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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
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A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL
PERSPECTIVE OF WALTER LIPPMANN

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

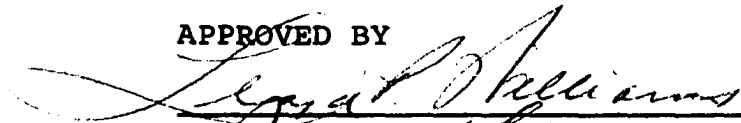
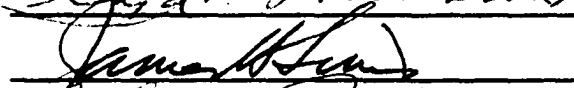
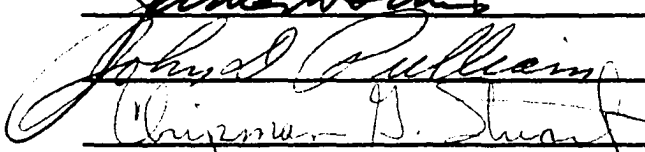
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Norman, Oklahoma

1971

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PERSPECTIVE OF WALTER LIPPMANN

APPROVED BY


DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter	
I. WALTER LIPPMANN'S PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE. . . .	1
II. WALTER LIPPMANN'S SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE	23
III. LIPPMANN'S PERCEPTION OF LIFE.	39
IV. LIPPMANN AND PSYCHOLOGY	54
V. LIPPMANN AND EDUCATION	68
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	86
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.	110

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Profound appreciation is hereby expressed to my committee: Lloyd Williams, James Sims, John Pulliam, and Chipman Stuart. Also, acknowledgment is made to my husband. Their friendly concern, guidance, and integrity made possible this dissertation.

The only real alternative to Communism
is a liberal and progressive society.

A society can be progressive only if
it conserves its tradition.

Walter Lippmann

CHAPTER I

WALTER LIPPMANN'S PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Marquis Childs divides Walter Lippmann's life into three phases: the "precocious young intellectual," the journalist, and the mature critic.¹ These divisions parallel the evolution of Lippmann's philosophical orientation from that of a Graham Wallas-radical, to a progressive-liberal, to a cultural conservative.²

Born September 23, 1889, the only child of two conventional, middle class parents, Lippman enjoyed the attention and advantages their love provided him. He attended the best schools in the area of his home, earning an enviable academic record. Summers in Europe broadened his view, and though he was rather precocious, he was an alert and unspoiled young man when he entered Harvard in 1906.³

¹Marquis Childs and James Reston, eds., Walter Lippman and His Times (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), pp. 2-16.

²At the time of final revision, the writer encountered Walter Lippmann, Philosopher-Journalist by Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier which considered Lippmann from the same point of view.

³Childs and Reston, Walter Lippmann and His Times, p. 22.

In three years' time, he had completed his undergraduate requirements and earned a Phi Beta Kappa key. He had also become a budding socialist. Several factors combined to influence him toward this philosophy. Two teachers, William James and George Santayana, had aroused Lippmann's concern for people, but a visiting lecturer provided the necessary spark. Graham Wallas, a leader of the Fabians in England and a disillusioned socialist came to Harvard. While there, he lectured on the relationship between psychology and politics. Leuchtenburg evaluated his influence upon the young Lippmann.

. . . It was from Wallas that Lippmann learned the importance of putting man--man as he really was: often perverse, mercurial, illogical--at the center of any theory of politics.¹

Lippmann, who had already participated in socialist activities of the "good-neighbor" variety, now embraced socialism whole-heartedly. Never one to do things by halves, he became president of the Harvard Socialist Club, and briefly participated actively in politics. An invitation to work as a reporter for Everybody's Magazine took him to New York where he met Lincoln Steffens, who helped to polish his writing style. During his stay in the city, Lippmann joined the Socialist Party. His membership brought him to the attention of George Lunn, socialist mayor of Schenectady, and he became Lunn's assistant. The brief period with Lunn taught Lippmann

¹Walter Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, Spectrum Books (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 2. Introduction by William E. Leuchtenburg.

that the public he sought to serve was apathetic and prejudiced. He retreated from political life and New York and never again avidly supported socialism even though his A Preface to Politics resounded with the thoughts of his Bergsonian and radical friends. Graham Wallas was deeply disturbed by Lippmann's assertion that respect for tradition hindered creativity and growth. He chided Lippmann for his anti-intellectual stand, and the following year, his Drift and Mastery advocated the practice of liberalism.¹

During his brief radical phase,² Lippmann deplored the educational standards of the nation. Showing his radical perspective in A Preface to Politics, he wrote:

Education has always been a considerable nuisance to the conservative intellect. In the Southern States, culture among the negroes [sic] is openly deplored, and I do not blame any patriarch for dreading the education of women. It is out of culture that the substance of real revolutions is made . . . It is democratic machinery with an educated citizenship behind it that embodies all the fears of the conservative and the hopes of the radicals.³

The revolution he described was neither gradual nor violent.

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 5. During this early period, Lippmann's liberalism was based on applied scientific methodology.

²Lippmann's radicalism was change-oriented at the expense of tradition. He wanted to free men from society's taboos, and distinguished between the inventor, who sought new answers to problems and the "routinier," who followed established precedent.

³Walter Lippmann, A Preface to Politics (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1913), p. 306.

It was an immediate intellectual revolt against classicalism and formalism. Lippmann called people who were tradition-oriented and unwilling to accept change, "classicalists." He indirectly accused them of obstructing the educational responsibilities of the church, the press, and the university.

We have almost no spiritual weapons against classicalism: university, churches, newspapers are by-products of a commercial success; we have no tradition of intellectual revolt. The American college student has the gravity and the mental habits of a Supreme Court judge; his "wild oats" are rarely spiritual; the critical, analytical habit of mind is distrusted.¹

Classicalists, Lippman claimed, refused to listen to criticism about their system, and labeled "knocking" as the "sign of the sorehead."

To replace the rigidity of the culture, Lippmann proposed an open society. He wanted freedom for questioning, criticism, and change. He charged the classicalists with possessing naive intellects, and with believing

. . . that there is never anything essentially new under the sun . . . that the intellect reasoning on one piece of experience could know what all the rest of experience was like . . . The present would not be the womb of the future: nothing would be embryonic, nothing would grow. Experience would cease to be an adventure in order to become the monotonous fulfillment of a perfect prophecy.²

Instead of fixed formalism, Lippmann urged that man's experience become the center of his thought. He wanted

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, p. 191.

²Ibid., pp. 205-6.

education to consist of a pragmatic application of "know thyself" based on experience. What prevented this desire from being progressive was its context: Lippmann wanted change "right then" at the expense of tradition. He was unwilling to wait. He even cited Maria Montessori as an example of the kind of educational revolution he sought. She went into the classroom and "sacrificed the sacred bench to the interests of the pupil."¹ She utilized little traditional educational methods and relied instead on the child learning from his experiences. Lippmann approved of her methods, and even suggested that civilization should be constructed for man as Montessori devised the classroom for the students, with politics becoming like education--"an effort to develop, train and nurture men's impulses."² Although Lippmann's philosophical leanings underwent major changes, he continued to believe that politics should and could educate the public.

Other ideas, however, were discarded. Indeed, in Drift and Mastery, he explained the radicals as if he had never been one.

They [the rebels] are in rebellion against something within themselves; there are conflicts in their souls for which they have found no solution; and their revolt is the endless pursuit of what their own disharmony will never let them find.³

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, p. 68.

²Ibid., p. 80.

³Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, pp. 110-11.

Lippmann took care that his readers should recognize his change, for he stated:

. . . There is a great gap between the overthrow of authority and the creation of a substitute. That gap is called liberalism: a period of drift and doubt. We are in it today.¹

Thus emerged Walter Lippmann, the liberal, who continued to crusade for reform. This period of his life as the journalist and the progressive-liberal² lasted approximately twenty years. During this time he joined Herbert Croly on the staff of The New Republic and then collaborated with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson. The relationship with Wilson prompted Lippmann to take a leave of absence from The New Republic and to re-enter the political milieu as an advisor. He became special assistant to the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, and subsequently was secretary for Colonel E. M. House. While working for the colonel, Lippmann served as Secretary of the Inquiry, a committee established to examine postwar settlement problems. Their studies resulted in the report, "War Aims and Peace Terms," from which Wilson formulated his famous Fourteen Points. Lippmann and Frank Cobb later prepared an interpretive commentary on the document.

Colonel House commissioned Lippmann as a captain in military intelligence and sent him to Paris where he learned

¹Ibid., p. 126.

²The term liberalism was synonymous with the term progressivism during this period. The hyphenated title was used to indicate their common definition.

from personal experience the politics of peace-making. Disappointed with the ineffectuality of the Fourteen Points, Lippmann returned home where he resigned his commission and rejoined the staff of The New Republic. The policy of the journal had altered in his two year absence: Lippmann gradually became disenchanted with its negative reaction to change. Leaving The New Republic, he accepted a long-standing offer of a position with The New York World. Writing for the newspaper brought Lippmann into contact with the public he wanted to reach, and taught him good journalistic style. When the editor, Frank Cobb, died in 1923, Lippmann assumed his position. He "governed" the World for eight years until it closed in February, 1931. During his tenure on the newspaper, Lippmann observed and commented on a society frustrated by vice, mob-terrorism, race riots, political indifference to reform and to the plight of the economy. It was a time ripe for liberalism.

In 1931 Lippmann began his long career with The Herald Tribune. Using his column, "Today and Tomorrow," to present his views, Lippmann observed and commented on Roosevelt's New Deal progressivism. While he criticized, he also defended the New Deal programs when the occasion warranted. In 1934 the public was beginning to recover from the shock of the depression. Once people began to feel that the worst was over and recovery was established, they began to question the government's right to the wide-ranging powers

it has assumed. Epithets such as "fascism" and "communism" were hurled in the direction of the "New Deal-ers." In one of his best columns of that era, Lippmann attempted to restore philosophical equilibrium to the masses. With humor and reason he pointed out the fallacies in their criticism, rationally defended Franklin Roosevelt, and concluded by calling on American patriotism to assert itself.¹

Lippmann recognized the pressing problem of educating the individual to withstand the pressure of extremist philosophies. In Liberty and the News he identified "ignorance" as the enemy and advocated its defeat by reliance on facts instead of opinions. He also wanted everyone to be educated in the techniques of government. Democracy, he feared, would "degenerate into [a] dictatorship either of the Right or of the Left if it did not become genuinely self-governing."²

The educational system of the period, however, was not conducive to implementing his suggestion.

Institutions have developed a thousand inconsistencies. Our schools, churches, courts, government were not built for the kind of civilization they are expected to serve. In former times you could make some effort to teach people what they needed to know. It was done badly but at least it could be attempted. Men knew the kind of problem their children would have to face. But to-day [sic] education means a radically different thing. We have to prepare children to meet the unexpected for their problems

¹Walter Lippmann, "The American Way," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, March 9, 1934.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Temper of Men Today," Vital Speeches, III (July, 1937), 563.

will not be the same as their fathers'. To prepare them for the unexpected means to train them in method instead of filling them with facts and rules. They will have to find their own facts and make their own rules, and if schools can't give them that power, then schools no longer educate for the modern world.¹

Lippmann saw progressive education as the means to change methodology and curriculum. He also held it responsible for educating a child for his society.

It is the peculiar business of education to teach people how to use the liberty they inherit and how to pass it on to the next generation, enlarged, enriched and made more secure.²

Like other progressives,³ Lippmann believed that evolution, change and growth were necessary for the perpetuation of a democratic society. However, he cautioned, "We have to be very healthy to love variety. We have to be exuberant and conquering to rejoice in change."⁴ But in 1914, Lippman was

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 93.

²Walter Lippmann, "The South and the New Society," in The Essential Lippmann, ed. by Clinton Rossiter and James Lare (New York: Random House, 1963), 416.

³There were three strains of pragmatism from which progressive education evolved. Charles Sanders Peirce provided one interpretation through physics and mathematics. William James believed in a personal, psychological, and religious pragmatism. Some indication of his metaphysical influence on Lippmann's pragmatism appeared in A Preface to Morals when Lippmann stated: "science, though it has displaced revelation, is not a substitute for it . . . it does not pretend to justify the ways of God to man." (A Preface to Morals, p. 133.). John Dewey explored pragmatism in social science and biology. In his educational thought, Lippmann most closely resembled the applied pragmatism of John Dewey.

⁴Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 115.

optimistic about the individual's potential and capacity for growth. It was at this time he first defined the spirit of education. He felt that education was "not to produce a row of respectable automata, but to draw out of each child the promise that is in it."¹

Scientific methodology implemented the "drawing-out" of the child. Instead of being dull and mechanical, science

is a very human thing. It springs from a need, is directed by curiosity to choose an interesting field of study, and in that field seeks results that concern men. The ideal of science, it seems to me, is to seek interesting truth critical of one's interests.²

That "interesting truth" extended to all men, whatever their vocation or occupation, for Lippmann saw science as an organized discipline where colleagues from differing areas of competence could meet and cooperate. That they could function in such a manner was due to the fact that science was the "great leveler," in which all men could come to the same conclusion based on the same set of facts.³ From science man could learn "all it concerned him to know" and could become "all that it profited him to be."⁴ Once a man possessed the scientific spirit, Lippmann felt he was "ready to let things be what they may be, whether or not he wanted them to be that

¹Ibid., p. 173.

²Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 165.

³Ibid., pp. 154-5. ⁴Ibid.

way."¹ It was the practice of the scientific method, then, that gave man the freedom to live in a changing world and to like it.

This freedom disturbed religious and political conservatives who feared that educators relying only on the scientific method would neglect the "teaching" of patriotism and nationalism. Lippmann reassured them, "The scientific temper does not produce patriots. It civilizes them."² A year later he elaborated on the statement and examined the moral effects of the scientific method.

It is no exaggeration to say that pure science is high religion incarnate . . . as far as it goes it translates into a usable procedure what in the teaching of the sages has been an esoteric insight. . . . Its value can be demonstrated in concrete results. Its importance in human life is indisputable. But the insight of high religion as such could be appreciated only by those who were already mature; it corresponded to nothing in the experience and the necessities of the ordinary man.³

Lippmann continued to believe that science had much to offer mankind but, like the earlier conservatives, he began to question the effectiveness of science as a teaching method. In the late 1930's he reviewed the progressive activities of the decade and decided, "The events we are witnessing should not allow us to remain blind any

¹Walter Lippmann, American Inquisitors (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 46.

²Ibid., p. 76.

³Walter Lippmann, A Preface to Morals (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), p. 239.

longer to the truth that our generation has misunderstood human experience." He continued: "We have renounced the wisdom of the ages to embrace the errors the ages have discarded."¹ In 1940, he stated his feelings more explicitly. Speaking at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he condemned the prevailing system of education for removing Western studies from the curriculum, for sending uneducated men and women into the world, and for destroying Western civilization. Lippmann asserted "that our civilization cannot effectively be maintained . . . or be restored . . . without the revival of the central, continuous, and perennial culture of the Western world."² This awareness of a deficiency and the compelling need to correct it marked the beginning of his third and final phase--the mature conservative critic.³

Elements of Lippmann's conservatism were evident as early as 1928 and could be detected in many of his columns of the liberal period before he declared himself against the

¹Walter Lippmann, The Good Society (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1937), p. 19.

