

To
CAMILLA WOOD
My Favorite Lifelong Learner

Original Edition 1987

Printed and Published by
ROBERT E. KRIEGER PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.
KRIEGER DRIVE
MALABAR, FL 32950

Copyright © 1987 by Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means including information storage and retrieval systems without permission in writing from the publisher.

No liability is assumed with respect to the use of the information contained herein.

Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Stewart, David Wood, 1929—
Adult learning in America.

Bibliography: p.
Includes index.

1. Adult education—United States. 2. Continuing education—United States. 3. Lindeman, Eduard.

I. Title.

LC5251.S73 1987 374'.973 86-10465

ISBN 0-89874-936-0

educators who have followed in Lindeman's tradition in this respect are Allen Tough, with self-directed learning,²⁶ and Robert Smith, with his exposition of the art of learning how to learn.²⁷

Lindeman's fourth basic assumption was that the learner's experience is the resource of highest value in adult education. If this is true, then experience is "the adult learner's living textbook." Adult experience is "already there waiting to be appropriated."²⁸

Eduard Lindeman had firsthand knowledge of the frustrations inherent in having one's experience ignored in a supposedly educational process. Entering college as a young adult, but as one who had little formal education, he spent "frantic hours" over books which mystified and confused him. Somehow none of what he was being asked to learn bore "even the remotest relation to my experience" which was, in fact, rich in potential build-on learning experiences.²⁹

In the years of youth, Lindeman conceded, it might be necessary to "anticipate objective experience." But too much of conventional learning for adults "consists of vicarious substitution of some one else's experience and knowledge" for that of the learner himself or herself. "Authoritative teaching, examinations which preclude original thinking, [and] rigid pedagogical formulae" should be shunned by the adult educator. The setting for adult education, rather, is established when adults "begin to learn by confronting pertinent situations," and explore the "reservoirs of their own experience before resorting to tests and secondary facts." All of this may be guided by teachers "who are also searchers after wisdom and not oracles."³⁰

If one is to start with experience, it is much better to start with the situation close at hand. "The affairs of home, neighborhood and local community are vastly more important educationally than those more distant events which seem so enchanting."³¹

Real learning proceeds outward from experience. Learning does not build in; rather it leads out.³² In parallel, growth comes from within the individual. It does not come by "inculcation from without."³³

Strangely, in light of later events, Lindeman did not use the term "andragogy" in reference to the method for teaching adults anywhere in *The Meaning of Adult Education*. He had, however, introduced the term to Americans for the first time in an odd one-paragraph article published in the journal *Workers' Education* in 1926. This article, which was omitted from the publication's table of contents, is reproduced in its entirety below:

Professor Eugen Rosenstock of the Frankfurt Academy of Labor has

coined a new word: Andragogik. He distinguishes between Pedagogy, which is the method of learning for children and youth; Demagogy, which is the method for miseducating adults; and *Andragogy* [emphasis added], which is the true method by which adults keep themselves intelligent about the modern world. Andragogik represents the learning process as one in which theory and practice become one—a process according to which theoretical knowledge and practical affairs become resolved in creative experience. The word, Andragogik, is perhaps a bit awkward, a bit artificial but the meaning behind it is significant for those who would be either learners or teachers. Workers' education will make a qualitative difference in the life of our time only if it discovers a learning method which is more dynamic than that of conventional education.³⁴

This language suggests that Lindeman might have considered "andragogy" as too pretentious a term to use in a book designed for general readership. He did, however, use the term again in an article coauthored with Martha Anderson in 1927 when the two researchers published *Education Through Experience* in the Workers' Education Research Series. In this piece, the term was used almost casually:

Schools are for children. Life itself is the adult's school. Pedagogy is the method by which children are taught. Demagogy is the path by which adults are intellectually betrayed. *Andragogy* is the true method of adult learning. In andragogy theory becomes fact; that is, words become responsible acts, accountable deeds, and the practical fact which arises out of necessity is illumined by theory.³⁵

The new term seems to have impressed itself upon no one, not even its originators. So far as is known, Lindeman never used it again. Martha Anderson, who worked in close collaboration with Lindeman for five years, could not recall using the word in 1927. "I don't even know what it means," she said, when interviewed just before her death at the age of eighty-seven in 1984.³⁶

Forgotten by its original American midwives, andragogy lay buried in America (though not in continental Europe) until resurrected by Malcolm Knowles in 1968. Using some of the same European sources earlier tapped by his old mentor, but with no knowledge of Lindeman's earlier use of the term, Knowles independently arrived at an application of the word that was similar to that earlier proposed by Lindeman. For Knowles, andragogy meant "the art and science of helping adults learn."³⁷ This time the linguistic transplant was successful, and andragogy became a word used frequently by American adult educators to describe the process of adult learning.

