education and aesthetic subjects havenot

been explicitly stated. At the time it was stated, the general liberal culture was meant for a limited elite of future professional men and higher officials. It will also be noted, from our modern standpoint, that even at this stage no mention has been made of the inclusion of quasi-vocational or quasi-technical work in the liberal education curriculum in spite of the mechanisation of industry. We may note from Arnold's statement that we have (moral) moved a long way off from the ancient conception with its stress on the "free man". While the 'free man' of the Greeks was called to the circle of knowledges (*enkyklios paideia*) in virtue of his political and economic freedom, the man of the 19th century inherits the right to study these subjects in virtue of his inborn aptitudes. After the emancipation of the slaves in the British Empire in 1834, and the Reform Acts extending the franchise to the middle class, it is hardly possible for Arnold to hold the Greek slave-state view. In actual practice, however, this liberal education could only be afforded by the upper classes.

A very much refined conception is stated by John Henry Newman in "The Idea of a University". (Secondary source : Fitzpatrick, "Readings in the Philosophy of Education, p. 175)

"It is the education which gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgment, a truth in developing them, and eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought,

to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant."

The influence of formal discipline is apparent in his next sentence, "It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility."

After enumerating further traits or qualities of a liberal training he concludes thus:

"The art which tends to make a man all this, is in the object which it pursues as useful as the art of wealth or the art of health, though it is less tangible, less certain, less complete in its result."

The great schools and universities of the 19th century were monopolised by the upper classes. However, Thring of Uppington tried to restore the liberal idea to its ancient richness in respect of content and social exclusiveness of its benefits, there were important factors which compelled modification. The three great factors influencing the conception in the latter half of the 19th century were:

- (a) the triumph of the Industrial Revolution;
- (b) the amazing advance of physical and biological science;
- (c) the full political enfranchisement of the masses.

These three factors set up new problems for the educationist. The significance of the Industrial Revolution for education lies in the new world which had been created almost overnight. The mechanisation of the means of production, accelerated communications, and the ascendancy of capitalism, all tended to change the life of the people. From feudal

serfs the masses were transformed into the proletariat of a machine age. These changes in the cultural and economic life of the people required new adjustments. Paradoxically enough, in the 19th century, 'sweated labour' in the factories and mines made for even less leisure. Socially the precedence of birth had to yield to that of the wealth of the emergent bourgeoisie.

Preceding these technological changes was the significant advance in the physical sciences. Science applied to industry had increased the prosperity of the country, and the people were not slow in recognising the importance of scientific knowledge to their modes of living. So a fierce battle was waged not only with the traditional classicists but also with the theologians, for a radical change in the content of education; there was a great demand for the inclusion of the sciences in the curriculum -- mathematical, physical and biological.

Finally that which called for an entire revision of the concept of a liberal education was the rising consciousness of the people for democratic government. England was the first to achieve democracy with the complete enfranchisement of the masses before the first decade of the twentieth century. The social distinction on which a liberal education was based was now being challenged at its very roots. The question of importance is: who is the "free" man ?

The "free" man designation was not now the property of a privileged minority. Though capitalistic economy gave rise to a wealthy, labour-exploiting class and a working -class, yet both classes in a technically political sense were free to voice their wishes in the government of the country through their elected representatives. Politically there was no distinction between the bourgeoisie and the mass of the proletariat.

Enfranchisement brought with it the corollary of free and compulsory education for all. This immediately brought into view a vast new multitude of possible claimants to the privileges of a liberal education. The ruling class were bewildered by this rising tide of democracy and it is shown in their aimless opportunism towards the growth of elementary education. The new conception of a popular education had not the clear guiding principle of the older class privileged liberal education.

These forces generated in the nineteenth century have been but accelerated in the twentieth century. We have all the problems caused by machine production, capitalist control of the means of production, emancipation of the people under a democratic constitution, and a rapidly shrinking world. This is the setting in which a new conception of liberal education has to be forged. The question is whether the content and spirit of the ancient ideal would meet the needs and conditions of modern civilization.