²Lippmann, "Education vs. Western Civilization," in The Essential Lippmann, 418.

³In the "Education vs. Western Civilization" speech, Lippmann aligned himself with the perennialist (preservation) school of thought. However, he made other statements, cited in the following pages, that were essentialist (conservation) in temper. His conservatism seemed to be a blend of the two schools of educational philosophy. See following footnotes for definitions.

progressive trend in education. In the modernist-fundamentalist dialogue from American Inquisitors, he presented the conservative view of the scientific method.

So that is what your scientific education comes down to . . . A Minority . . . acquire the scientific habit of mind and learn to live the disinterested kind of life which science demands. But the rest merely acquire odds and ends of more or less obsolete information which, while it destroys the authority and the majesty of their inherited religion, is in itself morally worthless. It fits into no plan, it supports no ideal of life. It provides no background for the human spirit.¹

In a 1932 column Lippmann described Americans as becoming demoralized, disintegrated, and isolated due to the "exceptionally drastic change in the underlying convictions of western men."² Resulting from the effects of science, machinery, democracy, the modern city and popular education, this change "struck with full impact and with cumulative force against the traditional morality, the social conventions and the ideals of the mass of men."³

Lippmann again recognized the challenge to the

¹Lippmann, American Inquisitors, p. 62.

²Walter Lippmann, "The False Gods," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, May 20, 1932.

³Ibid.

"essential traditions of civilized society"¹ in 1935. In a statement that might have referred to himself, he commented:

The bland assumptions of our youth that it was our destiny to enjoy an ordered progress toward a better life have been brutally shattered, and we stand at one of those junctures of history where men must defend those very things which they have taken for granted.²

Lippmann explained later that year why the young were so ill-prepared to confront life. The older generation, lacking its own "conception of the American commonwealth," had neither advice nor direction to give.

Thus we are unable to transmit from our generation to the next a credible and coherent tradition. This is our danger . . . those who determine what schools and colleges and the press shall transmit as the American tradition do not know what to tell the young men. There is a breach, which is threatening and sinister, between the energy of youth and the experience of age.³

Three years later in a 1938 column, Lippmann reopened the issue he had briefly reviewed in The New Imperative.

¹Lloyd Williams defines essentialism as "in twentieth-century educational philosophy, the theory that the "essential" subjects should be taught; leadership based upon superior ability should determine the direction and content of education; curriculum by students, line and staff administration (as in American industry), and imposed discipline; being eclectic it is subject to less consistent interpretation than progressivism or perennialism; perhaps first used by Bagley (with approval) and subsequently analyzed in detail by Brameld (with disapproval). Lloyd P. Williams, A Glossary of Terms for Students of Educational Philosophy (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Book Exchange, 1965), p. 6.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Paramount Issue," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, November 26, 1935.

³Walter Lippmann, The New Imperative (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935), pp. 40-1.

"The St. John's Program" marked the beginning of Lippmann's educational conservatism. The column described a parable of a people who had inherited "great and noble institutions from their forefathers who made them."¹ However, this same people had not inherited the knowledge that enabled them to preserve, repair, and improve the traditions. Lippmann reasoned that the forefathers functioned well because of their liberal arts educations while their progeny was failing due to its lack of a similar schooling.

I think this is precisely what ails us. We are no longer taught to think as free men have had to learn to think. Though we think in words we no longer learn the grammar of any language; though we think in numbers, we learn to manipulate them for practical results rather than to understand them . . . We have emptied education of rigorous training in the arts of thought and having done that, we are no longer able to read in any language the classical masterpieces of the human mind. Between ourselves and the sources from which our civilization comes we have dropped an iron curtain of false progress that leaves us to the darkness of our whims,² our vagrant opinions and our unregulated passions.²

¹Inheritance of institutions is a characteristic of perennialism which Williams defines as "in twentieth-century educational philosophy, the theory that the structure of the universe implies a body of truth and knowledge that is not subject to the erosion of cultural evolution; truth and knowledge so conceived are permanent and universal, and therefore should constitute the essence of education; vocational and professional studies in this view are necessarily predicted upon a prior mastery of the permanent, Liberal studies; Robert Hutchins is the most eminent exponent of this position; although not identical with Roman Catholic educational philosophy, there is a large area of overlap. Williams, A Glossary of Terms, pp. 10-11.

²Walter Lippmann, "The St. John's Program," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, December 27, 1938.

Lippmann detailed the preceding ideas in later columns, articles, and speeches. Perhaps his most important speech in this area was "The State of Education in This Troubled Age." In the context of this address, Lippmann made the following comments.

We have established a system of education in which we insist that while every one must be educated, yet there is nothing in particular that an educated man must know . . .

We must confess, I submit, that modern education has renounced the idea that the pupil must learn to understand himself, his fellow men and the world in which he is to live as bound together in an order which transcends his immediate needs and his present desires. As a result the modern school child, when he grows up, must compete with other individuals in a struggle for existence. And so the education of his reason and of his will must be designed primarily to facilitate his career . . . education founded on the secular image of man must destroy knowledge itself. For if its purpose is to train the intelligence of specialists in order that by trial and error they may find a satisfying solution of particular difficulties, then each situation and each problem has to be examined as a novelty. This is supposed to be "scientific." But, in fact, it is a denial of that very principle which has made possible the growth of science.

For what enables men to know more than their ancestors is that they start with a knowledge of what their ancestors have already learned . . . This is why a society can be progressive only if it conserves its traditions.¹

Perhaps Lippmann might have effected a real influence on American education had World War II not re-directed his enthusiasm. Then, the nation's commitment to Korea continued to distract the critic from his educational convictions until 1956 when his Essays in the Public Philosophy

¹Walter Lippmann, "The State of Education in This Troubled Age," Vital Speeches, VII (January, 1941). 202-3.

appeared. Written in a period of cold war when the public feared nuclear warfare, the book examined the philosophy by which the American society lived.

The acquired culture is not transmitted in our genes, and so the issue is always in doubt. The good life in the good society, though attainable, is never attained and possessed once and for all. So what has been attained will again be lost if the wisdom of the good life in a good society is not transmitted.¹

Lippmann continued his commentary by stating that this was the critical condition of the democracies. Cut off from any civilizing philosophy, they faced certain death. Without the revitalizing ideas of liberal democracy, without any desire to seek a "better way," the democracies sank into decay and ruin. Lippmann's concluding remarks summarized the conservative bias of the book and highlighted its intended message.

At the end, then, the questions are how we conceive of ourselves and the public world beyond our private selves. Much depends upon the philosophers. For though they are not kings, they are, we may say, the teachers of the teachers . . . It is through them that doctrines are made to operate in practical affairs. And their doctrine, they, themselves, have learned in the schools and universities, will have the shape and the reference and the direction which the prevailing philosophy gives it . . . I do not contend, though I hope, that the decline of Western society will be arrested if the teachers in our schools and universities come back to the great tradition of the public philosophy. But I do contend that the decline, which is already far advanced, cannot be arrested if the prevailing philosophers oppose this restoration and revival,

¹Walter Lippman, Essays in the Public Philosophy, Mentor Books (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), p. 75.

if they impugn rather than support the validity of an order which is superior to the values that Sartre tells each man "to invent."¹

The decade of the 1950's was a period of cold war, civil rights, and space exploration. When Russia successfully launched "Sputnik," the United States literally plunged into a competitive missile program. Lippmann argued against this case of mistaken priorities, as educational appropriations lessened when space monies were allocated. Lippmann did not care for the legislation in these areas, criticized it, and offered his own plan for keeping pace with the Russians. In an article for "Today and Tomorrow," he outlined a three-step program. First, the government's decision-making ability had to be limited. Second, education had to be updated by conserving the past wisdom of mankind. Third, America had to adjust to the fact that Western society had become only an equal to the East.²

But what the experts call the missile lag is essentially a weakness in American education and a lack of seriousness in American national purposes when there is a choice between private pleasures and the public interest.³

In his own career, Lippmann placed public interests over private pleasures. While he evolved through three philosophies, he did so with the public in mind. In the context

¹Ibid., pp. 135-6.

²Lippmann, "Explorer and Sputnik," in The Essential Lippmann, 69.

³Walter Lippmann, "The Unheeded Alarms," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, August 21, 1958.

of this chapter, his philosophical perspective has been categorized and analyzed from these aspects. He was classified as a Graham Wallas radical, a progressive-liberal, and a cultural conservative. He did not label himself as any one of these.

In the introduction to The Good Society Lippmann admitted he had been writing for many years without having a definite belief. He wanted to rediscover "the untroubled certainty and the assured consistency which are vouchsafed to those who can whole-heartedly commit themselves to some one of the many schools of doctrine."¹ However, he "was not able to find in any of the schools a working philosophy in which he could confidently come to rest."² He believed that his own personal confusion was a reflection of the schismatic society, that reform and liberal advocates were fighting each other for supremacy. He sought to reconcile their differences by exploring a new and better way. The result of his search was his conservative point of view.

. . . The idea that a man cannot be liberal and progressive, can be liberal and not conservative, is a mistake. Good conservatives are liberal about how the laws are executed, and they're progressive about adapting them to changing conditions, and the idea that one man's a conservative but not liberal and another man is liberal but not conservative, is just misunderstanding of the terms.³

¹Lippmann, The Good Society, p. x.

²Ibid.

³Walter Lippmann, Conversations With Walter Lippmann (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1960-1965), p. 156.

Lippmann's self-perception was evident in his most recent interview which occurred in September, 1969. Still keenly alert at almost-eighty, Lippmann gave insights into his character. Of all the positions he had held, he was proudest of his editorship of The New York World in a time of national crisis. The newspaper, through its journalistic efforts had prevented the United States from invading Mexico.

When asked about the influences on his life, he cited his teachers, Thompson, James, Santayana, Wallas, and Babbitt. Although he profited much from his association with his professors, Lippmann had no inclination to emulate their vocation. Had he chosen a profession other than journalism, he said:

I'd like to have been born a great mathematician or something like that where I would have dealt with problems that didn't require dealing with the everlasting pernicketness of human nature.¹

Lippmann made no predictions for the future in this interview except to note that America was entering a "minor dark age." However, in earlier articles, he did venture opinions concerning the outcome of this century. In the decade of the 1960's, most of his comments appeared in "Today and Tomorrow" and Newsweek Magazine.

1967. . . we are living through the closing chapters of the established and traditional way of life. We are in the early beginnings of a struggle, which will probably last for generations, to remake our

¹Henry Brandon, "A Talk with Walter Lippmann at Eighty," The New York Times Magazine, September, 1969, p. 140.

civilization. It is not a good time for politicians. It is a time for prophets and leaders and explorers and inventors and pioneers, and for those who are willing to plant trees for their children to sit under.¹

1968. . . We have become an unhappy and divided country in which the redress of grievances is bound to take much longer than the aggrieved are willing to wait. As a result we now find ourselves living in a state of incipient guerrilla war.

That is why we know we are in deeper trouble than we have been in for hundred years.²

1968. . . The overriding fact of American life today, however, is that we are confronted with problems, which if they are soluble at all, are quite certainly not soluble in the next four years.³

1969. . . The excessive inflation, promises, expectations and programs have played a very great part in the current unhappiness of our people. It is cruel to raise hopes so high and then to dash them against the rocks of reality.

I find it encouraging that Nixon, as President-elect, has shown no signs of denying the goals of the promises because they have become inflated. This is, as I see it, his central task: to bring back the hopes and expectations of this century to a manageable and realizable size. If he does this, and the omens are good, he will do about as much as can be done to unite this diverse and unruly nation.⁴

Lippmann commented in 1957 that man will have certain needs in order to survive to solve the problems confronting him.

¹Walter Lippmann, "The American Promise," Newsweek Magazine, August, 1968, p. 17.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Election This Year," Newsweek Magazine, August, 1968, p. 17.

³Walter Lippmann, "The American Predicament," Newsweek Magazine, October, 1968, p. 27.

⁴Walter Lippmann, "Too Great Expectations," Newsweek Magazine, January, 1969, p. 11.

It will not be enough to have good nerves,
though we shall need them. We shall have to
have knowledge of what is going on around us.
We shall have to understand what we know.¹

¹Walter Lippmann, America in the World Today
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), p. 16.

CHAPTER II

WALTER LIPPMANN'S SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

Lippmann perceived man as a social animal requiring rules to govern his appetites. For this reason he was keenly aware of the role of government, its influence on and its obligation to the society. How the government served the public, provided for its needs and what it required in return formed the substance of much of Lippmann's writings.

Before he discussed "government" he defined the process by which it existed--democracy.

Truly conceived, a democracy is . . . the government of the people by a common law which defines the reciprocal rights and duties of persons. This common law is defined, applied, and amended by the representatives of the people . . . Thus in a free society the state . . . administers justice among men who conduct their own affairs.¹

The inviolable rights of the individual and his duty to the state concerned Lippmann. Human beings were not "things" but free and independent citizens to him. Yet he feared the loss of that freedom when men forgot its origins. He believed liberty emerged from the liberal tradition of the West, and as mankind grew away from that tradition, democracy faltered.

¹Lippmann, The Good Society, pp. 266-7.

Thus all men had a moral obligation to the state. They had to understand its past in order to help it function effectively in its present.

The morality of citizenship assumed another form. The people's sovereignty was never absolute and they could not determine right and wrong. Instead, they were under the law and accountable to standards which were superior to their opinions and wills.¹ There was a time, however, when authority needed to be extended, and when the situation warranted, the increased power was cautiously granted. The state received additional force with the understanding that when its aid was no longer necessary, the power would be returned to the people from whom it came.²

Although the state served the public, there was always danger that it might serve them too well. Lippmann believed a state became absolutistic when it claimed the right to monopolize all the force within the community. He defined force as the making of war and peace, the conscripting of life, the levying of taxes, the establishing and disestablishing of property, the defining and punishing of crime, the controlling of education, the supervising of the family, and the censoring of opinions.³

¹Lippmann, "The American Idea," in The Essential Lippmann, 6.

²Walter Lippmann, The Method of Freedom (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), p. 114.

³Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 80.

The modern state claims all these powers, and in the matter of theory there is no real difference in the size of the claim between communists, fascists, and democrats. There are lingering traces in the American constitutional system which the government may not absorb. But these rights are really not inalienable because they can be taken away by constitutional amendment.¹

No matter what the form of government, a hierarchy existed. What prevented this hierarchy from becoming totalitarian was public opinion. The rulers of the state were continually responsible to the fluctuating moods of the public. As only a democracy permitted freedom of change, there was no danger of totalitarianism in a state which heeded its public's inclinations. Yet as "power corrupted" so did absolute power tend to corrupt absolutely. Lippmann agreed with Lord Acton and applied the maxim to the American government which he believed consisted of a "limited grant of power to public officials."² Although Lippmann did not support a rigid interpretation of the Constitution, he did believe that the powers of government should be limited, except for times of national emergency. The national government, he felt, should delegate powers and responsibilities to the individual states who would then govern their citizens according to their needs. The citizens, functioning within the law, would experience liberty.

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 80.

²Walter Lippmann, "On This Rock," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, December 10, 1935.

