# RELEASING

*Ending the apprenticeship.* Change. Certification and the establishment of credentials. Transitional period of work prior to re-entry. Professional development. Preparing a portfolio. Exhibitions. Placement of the apprentice. Preparing for marketing. Research into apprenticeship. Termination. Future relations and development. Poems and paeons.

*I dreamt last night that I was a butterfly, and now I don't know whether I am a man who dreamt he was a butterfly, or perhaps a butterfly who dreams now that he is a man.*

—A Chinese poet.

# Sam Maloof

## A Conversation

*I took woodworking in high school and after graduating in 1934, I worked as an illustrator and graphic artist. In 1939 I worked with the industrial designer Harold Graham, who had been trained at the Bauhaus in Germany. After a stint in the United States Army (1941-1945), I promised myself that I would never again put myself in a position where I could be regimented. I worked as a graphic artist, and later I worked with Millared Sheets, a well-known California painter. This experience opened a new door in art to me, and it was a turning point in my life. I continued to make furniture for myself, and when someone who saw my work asked me to do a complete dining area in furniture, I left my job as a graphic artist and began working in wood full-time.*

*In the beginning, I had only those tools essential to making furniture: a handsaw, a jackplane, a hammer, and a brace and some bits. Because I had no formal training in woodwork, I had to learn to work with handtools, and for this I have always been grateful. I did not go through an apprenticeship, but I learned as I worked—and I am still learning—which I think is the best way.*

*The first person that worked with me as an apprentice was named Larry White, but this did not occur until after I had been working alone for fifteen years. Larry stayed with me as an apprentice for six years, and he now has his own workshop in Santa Cruz, California.*

*My approach to working with an apprentice is to have him work alongside me. For example, in my workshop I do all the designing and cutout, and all the joinery. As the work progresses, I have the apprentice watch what I am doing, and I explain each step of the operation and the reasons for it. The best way to learn is to observe. Hours do not matter where learning is concerned.*

*I would rather have an apprentice who has not had formal school training; you often have to untrain him. Many woodworkers who are presently teaching have stepped from the classroom to a teaching position without the experience of having to earn a living from their craft. Many have been mesmerized into believing that woodworking is mystical and romantic, when it is really hard work. Often, teachers of woodworking and authors of books on woodworking are rigid in their thinking about the right and wrong way of working. In my workshop, I don't want the young apprentice to suffocate his enthusiasm or ideals, but I do hope he will pick up my tempo of work, as well as the joy I have of working with my hands on wood. Perhaps I lean toward the trial and error method of learning. I believe this is the best way to learn.*

*An apprentice is strongly influenced by the master craftsman with whom he works. This often presents a problem in that the apprentice tends to imitate the work of the designer/craftsman. A strong student,*

*however, will seek his own direction. Leonardo da Vinci was reputed to have said once: "The student who does not surpass the master, fails the master." What was true in Leonardo's day is true today as well, although I would paraphrase the saying in this way: "the student who does not surpass the master fails himself."*

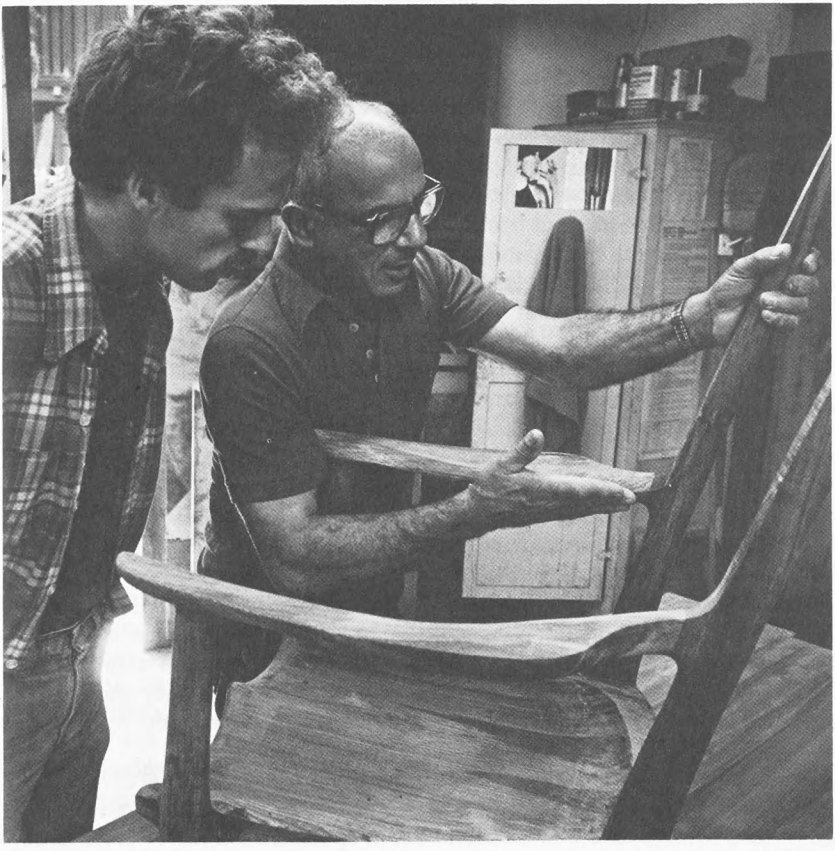
*Not all the relationships with my apprentices have been successful. For instance, I have learned by experience that it is better for the apprentice not to live in with the master. It is a good thing for the master and the apprentice to separate after working together during the day—to have a time for solitude and to do whatever comes to mind. Perhaps those apprenticeships were not successful partly through my fault. I am often impatient with the apprentice's progress. Through such experiences, however, we tend to grow, and I would hope we always learn something in the process.*

*Jerry Marcotte is presently working with me, making furniture. Jerry had majored in economics at the University of California. He came down to see me, and I liked him and hired him. His apprenticeship was made possible through a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, Crafts Apprenticeship category. Under the conditions of the grant, $3,000 is paid to the apprentice over a period of six months, and $500 is paid to me.*

*Jerry Marcotte is a young man who learns very fast and is very dependable. When he first arrived to work with me, I told him that he would have to do work in the shop that he would not be doing at this stage of the learning process under ordinary circumstances. I recall that there were a number of sculptured wooden seats to make, and that I took my disc sander with 16-grit paper and said, "Watch what I am doing, and maybe you can do this for me." I told him not to be concerned if it did not come out right. An hour later he came in and showed me the work he had done. I couldn't believe it: it was very well done! Then I told him to do the rest of the seats, thinking it would probably take him a week or so to complete the job. He did them all in four days.*