Prof. Clarke clearly sets forth (1) the educational situation in this manner: There are two socio-economic factors which have to be reconciled. (a) the growth of the modern industrial system, its absorption of practically the whole population, and the increasing specialization and complexity of its processes have made a vocational training of some sort of a vital necessity for most people. There is less use for people who can do anything in general and nothing in particular. (b) the very fact that the industrial machine is absorbing us all and involving all in its works and vicissitudes, but intensifies the desire of the mass of men for an emancipating, liberalizing education, which will help man to rise above the domination of the machine even when it uses him.

The modern problem is the reconciliation of a liberal education with a vocational education. Must the inclusion of one exclude the other? The continuation of a liberal education with no point or

or focus in life-work makes an individual inefficient and unable to support himself in our economic structure. On the other hand its perpetuation would lead to a social cleavage which would deliberately shut off the mass of people from full human growth implied in the fundamental doctrines of democracy. Universal franchise and socially limited liberal education cannot be maintained side by side. When today ideologies envisages a state of classless society are being widely disseminated, we can gauge the temper of the age towards the perpetuation of class divisions and social privileges.

The culture of the modern era is unmistakably an industrial culture, and the liberal conception for us must have its rising and setting in such a culture. This is what J. Dover Wilson says in his book "Humanism in the Continuation School" .

"No man can stay the march of industrialism; civilisation is for good or ill firmly established upon the basis of machine production, and culture must make terms with these facts or perish."

"If they (i.e. the great industrial populations) are to be built up into the national life and to understand the part they are to play therein, they must develop this culture for themselves out of the stuff of their own lives and work, and out of the traditions which are beginning to spring from the tremendous industrial changes which have made both them and their surroundings what they are." (1).

Even as early as 1895 the Royal Commission on Secondary Education recognised that there can be no adequate technical education which is not in some sense liberal, and no liberal education which is not, from some aspects, technical. They define secondary education as "a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed....."(2).

Since class distinction, a characteristic feature of the older conceptions, has been eliminated, we should now fix the conception from the point of view of content or by reason of the kind of end it achieves. T.H.Huxley's famous views on a liberal education based on a scientific curriculum are interesting because of their emphasis upon

1. Clarke, F. : op. cit. : p. 56.

2. Spens Report: British Board of Education : p. 58 - 60.

upon content. The emphasis was perhaps appropriate in the nineteenth century when there was such a struggle to include the sciences in the scheme of studies. He says,

"That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will, and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of; whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine, with all its parts of equal strength, and in smooth working order; ready like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work, and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind; whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations; one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience; who has learned to love all beauty, whether of Nature or of art, to hate all vileness, and to respect others as himself." (1).

Huxley however does not touch our present problem. The Aristotelian dichotomy into liberal and illiberal pursuits had persisted into the 19th century, the vocational being still called the illiberal. The great revolution in the conception is the fusion of the vocational (technical) and the traditionally liberal studies. The note was already struck by the Commission of 1895. In this century Professor A.N. Whitehead puts forward a view which is substantially similar. He writes, "In simpler language, education should turn out the pupil with something he knows well, and something he can do well. This intimate union of practice and theory aids both." And again,

"There are, however, three main roads along which we can proceed with good hope of advancing towards the best balance of intellect and character: these are the way of literary culture, the way of scientific culture, the way of technical culture. No one of these methods can be exclusively followed without a grave loss of intellectual activity and character. . . . The problem of education is to retain the dominant emphasis, whether literary, scientific or technical, and without loss of co-ordination to infuse into each way of education something of the other two." (2).

We note here a more balanced view of all-round education, avoiding the literary emphasis of the humanists, the scientific bias of Huxley and Spence, and supplementing the broad view of Matthew Arnold

1. Martin, E.D. : op. cit. : p. 265.

2. Spens Report (1929) : from "The aims of education & other essays": p.41.

by addition of the technical element.