Lippmann defined liberty as the "process by which men educate their response and learn to control their environment."¹ He realized that liberty of belief could not exist when men were afraid; that they would spend more time worrying about their belief than trying to understand their fear. "In other words, when men are not afraid, they are not afraid of ideas; when they are much afraid, they are afraid of anything that seems . . . seditious."²

Lippmann's liberty was a condition and not an intrinsic value.³ It was workable in a real world when men sacrificed their passions to necessity.⁴ Liberty was also freedom of knowledge, experiment, and method.⁵ However, unless man was free within himself, no legislation could liberate him. "Men cannot be made free by laws unless they are in fact free."⁶ The prime business of government, then, was to "harmonize" the freedom of already-free men.⁷

The government had other obligations to its citizens. Besides defending the nation against attack and preserving domestic peace, it was responsible for maintaining a certain

¹Walter Lippmann, Liberty and the News (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), p. 68.

²Ibid., p. 29. ³Ibid., p. 22.

⁴Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 258.

⁵Lippmann, Liberty and the News, p. 67.

⁶Lippmann, The Method of Freedom, p. 102.

⁷Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 275.

living standard. "The ability to protect the popular standard of life is an indispensable condition of the survival of political institutions."¹ The standard of life included the condition of the schools, the condition of the cities, the transportation system,² public health, research,³ and the care of the mentally defective.⁴ Lippmann ranked the government's responsibilities in order of priority in 1960. Defense was first, education was second, and scientific research was third.

The first and best line of defense, Lippmann believed, was a functioning, healthy society. A nation that was internally secure could not be tempted by totalitarianism, communism, and anarchy. Lippmann rated the internal invader, the germ of sedition, more dangerous to the sick society than external invasion. "But if it is revolution and radicalism we are interested in, the thing [sic] to watch are evidences of paralysis in the old order."⁵

Lippmann abhorred physical warfare but realized its inevitability. World War I happened, he explained, because

¹Lippmann, The New Imperative, p. 2.

²Lippmann, Conversations with Walter Lippmann, p. 193.

³Lippmann, "Why Should the Majority Rule?" in The Essential Lippmann, 330.

⁴Walter Lippmann, "The Campaign Against Sweating," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, ed. by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Liveright, 1970), 249.

⁵Walter Lippmann, "The Spotlight on Personal Devils," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, December 14, 1933.

no one did anything to prevent it. Most people even ignored the signs until the closing of the German border.

In fact I came out of college thinking that Theodore Roosevelt whom I admired profoundly, was in this respect eccentric, that he kept harping on the Panama Canal and the navy. For in my youth we all assumed that the money spent on battleships would better be spent on schoolhouses, and that war was an affair that "militarists" talked about and not something that seriously-minded progressive democrats paid any attention to. So when my teacher, Graham Wallas, warned me, as I was leaving Harvard in 1910, that a great war might soon break out and that if it did, it would probably smoulder on for thirty years, I had no notion that it would ever touch me or jeopardize the interests of the country.

It was possible for an American in those days to be totally unconscious of the world he lived in.¹

Regardless of Wallas' prediction, Lippmann later maintained that World War II might have been averted had the original Fourteen Points been honored and had the United States supported the attempts to form a League of Nations.

Lippmann saw the Korean War as a result of poor judgment in earlier treaty negotiations with Japan.² The Vietnam War was another matter. Lippmann felt the United States should have profited from its Korean mistake and practiced what he called "the blue water strategy." He described "blue water" as an eastern boundary which excluded shore and inshore positions, particularly on the eastern rim of Asia. The defensible area within this boundary included much of the Pacific, Pacific islands, and the continent of

¹Walter Lippmann, U. S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943), pp viii-ix.

²Walter Lippmann, "A New Leader for the Orchestra," The New Republic, CLVII (December, 1967), 18.

Australia. This area marked the extent of the United States' influence. Lippmann felt we had no way of governing or policing beyond this boundary. We could only reach a power settlement with the forces governing the Eurasian continent.¹

America's power in Europe, Lippmann felt, ended at the line dividing Germany. He predicted that this line would disappear within another generation and Europe would have to find its own balance without the aid of American military force. Possession of power alone would maintain the balance between Russia and western Europe.²

In a 1967 interview Lippmann was asked to speculate what the world would have been like had the United States not become involved in the Vietnam War. He hypothesized that Vietnam would have become ideologically like Yugoslavia or Bulgaria, or Rumania. The country would have been anti-Chinese but not anti-American and the United States' world prestige would not have fallen.³

Lippmann saw war as inevitable in an immature society. Yet so great was his faith in the public he served, he believed that man could conquer his need for war.

Man can master it /this superb destruction/ only by clarifying their own will to end it, and making a civilization so thoroughly under their control that no machine can turn traitor to it. For while

¹Brandon, "A Talk with Walter Lippmann," p. 27.

²Ibid.

³Lippmann, "A New Leader for the Orchestra," p. 18.

it takes as much skill to make a sword as a ploughshare, it takes a critical understanding of human values to prefer the ploughshare.¹

The second public need after defense was education. In a 1960 interview Lippmann expressed his concern for that need.

We are not considering the rate of growth of the school population . . . We're falling behind. And once you've failed to educate a child, you've failed, and you can't make that up later. So you have to do it currently . . . Because if you don't educate these children adequately, they will become the parents of children who in turn will be less adequately educated . . . We are committed, as a nation . . . to something that's never really been attempted before in the Western world--the mass education of a whole people . . . We have got the idea that everybody should be able to get to college. Now this quantitative thing--this quantitative goal, . . . must not be bought at the expense of quality . . . We have tended to combine mass education with education for excellence. And that makes education very expensive, but it's worth the price. And if we do that, we will have achieved really more than any other, our real spiritual ideal in this country.²

Lippmann believed that the support of education was the responsibility of the localities, the states and the federal government. He regarded such aid as a patriotic duty which one generation owed to another and likened it to the maintenance of national defense. Asserting that the "richest country in the history of mankind" could afford to both defend itself and to educate its children, Lippmann supported federal aid to education.³ Again he carefully

¹Lippmann, "Force and Ideas," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 4.

²Lippmann, Conversations with Walter Lippmann, pp. 11-2.

³Lippmann, "The School Crisis," in The Essential Lippmann, 360.

defined the extent of the nation's power. In 1938, he saw educational legislation as an attempt to equalize learning opportunity between the rich and the poor. All allocated monies should be given to the states with as few restrictions as possible. However, the states were to match the federal funds, and Lippmann saw nothing wrong with the states taxing the rich to pay for the education of the poor.¹ Several decades later in a period of economic inflation he set limits on personal consumption. "For there is a point--somewhere let us say between the first and second family automobile--when the money for the second automobile ought to go to paying for a better school."²

There were other aspects of education besides the more usual ones of improving the quality of education through better-educated teachers, modernizing working conditions and tools, building more schools, and funding title programs, projects, scholarships and loans. Other issues influenced by federal aid were the equalization of educational opportunities, parochial school funding, and integration.

In World War II when the military confronted the problem of recruiting and training officers, they discovered that most of their officers-to-be were from the upper levels of society. Preferring college-trained leaders, the military

¹Walter Lippmann, "Federal Aid to the Schools," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, February 26, 1938.

²Walter Lippmann, "Regulating the Boom," from "Today and Tomorrow," The Washington Post, March 17, 1966.

had selected only college graduates for officer training. As the majority of college students at that time were from the upper and upper middle class families, the corps of officers was representative of only a small part of American society. Lippmann felt that this unintentional discrimination was non-democratic. He supported the financial aid legislation designed to provide scholarships to those young men who could qualify for officer-training but who could not otherwise afford to attend college.¹

He also supported aid to private religious schools. Reasoning that parochial students were part of the American system of education, he felt that the problem of aid could be resolved without becoming involved in the question of religious instruction. To him, federal aid to education was so important that he would break with tradition and advocate the granting of long-term low interest loans to needy parochial schools.²

During the decade of the 1950's the issue of Civil Rights began to affect the distribution of federal funds. All federal monies were to be denied to states or local school districts who continued to maintain "separate but equal" facilities.³ Lippmann feared such legislation would hinder

¹Walter Lippmann, "Equal Opportunity for Young Men," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, July 28, 1942.

²Walter Lippmann, "The School Bill," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, June 15, 1961.

³Walter Lippmann, "The Powell Amendment," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, February 2, 1956.

integration since it would withhold monies from the districts which needed them the most. He reasoned that the South already operated under a dual system with the white schools superior to the Negro ones. Letting the quality of both systems decline was no solution. The answer was to bring the black schools up to the standard of the white schools while improving the quality of education in the white schools. In a time of emotionalism, Lippmann defined his terms carefully.

Segregation means not only that the colored children are in separate schools but that in fact they are in poorer schools. Integration, which is now to be the order of the day, means lifting the education of colored to the standard of the white children.¹

Integration, according to Lippmann, did not mean direct black-white confrontation within the elementary and secondary school. Instead he proposed a program of integration by stages, beginning with the universities and graduate schools where cultural assimilation could occur without causing "social convulsion" among the hard-core segregationists. Lippmann believed that such an arrangement in the South would comply with the law and illustrate the state's willingness to keep faith.² One year later he reiterated:

¹Walter Lippmann, "The Two School Systems," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, June 2, 1955.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Third Year," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, September 4, 1956.

I do not believe that it is now wise, or indeed possible, to combine for adolescent school children co-education with integration. It is wise and it is possible to open up higher education.¹

As the integration problem began to intensify with the National Guard at Little Rock, Arkansas, Lippmann argued that integration was less a legal matter than an educational problem. He urged that the leaders of American education commit themselves to the task which the Supreme Court had imposed upon them and peacefully create an entirely new educational system for the South.² He noted the fact that there was no leadership in a time when guidance was imperative.

The situation is one in which the whole climate could be changed by a President who took command, who spoke clearly, in no uncertain terms, to the Patriotism, the common sense and the good will of the people. There ought to be somebody around whom the nation can rally with confidence rising above the passion of this envenomed struggle.

But at present there is nobody who is unmistakably in command, nobody who is speaking clearly, nobody who is really working seriously to bring order, plan, purpose and control into what is in fact a drift into disorder.³

Almost a year later Lippmann again called for guidance and predicted that without it, it was certain that we would "look

¹Walter Lippmann, "The Army at Little Rock," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, October 1, 1957.

²Walter Lippmann, "Faubus and Beyond," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, October 3, 1957.

³Walter Lippmann, "Drift into Disorder," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, September 12, 1957.

forward to several years of confusion, disorder, and civil bitterness."¹ Thus Walter Lippmann forecast the racial climate of the 1960's.

Research was the third public need in Lippmann's list of priorities. One aspect of scientific research was technology. Lippmann believed that technology was an educational process as well as a method of invention and of cooperative functioning.² Technical knowledge, he stated, was so highly specialized that only those who created it could control it.³ In 1929 he saw an inherent inconsistency between technology and the men who brought it into being.

This is an original and tremendous fact in human experience: that a whole civilization should be dependent upon technology, that this technology should be dependent upon pure science, and that this pure science should be dependent upon a race of men who consciously refuse, as Mr. Bertrand Russell has said, to regard their "own desires, tastes, and interests as affording a key to the understanding of the world."⁴

Lippmann emphasized that social relations became more complex as the machine technology increased. As forms of authority began to disintegrate and customs and loyalties dissolve, man began to have to learn to make his own decisions instead of waiting for orders.⁵ However, man did not adapt to the

¹Walter Lippmann, "Little Rock Again," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, June 26, 1958.

²Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 99.

³Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 370.

⁴Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 238.

⁵Ibid., pp. 274-5.

machine technology as Lippmann hoped he would. Instead he became a "deracinated city dweller" and a victim of "blank, helpless specialization." Lippmann thought educational reforms might correct the situation, but decided that the main problem would remain unsolved.

It is necessary somehow to construct within the framework of our complicated machine civilization the moral equivalent of the opportunity to stake out private property in virgin territory.¹

As pioneering possibilities had become very restricted, Lippmann turned to space exploration to vicariously satisfy man's need for a "westerling experience." He did not have a "blue water" attitude about space and disagreed with the people who maintained that the billions spent on space exploration should have been invested in welfare programs.

I don't take the view of those who say that the \$25-billion, or whatever we spent on getting to the moon, should have been spent at home in clearing up the slums and so on, because I don't believe it would have been spent on that. I think under no conceivable circumstances would the Congress of the United States or the American taxpayer have voted all that money for any form of social improvement because they couldn't have agreed on what improvement to spend it on. They'd have spent it instead on₂ liquor, cosmetics, television sets and whatnot.²

However, Lippmann saw no reason for overexpanding space exploration. Instead, he preferred to follow the advice of the best scientists and engineers working on the space

¹Lippmann, The Method of Freedom, pp. 105-6.

²Brandon, "A Talk with Walter Lippmann," p. 134.

projects.¹

For Lippmann, then, research took the form of exploration in science and technology. He sought a utilization of science that would humanize man instead of draining him of his energies. He believed that science could provide for man's physical needs without destroying his spiritual and emotional functioning. However, science could not do this as long as "conspicuous consumption" was exalted over the public living standard.

Our people have been led to believe in the enormous fallacy that the highest purpose of the American social order is to multiply the enjoyment of consumer goods. As a result, our public institutions, particularly those having to do with education and research, have been, as compared with the growth of our population scandalously starved.²

Lippmann also spoke against the trend toward "anti-intellectualism" which was manifested in the "general popular disrespect for, and even suspicion of, brains and originality of thought."³ He blamed this trend on McCarthyism which he labeled as "one of the great national tragedies of the post-war era."⁴

Ten years later, he commented again in a period of "hard times" when the nation was in chaos and without a leader to guide it.

¹Ibid. "If they [the scientists and engineers] . . . say that the next stage of exploration should be done by unmanned spaceships, that would certainly be less expensive than having a manned landing. I would follow that line."

²Walter Lippmann, "The Portent of the Moon," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, October 10, 1957.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

. . . You will have to have a new leader for the orchestra, who will suddenly begin to make the rhythm go again. The thing is there in this country. Sometimes a country is in the mood to solve everything; those are its great periods . . . That's the thing you've got to have: what would be the equivalent of an Elizabethan Age in America, when people hope and believe and are willing to fight . . . I mean, if you've seen hopes raised and dashed as many times as I have, and always because a war has intervened, you'd say, "Well, now, for heaven's sake, we can't wait any longer." We have the riots and all that, we have worse than that--we have despair and deterioration. That has got to stop. We've got to have a people that believes it's going to do something.¹

¹ Lippmann, "A New Leader for the Orchestra," p. 21.

CHAPTER III

LIPPMANN'S PERCEPTION OF LIFE

The fundamental question . . . has to do with the nature of man, and most precisely it is whether adult men and women are to be regarded as having that freedom of the will which makes them personally responsible for their conduct.¹

The quality of life Americans enjoyed deeply concerned Lippmann. He believed that the individual controlled his own life-style; and as he discussed the mental and emotional requisites for a "quality" living pattern, he also described his idea of the "good life."

Lippmann defined the "spirit of fine living," realizing that life was affected by the society in which the individual lived. As poverty prevented man from attaining his goals, Lippmann discussed plans for welfare. He also presented the need for man to determine his own ends in the form of self-government. Few men, however, were capable of governing themselves, and Lippmann felt this was due to their lack of education for life in a democracy. For Lippmann, a good life was necessarily a free democratic life.