*Compatibility and a sense of respect between the master and the apprentice is very important. If I do not respect the young person who works with me, and vice versa, the relationship is a failure from the start. This is the main criterion with which I select an apprentice. I am more concerned with him as a human being than what he has done in the past. If we are not compatible, then it does not matter how much knowledge or ability he may have. The workings of an apprenticeship should be like those of a happy marriage. I find that few craftsmen know how to draw. Knowledge of drawing—whether of a working drawing or of a perspective drawing—is very necessary for a good designer. I discipline myself in my work, and I try to instill the same feeling in those who work with me. On the other hand, you must have compassion and understanding toward those you come in contact with.*

*It is best to pay an apprentice while he is working for you. In this way, you are not obligated to him. The current minimum wage is a*



*Sam Maloof, furniture maker, with apprentice Jerry Marcotte*

*fair payment. After the apprentice has been in my shop for two years, I try to pay him according to what I take in, or what I earn. In addition, I give the apprentice six holidays with pay, two weeks' vacation with pay, medical and hospital insurance (separate from Workmen's Compensation), and other fringe benefits. The apprentice also gets a bonus for each piece of furniture made. I have been asked on occasion: "How can you do it?" My answer is that I want to do it because I appreciate what my employee is doing. I think it is only fair.*

*I have stated many times the essence of my feelings about apprenticeship: unless the knowledge which the experienced craftsman has gained through the years is shared, it will die. If we are selfish, and self-centered, and do not share, then all the work we have done in the past is for naught. You must give not only the reflection of your image through your work, but also whatever wisdom and knowledge you have gained over the years.*

*Sam Maloof is a woodworker and lives in Alta Loma, California.*

# Supporting an Apprenticeship Program

## by Kenneth E. Tyler

To propose an apprenticeship program in today's society is to suppose that there is a viable market for the product or service that the craft supplies, and that therefore fruition of such a program would lead a participant into a professional life in the craft. Without the existence of this marketplace for the goods which the craft creates, a craft will not survive without being subsidized by government, by corporations, or by foundations. Furthermore, if craft movements are to be sustained, they must be extended beyond just one generation. The educational cycle of the master passing knowledge on to the student, the student becoming a professional and training new students, and so on, must be maintained.

It is important to note that the task of evaluating and selecting from the history of a craft the most deserving and distinguishing elements that relate to, and have meaning for, our contemporary society must be accomplished by the top professionals in the field. Those with prejudices and cursory information about the craft are not capable of this important task. The task requires responsible, judicious, and dedicated individuals who are free from any conflicts of interest. Regardless of what type of apprentice program is being considered, clearly there must be individuals who make up the administrative body responsible for establishing the priorities, objectives, and direction of the program. They should coordinate the training program with the guidelines developed by private and institutional groups.

I believe it is essential to define the traditional concept of apprenticeship as it relates to a profession. Historically, a person entered into an agreement with a master craftsman for a specified length of time in return for instruction, care, and support, and with the understanding that success in this program would mean professional acceptance and a job in the trade. After apprenticeship came the opportunity for the apprentice to work with skilled professionals and continue his education with the hope of becoming a master craftsman and carrying on the tradition of the craft.

We know from history that when participation in a craft diminished, or when the apprentice/master relationship broke down—whether for educational, social, or economic reasons—the craft suffered and rarely recovered. When recovery came to a craft, it often occurred because another generation of craftsmen, intellectuals, or businessmen found the need to restore it, gave new dimensions to its purpose, and took the responsibility for its growth and preservation. This suggests that the state of craft alters with the society that it serves. No one doubts, for example, that lithography or papermaking in 1980, to name two important crafts, were totally unlike these crafts as practiced in the 1800s. It is interesting to note that commercial, machine papermaking is now 180 years old, and presently there are no apprenticeship programs in existence in this craft. We assume the reasons for this are automation, economics, and trade unions. However, in the last few years, hand paper-

making has developed into a cottage industry in this country, and it shows promise of survival for this generation at least.

I believe that technology, human needs, and economic factors are the three most important elements affecting a craft. Every craft, I feel, has these three factors influencing the quality and volume of its product or service. The longer in time that a craft flourishes, the more changes will take place within its craftsmen and the product they produce. If too much technology is evolved over a brief period of time, the craftsman could be sacrificed to automation. A craft will cease to exist if the master is unable to, or refuses to, train new craftsmen; or if the product cannot compete in the marketplace or is not subsidized.

The interesting lesson to learn from the history of crafts is that only when a high degree of professionalism and artistry within the ranks produces a product (art) of high quality will society be willing to pay for that product and encourage the continuation of the craft. The quality of people in the craft results in a quality product (art). Master craftsmen have a professional obligation to pass on their knowledge and skills to apprentices who, in turn, have the responsibility to learn and become master craftsmen in the continuing life cycle of a craft.

Before we address ourselves to the question of apprenticeship, we must define the need for professionalism and enlist the aid of those master craftsmen with a sense of professionalism to help us structure the programs that will once again support the crafts. We must be wary of those who, with limited knowledge and a lack of professional status, wish to reinvent the wheel, the pot, paper, printmaking, and so forth. There is a tradition for apprenticeship in the crafts from which we can learn—a history professional people have left us—as well as archives of quality art we can study. There can be no excuse for revival of craft and craftsmanship at a level unworthy of its inheritance and history. We must find the most gifted, talented professionals and pay them to train the army of apprentices needed to produce the quality of work society will respect and support.

We should not ask our modern day craftsman to accept the responsibility to train new people in the crafts and to endure within our society without adequate compensation and respect. No superadvanced, automated machine can ever replace the love, care and devotion, and sense of professionalism that a craftsman gives to the product he creates. If we give our society a quality product, handmade in the great tradition of the craft, the marketplace will respond. But craftsmen need time to develop both their trade and their product. We must bring a standard of excellence to all the crafts and enforce the concept of professionalism. We should not support those within the ranks that do not qualify, for large numbers of supported amateurs in any field will surely destroy it, and such support will make a mockery of any apprenticeship program.

Discipline, dedication, responsibility, excellence, and love of beautiful objects made by man's hands should be the cornerstone of any proposed program for the crafts or arts.