Eduard Lindeman's links to the past, the present, and indeed to the future of American adult education are often subtle, yet they are real.

67. Eduard Lindeman to Leonard Elmhirst, 7 January 1927.
68. Buchholz, review of *The Meaning* (1927) 124.
69. Buchholz, review of *The Meaning* (1927) 150–151.
70. Buchholz, review of *The Meaning* (1927) 150–151.
71. Lindeman, "Division" (1944) 784.
72. Bonaro Overstreet, interview with author.

Chapter 8. What Adult Education Means: Discovering and Rediscovering the Concept of Andragogy

1. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 4–7.
2. Lindeman, "Meaning of Adult Learning" (1929) 38.
3. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 3.
4. Lindeman, "Scrapbook 1946".
5. Lindeman, "Social Thinking" (1927) 9.
6. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 5.
7. Lindeman, "New Challenge" (1927) 681–682.
8. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 5.
9. "Manuscripts A–I," Box 12, ECL/RBML/CU, 47.
10. Lindeman, "Parent Education" (1930) 234.
11. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 5.
12. Lindeman, "Dynamics" (1948) 267.
13. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 35.
14. Lindeman, "Industrial Technique" (1923) 494.
15. Lindeman, "Scrapbook 1945," 103.
16. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 5.
17. Lindeman, "New Needs" (1944) 115.
18. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 6.
19. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 48.
20. Lindeman, "Meaning of Adult Learning" (1929) 38–39.
21. Lindeman, "Adult Education" (1937) 465.
22. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 112.
23. Lindeman, *Social Thinking* (1927) 9.
24. Lindeman, *Social Education* (1933) 173.
25. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 114.
26. Tough, *Adult's Learning Projects* (1979).
27. Smith, *Learning How to Learn* (1982).
28. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 7.
29. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) xxviii.
30. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 6–7.
31. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 87.
32. Lindeman, "After Lyceums" (1927) 249.
33. Lindeman, "How Work" (1929) 340.
34. Lindeman, "ANDRAGOGIK" (1926) 38.
35. Anderson and Lindeman, *Education Through Experience* (1927) 2–3.
36. Martha Anderson, interview with Miriam Stewart.
37. Knowles, *Modern Practice* (1970) 38.
38. Lindeman, "Scrapbook 1937," 142.
39. Lindeman, "Recreation Worker" (1951) 533.
40. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 111.

41. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) 19.