¹Lippmann, "The Captains of Their Souls," in The Essential Lippmann, 143.

Lippmann believed man also required inner resources in order to function well in a democratic society. He needed virtue, reason, and control over his desires. Lastly, man needed an outlet for expression of his inner self, and Lippmann felt he found it in the form of art. Although Lippmann was involved in all of these aspects of the good life, he was most concerned with the spirit of life.

It is the spirit of all fine living: to live ready, to lighten experience by a knowledge of its alternatives, to let no fact be opaque, but to make what happens transparent with the choices it offers.¹

Lippmann noted that there were very few people who were "at home" in the world, and that fewer still were "serenely happy in their personal lives."² Yet, he also stated that it was not possible for one to be wholly at peace unless he possessed a deep harmony and a sense of oneness with the "nature of things."³ In short, only a mature person could experience this "wholeness"; an immature person would require the trappings of his ambitions and ego-satisfying occupations in order to function.⁴ Lippmann understood and felt compassion for the majority of immature citizens as they struggled and groped to find what they felt would bring them happiness. He recognized as early as 1930 the traits which

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 174.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 285.

³Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴Ibid.

could turn American society into a fun-seeking, escapist-oriented public. He stated that leisure and outside interests could not provide the release from pressure for which they were designed if man himself had no inner unity and peace. Man had to look to the center of his being and accept the self he saw reflected there. Without this knowledge of and acceptance of self, pleasure-seeking became evil.

The ordinary routine of organized pleasure, in so far as it is a problem presenting evil consequences, is evil because it seeks by artificial distraction and escape to save its patrons from looking into the mirror of their fate and there confronting that knowledge of themselves which no human soul can avoid and be completely human.¹

The mature man, by Lippmann's definition, would take the world as it came and remain unperturbed. He would move easily through life, free from fears and meet life on its own terms. "And so whether he saw the thing as comedy, or high tragedy, or plain farce, he would affirm that it is what it is and that the wise man can enjoy it."²

There were, however, some things over which the wise man had little direct control. One of those things was the dehumanizing effect technology was having on certain jobs. The routine of monotony tended to automatize man and strip him of his creativity and ingenuity.³ In 1911, Lippmann

¹Lippmann, "Free Time and Extra Money," in The Essential Lippmann, 440-1.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 330.

³Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 73.

had opted for "more brains and less sweat"; he had supported the idea of efficiency, but he had not foreseen the effect the machine's sophistication would have upon its operator. Nor had he considered the possibility that working conditions might change in favor of the machine.¹

The threat of over-population was another menace to the good life. Lippmann recognized in 1957 that "almost every public facility" was overburdened² and suggested that the society be educated to "own things in common." As it was rapidly becoming impossible for people to "enjoy the primitive sense of absolute possession," Lippmann believed that the civilized person was able to share the facilities of his country with others.³ In fact, he extended this belief to include his definition of society.

. . . we need to think of society not as the name of a thing but as the name of all the adjustments between individuals and their things. Then we can say without theoretical qualms what common sense plainly tells us is so: it is the individuals who act, not society . . . It is their relations with each other that constitute a society.⁴

Lippmann further described the American society as "migratory, revolutionary, protestant, having no recognized

¹Walter Lippmann, "More Brains--Less Sweat," Everybody's Magazine, December, 1911, pp. 827-8.

²Lippmann, "Public Need and Private Pleasure," in The Essential Lippmann, 361.

³Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 130.

⁴Lippmann, The Phantom Public (New York: Harcourt Brace Company, 1925), p. 172.

leaders and no clear standard of conduct."¹ Yet society was a sufficient enough entity to experience problems. Lippmann explained that "the real problems of societies arise where the social order is not consistent with the requirements of the division of labor."² Poverty was one result of this inequity and another obstacle in man's quest for a good life.

Lippmann perceived the size of a man's income as the greatest influence on his access to the world beyond his neighborhood. At the same time, he also stated that a man's ideas about his income determined how it was spent.³ The best way, then, to combat poverty, was to educate people out of it.

Unless you have education you cannot take away from the poorest part of the population the thing which keeps them poor--their inability to earn--they haven't learned enough and been trained enough to keep a good job, to do a good job.⁴

Yet there was an inherent problem in the solution. Lippmann stated that the children of the poor were hard to educate because "their homes are so cramped and so meager and because they go to schools which on the whole are more crowded and have less skilled teachers than the children of more fortunate families."⁵

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 65.

²Lippmann, The Good Society, p. 211.

³Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 49.

⁴Lippmann, Conversations with Walter Lippmann, p. 221.

⁵Walter Lippmann, "The Paramount Deficit," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, October 15, 1964.

There were other causes of poverty besides lack of education. While Lippmann listed lack of education first, he also admitted that discrimination, poor health, and absence of a full-time wage earner in the home contributed to the situation.¹ One way to offset the health problem was to provide medicare, although Lippmann did not press that issue.² Instead, he advocated the creation of a minimum standard of living. To Lippmann, this was the first item in the program of self-government. It was also "the most elementary duty of the democratic state."³ What the minimum was, and how it should be determined and administered, Lippmann did not say. He did comment on the needs of the majority.

Reflecting on the outcome of the Scopes trial at Dayton, Tennessee, Lippmann asserted that the majority had misused its power. The majority had "founded popular government on the faith in popular education and then they had used the prerogatives of democracy to destroy the hopes of democracy."⁴ Lippmann further underlined his contentions.

There is nothing in the teachings of Jesus or St. Francis which justifies us in thinking that the opinions of fifty-one per cent of a group

¹Walter Lippmann, "The War on Poverty," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, March 19, 1964.

²Walter Lippmann, "Medical Care for the Aged," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, June 16, 1960.

³Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 141.

⁴Lippmann, "Why Should the Majority Rule?" in The Essential Lippmann, 8.

are better than the opinions of forty-nine per cent.¹

Lippmann took time several years later to relate how governments had come into being and established a way of life for their constituents. All of the institutions of the western world, he believed, were formed by men who were already self-governing and free. From their unity, the western world derived its concept of law and constitutional government.² Yet Lippmann also admitted:

Men will do almost anything but govern themselves. They don't want the responsibility . . . If they have to think for themselves they turn either to the past or to a distant future . . . They trust to destiny, a quick one or a slow one, and the whole task of judging events is avoided.³

Protestantism was, for him, an example of the truth of this contention. Lippmann described the entire history of protestantism as "like all the other revolts from the old absolutisms."⁴ Once man had his freedom, then his "floundering for democracy" began and man suspected that it was easier to remove a tyrant than it was to govern himself. Man did not naturally live a free life.

Because the art of successful self-government is not instinctive, men do not long desire

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²Lippmann, "The State of Education in this Troubled Age," Vital Speeches, 201.

³Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 108.

⁴Ibid., p. 109.

self-government for its own sake. They desire it for the sake of the results. That is why the impulse to self-government is always the strongest as a protest against bad conditions.¹

Yet it must be remembered that the mature individual does attain self-government, and that certain forms of education played a large role in preparing a society to live with itself.

Lippmann never assumed that the mass of people were competent to direct the affairs of state or that they were proceeding toward that goal. Instead, he believed that there was no method by which the average man could know and control human affairs.² Although "no scheme of education can equip [a man] in advance for all the problems of mankind,"³ education prepared leaders who governed the democracy as best they could. Indeed, this education of leaders and the discernment of those who could function best in a crisis situation was the "end of the effort to educate public opinion."⁴ For Lippmann, competence existed only in relative states. Men were not educated, but educated for something.⁵

Education for citizenship, for membership in the public, ought, therefore, to be distinct from education for public office. Citizenship involves a radically different relation to affairs, requires different intellectual habits and different methods of action.⁶

¹Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 312.

²Lippmann, The Phantom Public, pp. 38-9.

³Ibid., p. 147.

⁴Ibid., p. 68.

⁵Ibid., p. 150.

⁶Ibid., p. 151.

Such an education, while ideal, had never been implemented. Formal education did not provide the average man the skills he needed to live a good life. While such an education was indispensable, it was also insufficient.¹ The reason for this problem was that

democracy . . . has never developed an education for the public. It has merely given it a smattering of the kind of knowledge which the responsible man requires. It has, in fact, aimed not at making good citizens, but at making a mass of amateur executives. It has not taught the child how to act as a member of the public. . . . The public at large, which includes everybody outside the field of his own responsible knowledge, has had no coherent political training of any kind. Our civic education does not even begin to tell the voter how he can reduce the maze of public affairs to some intelligible form.²

Having identified the problem, Lippmann provided a solution.

For a chance of living a good life,

the kind of self-education which a self-governing people must obtain can be had only through its daily experiences. In other words, a democracy must have a way of life which educates the people for the democratic way of life.³

Virtue was the first inner resource Lippmann believed necessary to experiencing a satisfying existence. Again, few men possessed virtue because few men were wholly mature. Virtue, according to Lippmann, was "grounded in experience" and produced happiness.⁴ He defined it as "that kind of conduct

¹Lippmann, The Good Society, p. 263.

²Lippmann, The Phantom Public, pp. 148-9.

³Lippmann, The Good Society, p. 263.

⁴Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 226.

which is esteemed by God, or public opinion, or that less immediate part of a man's personality which he calls his conscience."¹ Lippmann also classified virtue as being expressed in mature man's disinterestedness or detachment. The immature man must have virtue impressed upon him by authority, since he does not possess a sufficient inner discipline.

Such an idea raises a question for education: how to educate the young in virtue--provided it were possible. And again, Lippmann argued that carefully guided experience would teach the young virtue as no teacher could.² Indeed, virtue was perhaps the most important concept the child could learn, for Lippmann believed that it alone could help the fight against the overpowering effects of the machine technology.

We shall have, it seems to me, to develop within men and women themselves the power they need. It is an immense ambition, and each man who approaches it must appear presumptuous. But it is the problem of our generation: to analyze the weakness, to attack the obstacles, to search for some of the possibilities, to realize if we can the kind of effort by which we can face the puzzling world in which we live.³

Perhaps the greatest virtue was concern and compassion for one's fellow man. Yet in a world grown smaller, finding one's neighbor in order to treat him as one's self

¹Lippmann, The Good Society, p. 263.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 231.

³Ibid., p. 39.

was the problem.¹ "The size and intricacy which we have to deal with have done more than anything else, I imagine, to wreck the simple generalizations of our ancestors."² Yet Lippmann believed that solving this problem was necessary in order to find peaceful co-existence.

If a man dare attempt to sum up the spiritual condition of his time, he might say of ours that it has lost authority and retained the need of it. We are freer than we are strong. We have more responsibility than we have capacity. And if we wish to state what the future sets for us, we might say, I think, that we must find within ourselves the certainty which the external world has lost.³

In order to find virtue, man has to combat his desires and achieve disinterestedness. Desire must be disciplined by man's knowledge of the possible.⁴ Often, however, it is not.

This modern man, as he is turned out by our secular schools and as he is shaped by the prevailing popular culture, is a being whose desires are limited, not by his reason, which represents the universal order of things, but only by the difficulty of getting more and more satisfaction. The desires of the modern man, are, as respects his own inner measures of control, illimitable desires. It follows that the desires of the modern man can never be satisfied, and it is the anguish of unlimited and therefore insatiable desire which is the characteristic misery of our age.

For the unending pursuit of the ever-fleeting object of desire means not only that a man must surely fail: it means also, and this is much worse than failure--that his whole effort must seem to

¹Ibid., p. 39. ²Ibid.

³Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 116.

⁴Ibid., p. 149.

him futile. Yet in our age--because we have accepted the secular image of man--our social criterion of progress has been that we must encourage and incite ourselves to be forever unsatisfied, to think nothing is enough, and thus to seek the satisfaction of insatiable needs.¹

The kind of desire described is that of the immature man. Lippmann believed that few attained the maturity and virtue that was rightfully theirs; however, there are three ways, Lippmann says, that a mature character could be attained: by growth, experience, and insight; by ascetic discipline; or by conversion.² He further stated that the mature desire was innocent.

To be able . . . to follow what the heart desires without coming into collision with the stubborn facts of life is the privilege of the utterly innocent and of the utterly wise. It is the privilege of the infant and of the sage who stand at the two poles of experience; of the infant because the world ministers to his heart's desire and of the sage because he has learned what to desire.³

Because he perceived man as being ruled by his desires, Lippmann stated, "You are not talking of human beings when you talk of 'pure reason.'"⁴ Reason was detachment from the passions and a reliance upon facts. Yet "there is an inherent difficulty about using the method of reason to

¹Lippmann, "Man's Image of Man," in The Essential Lippmann, 163.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 192.

³Ibid., p. 193.

⁴Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 169.

deal with an unreasoning world."¹ Reason could not even predict the behavior of the individual² because the individual did not think rationally.³ Lippmann explained why this was so. "When all news comes at second-hand, where all the testimony is uncertain, men cease to respond to truths, and respond simply to opinions."⁴

Instead of reasoning, men simply respond to symbols which persons of merit have implanted in the public's mind. The danger is that he who controls the symbols controls the public policy.⁵ The tragic history of mankind is revealed all too clearly in this truth.

Since man functioned best by his desires and found the life of reason difficult to attain, Lippmann proposed a compromise between the two. "They see the world most effectively who see reality luminous in a cold dry light dissolving into a warm area of probabilities."⁶ Perhaps such a merger was one reason why Lippmann turned to art as the great disciplinarian of man's emotions.

¹Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 413.

²Ibid., p. 415.

³Lippmann, Liberty and the News, pp. 53-4.

⁴Lippmann, Liberty and the News, p. 55.

⁵Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 206-7.

⁶Lippmann, "The White Passion," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 337.

To create is to transfigure the given in the light of desire, and for the artist anywhere, but especially for the artist in human relationship, the margin of freedom is something offered to him, not made by him.¹

For Lippman art increases life by cutting paths "for the impulses which are not consumed in ordinary living."² Art also enlarges man's experience, and it was that kind of experience Lippmann saw as necessary for growth to maturity.

What Lippmann sought was a good life for all. He realized that most men would be prevented from attaining his definition of a good existence by the simple fact of their immaturity. These were the men he described when he defined "good" as "that which men would wish to do if they knew what they were doing."³ Yet he had compassion on those who were trapped by either spiritual or physical poverty. And he never gave them up as totally lost.

We live in an age when men are dismayed because they feel that they have lost the tradition of the good life. They are acutely aware of the unrealized possibilities of human societies. The intellectual life of the western world is distracted, its spirit is impaired, by the paradoxes of poverty when there is plenty, of science triumphant in political disorder, of conscience become sensitive to human dignity in the midst of a reversion to the primitive. To these paradoxes men cannot become resigned. They can accept a fate which it is beyond their power to avert. They can endure pain and hardship and natural calamity. But they will not

¹Ibid.

²Lippmann, "The Lost Theme," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 332.

³Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 319.

resign themselves to a failure which originates--
so they must believe--in their own behavior and
could be remedied by intelligence and courage and
good will.¹

¹Lippmann, The New Imperative, p. 39.