The questions to ponder now are: (1) whether certain crafts and their apprenticeship programs should be continued or whether they are

obsolete for reasons I have mentioned earlier; (2) whether the crafts are becoming overpopulated; (3) whether or not we should continue to offer these programs only to those with formal education; and (4) whether or not we can integrate our crafts and their programs into the mainstream of our large manufacturing corporations. I cannot, at this time, adequately answer all of these questions. However, I feel that Roberto Vacca, in his publication entitled The Coming Dark Age,[1] gave some interesting insights into these questions. The following two statements are from his book:

> It follows that the two main features that will have to be recognized as symptoms of the arrival of the dark age will be a sharp diminution of population followed by a further, slower reduction, and a piecemeal breakup of large systems into small, independent, and self sufficient subsystems...
>
> The time is ripe to begin thinking constructively about setting up independent operational units to conserve our civilized know-how, so that this knowledge might survive the coming era of darkness and bring a new era to birth.

As change accelerates and complexities multiply, we can expect to see further examples of disposable products made for man, who is reducing his relationship with objects and products. We must reverse this trend and reinforce man's love for and relationship to objects, objects capable of having permanent value. There are many in our world today who feel a need for a dramatic reassessment of the directions of change, a reassessment made not by institutions or government technocrats, but by people who want a different world with different values. Some of these individuals have already apprenticed in a craft and are working in small cottage industries, practicing their artform. As an example, in our nation of millions, less than one hundred craftsmen are employed in the handprinting craft, producing limited editions of original graphics.

To assist this reassessment, we must discover the way to bring a multitude of crafts as cottage industries into our complex industrial world. We must offer crafts and art as an alternative to industrial trade union shops, permitting individuals to work with their hands in small commercial enterprises. The educated and creative craftsmen will find a way to blend handmade and machine produced materials, manual and automated processes naturally. The two worlds and their products can be complementary, and they deserve to be able to coexist in the marketplace.

I have suggested that the need for apprenticeships in the crafts and art will be of great importance in the twenty-first century, knowing that some quarter of a million registered apprentices in American industry already exist in many trades. Unfortunately, the success of these national apprenticeship programs is questionable when one looks at the quality of products and services the industries are yielding. Although these trades are not involved in the creation of art objects, their lack of quality standards reflects the need for proper training, dedication, and pride in work-

manship which assures a genuine desire to provide quality products and services.

I think our affluent society needs a master/apprentice program in the crafts and in art, and a parallel movement to fund and implement these programs should be started now. The return on this investment in terms of technology, satisfaction of human needs, additional economics, and new art forms will more than compensate us for this effort for generations to come. It should be clearly understood, however, that self-supporting workshops producing high quality goods are at this time very limited, and there are no indications of real growth in this area. In fact, at this moment there are in some crafts areas (such as in the handprinting trade) more applicants than jobs. What we are finding is a need for workshops that can supply a wider range of moderately priced quality goods. This type of workshop would also be more capable of offering its services at a lower cost, as compared to the high quality, limited edition shops now in existence.

Here we have a problem. If our apprentice has trained to seek professional status in one of the successful cottage industries such as printing, the apprentice only wants to work with the best master in his or her workshop. Since jobs in these shops are few, the results are clear—the young apprentice may never enjoy a professional life in a high quality shop. If other levels of workshops existed, then our apprentice could be employed there until an opening was available in the other shop.

This one example brings our attention to one of the problems in the handcrafts today. Without a broader public support for the products workshops create, growth of existing shops and the birth of new ones will not take place. A new awareness of the importance of the movement must be developed on every level of our society. We must adopt forms of advertising that sell this concept. It becomes clear that this important concept cannot be kept as a small island in the educational system, but must be used as one of the pilot programs everyone can view, study, and gain ideas from. The time to do this is now, for further contemplation will only result in the loss of key people and enthusiasm, and in an increase in operating costs.

Support from both the state and federal governments, in the form of tax credits, partial subsidies, low percentage rate business loans, and a fixed dollar percentage of all new public building programs allocated for craft and art products should be sought now. In the private sector, corporations should spend a fixed percentage of profits on the crafts as well as give grants to deserving apprentices. Some of these programs presently exist in one form or another, and token efforts are being made in support of the arts in general. I suggest that when government decides to offer our citizens a tax advantage for their support of the arts, we will see many more individuals making contributions to these areas. The concept of being financially rewarded for supporting the arts is very appealing to the majority of our affluent society.

We should not be overly concerned with subsidizing the end product of craft, but instead we should focus on what can be done to partially fund those apprenticeship programs worthy of support. For every

craft in existence in our free-enterprise system now, only those that produce a viable product will survive. This is as it should be. We should not confuse the need for initial endowments and support with state or national subsidies that would result in another form of welfare in our social structure. The task of offering talented people an alternative employment in our technological society, is important and deserving of our time and support.

**Footnotes**

1. Vacca, Roberto. *The Coming Dark Age.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1973

*Kenneth Tylor is the president of Tyler Graphics, located in Bedford, New York.*

# On Apprenticeship

## by John Reeve

I am completely convinced of the advantage of an apprenticeship training for anyone who wants to make a living making domestic pots for human use. I was very fortunate to be apprenticed for two-and-a-half years to Bernard Leach at St. Ives in England, twenty years ago. As an apprentice, I worked forty hours a week producing a standard line of pottery of someone else's design and standards. Mostly the days were spent throwing, but we also helped with all the other pottery activities: sweeping the floor, mixing clay and glazes, and packing and firing the kiln. We learned how to *work* at making pots. It was a warm and unpressured atmosphere, but there was never any question but that the apprentice was there to learn by doing. I guess that I made more than ten thousand pots while I was there. I learned to make the first piece, a soup bowl, by making it over and over again until the foreman approved of my pieces. It took about six weeks before any piece was saved. I thought I would die. More than a thousand pieces were thrown away. My ego, nourished and inflated by my years at an art college in Canada (where I was a bright young up-and-comer, a rising star) was squashed, flattened, pierced beyond recognition or repair.

I learned a lot about throwing, and about making pots, and about being a potter. The art school diletante disappeared forever. I left at the end of my time with a sense of having only scratched the surface of the lifetime of learning ahead of me, and I left with a warm feeling in my center that that was so.