In the modern view there are two ways of looking at the relation between vocational and liberal education:

(a) vocational as falling in with the liberal, not as identical with it, but as the vital and essential nucleus of the whole;

(b) rightly conceived and rightly carried out, vocational education is identical with liberal education. Kerschensteiner thinks this is the only liberal education in a technological age.

Both Dewey and Kerschensteiner think that the acquiring of forms of skill and the special capacity for earning a livelihood and maintaining an economic independence, should be made the core of a whole educational system. As Dewey says,

"Both practically and philosophically, the key to the present educational situation lies in a gradual reconstruction of school materials and methods so as to utilize forms of occupation typifying social callings, and to bring out their intellectual and moral content." (1).

The Russians are in complete agreement with the second view and their system of "unified labour schools" is an attempt to give expression to the modern view of a liberal education. It is, however, difficult to form any judgment as to the success of the experiment since Russian theory and practice is completely shadowed by a further desire to indoctrinate the young in the principles of Marxism. Kerschensteiner has, I think, at once stated the new conception and the method of achieving it. He maintains that a thorough vocational education implies an insight into all the principles underlying a craft, and an appreciation of its social and economic relationships, both near and remote. If this statement is read carefully it will be noted that it is the second portion that gives the liberal aspect to what might otherwise become a purely technical training. Expressed in different words, it means that a technical curriculum must be humanized by an historical approach. The historical approach humanizes the curriculum by placing emphasis on the essentially human element involved in all forms of technical skill: the human needs it serves, the difficulties and obstacles -- ideological and technical -- which have been surmounted

surmounted before the craft had been brought to its present state of perfection, and a consideration of how the craft may contribute to the future progress of man. In short, it is not the content that matters as the spirit and method of education.

In the modern view emphasis is laid on a single wide interest giving point and continuity to one's life, and that is found in the life-work, the vocation. Such a view is backed up on psychological grounds of providing the right motivation; on moral grounds, as giving one a scale of values, and a sense of status and worth; and on social grounds, as a functioning unit of society performing socially useful work. We cannot understand this new emphasis on vocational pursuits, unless we see the problem of modern education in the light of an economic life almost completely mechanised, the absorption of the mass of the people in the industrial life, and the educational implications of democracy -- of the right of every citizen to a liberal education according to his needs and capacities.

Our discussion so far has shown that the ancient element of social exclusiveness has become untenable in modern democratic ideals; the discussion on technical (vocational) and liberal education indicated that the element of content is now undergoing a radical change. With reference to content we have seen that traditional ideas of a liberal content, of a system of cultural studies, had been confined to non-vocational pursuits, culture being identified with the non-vocational and leisure occupations. In the old conception of culture there was an antithesis between culture and utility. This antithesis is considered misleading and inapplicable to our times. We would have seen that throughout the centuries coming under our survey, a concept of liberal education was closely related to the concept of culture prevailing in that era. Today we have a new concept of culture in which the antithesis between culture and utility is tending to disappear. To quote John Dewey on this point,

"Of the segregations of educational values discussed in the last chapter, that between culture and utility is probably the most fundamental. While the distinction is often thought to be

be intrinsic and absolute, it is really historical and social. It originated, so far as conscious formulation is concerned, in Greece, and was based upon the fact that the truly human life was lived only by a few who subsisted upon the results of others. This fact affected the psychological doctrine of the relation of intelligence and desire, theory and practice.