Chapter 9. Danish Influence on America's Adult Education Movement

1. Hall and Davis, *Europe Since Waterloo* (1947) 196.
2. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.
3. Davies, *Education for Life* (1931) 102.
4. Knudsen, *Danish Rebel* (1955) 114.
5. Hall and Davis, *Europe Since Waterloo* (1947) 228–229.
6. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.
7. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed.
8. Davies, *Education for Life* (1931) 13–14.
9. Dam, *N.S.F. Grundtvig* (1983) 24.
10. Slumstrup, "Factsheet Denmark" (1983) 1–8.
11. Dam, *N.S.F. Grundtvig* (1983) 35–36.
12. Slumstrup, "Factsheet Denmark" (1983) 7.
13. Slumstrup, "Factsheet Denmark" (1983) 7.
14. Skovmand, "Folk High School," in Thodberg and Thyssen, *N.S.F. Grundtvig* 322.
15. Dam, *N.S.F. Grundtvig* (1983) 43.
16. Knudsen, *Danish Rebel* (1955) 106.
17. Davies, *Education for Life* (1931) 70.
18. Knudsen, *Danish Rebel* (1955) 149.
19. Lindeman, "Community Organization," "E.C. Lindeman Manuscripts A–I 12, ECL/RBML/CU, 57.
20. The author is indebted to Prof. K. E. Bugge at the Royal Danish Sch Educational Studies for tracing the background of this statement which was quoted by Lindeman. It has usually but incorrectly been attributed to Dalgas (1828–1894), a former military officer, who in the later part of his life devoted his energy to planting forests on the Danish moorlands. In the six years after war in 1864 this project actually served to "regain" an area of land corresponding to the area lost in the war. The actual source, however, is the H. P. Holst (1811–1893), who formulated the sentence as a motto for an international exhibition in 1872. The bibliographical references for this information are *Biografisk Leksikon* (Dictionary of Danish Biography) 3:542–544 (general reference to Dalgas) and 6:499–500 (where Holst is explicitly named as the author of the sentence). (K.E. Bugge to author, 22 October 1984).
21. Lindeman, *The Meaning* (1961) xxix.
22. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 12th ed.
23. Howe, *Denmark* (1921) iii.
24. Howe, *Denmark* (1921) iv.
25. Howe, *Denmark* (1921) iv–vi.
26. Branson, *Farm Life Abroad* (1924) 84.
27. Branson, *Farm Life Abroad* (1924) 108.
28. Lindeman, "Community Organization for Leisure," "E. C. Lindeman Manuscripts A–I" Box 12, ECL/RBML/CU, 57.
29. Lindeman, "Denmark Rural Culture" (1922) 176.
30. Lindeman, "Denmark Rural Culture" (1922) 176.
31. Howe, *Denmark* (1921) iii–ix.