Of course, there were compensations for the apprentice: there is a great body of knowledge, where five or six professional potters work together, which rubs off on even the most insensitive learner. In the evenings and on weekends we made timid essays into pots of our very own. We sat up into the small hours of the morning, with black coffee and cigarettes, talking with Bernard Leach about pots and/or Buddhism. There was a magnificent collection of pots from all parts of the world in cupboards upstairs in Bernard's studio, where we could handle them at lunch hour, get to know them—to love or to hate them—and there was a whole sense of living within that pottery ambience—a sense of its im-

portance, of being at the leading edge of some little bit of the history of our time.

As in Hermann Hesse's *Journey to the East*[1], each of us who was there during those years saw it differently, describes it differently, and cannot understand how the others could have missed "my" truth, but I know none who would exchange it for a pot of gold.

Many American potters seem to fall into one of two categories. First there is the potter who makes self-expressive, one-of-a-kind pieces; who talks a lot about art, keeps up with the magazines, has little technical knowledge, and is on panels called "The Container as Metaphor." The quantity of his production is low and he sees an apprentice as someone to roll out slabs or knead the clay, to operate the pug-mill, and discuss his (the potter's) work over coffee. The other kind of potter does a production line of ware, wears a beard, and drives a pick-up. He *never* talks about the quality of the work, but about production, and money, and kiln efficiency. He makes a lot of pots, but the quality is low. He sees an apprentice (or better, apprentices) as a way to rationalize his shop for greater production to increase the unit output for greater efficiency; that is, greater profitability.

Neither of these is a situation to which I would recommend a promising young pottery student who wants to learn to make pots for a living. There is an in-between state, a middle way. Certainly, to make a living from his own production of pots requires that a potter produce work in large quantity, and repetition production is the best way to accomplish this. To "crank it out" at the expense of quality, however, is a way of life rewarding only in material terms, and it is a very inefficient way to make money. The middle way, which Leach intended his workshop to represent, is to make pots simply and in quantity, but each pot is a new statement of its central idea—it is made with care and the love of quality—a real and true work of art, if a simple and uncomplicated one.

This kind of attitude and the skills it entails are worth preserving, transmitting from generation to generation in any way we can. I find it difficult personally to be interested in either of the other attitudes toward work.

Part of the American myth is that we are all free and independent. Only the most abject of employer-employee relationships does not contain in its definitions the sense of the freedom and independence of all parties. The janitor has become a custodian. Right below the surface we all know the fragility of this myth, and that agreement rather than the truth holds it together. The idea of apprenticeship is dangerously close to master-and-servant, and in this sense *UnAmerican*. (The phrase is *to serve* an apprenticeship.) It *is* an exploitive relationship: in the short term, the master exploits the apprentice by using his labor and paying little for it; and in the long term, the apprentice exploits the master by getting his training free. This does not make it an ignoble relationship between people, but Americans seem compelled to rationalize it away, change its form, and give it other names.

Whether we approve or not, money and its exchange have become very important factors in defining our transactions. My own experience and observation have been that an apprentice ought to be paid, although not necessarily a living wage. It is important that the relationship between work and daily bread and lodging be experienced in a direct way. Government or foundation support tends to have a corrupting effect on this relationship, just as student loans or grants corrupt, and it severely limits the graduate's choices.

Our culture is one of exaggerated and accelerated expectations. We all want too much too soon. We expect Nescafe to be like coffee, and we think of the time saved. We expect a twenty-five-year-old Master of Fine Arts graduate not only to know his craft or art and to be a mature artist in that medium, but also to be qualified to teach others to be the same in the same length of time. It's absurd. This ludicrous system, like packaged bread, has been perpetuated for long enough to appear to many as normal, and by far the majority of clayworkers today are products of this system—second or third-generation products. What has happened is the same as has happened with the bread; we adjust to the new time sense by denying the old sense of values; that is, we lower our standards. We also call it progress, and the majority of any generation believe implicity in the values of their culture. Why shouldn't they? Anything else would be like telling me that the world is round when I and my whole tribe have known for generations that the world is flat. The ideas within conventional education affect, by contamination, the idea of apprenticeship and account for many unsuccessful attempts at making it work. How do you say it? Two years in a potter's workshop does not a potter make? If an apprenticeship is really successful it produces a *journeyman,* one who is equipped to begin his journey. This is heretical in the speedy eighties. How is the young potter to support his wife and children, make his alimony payments, make his car and mortgage payments, finance his trips to the cultural centers of the world, and pay for the braces on his daughter's teeth? What can we do to make apprenticeship fit these expectations? Don't be silly. It can't be done.

Today it is not enough for a potter to be trained as a potter. Pottery is not an employable skill—or is only so in rare circumstances. There are no jobs for potters. Each must make his own way, his own place in his community and his world as a self-employed craftsman. This requires many complex skills and is an incredibly difficult undertaking. It is also a large part of what makes the craftsman's work seem a good way of life, because it IS self-employment, with a demand for a relatively large degree of self-determination.

**Footnotes**

1. Hesse, Herman. *The Journey to the East.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1968.

*John Reeve is a wide-ranging potter and teacher who has lived and worked in England, Canada and the United States.*

# Study of Master Craftsman Apprenticeship Program

by Charles Kirk

**Background**

Support for craftsmen and crafts activities has always been a part of the Visual Arts Program of the National Endowment for the Arts. The first printed guidelines (for fiscal year 1973) specifically referred to craftsmen's eligibility in several program areas: Craftsmen's Fellowships; Artists, Critics, Photographers and Craftsmen-in-Residence; and Short-Term Activities. Since that time, new categories specifically for crafts have been created (for example, "Crafts Workshops"), and other visual arts categories have been broadened to make craftsmen and crafts activities eligible.

The National Endowment for the Arts program for crafts apprentices was listed in the Visual Arts Program Guidelines for fiscal years 1975 and 1976. It began as a pilot program called the "Master Craftsman Apprenticeship Program." Its stated aim was "... to enable master craftworkers to hire an apprentice for periods of, generally, nine months to impart their skills to the apprentice, who in turn would assist them at their work." Under the procedure that was established, the master craftsman was to submit the application to the Endowment, specifying the proposed apprentice. The proposed apprentices were to have exhibited professional attitudes in their respective media. Each master craftsman was asked to submit five or more slides of his work and to describe the expected relationship with the proposed aprentice. The master craftsman was required to have proper facilities (for example, a workshop-size studio), adequate to accommodate an additional working professional. The grant amount was $3,000, with $300 to be retained by the master craftsman to cover administrative expenses. The remaining $2,700 was to go to the apprentice in a way agreed upon by master and apprentice; it was suggested that monthly stipends be arranged, for example, $300 per month for nine months.