CHAPTER IV

LIPPMAN AND PSYCHOLOGY

While Walter Lippmann cannot be classified as a psychologist, he was interested in several aspects of psychology. Perhaps his greatest interest was in Freud's theories, which he first encountered in 1912. A friend of his, Alfred Booth Kuttner, was translating Freud's Interpretation of Dreams into English and discussed some of the theories and their implications with Lippmann. Leuchtenberg claims that following their discussion, Lippmann "immediately joined the ranks of the Freudians."¹

Evidences of Freud's influence appeared in A Preface to Morals and in Lippmann's explanation of the maturation process. His discussion of the "generation gap," the unrest of youth, juvenile delinquency, the process of perception, and the stereotype indicate how far his thinking developed after his initial encounter with Freudian theory.

In the area of intelligence testing, which may or may not be classified as a form of psychological measurement, Lippmann wrote a series of articles for The New Republic.

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, pp. 3-4. Introduction by William E. Leuchtenberg.

In the articles he cautioned against an over-enthusiastic acceptance of the Stanford-Binet test. In his use of Freudian theory to explain some of the problems of society, his discussions of the use of perception in learning, stereotypes, and his criticism of the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Lippmann contributed to the psychological aspects of education.

In 1914 Lippmann remarked that "the impetus of Freud is perhaps the greatest advance ever made towards the understanding and control of human character."¹ Two years later in The New Republic, he repeated and re-emphasized his earlier statement. He noted that Freud's psychology was spreading "from anthropology, through education to social organization, from literary criticism to the studies of religions and philosophies."² In 1929, Lippmann devoted a chapter in his A Preface to Morals to a discussion of Ferenczi's application of Freud's theories and how they related to education.

If we knew all the stages in the development to maturity and how to control them we should have an adequate science of education, we could deal successfully with functional disorders, we should have a very great mastery of the art of life. For the problems of education are at bottom problems in how to lead the child from one stage of development to another until at last he becomes a harmonious

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, p. 85.

²Lippmann, "Freud and the Layman," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 301.

³Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 175.

and autonomous personality . . .¹

Lippmann sought to educate for a humanistic maturity and suggested that the theories of Freud's Budapest colleague, Dr. S. Ferenczi, be used as guidelines. Ferenczi believed that a child went through six stages of development before reaching maturity which was the seventh and final stage.² Lippmann emphasized that these phases were all critical to the child's attainment of maturity and that each one must be successfully encountered in order for the child to become mature. "But it is by no means certain that we shall grow up."³

The successful passage into maturity depends
 . . . on the breaking-up and reconstruction of

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 175.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, pp. 177-80. The six stages were: (1) Period of Unconditional Omnipotence, when a child was still a fetus in the womb; (2) Period of Magical Hallucinatory Omnipotence which lasted from birth through the first few months of life; (3) Period of Omnipotence by the Help of Magic Gestures when the child indicated and received his desires through gesture; (4) Projection Phase when simple signals no longer worked; (5) Anamistic Period which marked the beginning of reality discernment; (6) Period of Magic Thoughts and Magic Words when the child began to use gestures and words in a sophisticated manner. Lippmann believed if the child was to mature successfully, he moved into a final phase of growth where he "recovers that harmony between himself and his environment which he lost in that period of infancy when he first discovered that his wishes were no longer sovereign." (p. 180.)

³Ibid., p. 183. In 1966, Erik Erikson divided the maturation process into eight stages and called them (1) Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust; (2) Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt; (3) Initiative vs. Guilt; (4) Industry vs. Inferiority; (5) Identity vs. Role Confusion; (6) Intimacy vs. Isolation; (7) Generativity vs. Stagnation; (8) Ego Integrity vs. Despair. Maturity was achieved only by successful passage to the eighth stage. Erik H. Erikson, "Eight Ages of Man," International Journal of Psychiatry, II (1966), 281-97.

those habits which were appropriate only to our earliest experience.

In a certain larger sense this is the essence of education. For unless a man has acquired the character of an adult, he is a lost soul no matter how good his technical equipment . . .¹

Lippmann cited five childish approaches to life. Both a child and an immature adult

- (1) believe life is a conspiracy to make them happy or miserable;
- (2) believe life owes them something;
- (3) reach for anything in sight and refuse to give it up once it is possessed;
- (4) believe death and decay are insults and would have no reason for being if nature would only behave as they wished it would;
- (5) are unable to enjoy their possessions.²

Assuming men were mature in their knowledge of self, they would remain immature if they did not know the world and their place in it. This maturity in the presence of immaturity is typical of all men for "men do not necessarily mature altogether and in unison; they learn to do this and that more easily than they learn what to like and what to reject."³ Maturity for Lippmann was an acquiring of a different sense of life,⁴ a disinterestedness and a sense of proportions.⁵ It was also the discovery of the existence of evil.

The sense of evil is acquired late; by many persons it is never acquired at all . . . The discovery that there is evil which is as genuine

¹Ibid., p. 184.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, pp. 184-5.

³Ibid., p. 186. ⁴Ibid., pp. 186-7.

⁵Ibid., p. 187. See p. 50, footnote 1.

as goodness, that there is ugliness and violence which are no less real than joy and love, is one of those discoveries that the adult is forced somehow to accept in his valuation of experience.¹

With the acceptance of the presence of evil, man develops and learns a moral code. Lippmann feared, however, that "in an age when custom is dissolved and authority is broken"² there are few moral precepts to pass on to the succeeding generations. Part of the responsibility for the breakdown in communication between the generations was what was being taught in the schools.

. . . the introduction of modern habits of thought into the schools means a widening of the breach between the older generation and the younger. It means that parents and children may come to think so differently that neither can sympathize with or even comprehend the other. It means a dissolution of codes and rules which rest upon the ancient foundations. It means dangerous and bewildering experiment, not only in thought, but in action, and there is no certainty that any experiment will work out happily.³

¹Lippmann, American Inquisitors, pp. 88-9. Accepting the reality of evil is both a psychological and metaphysical experience. Social learning theory investigates human personality and behavior as they are affected by environmental pressures. Karen Horney states there are three ways of dealing with the environment: moving toward, against, or away from it. (Karen Horney, Our Inner Conflicts, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1945), pp. 34-7.) A person can deal with evil in this manner both psychologically and metaphysically. He can move toward evil, by accepting and living with it; he can move against evil by recognizing its reality and by actively fighting it with good (Romans 12:21, Luke 6:35). Catherine Marshall recognizes this quality as essential to the self-actualized-in Christ Christian. Or he can move away from evil and reality by refusing to recognize its existence. Both Horney and Lippmann see dependence on the avoidance approach as a sign of immaturity.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 327.

³Lippmann, American Inquisitors, pp. 88-9.

Lippmann recognized in 1935 that the older generation had to have something more solid than technical skill to offer the new generation. During the middle 1930's the methods and results of progressive education received intense criticism from such men as Robert M. Hutchins (The Higher Learning in America, 1936), Boyd Bode (Progressive Education at the Crossroads, 1938), and William Chandler Bagley ("Essentialist's Platform for the Advancement of American Education," Educational Administration and Supervision, April, 1938). The popularized progressive education as opposed to Dewey's progressive educational theories had given children techniques but no values by which to live.¹ Lippmann aligned himself with the critics of progressive education in maintaining that the young needed wisdom and a philosophy for living.² To fill the needs their education had neglected, the youth were turning

¹Regarding the need for a value-structure, Maslow said: "The state of being without a system of values is psycho-pathogenic, we are learning. The human being needs a framework of values, a philosophy of life, a religion or religion-surrogate to live by and understand by, in about the same sense that he needs sunlight, calcium or love. This I have called the cognitive need to understand . . . Much disturbance in children and adolescents can be understood as a consequence of the uncertainty of adults about their values. As a consequence, many youngsters in the United States live not by adult values but by adolescent values, which of course are immature, ignorant and heavily determined by confused adolescent needs. An excellent projection of these adolescent values is the cowboy, "Western" movie, or the delinquent gang." Abraham H. Maslow, Toward a Psychology of Being (2nd ed.; New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), p. 206.

²Lippmann, The New Imperative, p. 41.

to fascism or communism¹ or eastern forms of religion and philosophy.² Most of the new generation, however, went into the world with no convictions, political or otherwise. "The consequences are ominous for they mean that those who will rule the American commonwealth tomorrow are spiritually isolated from those who rule it today."³ Lippmann offered a solution to the problem. He realized that students could not believe in persons considered authorities⁴ because "those who sit in the seats of authority are preaching a gospel of frustration."⁵ These men are telling the youth to "please to be good enough to do nothing."⁶ Lippmann urged that the older generation tell the young the truth while granting them some privileges which would re-educate them to the principles of democracy and freedom.⁷

Were such a policy to be enacted, the problems of cheating, unrest and delinquency might lessen. All three actions grow from the same sources--boredom, self-indulgence, and moral indifference.⁸ Regarding juvenile delinquency, Lippmann believed a three-step program might help to bring lawlessness under control. First, parents were to be fined

¹Ibid., p. 47. ²Ibid., p. 41.

³Lippmann, The New Imperative, p. 41.

⁴Ibid. ⁵Ibid., p. 47. ⁶Ibid., p. 52.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Lippmann, "Why We Accept Cheating," in The Essential Lippmann, 449.

for their minor children's misdemeanors; second, the schools were to be responsible for "civilizing" the new generation and would be given "much larger disciplinary rights than they now have"; and third, there would be a stronger censorship of violence in the movies, comic books, and television.¹

There can be no real doubt, it seems to me, that the movies and television and the comic books are purveying violence and lust to a vicious and intolerable degree. There can be no real doubt that public exhibitions of sadism tend to excite sadistic desires and to teach the audience how to gratify sadistic desires. Nor can there be any real doubt that there is a close connection between the suddenness of the increase in sadistic crimes and the new vogue of sadism among the mass media of entertainment.

Censorship is no doubt a clumsy and usually a stupid and self-defeating remedy for such evils. But a continual exposure of a generation to the commercial exploitation of the enjoyment of violence and cruelty is one way to corrode the foundations of a civilized society.²

Lippmann's statement is based on his understanding of both the problems and the psychology of youth. In a world where no absolutes exist, life is as one perceives it. Because of the size of the world, and the intricacy of life, "the biggest part of opinion must be constructed in the imagination."³ Lippmann believed that the young were sufficiently stimulated by life situations which they daily confronted and they needed no additional violence. Indeed, a combination

¹Lippmann, "The Young Criminals," The Essential Lippmann, p. 447.

²Ibid., pp. 447-8. See also footnote 1, p. 59.

³Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 68.

of a "casual fact, creative imagination and will to believe"¹ could create powerful fictions. It was these fictions built on violent themes that Lippmann feared.

In the area of experience, Lippmann observed that there was never a totally new experience. Man approaches each "new" experience with a set of expectations based on previous experiences. When the known and the unknown confront each other, each is modified.² Lippmann called this approach perception. He explained that the untrained eye picked out signs from the environment. The signs represented ideas which the perceiver "fleshed out" with his own imagination. The same action, he stated, occurred whenever man encountered a new acquaintance. Instead of noticing the whole person, "we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotype we carry about in our heads."³ The term stereotype explained how man actually perceived.

For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. In the great blooming, / sic / buzzing confusion of the outer world we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture.⁴

¹Ibid., p. 14.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 171. Another word for the modification is "refencing" which describes a process known as "exception-making."

³Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 89.

⁴Ibid., p. 81.

Lippmann described stereotypes as being highly emotion-charged, the guarantees of self-respect, and the fortresses of tradition.¹ They were also "the subtlest and most pervasive of all influences."² Regarding the perfect stereotype,

Its hallmark is that it precedes the use of reason; is a form of perception, imposes a certain character on the data of our senses before the data reach the intelligence . . . There is nothing so obdurate to education or to criticism as the stereotype.³

Lippmann explained the need and the place of the stereotype in education. "So long as finite men must compress into a short schooling preparation for dealing with a vast civilization, they must carry pictures of it around with them, and have prejudices."⁴ However, this need also held an inherent danger. "The pattern of stereotypes at the center of our codes largely determines what groups of facts we shall see, and in what light we shall see them."⁵ In relying on the stereotype instead of the facts, the public risked holding an erroneous or even immoral belief. The person who either denied or challenged the popular stereotype might be labeled "perverse, alien, or dangerous."⁶ The opponent has always to be explained, and "the last explanation that we ever look for is that he sees a different set of facts."⁷ The same was true for radical students who "marched

¹Ibid., p. 96.

²Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 89.

³Ibid., pp. 98-9.

⁴Ibid., p. 120

⁵Ibid., p. 125.

⁶Ibid., p. 126.

⁷Ibid.

to the music of a different drum."

In 1922 Lippmann cited certain prevailing stereotypes which governed education. First, education had to be progressive. "An American will endure almost any insult except the charge that he is not progressive."¹ Second, education must create "good" (depending upon how the word was defined) citizens, soldiers, politicians, bosses, and workingmen.² Third, Lippmann himself stereotyped the the "conservative" form of education when he described Charles Evans Hughes. "He seems to have had a most conventional education which filled him full of unanalyzed dogmas about government, business, labor."³ Last, Lippmann believed

the way in which the world is imagined determines at any particular moment what men will do. It does not determine what they will achieve. It determines their effort, their feelings, their hopes, not their accomplishments and results.⁴

In late 1922, Lippmann began a series of six articles dealing with the intelligence tests. He investigated the claim that the psychologists had invented a new method of measuring innate ability. The series discussed how the tests were compiled, how psychologists could test intelligence

¹Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 108.

²Lippmann, The Public Philosophy, p. 74.

³Lippmann, "The Puzzle of Hughes," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 135.

⁴Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 25-6.

which was fixed by heredity, and whether or not the test was accurate for every person it measured. The following statements were Lippmann's comments concerning the tests.

The intelligence test . . . is an instrument for classifying a group of people, rather than a "measure of intelligence."¹

Whether this is the capacity to pass tests or the capacity to deal with life which we call intelligence, we do not know.²

If school success were a reliable index of human capacity, we should be able to go a step further and say that the intelligence test is a general measure of human capacity. But of course no such claim can be made for school success, for that would be to say that the purpose of the schools is to measure capacity. It is impossible to admit this. The child's success with school work cannot be a measure of the child's success in life. On the contrary, his success in life must be a significant measure of the school's success in developing the capacities of the child.³

The danger of the intelligence tests is that in a wholesale system of education, the less sophisticated or the more prejudiced will stop when they have classified and forget that their duty is to educate. They will grade the retarded child instead of fighting the causes to his backwardness. For the whole drift of propaganda based on intelligence testing is to treat people with low intelligence quotients as congenitally and hopelessly inferior.⁴

We cannot measure intelligence when we have never defined it and we cannot speak of its hereditary basis after it has been indistinguishably fused

¹Walter Lippmann, "Mystery of the "A" Men," The New Republic, XXXII (November, 1922), 247.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Reliability of Intelligence Tests," The New Republic, XXXII (November, 1922), 276.

³Ibid., 277.

⁴Walter Lippmann, "The Abuse of the Tests," The New Republic, XXXII (November, 1922), 297.

with a thousand educational and environmental influences from the time of conception to the school age.¹

The psychologist and mental tester, Lewis M. Terman, became incensed with the tone of Lippmann's articles and fired a letter of protest to The New Republic. In the following issue, Lippmann answered Terman's charges.