- 19 November 1924, "Emerging American Philosophy." *New Republic* 40: 290-291.
- 15 December 1924, "Religion and Rural Culture." *Survey* 53: 329-331.
- 1924, *Social Discovery: An Approach to the Study of Functional Groups*. New York: Republic Publishing Co.
- 15 May 1925, "Adult Education: A Creative Opportunity." *Library Journal* 50: 445-447.
- 25 November 1925, "Adult Education." *New Republic* 54: 7-8.
- 23 December 1925, "Integrating the Carol Kennicotts." *New Republic* 45: 130-132.
- January 1926, "The Place of Producers and Consumers in a Co-operative Program from the Point of View of a Social Scientist." *Co-operation* 12: 6-9.
- 15 February 1926, "To Discover the Meaning of Experience." *Survey* 55: 545-546.
- 9 June 1926, reviews of *Spiritual Values in Adult Education*, by Basil A. Yeaxlee; and *The Way Out*, by Hon. Oliver Stanley, ed. *New Republic* 47: 96.
- July 1926, "Is Preaching a Valid Method?" *Homiletic Review* 92: 27-31.
- 4 September 1926, reviews of *Regional Sociology*, by Radhamal Mukerjee; *History of Human Society*, by Frank W. Blackmar; and *Historical Materialism*, by Nikolai Bukharin. *Saturday Review of Literature* 3: 89.
- October 1926, "Limitations of Discussion Methods." *Rural America* 4: 7.
- November 1926, "Andragogik: The Method of Teaching Adults." *Workers' Education* 4: 38.
- 8 December 1926, reviews of *The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community*, by Holger Begtrup, Hans Lund, and Peter Manniche; *A Short Survey of Agriculture in Denmark*, by H. Hurltel (and three other books). *New Republic* 48: 84-85.
- 1926, *The Meaning of Adult Education*. New York: New Republic, Inc. (Reissued in 1961. Montreal: Harvest House, Ltd. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations are to the 1961 edition).
- 1926, *Workers' Education and the Public Libraries*, Workers Education Pamphlet Series, No. 7. New York: Workers' Education Bureau of America.
- 22 January 1927, "What Is Social Thinking?" *Scholastic* 8-9, 18.
- 1 March 1927, "A New Challenge to the Spirit of 1776." *Survey* 57: 679-82.
- 1 March 1927, (editor of special section), "An American Look at Fascism." *Survey* 57: 678-765.
- 1 March 1927, "A New Challenge to the Spirit of 1776." *Survey* 57: 679-682.
- May 1927, "After Lyceums and Chautauquas, What?" *Bookman* 65: 246-250.
- 6 July 1927, "Newer Currents of Thought on Parent Education." *New Republic* 51: 172-174.
- August 1927, "Private Life of Mary Haugen." *World Tomorrow* 10: 325-328.
- 1927, "Public Ownership," Bulletin No. 2. New York Federation of Progressive Women.
- 1927, (with Martha Anderson) *Education Through Experience: An Interpretation of the Methods of the Academy of Labor, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany*, Workers' Education Research Series, Monograph No. 1. New York: Workers' Education Bureau Press, Inc.
- 15 January 1928, review of *Why Stop Learning*, by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. *Survey* 59: 526.
- 22 February 1928, "Adult Education: A New Means for Liberals." *New Republic* 54: 26-29.
- 7 March 1928, reviews of *What the Employer Thinks*, by J. David Houser; and *The Americanization of Labor*, by Robert W. Dunn. *New Republic* 54: 104-105.
- April 1928, "Enjoying While Learning." *Trained Nurse* 413.
- July 1928, "What May a Professional School of Social Work Reasonably Expect of Its Graduates?" *Bulletin of the New York School of Social Work* 21: 3-6.
- 1928, (with Nels Anderson) *Urban Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Urban Communities*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- January-February-March 1929, "Meaning of Adult Learning." *Progressive Education* 6: 35-39.
- April 1929, "Conference Method: A Plea for Interchange of Experience on a New Basis." *Journal of Adult Education* 1: 142-144.
- June 1929, "Adult Learning and the University Woman." *American Association of University Women Journal* 22: 176-178.
- August 1929, "How Work for a New Society?" *World Tomorrow* 12: 337-340.
- September-October 1929, "Inquiry Principles." *Inquiry* 101-103.
- 28 October-9 November 1929, "Conference Method in Employee Representation Plans and Procedures," in *Conference as an Agency of Industrial Progress*. Preliminary papers prepared for the Third General Session of the Institute of Pacific Relations. American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 16: 35-48.
- 20 November 1929, "Conference and Compromise." *New Republic* 60: 364-365.
- November 1929, "Adult Education Becomes a World Movement." *Fraternity* 2: 7.
- 1929, (editor with Flora Thurston) *Problems for Parent Educators: Outlines of Problems Discussed at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Parent Education*. Outline of problems discussed at the annual meeting of the National Council of Parent Educators, Atlantic City, N.J., 14-17, November, 1928, and at The Home Problems Conference, the Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, 18-20 April 1927. New York: National Council of Parent Education.
- 1929, (with John Hader) "The Authorities, Functions, and Limitations of Committees," in *Committees, Their Purposes, Functions and Administration*, General Management Series, No. 96. New York: American Management Association.
- 1929, (with John Hader) *What Do Workers Study?* Workers' Education Research Series, Monograph No. 2, Workers' Education Bureau Press.
- 1929, *Church in the Changing Community*, Community Religion Series No. 4, New York: Community Church of New York.
- February 1930, "Parents' Dilemma," in *The Child's Emotions*. Proceedings of the Mid-West Conference on Character Development. Chicago Association for Child Study and Parent Education: 352-359.
- April 1930, "Parent Education as a Social Movement," in *Parent Education: The First Yearbook*. Washington: National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1: 10-16.
- May 1930, "Parent Education as Adjustment to the Modern World." *Child Study* 7: 234-235.
- 16 July 1930, "A Man of Wisdom." [Herbert Croly] *New Republic* 63: 263-265.
- October 1930, "Pennsylvania League of Women Voters." *Bulletin*, Pennsylvania League of Women Voters.
- 1930, "Community," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. New York: Macmillan. 4: 102-105.
- 1930, "Psychology of Social Change," in *A New Economic Order*, ed. Kirby Page. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 357-371.
- February 1931, "Six Questions for Parent Education." *Child Study* 8: 171-172.
- February 1931, "The Conditions of Creative Thought." *Progressive Education* 8: 112-115.
- 1931, (ed. jointly with Flora Thurston) *Problems for Parent Educators*. New York: National Council of Parent Education (Vol. 2).