The initial grants supported apprenticeships that occurred from 1975-76, many of them paralleling the school year. The Endowment studied this pilot program in order to learn how it was working for the various participants, and whether the program category should be continued and if so, at what level of funding. The study was developed cooperatively by the Evaluation Division and Elena Canavier, the Crafts Coordinator of the Visual Arts Program at that time. It was decided that all eighteen sites were to be visited. To perform these site visits, the Endowment secured the services of three highly competent members of the crafts field:

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| Warren MacKenzie - | Stillwater, Minnesota. Potter; Professor of Art, University of Minnesota. |
| Cecile McCann - | Oakland, California. Professional craftsperson; Founder, editor, and publisher of *Artweek*. |

Gerry Williams - Goffstown, New Hampshire. Potter; Founder and co-editor of *Studio Potter.*

The administrative timetable dictated that the apprenticeship sites be visited early. Several were in their first weeks at the time of the consultants' visits; the oldest was three months into the apprenticeship. It is possible that there is a cycle of development in the relationship between master and apprentice. One consultant suggested that there are three stages: honeymoon, disenchantment, and then appreciation. Communication with the craftsmen was maintained during and after the grant period to see whether changes had occurred. Information from those later communications have been included in this report.

**Descriptive Information**

A total of seventy-two applications to the pilot Master Craftsman Apprenticeship Program were received by the Endowment. Nineteen grants were awarded (two of the grants went to husband-and-wife teams). One grant was terminated at the grantee's initiative before activities were to begin.

The master craftsmen selected for these grants represented a wide range of stated media, including: metal (3); pewter (1); wrought iron (1); textiles (3); glass (2); wood (2); ceramics (2); papermaking (1); basketry (1); bookbinding (1); typography (1); and leather (1) —this last one was terminated. Age and experience also varied greatly among the grantees—the youngest was 28, the oldest was 81, and experience ranged from four to forty-one years.

Of the eighteen master craftsmen (each husband and wife team counted as a single unit) who remained involved with the program, twelve had previously had experience with apprentices and/or employees. Eleven of the craftsmen (four of whom had never had either apprentices or employees) selected former students or employees. In seven of these cases, the person chosen had already been working for the master in some capacity at the time the grant was made.

In addition to the apprentice working under the Endowment grant, six of the craftsmen had additional apprentices and/or employees working in their studios. In one case, the master divided the grant funds between two apprentices who both worked part-time. In another instance, a master allowed an employee to take one day per week to work on his own projects—an arrangement similar to that with the Endowment-funded apprentice.

**Agreements and Relationships**

All but one of the master craftsmen came to some form of verbal agreement with their apprentices before the grant period began. In two cases, there was a written description, but neither of these involved any kind of signed contract or agreement. The agreements covered a broad array of arrangements:

Approach to teaching, learning. Some apprenticeships were totally oriented to the apprentices learning-by-doing; they assisted the master craftsmen or executed the masters' designs during their entire time in the studio. Many of these apprentices' opportunities to learn were indirect; they could learn through working with and observing the master crafts-

men. At the other end of the spectrum were apprenticeships with carefully laid out instructional programs that involved assignments of progressive difficulty in design and execution, tool making, business and management techniques; and visits to exhibitions, lectures, and other studios. Most of the apprenticeships studied fell somewhere between these two extremes, with more situations where the focus was on the apprentices assisting with the masters' production. In all cases, there was significant time and energy devoted to instruction, supervision, evaluation, and feedback. The discussions about objects, design, values, and philosophy constitute an important learning opportunity that seems to occur often in apprenticeships.

Apprentice's own work. In some instances, there was specific time set aside in the master's studio for the apprentices to work on their own pieces; evaluation and feedback from the master accompanied this availability of studio time. In several cases, the apprentice was allowed the use of the studio for his own work, after the agreed-upon number of hours on the master's work was completed. In most cases, the apprentices paid the master for materials used in their own work. In a couple of cases, the master assigned projects for the apprentice to complete outside the studio.

Hours devoted to apprenticeships. The hours to be devoted to the apprenticeship by the apprentice were not spelled out in all the agreements; where they were spelled out, the apprentice was obliged to devote from twenty to forty-eight hours per week. Interestingly, in most cases a larger commitment of time did not reflect more time being devoted to the apprentices' own work or other educational (nonproduction) activities.

Payments to apprentices. The Endowment's grants were designed to accommodate nine monthly payments of $300 to the apprentice. In several cases, this was supplemented by the masters, usually in recognition of contributions to the studio's production.

Initially, the variations in the four areas described above seemed significant. Further inquiry showed many of these variations to be reflections of diversity among the masters' need for assistance and the apprentices' initial levels of training and proficiency. Also, investigation revealed that the proportion of time devoted to the apprentices' own work or to educational (nonproduction) activities was not a sure guide to healthy apprenticeships. Examples of good situations were found where the apprentices worked full-time on the masters' work. Virtual freedom from working on the masters' pieces apparently does not, in itself, create a healthy climate.

Regardless of the nature of the agreement, it is important that master and apprentice share a common understanding of what the agreement does cover. Warren MacKenzie made this comment:

> It is very important that both master and apprentice know what the attitudes of the shop are. Is there an eight-hour day to be worked by all? How much track must be kept of hours worked? Is an attitude toward the craft more important; and if so, how is this measured? One example of this was a master who worked fifty or sixty hours a week and expected the same from his apprentices; this situation led to hard feelings because there was not involvement of the apprentice in the sense of the jobs. Another similar

> situation was going very well because things were kept very open and the relationship was friend/friend rather than employer/employee. Whatever the arrangement will be must be made clear at the outset.

More than upon any structural arrangement, the quality of the apprenticeship seems to depend upon the personality characteristics of the participants, and the spirit with which the agreement is approached by both master and apprentice. Gerry Williams refers to the human factor:

> In the last analysis, the human factor is the most important. It's the lubrication that allows the wheels to turn without friction. It is the element in all this that is most difficult to anticipate, to plan or train for, to understand, or to correct. A happy, successful apprenticeship depends on it.

Warren Mackenzie focused on the need for maturity in the master craftsman:

> With my visiting five different craftspeople-apprentice situations in rapid succession, I was very impressed with the importance of maturity in the craftsperson. Given this maturity, even a relatively delicate situation can be resolved, and the relationship of master to apprentice can be kept on a working basis. In fact, given this maturity, there was a sense that problems were foreseen and never got a chance to lead to blowups.