Finally, a word about Mr. Terman's notion that I have an "emotional complex" about this business. Well, I have. I admit it. I hate the impudence of a claim that in fifty minutes you can judge and classify a human being's predestined fitness in life. I hate the pretentiousness of that claim. I hate the abuse of the scientific method which it involves. I hate the sense of superiority which it creates, and the sense of inferiority which it imposes.²

Lippmann sought a fair treatment of the individual and an appreciation of his ability no matter how high or low it was measured. He was concerned about man's inner wholeness and wrote to that effect. Modern psychologists³ agree with his evaluation of man and of the problems connected with the measurement of his intelligence. They also support his commentary on the "generation gap," perception, and the stereotype.

In the main, Lippmann wanted man to know himself,

¹Walter Lippmann, "A Future for the Tests," The New Republic, XXXIII (November, 1922), 10.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Great Confusion," The New Republic, XXXIII (January, 1933), 146.

³Jerome Kagan, Bruno Bettelheim, Anne Anastasi, Lee J. Cronbach. See Lewis M. Terman and Maud A. Merrill, Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), pp. 5-40.

accept himself, and like himself. It was to this end he directed his commentary on the psychology of man.

CHAPTER V

LIPPMANN AND EDUCATION

In his writings Lippmann dealt with two major educational topics, the curriculum and the teacher. He discussed many subjects in the area of curriculum during the course of his career. In 1914 he presented the need for sex education and praised the establishment of graduate schools in business administration. Attending a 1915 college football game prompted his comparison of competition in sports to competition in life. Education, religion, political science, and journalism occupied his interests in the 1920's. Vocational education appealed to him throughout his life in spite of his change from progressivism in the early 1940's. His philosophical shift to conservatism was evidenced in his essentialist demand for a return to teaching "the three R's" and his perennialist requirement for the study of "great books." During the 1940's Lippmann also advocated training in military history in the hope of preventing more wars. When television became popular in the 1950's and 1960's, he commented on its potential as a medium of instruction.

Throughout his career, Lippmann wrote about the role of the teacher in education. He believed the teacher was the

most important element in formal education and entrusted him with the preservation of academic freedom and the education of future citizens.

In 1914 Lippmann maintained that the survival of the family was a miracle since practically nothing had been done to make it a success. He cited educational deficiencies in the areas of sex, birth control, divorce, adultery and family counseling and advocated that these areas be opened for study.¹ The child should no longer regard his body as a "filthy thing" as the interest in sex is no longer to annihilate it but to educate it, to find civilized opportunities for its expression."² Lippmann recognized that many aspects of life would have to change in order for sex to be viewed in a more healthful light, but he recommended the teaching of sex hygiene regardless.³

Fifteen years later he noted that the machine technology was forcing man to have to make decisions concerning any kind of life he hoped to lead. As "divorce, contraception, continence and license, monogamy, prostitution, and sexual experience outside of marriage,"⁴ directly affected man's life style, he had to confront and resolve these issues.

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 132.

²Ibid., p. 143.

³Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, p. 137.

⁴Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 285.

Education was both a confrontation and a possible resolution.

Again in 1914 Lippmann advocated the transformation of the businessman through the process of education. He also noted that more and more colleges were creating graduate schools of business to fill the needs of "big business." The reasoning behind this was technology which demanded more than experience, which Lippmann in turn labeled "a haphazard absorption of knowledge through the pores."¹ The result of college training in business was the professional businessman who was practical, rational, and self-disciplined. Regarding the professional businessman, Lippmann stated they "generally have something more than a desire to accumulate and outshine their neighbors."² He continued his description:

They have found an interest in the actual work they are doing. The work itself is in a measure its own reward. The instincts of workmanship, of control over brute things, the desire for order, the satisfaction of services rendered and uses created, the civilizing passions are given a chance to temper the primal desire to have and to hold and to conquer.³

A visit to a Harvard football game in 1915 brought another view of life at the university. In the area of competition, Lippmann determined its merits by the standards of measure.⁴ He saw the problem of competition as a matter of selecting "the goals of competition and the rules of the game."⁵ Regarding the football game, Lippmann commented:

¹Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 43.

²Ibid., p. 44. ³Ibid.

⁴Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 389. ⁵Ibid.

If only life were like football, what a splendid education young American would be receiving. It would be learning that loyalty is greater than discrimination, and that the crowd you are in is the best crowd of all . . . For the point you are trained to in inter-collegiate athletics is that there are only two sides to a question, and that the side you are against has nothing to recommend it.¹

Unfortunately, such an education did not prepare a person to deal with the world he eventually had to face. However, education in "doubting, or making distinctions, or caring enormously without sinking into credulity" probably did not occur even in the classroom. Lippmann had an answer to the professors who wanted to abolish football because it received more attention than their scholarly contributions. He stated that abolishing football was "the stupid easy remedy."²

After all, football puts the professor on his mettle by showing him how far he is from enlisting human passion in the cause of science; and the grim joke which gives football coaches a bigger salary than teachers is a fairly good indication of what education has still to accomplish. There have been teachers whose memory was brighter than the brightest victory.³

During the 1920's Lippman wrote mainly in three areas of education--religion, political science, and journalism. On the topic of religion, he explained that religious instruction was not provided in the schools because the churches could not agree on the dogma to be taught. The churches argued for "non-sectarianism" which Lippmann termed "a useful political phrase

¹Lippmann, "Plumb Insane," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 313.

²Ibid., 314.

³Ibid.

rather than an accurate description of what goes on in the schools."¹ However, there was a real danger in non-sectarian instruction--that the child be "weaned" from the faith of his fathers by fearing to press his convictions too far; by being a "good-fellowship man" and not absolute. Lippmann admitted that the leaders of the churches did try to overcome this problem by "ecumenical" committee discussions and petitions to school boards. The result of their effort was agreement and dissention.²

They always agree that the present godless system of education diminishes the sanctions of morality and the attendance at their respective churches. But they disagree when they try to agree on the nature of a neutral God, and they have been known to dispute fiercely about a non-controversial text of the Ten Commandments.³

Even a vote from the majority could not determine the kind of religious instruction that ought to be available in the schools. Lippmann recalled that

The last fight of Mr. Bryan's life was made on behalf of the theory that if a majority of voters in Tennessee were fundamentalists then they had the right to make public education in Tennessee fundamentalist too. One of the standing grievances of the Catholic Church in America is that Catholics are taxed to support schools to which they cannot conscientiously [sic] send their children.⁴

The solution, of course, was either to establish sectarian schools or to "impose their views on the public schools as

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 77.

²Ibid., p. 78. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 78.

the fundamentalists have done whenever they have the necessary voting strength."¹ Yet religion, or some form of philosophy was required as men needed something greater than themselves in which to believe.² This "something greater" would discipline their passions and help men to achieve a better quality of life. Lippmann himself, when confronted with a choice between theology and humanism, chose the latter.

. . . to one who believes that the world is a theocracy, the problem is how to bring the strayed and rebellious masses of mankind back to their obedience, how to restore the lost provinces of God the invisible King. But to one who takes the humanistic view the problem is how mankind, deprived of the great fictions, is to come to terms with the needs which created those fictions.

In this book I take the humanistic view because, in the kind of world I happen to live in, I can do no other.³

In the area of political science education, Lippmann felt that "nobody takes political science very seriously, for nobody is convinced that it is a science or that it has any important bearing on politics."⁴ However, the subject, once organized into a true discipline instead of a random collection of facts, could be used in an understanding of the state.⁵

Were they [the universities] in close contact with the current record and analysis, there might well be a genuine "field work" in political science for the students; and there could

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 77.

²Ibid., p. 203. ³Ibid., p. 144. ⁴Ibid., p. 260.

⁵Lippmann, The New Imperative, p. 47.

be no better directing idea for their more advanced researches than the formulation of the intellectual methods by which the experience of government could be brought to usable control.¹

Another application of the researches Lippmann described was in the form of civic education. Political science should "build up for the schools . . . a conceptual picture of the world" which, once implemented into the course of study, would "become a preparation for dealing with an unseen environment." Lippmann made this statement in the belief that education in the science of politics would help a person function better in the world he was to face.

To better prepare the journalist for his world, Lippmann advocated specialized training in journalism. In 1920 he observed that "ordinary" news was reported by "small calibre" men because reporting in itself was not a dignified profession.³ He believed this stigma against the profession could be eradicated by good and proper training in journalistic principles. The budding journalist, Lippmann asserted, should be educated in six ways: he should learn how to test for credibility, learn discipline in vocabulary and syntax, and learn the discipline of logic. The other three areas of competence were "a working knowledge of the main stratification and currents of interest," a "general sense of what the

¹Lippmann, Liberty and the News, p. 95.

²Lippmann, Public Opinion, p. 408.

³Lippmann, Liberty and the News, p. 79.

world is doing," and a disinterested approach to reporting.¹ These techniques, Lippmann believed, were necessary for the training of young journalists.

Lippmann had two definitions for vocational training: education for the "pure scientist" and education for the machinist. He saw the two men as essential to each other's welfare and a part of the social heritage.² In order for them to function in a technological world, their training had to be such that would provide them ability to adapt to change, intelligence, and enlightened understanding.³ "There is the whole unreserved task of educating great populations, of equipping men for a life in which they must specialize, yet be capable of changing their speciality."⁴ The problem was that the schools did not teach man how to deal with his environment.⁵

Let no one suppose that the unwillingness to cultivate what Mr. Wells calls the "mental hinterland" is a vice peculiar to the business man. The colleges submit to it whenever they concentrate their attention on the details of the student's vocation before they have built up some cultural background. The whole drift towards industrial training in schools has the germs of disaster within it--a preoccupation with the technique of a career. I am not a lover of the "cultural" activities of our

¹Lippmann, Liberty and the News, pp. 82-8.

²Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 240.

³Lippmann, The Good Society, p. 213.

⁴Ibid., p. 212.

⁵Lippmann, The Phantom Public, p. 14.

schools and colleges, still less am I a lover
of shallow specialists.¹

Vocational training for Lippmann, then, began with a strong background in the liberal arts and ended with specialized training in technology.

Lippmann also believed that vocational training could be bettered were students to be placed in the job for which they were best qualified. Such placement required guidance which he strongly endorsed to prevent more people from needlessly pursuing careers not suited to their aptitudes.²

Lippmann advocated a certain form of vocational training for girls. At the ages of fourteen to sixteen, girls should receive vocational instruction in what he called "continuation schools."³ From these schools the students would enter the labor force, probably on the level of "blue collar" workers. In 1923, Lippmann was aware of the need for more people in these blue collar positions. While there were twenty-two vocations open to high school graduates, all of the vocations were of the "white collar" variety.⁴ The work force did not need nor did it have room for every aspiring applicant

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Politics, pp. 180-1.

²Ibid., p. 66. ³Ibid., p. 138.

⁴Walter Lippmann, "Education and the White Collar Class," Vanity Fair, May, 1923, p. 69. The positions were: teaching school, becoming lawyers, journalists, politicians, managers, salesmen, accountants, stenographers, physical directors, musicians, army or navy officers, foresters, scientific farmers druggists, dentists, doctors, or six different types of engineers, or practicing industrial arts.

for a white collar position. Yet too many people were being educated for the "jobs that educated men enter."¹

This problem will grow worse while we continue to believe that the high school and college are the vestibule to office jobs. Unless we can find a way of believing that the skilled manual trades and farming are vocations for educated men and women, our theory of universal education will break down. The old American ideal of a widely educated citizenry will have to be abandoned if we continue to believe that educated men must work in offices.²

Lippmann discussed a possible solution to this problem. It consisted of re-educating the social-consciousness of society. "It makes no difference that clerks are less well paid than plumbers. The clerk feels himself socially superior to the plumber. And while this feeling lasts the children of good plumbers will be sent to high school to become indifferent clerks so that the family may rise in the world."³ Raising the costs of tuition would only force more people to want to enter the "elite" ranks of the "educated." The only solution to this cyclical problem is to destroy the notion that education is a stepping-stone to white collar jobs.

If education could be regarded . . . as the key to the treasure house of life, we should not even have to consider the fatal proposal that higher education be confined to a small and selected class.⁴

While correcting the view of education, the snobbish distinction

¹Lippmann was referring to the white collar jobs.

²Lippmann, "Education and the White Collar Class," p. 69.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

between white and blue collars would also have to be altered. Then both education and vocations would be entered for the right reasons--they would become ends for happiness and not the means to reach it.

In 1943 Lippmann's philosophy of education showed his shift from progressivism to conservatism. He stated that the public was beginning to be disillusioned with the education system which offered a great many subjects but failed to instruct the students. The schools, he asserted, were graduating students who were unprepared "namely, in the ability to read with understanding, in the ability to write and speak so as to be understood and in the ability to use figures."¹ In this speech, Lippmann argued from the essentialist platform.² He urged that the curriculum be based on the "teaching of a pattern of thought and feeling which will enable the citizen to approach a new problem in some useful fashion."³ Such an education would enable an individual to face life and to successfully deal with change. It would also provide the student with an intellectual attitude, without which, "no education has occurred."⁴

In a time of war, however, he added one more subject to the "essential" reading, writing, speaking and arithmetic.

¹Walter Lippmann, "Crisis and Reform in Education," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, December 13, 1943.

²See footnote 1, page 14.

³Lippmann, The Phantom Public, p. 27. ⁴Ibid., p. 26.

On the level of secondary and higher education, he wanted a course in military history to be taught. He saw this subject as important as "research in the theory of taxation, currency, corporate enterprise, labor relations, and the social services."¹ Learning the theory and strategy of war might help prevent wars, for "unless war is taken as seriously by those who mean to prevent it as it is by those who conspire to wage it, the free and pacific nations will perish."² In making this statement, Lippmann was operating on the idea that the more the public knows about a subject detrimental to its welfare, the better prepared it is to combat its negative manifestations.

Lippmann's last major comment in the area of educational curriculum came during the 1960's when he wrote about the potential of television. He felt the media was highly educational and that some hours of prime time should be allotted to productions which moved "toward truth and excellence."³ The government should not control the entire television industry. Instead, there should be a non-commercial competitor "chartered by law, governed like a university by trustees, and operated by professionals."⁴ In this manner, Lippmann

¹Walter Lippmann, "The Serious Study of War," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, October 30, 1943.

²Ibid.

³Lippmann, "Plumb Insane," p. 314.

⁴Ibid.

supported the arguments of other advocates of educational television.

The teacher was Lippmann's second major educational interest. Yet more important than the teachers were the philosophers whom Lippmann called "the teachers of teachers."¹ The philosophers were the ones who determined "what may be believed, how it can be believed, and what cannot be believed."² Yet the greatest teachers in the world were never able to transmit their wisdom to all mankind.

In fact the great teachers have attempted nothing so utopian. They were quite well aware how difficult for most men is wisdom, and they have confessed frankly that the perfect life was for a select few. It is arguable, in fact, that the very idea of teaching the highest wisdom to all men is the recent notion of a humanitarian and romantically democratic age, and that it is quite foreign to the thought of the greatest teachers.³

With this in mind, Lippmann proceeded to investigate the responsibility of the modern teacher, and the philosophy by which he must live. He believed that the teacher himself must decide the weight he should give majority opinion.⁴ While he held the teacher responsible for the transmission of truth, Lippmann believed that the teacher must take into account how much truth he could communicate, not how much he hoped to

¹Lippmann, Essays in the Public Philosophy, p. 135.

²Ibid., p. 136.

³Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 199.