It was embodied in a political theory of a permanent division of human beings into those capable of a life of reason and hence having their own ends, and those capable only of desire and work, and needing to have their ends provided by others. The two distinctions, psychological and political, translated into educational terms, effected a division between a liberal education, having to do with the self-sufficing life of leisure devoted to knowing for its own sake, and a useful, practical training for mechanical occupations, devoid of intellectual and aesthetic content. While the present situation is radically diverse in theory and much changed in fact, the factors of the older historic situation still persist sufficiently to maintain the educational distinction, along with compromises which often reduce the efficacy of the educational measures. The problem of education in a democratic society is to do away with the dualism and to construct a course of studies which makes thought a guide of free practice for all and which makes leisure a reward of accepting responsibility for service, rather than a state of exemption from it." (1)

To quote one more writer, who brings out the modern view of a culture arising from the numerous activities of the individual, including the activity of earning a living :

"To the writer a liberal education connotes an education which liberates the energies of the individual for the richest, fullest and most effective functioning in every aspect of living: in his use of leisure; in his relationships as a member of a family and of the body politic; in his occupation, through which he earns his living and makes his contribution toward the satisfaction of human wants. His culture illuminates, gives meaning and significance to his life, to his work." (2).

Welton thinks that a true education will be "at once liberal and utilitarian; for it will make for efficiency in the material life and for fulness and joy in the spiritual life." (3).

1. Dewey, John : Democracy and Education : p. 305.
2. Gambrill, Bessie Lee : quoted in Readings in the Philosophy of Education by E.A. Fitzpatrick : p. 169.
3. Welton, J. : What do we mean by Education : p. 71.

Having accepted the identity of culture and wage-earning labour it is but one step further to the most recent view of liberal education, known as the American conception of democratic liberal education:

"The Grecian liberal education was for the free man, implying the existence of a slave class; the English liberal education is still for the gentleman, implying the existence of the laboring caste; the American liberal education is for man as man, without qualifications, implying the equal rights of all to free self-realization. A liberal education emancipates individuality, sets free personal powers, and widens the human outlook." (1).

CONCLUSION.

Reviewing the eventful changes in the conception of a liberal education we cannot but agree with Everett Dean Martin, when he says that, "The tradition of a liberal education is a golden thread woven into the fabric of civilisation." It received its first definite formulation in ancient Greece and is an educational reflection of the social distinction that ran through Greek thought and life. It was an education for the "free man", but it was essentially an acquisition of knowledge for its own sake. To seek utility in the pursuit of education was not worthy of a free man.

In Graeco-Roman times the social distinction was still a feature of liberal education. The purpose of such a broad basis changed. It was to be the minimum equipment for a successful professional career. The conception finds concrete expression in the education of the Ciceronian "doctus orator" and Quintilian's "perfect orator". To the Roman orator the quality of "humanitas" was more essential than mere intellectual brilliancy.

During the Middle Ages the ideal of the Greeks was split in two : (a) that pertaining to manners, personal culture and personal dignity found expression in the education of chivalry; (b) that of intellectual insight and the command of mind over material conditions

found expression in scholasticism. The whole conception was influenced by the all-pervasive interest of religion. The Seven Liberal Arts of the Greeks and Romans were reduced to mere summaries and abstracts of original works, and were employed as a preparation for the study of theology, the true science. The ideal of the age was the "doctus scholasticus".

The Graeco-Roman ideal is regained in the Renaissance conception, when interest passes from the divinities to the humanities. Liberal education, however, is still the prerogative of the nobility and the wealthy merchants. It finds expression in the education of the courtier and gentleman. It is an improvement on the Graeco-Roman ideal because of the inclusion of elements of chivalric education.

Till the middle of the nineteenth century a liberal education is still distinguished by its social exclusiveness, and pre-occupation with the non-vocational arts. With the extension of democratic rights to the masses and the increasing dependence of our economic life on technological advances a new conception has been formulated. The feature of social exclusiveness is untenable in modern democratic society, and to exclude vocational pursuits would be futile in an industrial civilization. The new setting finds its setting in a vocational atmosphere. The emphasis is, or should be, on the spirit and method than on the content of education in order to humanize the new curriculum. From a democratic point of view it is an education which prepares for FREEDOM. It seeks the integration of a many-sided personality with extensive intellectual interest, a deep and broad human sympathy, a moral being that can synthesize ability with responsibility; one who would consecrate his gifts and attainments to public service, and take his place in the Cosmic scheme as father, worker, neighbour, citizen and MAN.

The End.