**Impact of Apprentices**

Since the craft apprenticeship program is designed to help the master craftsmen as well as to develop the apprentices, an important part of this study was the masters' own assessments of the impact of having an apprentice in their studios.

Production. In two cases the apprentices provided assistance that was critical to the studio's maintaining production; without them or replacements equally talented, production would have stopped or would have been curtailed seriously. In three cases, the presence of the apprentices increased production by enabling the masters to undertake larger projects. In six cases, the masters simply reported that production had increased. One master felt that the apprentice's presence facilitated the production process, making it less demanding for him. Two masters reported no change in quantities produced. One master reported a slight decrease, and one reported a definite decrease in the studio's production.

This information should be interpreted in light of the fact that there were significant variations in whether the apprentices' efforts were needed in the studios. Where the apprentices' efforts were needed, studio production did increase. In several other cases, the presence of the apprentice relieved the master of some of the more routine tasks, enabling him to devote more time to designing and planning. In the four cases where either no change or a decrease in production had occurred, the apprentices' efforts were not needed—in fact, the masters took time away from their normal production work to instruct the apprentices.

Quality. Eight masters reported that the apprentices' presence had no effect on the quality of the studios' production; in these cases, the

masters exercised strict quality control over the apprentices' work, usually applying the same standards they used with their own work. Three masters reported that their studios' quality had improved; this occurred where apprentices were well qualified and particularly appropriate to the studios' needs. Three other masters implied that their apprentices' work was below their own standards, but was improving. One master reported that the quality of his studio's production had decreased as a result of the apprenticeship.

Income. The effect of the apprentices on the studios' income seemed more difficult for the masters to assess. Eight masters indicated that income was being increased because of the apprentices; one reported no change; three reported decreases (one of those, however, being offset by the repair work that the apprentice did on the studio's machinery).

**Assessment by Participants**

The study also elicited masters' and apprentices' views on how apprenticeships compared to conventional crafts training. This group, as might be expected from its participation in an apprenticeship program, generally felt that apprenticeships offer substantial advantages. Cecile McCann summarized this response as follows:

> The relationship between a master craftsman and his/her apprentice differs from the traditional employer-employee relationship in being considerably deeper, more intimate, and more stable. Knowing that they are committed to each other for a specific, extended period, a give-and-take develops between the people involved, The apprentice is expected to feel and act with responsibility toward the master's space and work. He/she learns to understand and accept the standards and attitudes that the master applies to his work, and in turn, to apply those standards and attitudes to all work done for the master. The needs and opinions of the apprentice, as well, have an effect on the master. Several master craftsmen spoke of reassessing some aspects of their own work and their production procedures as a result of the apprenticeships. This would be unlikely to happen in an employer-employee relationship.
>
> Because of this give-and-take and the possibility of ongoing discussions about all phases of the studio, the work, and the relationship, the potential educational benefits for the apprentice far exceed those found in ordinary employment or in traditional education. The constant, extended exposure to a real life situation gives the apprentice a model to follow or adapt to as needed to begin functioning as an independent, producing craftsman. There is no other way in which this information could be obtained so quickly and so thoroughly. The close contact between master craftsman and apprentice makes this a total experience. As a result, the lifestyle of the master craftsman and the actual studio situation have considerable influence on the quality of education the apprentice received.

The masters and apprentices were asked to compare apprenticeships with

formal (college or university) training. Twelve of the masters felt it was superior, being more realistic and complete in the aspects and situations of the crafts with which it dealt. Nine apprentices agreed that this program was more valuable to them. Of the three who did not agree with this point of view, two were in situations where they handled only the master's work, with no time for their own, and the other was involved in a situation in which the relationship was not mutually satisfactory.

Overall response to the Endowment's apprenticeship program was very positive. Fifteen of the masters stated they would like to repeat this type of relationship, and eight indicated they might take on an apprentice without a grant. Seven of the initial masters submitted applications for grants during the second round of the program.

**Tentative Conclusions**

Some tentative conclusions about apprenticeships can be drawn from the experience of the participants included in this study. These conclusions fall into three areas: selection of apprentices, arrangements, and human relations.

Selection of Apprentices. A successful master-apprenticeship relationship entails commitment on both sides. Such a relationship should not be entered into casually. Earlier involvement through student or employee status is a valuable opportunity to assess whether the two people can work together in the much more intense apprenticeship situation. It seems clear that the more the masters and potential apprentices know about each other, the more likely it is that effective pairings will occur. Potential apprentices should be asked to provide references in cases where more information is needed.

Prior experience with employees and apprentices on the master's part does not seem to insure a good relationship. This prior experience does seem to make a master more careful about entering into an apprenticeship arrangement.

Previous successful work experience on the apprentice's part indicates the presence of a degree of work discipline. Good work habits can help an apprenticeship run smoothly.

The relatively unskilled apprentice has need for a more structured learning experience, and will be of less use to a master (in terms of being able to do high level work). This relates to the recurring comment from the sites on the desire for renewability of grants where this was mutually agreeable to the master and the apprentice. Several masters commented that they felt a second year was needed in order for them to benefit from the relationship.

Although apprentices generally responded that they felt the apprenticeship was a learning device superior to other available training, several stated that prior technical training was necessary in order to gain the most from this intense contact with a master.

The consultants agreed that it was important for masters to provide apprentices with inspiration to seek their own careers in crafts. This implies that persons selected as apprentices should have demonstrated aptitude for the crafts. Also, potential apprentices who have acquired substantial training and experience in the crafts have survived many of the

natural selection processes. This group is also much closer to full professional status as craftsmen.

One consultant stated that the ultimate value of an apprenticeship is the exposure to a noted master's depth of philosophy. This was felt to far outweigh the transmission of technical information. This ultimate value is most accessible to a mature, skilled apprentice.

Once a compatible, potential apprentice has been located, it is important that a discussion of expectations occurs. This leads to the agreement reached between the master and the person chosen to be the apprentice.

Arrangements. The effective agreement outlines a working arrangement that addresses the needs and expectations of both master and apprentice. The prerequisite to such an arrangement is a full, open discussion. The agreements created to date in this program were verbal (including two that were committed on paper) and not precisely drawn. Many participants recognized that the agreement should be dynamic, to meet the changing needs of the parties. An important factor here is periodic reassessment of the state of the apprenticeship. The consultants felt that positive discussions about mutual expectations were much more important than the existence of a binding contract.