⁴Lippmann, American Inquisitors, p. 96.

communicate.¹ The teacher should always seek to dissolve ignorance by leading the student to discover for himself. At the same time the instructor must be aware of the process by which the student reached his conclusions.² Insofar as the transmission of values was concerned with regard to the fundamentalist-modernist question, Lippmann believed if the teacher understood the transition from the one to the other, he could "find his way through the perplexities."³ He should not, however, assume he can be a neutral. "He does not do his work if he teaches fundamentalism. He does not do his work if he teaches modernism. He is a teacher only if he teaches the transition from fundamentalism to modernism."⁴

The role of the teacher was made more difficult by the transition from fundamentalism to modernism. Up until that time, his role had been fairly well defined. He was to teach an established body of knowledge and transmit well-worn methods of thought to the new generation, producing a product that resembled its elders as closely as possible. With the advent of the scientific method and the constant shifting of knowledge, the teacher could no longer transmit "wisdom" but had to develop wise habits in his students.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 90-1.

²Lippmann, American Inquisitors, p. 93.

³Ibid., p. 89. ⁴Ibid., p. 93.

⁵Ibid., pp. 83-4.

He can, by the use of the case method, teach the pupil the habit of examining the sources of his information. He can teach him, for example, to look in his newspaper for the place where the dispatch was filed, for the name of the correspondent . . . the circumstances under which the statement was secured . . . He can teach him the character of censorship, of the idea of privacy, and furnish him with the knowledge of past propaganda. He can, by the proper use of history, make him aware of the stereotype, and can educate a habit of introspection about the imagery evoked by printed words. He can, by courses in comparative history and anthropology, produce a life-long realization of the way codes impose a special pattern upon the imagination. He can teach men to catch themselves making allegories, dramatizing relations, and personifying abstractions. He can show the pupil how he identifies himself with these allegories . . . and how he selects the attitude, heroic, romantic, economic which he adopts while holding a particular opinion.¹

As the teacher's main role was no longer that of transmitting wisdom, Lippmann defined what he considered the role to be. The teacher's place in public life was that of a guardian of the law and the tradition by which new truths were learned.

For civilized men the authority granted to a government is a conditional and limited grant of power. For them the truths that are current are conditional upon the search for truth. For them the final authority in human affairs does not reside in the king, or in a majority, or even in the people of one generation. It resides in the moral heritage of mankind as it is progressively revealed, and the place of the teacher in public life is to be the minister of that heritage.²

¹Lippmann, Public Opinion, pp. 408-9.

²Walter Lippmann, "The Place of the Teacher in Public Life," Vital Speeches, III (November, 1936), 45.

As the minister in charge of American heritage, the teacher/professor determined the system of education. Even though the parents paid taxes for education, they, not being trained should have little voice in the actual decision-making policies of the school.¹ However, in the history of the management of the school, few citizens have listened to Lippmann. The public seems to believe that "he who pays the piper calls the tune,"² and has operated on "the theory that a successful manufacturer could turn his hand with equal success to every other occupation."³ Lippmann explained it was "this tendency in America which . . . permits businessmen to dominate the education policy of so many universities."⁴

In a 1966 speech, Lippmann explained the basic principle of academic freedom and its function.

In his relations with the laws of the land, a professor is as subject as any other man He has no special privileges and no special immunity.

But in the field of truth and error about the nature of things, and of the history and future of the universe and of man, the state and its officials have no jurisdiction Here, it is the community of scholars who are the court of last resort.⁵

¹Lippmann, American Inquisitors, p. 22.

²Ibid.

³Lippmann, "A Little Child Shall Lead Them," in Walter Lippmann--Early Writings, 21.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Walter Lippmann, "The University," The New Republic CLIV (May, 1966), 18.

Forty years earlier, Lippmann had maintained that "guidance for a school can come ultimately only from educators."¹ He continued his argument ten years later when he named the university as the place where men could turn to find unadulterated truth.² That same year he said,

. . . the reason why we must guard the freedom of the universities is that only in freedom can knowledge advance. It is only knowledge freely acquired that is disinterested. It is only on such knowledge that a democracy, seeking guidance, can rely. When, therefore, men whose profession it is to teach and to investigate become the makers of policy . . . they are committed. Nothing they say can be relied upon as disinterested. Nothing they teach can be trusted as scientific.³

In the area of selecting, promoting and dismissing teachers, Lippmann believed the most equitable approach was for the persons involved to be judged by their academic colleagues. Once hired, the professors were not to be burdened with an over-abundance of paper work⁴ or the tedium of endless committee meetings.⁵ Instead, they were to do that which they did best--think and create.

¹Lippmann, "Why Should the Majority Rule?" in The Essential Lippmann, 425.

²Lippmann, "The Harvard Anniversary," in The Essential Lippmann, 425.

³Lippmann, "The Deepest Issue of Our Time," in The Essential Lippmann, 388.

⁴Walter Lippmann, "Academic Freedom in Wisconsin," from "Today and Tomorrow," The New York Herald Tribune, December 17, 1936.

⁵Lippmann, American Inquisitors, p. 29.

Lippmann's final word on academic freedom included the role of the teacher in the university.

In the universities men should be able to think patiently and generously for the good of society. If they do not, surely one of the reasons is that thought terminates in doctor's theses and brown quarterlies, and not in the critical issues of politics.¹

¹Lippmann, Liberty and the News, p. 96.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The first five chapters of this dissertation have dealt primarily with various aspects of Lippmann's philosophy of education. This chapter consists of the following: a summary, followed by a criticism of Chapters I through V; a general evaluation of Walter Lippmann; and suggestions for further research.

Chapter I, entitled, "Walter Lippmann's Philosophical Perspective," traces his evolution from a young idealistic socialist to a mature conservative critic. A concise biography of the man is presented and an attempt is made to parallel his evolving public philosophy with his educational perspective. The chapter concludes with his self-evaluation and predictions for the future.

The problem in the first chapter was accurately delineating Lippmann's philosophy. The major question concerned whether Lippmann was a philosophical dilettante or a mature scholar. After detailed reading, the writer concluded that he is a mature scholar. This conception of Lippmann was reinforced by the Schapsmeier brothers who perceived him in

the same way.¹

Other men--and other dissertations--presented Lippmann as committed to only one school of philosophy. This included Forcey² who discussed Lippmann as a liberal and Collinge³ who identified Lippmann's pragmatism with the Charles Sanders Peirce school of thought. Kneller differentiated the pragmatism of Dewey and Peirce. He classified Dewey as a social pragmatist and Peirce as a pragmatist interested in mathematics and physics.⁴ When Lippmann's educational pragmatism was compared to both Peirce and Dewey, he appeared more like the latter. Although Collinge presented a good argument for his contentions, in the area of educational philosophy, Lippmann was more similar to Dewey than to Peirce.

Both Lippmann and Dewey believed the only way to defeat ignorance was to educate with facts; both wanted to educate for a social democracy, but realized that the education system was not adequately preparing students for life in a free society; both agreed that change, growth, and evolution were necessary to the continued progress of a democratic

¹Edward L. Schapsmeier and Frederick H. Schapsmeier, Walter Lippmann--Philosopher-Journalist.

²Charles Forcey, The Crossroads of Liberalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

³Francis Brooks Collinge, The Philosophic Method and Temper of Walter Lippmann (Seattle: The University of Washington, 1964).

⁴George F. Kneller, Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 45.

society, and both affirmed that few people had the maturity of self-discipline to lead a self-actualized life. Perhaps the latter similarity was one reason for Lippmann's turning to conservatism--both he and Dewey criticized the popularized forms of progressive education.

Neither Dewey's nor Lippmann's interpretation of the progressive movement were ever fully applied.¹ In a sense, the ideas they supported were perverted and taught by people who did not fully grasp their import.² When Lippmann argued in the 1940's for education in reading, writing, arithmetic, and for training in the classical traditions of western man, he did not deny anything he had previously advocated. Instead, he returned to Dewey's theories the essentials that the well-meaning but ill-educated progressive teachers had discarded. As contradictory as the statement may seem, Lippmann was in turn Dewey-progressive, essentialist and perennialist. Reading his work in chronological order clearly proves this point. Yet to offset the overwhelming effects of popularized progressivism, Lippmann turned "left" in his writings, hoping to achieve an equilibrium between the poles of mis-applied progressivism and traditional conservatism.

¹In the late 1920's Dewey left The Progressive Education Association, the "spokesman" for the popularized form of progressivism, because he could no longer support its activities and principles.

²Some authorities even include such eminent educators as William Heard Kilpatrick.

Chapter II, "Walter Lippmann's Social Perspective," presented his perception of the government, its role, function, and responsibility to the public it served. The main role of the government as Lippmann perceived it was "to harmonize the freedom of already-free men."¹ The harmonizing was performed in three areas: defense, education, and scientific research.

Lippmann emphasized that government was a servant, not a master and that the public had to understand it in order to remain free. His assertion that men lost their freedom as they forgot their traditions is a perennialist sentiment which he affirmed in the latter part of his progressive period.² His "liberty" was a curious condition. Somewhat progressive, it relied on the idea that non-actualized man was a slave to himself and therefore could not experience total liberty. The function of government was to insure that man could free himself to enjoy his freedom.

On the surface this would seem to be an unreachable goal as most men lack the self-discipline freedom requires. Yet the idea is not without merit. The government, Lippmann stated, had obligations to its citizens in the areas of freeing "man to enjoy his liberty," defense, living standards, and scientific research. With the partial exception of defense, all of these obligations could be met through the educational system. Education could free man for himself,

¹Lippmann, A Preface to Morals, p. 275.

²Ibid.

education could raise and preserve the living standards, and education could train scientific researchers as well as awaken others to the need for investigation. Defense was only partly excepted from this list as Lippmann believed the first line of defense to be the "functioning, healthy society." Education could produce this society by training people in self-acceptance. Such was one goal of progressive education; yet it was not implemented, and few people profited from the removal of some forms of authoritarianism from the classroom.

Socially, education, Lippmann asserted, equalized the cultural differences between the rich and the poor. Although he apparently wrote nothing about Head Start, Vista, Job Corps, and Teacher Corps, which programs appeared at the latter part of his active career, his support of them would have been consistent with his philosophy. Another important educational program he did not mention was the Serviceman's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill). That he was traveling in Europe during the mid-1940's might partly explain his failure to write on the topic. His retirement also seems to have precluded any commentary on some other contemporary government education projects. It did not prevent, however, his commentary on federal aid to parochial schools, an issue which effectively closed the free schools of New York City in the 1940's. In order to release badly-needed funds to the public schools, he recommended granting the parochial leaders equal monies. There is no evidence that his own religious background influenced this decision.

Lippmann's interpretation of Civil Rights requires examination. He was not a racist; he only wanted to avoid aggressive white-black confrontation in the common schools. Yet by waiting until the child reached the university to racially integrate him, Lippmann was allowing an accumulation of ideas and prejudices to become fixed and difficult to alter. If one were to follow his plan of "separate but equal" facilities until college, blacks and white might remain separate but "equal" for the rest of their lives. It must be considered, however, that Lippmann wrote in a period when the public was experiencing emotional difficulties associated with this question. As his aim was ever to educate the public, he might have taken a moderate position to offset radical desegregation proposals.

In the area of technology, Lippmann predicted in 1929 what Jacques Ellul described in The Technological Society. Technology will control man unless man understands and accepts himself and his desires.¹ Unfortunately, too few heeded Lippmann and man became indeed, a victim of his technique. Even space exploration was essentially a form of technique and this is why Lippmann did not encourage space probes to Mars and Venus.² Such exploration would further prevent man

¹Jacques Ellul, The Technological Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1964). Originally published in French as *La Technique ou l'enjeu du siècle*.

²Henry Brandon, "A Talk With Walter Lippmann," p. 134.

from coming to terms with himself as it forced him to submit to the highly-specialized training of a technician.

The area of scientific research concludes the chapter. Despite evidence to the contrary, Lippmann was eternally optimistic about the future of science. He believed man could conquer his technology and called for a new renaissance in faith and optimism and belief.

Chapter III, "Lippmann's Perception of Life," might be more accurately entitled "The Good Life," for its contents detail all the requisites for a quality style of living. In order to live such a life, man should not suffer poverty, should be self-determining and self-governing, and should possess virtue, reason and self-control. In short, to live a high-quality existence, man should be financially comfortable and emotionally secure. This was Lippmann's definition of the mature man. Certain more specific aspects of the mature man need to be considered.

In "fine living" man must endure daily self-confrontation. Lippmann implied that those who could not confront themselves or who could not like and accept themselves were immature escapists. He made this comment as early as 1929. A 1969 magazine article contended that Americans were using "fun" as an escape mechanism and becoming pleasure-oriented at the expense of their sense of reality.¹ The seven deadly

¹Frank Trippet, "The Ordeal of Fun," Look Magazine, July, 1969, pp. 24-34.

sins were all actions perverted by excesses. Leisure itself became a sin, or evil, as Lippmann called it, when man used it to avoid himself. Leisure was good when it helped man to express himself more fully; it was evil when it was used excessively simply to "kill" time. Lippmann's philosophy in this area has existential overtones.

This continuing criticism indicates that Lippmann believed the public did not heed his warning. Yet in the 1960's and 1970's the number of sensitivity groups purporting to enable man to find and confront himself have grown rapidly.¹ Such growth would seem to indicate the Americans are trying to become mature and find self-actualization as they seek self-awareness.

Another condition for Lippmann's mature man was a qualitatively sound environment. While there were certain areas of society man had harnessed and subdued to his will, he could not completely contain the forces of natural calamity, death, good and evil, and technology. Those things he could not alter to suit his desires, he had to accept. This statement, however, does not apply to the two-pronged problem in today's society of 1) finding a job, and 2) finding an interesting job. Regarding the blue collar assembly line worker confronted with daily monotony and boredom, Lippmann would urge that all possible job improvements be made, and then

¹Gerald Egan, Encounter: Group Processes for Interpersonal Growth, Wadsworth Publications (Delmont, California: Brooks Cole, 1970).

let the man accept, but not succumb to, the situation. Considering the young humanities graduates unable to find work in 1971, Lippmann would approve of their accepting blue collar positions,¹ since such acceptance would support his insistence that education be for learning and knowledge--not for monetary profit.²

On the other hand, Lippmann maintained that the good life could not be lived in abject poverty which stifled the spirit. The only realistic method of ridding man of poverty that commended itself to Lippmann was education. By going into the ghetto and bringing the deprived into schools, by showing them another way of life which could be theirs, he could create "marginal others."³ The students would have to choose between societies in order to survive. As they could not exist long in a marginal state, Lippmann hoped that education would prove to be "the great equalizer." This idea was realistic, but his proposal for a minimum living standard was not. Lippmann neither stated how much compensation should be given to the poor nor how the money would be administered. His proposal was somewhat romantic, and could be implemented

¹Barry Hillebrand, et.al., "Graduates and Jobs: A Grave New World," Time Magazine, May, 1971, pp. 49-59.

²Lippmann, "Education and the White Collar Class," p. 69.