The consultants felt, too, that agreements should allow for, at the apprentices options, nonproduction time devoted to the apprentices' growth. This would include both the masters' time spent with the apprentices, and the time spent by the apprentices on special projects or their own work.

Some of the apprentices had much to learn technically. In these cases, a planned curriculum could facilitate the transmission of technical knowledge. As would be expected, the consultants found that masters with teaching experience could more readily deal with this type of situation.

Human Relations. A good agreement between the master and the apprentice can be an important element in a good relationship. For that relationship to be of greatest benefit to both parties, however, there must be a mutual understanding and acceptance of each other as persons and craftsmen. This requires maturity on the part of both masters and apprentices. The consultants found that the age of either party, or their age differential, was not a factor.

No agreement can cover all the possible contingencies and conflicts that may arise. The consultants felt that the most successful circumstances existed where maturity and mutual understanding were available to keep day-to-day problems in their proper perspective.

**Looking Ahead**

Some open questions remain. Issues of tax liability and insurance needs probably will be resolved only over time, as more craftsmen have experience with apprenticeships and develop appropriate responses for their particular situations. To benefit the crafts field, this information will have to be pulled together and made available to all craftsmen. During the course of this study, several masters who had not had previous experience with apprentices or employees expressed the need for some kind

of orientation; most stated that they would like to know more about the experiences of other masters and apprentices. Hopefully this publication, including the results of the Endowment's study, will be an important early step in the sharing of information.

*Charles Kirk was formerly with the research department of the National Endowment for the Arts. He is presently with the Federal Emergency Management Agency, Washington, D.C.*

# The Master Apprenticeship Questionnaire
## *American Craft Council Survey, 1978*
### by Lois Moran

A Master Apprenticeship Questionnaire was mailed in 1978 by the American Craft Council to fifteen hundred craftsmen. The names for this listing were drawn from several sources: craftsmen attending the Rhinebeck Market of 1977, the Pacific States Fair of 1977, and the Baltimore Market of 1978; the American Craft Council's portfolio files, in which craftsmen had indicated their experiences with apprenticeship; the Tiffany Foundation's grantees; the National Endowment for the Arts grantees; and individual persons whose names I personally solicited through a few craft organizations, principally in the southeastern region of the United States.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to elicit from these craftsmen, opinions, attitudes toward, and experiences with apprenticeship. While the questionnaire assumed that the craftsman had had apprentices at some time in the past, it also solicited information from craftsmen who had never had the experience, and these craftsmen were asked to respond only to a certain few questions.

Out of the 1500 craftsmen to whom questionnaires were mailed, 403 answered our survey with what I would characterize as a generous and interested attitude. This is a return of approximately 21 percent, which I believe is a very high percentage in the field of statistics. The respondents were more keen about some of the questions than about others, which posed some tabulation difficulties. This is due, I think, to the nature of the respondents' interests: they simply liked to tell me more about some things than about other things.

The media breakdown of the questionnaire was as follows: 116 worked in clay, 95 in fiber, 87 in metal, 43 in wood, 19 in glass, and 43 in miscellaneous categories.

> Apprentice: one who by written or spoken agreement is to work with and for a craftsman in his studio for a period of time in order to learn a trade

The majority found the definition satisfactory, except to take issue with the word "trade," for which some would substitute the work "skill," the word "craft," or the word "art." We also asked whether they viewed the apprenticeship as primarily an employer/employee relationship, a

teacher/student relationship, or both. Most answers by far were: "both." It seemed difficult for the respondents to give preference specifically to either one or the other.

Of the 403 respondents who answered the questionnaire, 179 had apprenticed to a master themselves once, 148 in the United States and 31 abroad. Their apprenticeship averaged 17.7 months, and most were over the age of twenty at the time they apprenticed. There was a nearly unanimous response indicating that their apprenticeship experiences had been beneficial.

Of the total 403 respondents, 123 indicated they had never had an apprentice. The reasons for this were varied, although the reason most often cited was limited studio space. Other reasons were: concern over having another person share a space which is part of the craftsman's home; not enough work or need to warrant help; not enough time or money. Some respondents did not want the responsibility for another person, or they preferred the clear-cut relationship of a salaried employee. The demands of routine work were also considered by some to be more suited to an employee than to a learning apprentice. Others liked or needed to work alone—physically and psychologically—especially when their work was strictly one-of-a-kind. Additional reasons were: an erratic schedule of work, absence of guidelines for helping the craftsman arrange for an apprenticeship, physical isolation, a sense that an apprentice would not be willing to devote the necessary time and commitment in return for low financial rewards; and past negative experiences with an apprentice.

One hundred forty-three craftsmen indicated that they had a combined total of 322 other persons in their studios, of which 191 were salaried. Two hundred eighty craftsmen indicated that they had had apprentices in their studios, and 120 of these currently had a combined total of 183 apprentices. Reasons for taking an apprentice included: the apprentice provided the needed help with production; the apprentice was an inexpensive laborer; some craftsmen enjoyed the interaction with another person in the studio; other craftsmen felt a need to transmit their crafts to other people and were willing to give of themselves.

Most of the masters who responded to the questionnaire had not received financial aid for their work with apprentices, but the 42 who said they had financial aid indicated they had obtained funds through sources such as the Tiffany Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts grants, CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), and a few state government programs.

Most of the respondents indicated that the apprenticeship agreements between the craftsman and apprentice were oral in nature. Only twenty reported that there was a written contract. The points covered in both the written and oral agreements included: trial periods of work, hours of work, assignments and quality of work expected, payment, what would be learned, time for the apprentice to work on his own, legal release against injury, and protection of the master's designs. There was no evidence in the questionnaires, however, that all these points entered into every relationship; it was a very uneven listing.

There was an even "yes/no" split on the answer to the question con-

cerning payment to the apprentice. Some masters made payment, some didn't. Payment to the apprentice was determined on a basis such as the federal minimum wage, or a base rate plus piece price, or a fixed hourly rate. Reference to the apprentice as an "outside contractor," was made in a number of responses, the intimation being that this is an easier designation in terms of payment and the law. Thirty-two respondents said that they provide housing for the apprentice, generally at no charge. A majority of the apprentices were reported to be working only part-time, while 33 percent worked full-time.

"What do the craftsmen teach their apprentices?" The respondents answered that they usually taught them basic skills, but sometimes they also taught the designing and making of specific pieces. A frequent reply was: "all that I can teach," or "everything I know," or "all they want to know." Some masters—but not all—mentioned the teaching of business procedures, based on earning a living from the craft.