³Term used by Dr. George Henderson, head of Human Relations, University of Oklahoma, 1968. Henderson described the same process as Lippmann, and labeled its results marginal others.

only in the social democracy he advocated. He may have realized this point later, for in 1969, when given a choice between money for welfare and money for the space program, he chose the latter.¹

The mature man, Lippmann affirmed, would prefer a social democracy where people would possess things in common.² A possible justification for this form of government was the misuse of majority rule.³ To substantiate his criticisms, Lippmann made reference to two men--Jesus Christ and St. Francis--whose teachings implied no special virtue in the majority's standards or conduct. While he did not go so far as to advocate communal living or monasticism, Lippmann did believe that man could learn to live harmoniously with his fellows.

He presented a study in contrasts when he maintained that "all institutions of the western world were formed by men who were self-governing and free."⁴ The irony was that free men risked their lives for men who lacked the maturity of discipline to govern themselves. Lippmann explained this paradox by stating that self-government--or freedom--was

¹Brandon, "A Talk With Walter Lippmann," p. 134.

²Lippmann, Drift and Mastery, p. 130.

³Lippmann, "Why Should the Majority Rule?" in The Essential Lippmann, 8.

⁴Lippmann, "The State of Education," Vital Speeches, 201.

always strongest as a protest against bad conditions. Therefore, man was not free unless some kind of disaster forced him to assume responsibility for his needs.

As man is not naturally free to govern himself, neither is he free to control human affairs. American educators have attempted to prepare students for life in a democracy, but as they were unable to come to terms with the concept of a social democracy, the students were not prepared to live in freedom. Lippmann, to alleviate this situation, sought the perennialist solution--to educate children in the traditional curriculum of free man. The liberal arts showed the student democracy in action, he believed. Yet, Lippmann also stated that self-education for a self-governing people is based on experience, a key word in the progressive vocabulary.

In his idea of virtue Lippmann returned to Plato and Socrates. However, he up-dated Grecian virtue by "grounding it in experience." The experience he meant was sensory, not necessarily contemplative--a definition sharply separating him from the Greek idea. The mature man who practiced self-government acquired his virtue from his personal experiences. The immature man, although knowing the same events as his emotional superiors, did not.

Lippmann's "good" was based on appreciation and understanding of experience. If men truly understood the meaning of their experiences, they would know good, which there

there are levels, amounts, and qualities of "good." The more one understands his experiences the more "good" he knows. Since only Lippmann's self-actualized man could truly confront his experiences, he would know more "good" than the man who was afraid of his experiences. However, very few men ever become totally self-actualized, and still fewer acquire the wisdom and perception of "good" as philosopher-kings.

In conclusion, when Lippmann considered the size of the modern world and the puny emotions with which man is armed to confront it, he called for man to dare to become wise. He wanted man to relinquish childishness, to develop patience, to acquire a higher order of discernment and to understand "what to desire." Realizing that man was inherently irrational and could not be dealt with by reason, Lippmann continued to hope that man would not be overcome by his own evil, but would use his "good" to overcome himself and to better society.

Chapter IV, "Lippmann and Psychology," deals with Lippmann's writings that could be loosely classified under the heading of educational psychology. Such topics as his interest in and commentary on Freudian theories, the generation gap, the unrest of youth, juvenile delinquency, and perception were discussed. The chapter concludes with excerpts from his series on intelligence testing. Certain areas of his views on psychology require comment.

Lippmann was a Freudian in the days when Herbartianism

was yielding to progressivism and G. Stanley Hall was hailed as the father of the child study movement. His Freudianism, then, was that of the early period, as indicated by the "Seven Stages of Man" theory. Quoting Ferenczi, Lippmann emphasized that each of the stages was imperative to the proper maturing of the child. He cited examples of childish behavior appearing in adults which "proved" that few people successfully encountered all seven stages. Lippmann also recognized that man matured in plateau-like steps, that his growth was irregular and stagnant for periods of time.

The conception of evil is basic to Lippmann's philosophy. In order for one to appreciate life, he must experience reality; in order to know good, he must accept the knowledge of evil that accompanies it. Man "bought" this package in the garden of Eden--knowledge of evil was the price he paid for not being satisfied with good. The immature man knew neither good nor evil; he drifted. The mature man rejoiced in the overwhelming goodness of life while confronting the utter horror of its evil. Apparently Lippmann learned to accept this combination, for he wrote as only one who has experienced the pronounced extremes between good and evil could. Most men, however, were not capable of governing their baser instincts and required outer-imposed discipline in the form of moral codes or taboos. With the breakdown of these in modern society, Lippmann feared the evil in man would be unleashed upon both the world and himself.

As Lippmann saw it, modern education was not improving the situation; while the child was preparing for a technological future, he was forgetting the faith of his fathers. Although there has probably always been a communication problem between the generations,¹ modern technological training further accelerates the conflict. It was clear to Lippmann that children needed more than scientific instruction for life in a civilized society. Boyd Bode reinforced him in this view. In Progressive Education at the Crossroads, Bode stated that the child needed the fixed values that progressive education did not teach. Without the benefit of these values, the child would have no means of measuring good and evil.

Lippmann hoped to reunite the generations by having the elders grant the young limited experiences in self-government. The young could learn from practice in a structured, semi-harmless setting, the limits of their own good and evil. Such training might also lessen the problem of juvenile delinquency. Still another way of preventing youth from getting into trouble was to exercise censorship which would protect youth uninstilled with moral values from being steeped in attractively packaged evil. Until they knew the difference between evil-appearing good and good-appearing evil, they

¹Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflicts," American Sociological Review V (1940), 523-34.

should not be subjected to the latter.¹

In his writings on perception, Lippmann had at least some modest influence on the area of business management education. Modern business textbooks refer to him in their discussions on perception and the stereotype.² His analysis explained how men perceived and this was his greatest contribution to educational psychology aside from his earlier criticism of the intelligence test. Stereotyping was a form of early learning theory--i.e., people learn first from the stereotypes they carry around in their heads--which was later adapted and re-applied as test situations required. Lippmann also related the stereotype to self-perception. Psychologists have explored the relationship between the two.³

Chapter V, "Lippmann and Education," presents his views on specific, selected educational topics. To facilitate analysis, the subjects are divided into two general categories--the curriculum and the teacher. The chapter concludes with the topic of academic freedom which Lippmann believed the teacher should control. In commenting on this chapter, only a few major areas need to be re-examined. One is Lippmann's

¹Lippman, "The Young Criminals," in The Essential Lippmann, 448.

²Harold J. Leavitt and Lewis R. Pondy, Readings in Managerial Psychology (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 35. See also their lists of suggested readings.

³E. Digby Baltzell, "Education and Status Ascription," The Sociology of Education, ed. by Robert R. Bell and Holger R. Stub (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1968), pp. 167-81.

attitude toward sex education.

In 1913, he studied the Chicago Vice Commission's recommendations, one of which was the teaching of sex in the schools. Lippmann agreed with the Commission and in 1914, he presented arguments designed to implement the suggestions of the Commission. Apparently this part of Drift and Mastery had little social impact, for fifteen years later Lippmann noted that the conditions which sex education might have alleviated had worsened. His commitment to sex education was not dogmatic--he merely indicated the need for it and recommended the school as a vehicle for its dissemination.

In Drift and Mastery Lippmann praised the colleges and universities for establishing graduate schools in business administration. His view of the businessman was rather romantic and similar to that of Horatio Alger. His view of other vocations was not. Unlike Robert Hutchins, he saw vocational education as appropriate both in the colleges and trade schools. Yet, like Hutchins, he advocated a liberal education before specific vocational training. Many colleges reflect his sentiment through their established courses of study.¹ Students spent their first two years studying "requirements" chosen from the "arts and sciences" before they pursue a particular field of specialization.

Lippmann wanted vocational guidance to begin in the

¹See curriculum-course guides for liberal arts colleges and universities, particularly small private schools and land-grant colleges.

ninth grade, since he recognized the problem that too many students of status-seeking parents were needlessly swelling the college rolls. He pointed out that few jobs required college graduates, and indirectly urged students to enter the careers they liked rather than to compete for status. He recognized that too many people were already pursuing careers that were totally unsuited to their tastes and aptitudes simply because they had been pushed into them. To alleviate this problem, he proposed a two-part approach. First, he would have non-academically-talented students enter a technical school which would graduate them into the work force. Second, he would minimize the emphasis on education for status achievement. The indications are that society is moving toward this plan.¹

Lippmann, much as Plato did, viewed the teacher as a guardian of truth, a view which indicates his perennialist stance. Many of his beliefs concerning who should teach and what should be taught reflected the influence of the Greeks. His recommended methodology was Socratic, and he wanted the teacher to practice it when walking the tightrope between fundamentalism and modernism. The teacher could instruct in the classics, but he must also prepare the students for life in a changing society. By teaching neither fundamentalism nor modernism but the middle ground between the two, he could

¹Hillebrand, "Graduates and Jobs," Time Magazine, pp. 49-59.

accomplish this goal. While he prepared the child for evolving life, the teacher remained the guardian of all thought and "minister in charge" of American education.

Principally, the rights of academic freedom belonged to the teacher. Therefore, only he had the right to determine its limitations. However, as the fundamentalists indicated, taxpayers experienced great difficulty in relinquishing their control over their money once they gave it to the schools. To an extent, Lippmann compromised. The public could determine the policy of the common schools, but academic freedom must remain the stronghold of the academic community in higher education.

Lippmann may have performed a great service for some professors by advocating they be freed from endless administrative duties and be permitted principally to think. Those who had hidden their mediocrity behind administrative triumphs were exposed for the non-guardians they really were. Assuming such an idea could be implemented, the thinking professor could teach and write and the non-thinking professor could administer and colleges might flourish as centers of intellectual endeavor.

In evaluating Walter Lippmann's contribution to knowledge and society, we must first recognize him for what he was--a journalist. His commentary, criticism, and point of view were those of the journalist from the best of the old-time school. As a journalist, he was also a "disinterested

observer" who read widely and conferred with presidents. He predicted events before they happened, so great were his resources--both personally and professionally. He was not primarily a philosopher or prophet although he was known as an accurate and consistent commentator.

In this study, Lippmann is considered mainly as a man who observed the shifting educational philosophies of his time. That he was influenced by events was evident in the transitions he experienced in his philosophical perspective. While not a professional philosopher of education as such, he nevertheless held ideals pertinent to educational philosophy. His commentary on the needs and problems of education was based on his perception of events and his attempts to trace them to their philosophical origin. He had a keen understanding and appreciation of educational philosophies, but he drew from them in an eclectic manner.

Identifying his philosophy of education was a matter of requesting the real Walter Lippmann to step forward. This study has maintained that Lippmann at one time or another in his life was a conservative liberal and a liberal conservative, based primarily on what he said about himself. Lippmann appeared to believe that a man could be both liberal and conservative, and he arranged the degree of either to suit the needs of the moment. It is purely an academic exercise to attempt to fit him into any one philosophy of education, for such action only reveals his true eclecticism.

Lippmann can best be described as an educational thinker for all mankind. Possibly his most difficult period extended from 1935 to 1945. During this ten year span, he confused the issues between the schools of progressivism, perennialism, and essentialism. At one moment he appeared like Boyd Bode and Robert Hutchins, calling for a reinstatement of values in the curriculum. Any other similarity to Bode was a residue of earlier associations with John Dewey. The similarity to Hutchins was more pronounced as Lippmann exhibited a naivete in educational issues comparable to certain passages appearing in The Higher Learning in America. Both Hutchins and Lippmann confused the priorities of "what knowledge is of most worth." Although there is no evidence indicating Lippmann read Hutchins' famous syllogism,¹ the parallel between his and Hutchins' early perennialism is quite evident.

At other times, Lippmann echoed the essentialism of W. C. Bagley. As with Bode and Hutchins, Lippmann utilized only a portion of Bagley's essentialist platform of educational reform--the requirement of a fixed curriculum. He did not involve himself in any of the other issues concerning the essentialists.

¹"Education implies teaching. Teaching implies knowledge. Knowledge is truth. The truth is everywhere the same. Hence education should be everywhere the same." Robert M. Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 66.

Another philosophical deviation was Lippmann's return to James' existential mysticism. Although he professed to be a humanist and believed that man had both the obligation and privilege of directing his life through the making of wise choices, Lippmann did not press existential theory further. The concept of existential God and his place in the universe apparently did not concern him.

In approximately one decade, Lippmann explored and attempted to explain four different philosophies: progressivism, perennialism, essentialism, and existentialism. The best explanation for such eclectic behavior in this period is Lippmann's own. In 1937 he admitted:

For more than twenty years I have found myself writing about critical events with no better guide to their meaning than the hastily improvised generalizations of a rather bewildered man. Many a time I have wanted to stop talking and find out what I really believed. For I should have liked to achieve again the untroubled certainty and the assured [sic] consistency which are vouchsafed to those who can whole-heartedly commit themselves to some one of the many schools of doctrine. But I was not able to find in any of the schools a working philosophy in which I could confidently come to rest.¹

Because he could not--and did not--find such a philosophy, he became an eclectic, drifting from one philosophy to another as the issue required.

Perhaps the greatest criticism that can be made is that Lippmann, who called for clear-thinking, self-awareness, and mature discipline, did not always practice what he philosophically advocated. Philosophically, he was unsure of his position,

¹Lippmann, The Good Society, p. x.

and worse, in a time when his clear guidance was badly needed, he did not stop to think out his own direction. His personal drift into philosophical disorder caused the ambiguity in his educational commentary.

In the first chapter of this study it was observed that Lippmann might have had a real impact on American education had he not been distracted by World War II and the Korean conflict. Possibly, such distraction was to the advantage of American education, for in that period, Lippmann wrote little about educational philosophies. Apparently he used that time to find "a working philosophy in which he could come to rest" for his Essays in the Public Philosophy appeared in 1956. Basically perennialist in tone, the book indicated the amount of effort Lippmann expended in his attempt to define a personal philosophy. The work was the closest he came to stating his working philosophy of education, yet while he determined his conservatism, he did not totally resolve his liberal tendencies. Therefore, he commented in 1960 "the idea that one man's a conservative but not liberal and another man is liberal but not conservative, is just misunderstanding of the terms,"¹ and remained an eclectic philosopher of education.

Future research might consider four areas pertaining to Lippmann and education. A fruitful topic might be a definitive comparison of Walter Lippmann and John Dewey. As

¹Lippmann, Conversations with Walter Lippmann, p. 156.

the present writer has indicated, there are parallels which seem to warrant such a study. Because many papers in the Walter Lippmann collection at the Yale University Library remain closed to research, this topic cannot be examined fully at present.

Another promising subject for research is a comparison of Walter Lippmann and either Jerome Bruner or Abraham Maslow. There are striking similarities between the thought of Lippmann and of these men, especially in the psychological areas of maturity or self-actualization, and perception. A study of Lippmann's concept of perception related to current learning theory might be an area worthy of intensive investigation.

There are other possible topics for research such as a study entitled "Good and Evil and Walter Lippmann," his stand on integration, his sociology, and his criticism of the intelligence tests. With the exception of his sociology the areas are confined to a particular period and are specific enough to ensure concise comparison and application.

In conclusion, Walter Lippmann was a better journalist than he was an educational philosopher, yet he was a worthy commentator in each area. He was concerned more with helping man to save himself than with his own conflicting philosophies although he attempted to resolve them in an effort to help the public find a better basis for living. Many things have been said of Walter Lippmann, but perhaps the most

appropriate summary comment that can be made is that he was a brilliant human being who tried to help his fellow man.

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