As to the responsibilities expected of the apprentice while he was in the studio, some masters said that they shared the general operation with their apprentices, or that they assigned to their apprentices as much as they could handle, or according to their progress. Others expected their apprentices to work on the master's wholesale line; or to handle the basic studio maintenance; or to do the steps preparatory to making a piece, or to do its finishing; or to take care of their own work area, or sometimes to execute specific pieces. Most apprentices were expected to contribute to the studio production by doing the master's designs. Only a few apprentices were permitted to do their own work on the master's time, but most apprentices were allowed to use the master's own tools. Half the craftsmen reported that the apprentices had their own space in the studio.

If the master's experience with the apprentice had been unsatisfactory, there were numerous explanations: slowness of the apprentice, which caused the studio to suffer a financial loss; sloppy work; general desire of the apprentice to become a master in six months; poor attitude or aptitude on the part of the apprentice; lack of initiative; interest only in the basic techniques, and once these were learned, wanting to move on; too much supervision required; immaturity; and impatience.

There was a sense gained from the comments of some respondents that the red tape involved in payment of an apprentice, and the work of placing them on the financial books were a burden, and also that laws favored the apprentice over the master. A small number of craftsmen, however, indicated that they had encountered no specific governmental, legal, or tax problems during their experiences with their apprentices.

To the question as to whether an apprentice contributes sufficiently to the workshop to compensate for the master's effort and cost, there was a leaning toward the positive rather than the negative in the replies.

Very few craftsmen isolated specific qualifications necessary for the apprentice in a given craft, but rather they wrote about the generally desirable apprentice's qualifications, among which they cited: dedication, drive, determination, pride in workmanship, responsiveness, design sense, ability to take direction, industriousness, some kind of previous experience, desire that goes deep, motivation to learn, compatibility,

trustworthiness, manual dexterity, serious commitment, good eyesight, and some source of income.

About 42 percent of the craftsmen polled considered academic training important for the apprentice. The rest did not. The minimum time period considered necessary for a good apprenticeship experience averaged out to 14.3 months. The average ideal age for the apprentice was approximately 24 years.

Respondents indicated that they receive numerous requests for apprenticeships each year. Some receive as few as two or three a year; others as many as 30-50 per year. (I have a suspicion that being a well-known craftsman accounts for a higher number of inquiries.)

Advice the masters would give to persons seeking apprenticeship from them range from: "do it yourself;" "be persistent;" "read all you can;" "talk to people in the crafts;" "learn how to work;" and "take courses;" to "listen to inner voices."

Craftsmen had a variety of answers as to why so many people currently seek to become apprentices. They cited: apprenticeship is a substitute for books and classes; apprenticeship is a one-to-one relationship; apprenticeship is the best form of learning; crafts-for-a-living is a more holistic approach to life, it is real; the young wish to return to working with their hands; people need to be self-motivated; apprenticeship offers an image of high reward; college prepares you only to teach; people do not want to teach themselves; today there is a searching for self-sufficiency; schools cannot teach what life experiences can offer; people are dissatisfied with the expense of and programs in many schools; doing—actually doing—is the best method. My general impression from all the questionnaires from this survey that I read indicates that the craftsman really indicts the educational system as being inadequate for preparing people for real life needs, and that most craftsmen living from their craft view their work as no casual affair.

In the questionnaire we asked whether the craftsmen had any solutions to the problem of supply and demand of apprentices. Craftsmen suggested: schools should bring real instruction back; grants should be provided for both apprentices and masters; a formal apprenticeship program needs to be created; the master should be subsidized for the expense of teaching an apprentice; a more practical college experience needs to be provided—that is, business instruction; communication within the craft community needs to be increased; apprenticeship needs to become known; legal barriers must be broken so that it can be profitable for the craftsman to have an apprentice; more self-employment and self-reliance should be encouraged.

To the question, "Would the craftsman use a referral service if one were available?" a little less than half responded that they would welcome such a service.

The last point covered in the questionnaire was an invitation to the craftsmen to share additional thoughts they might have regarding apprenticeship in general.

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# An Apprentice Questionnaire
## *Daniel Clark Foundation Survey, 1978*
### by Peter Sabin

In 1978 a questionnaire was sent by the Daniel Clark Foundation to approximately 250 apprentices representing the crafts of weaving, pewtersmithing, papermaking, pottery, bookbinding, jewelry, and glassblowing. Over half of the returns were from apprentices who were potters. This disproportionate number may be due to the fact that pottery lends itself easily to the apprenticeship system, and that potters, on the whole, are currently enjoying a healthy economic situation where high production is possible and the need for an apprentice is more apparent. To judge the following summary fairly, however, it would be best to keep in mind that it is based to a large extent on the experiences of pottery apprentices.

**1. Why did you choose to become an apprentice?**
A typical answer to this question was that given by a young woman potter who replied that she became an apprentice "to learn what I had not learned in school—practical knowledge about how to make a living with my craft." Most answers revolved around this one theme—that schools provided inadequate training if an individual's goal was to become a self-supporting, independent craftsman. "It's better to learn from people making their living from their craft rather than from people making their living teaching," said another apprentice. A few apprentices were discouraged by the unreality of the classroom situation. One former apprentice described how her university professor took three days to complete a pot which was then glazed and fired many times in a kiln that was specially built for it. Its completion was celebrated by a party.

Many responded that an apprenticeship was the best, or quickest, or in some cases the only way to learn a craft, and many mentioned that it was by far the cheapest way to learn a craft. Not having the money to continue on to graduate school was an answer which came up a fair number of times. The need for practical training, more technical information, exposure to the business aspects of running a shop were answers commonly expressed. In general, most apprentices sought an apprenticeship for the broad practical experience which they felt could not be provided in any other way. To one apprentice, however, it offered somewhat more. "Overtly, I became an apprentice to learn the craft; covertly, it was to grow up."

**2. How did you obtain your apprenticeship?**
Most apprentices obtained their apprenticeships by writing letters to and visiting as many craftsmen as time and money would allow. The second most common reply indicated that the apprenticeships were arranged with craftsmen who had been suggested by friends. (The old boy network alive in craftsdom!) A small number of apprentices secured apprenticeships through a state Arts Commission or a college program. A few

would-be apprentices advertised in craft organization newsletters or in craft magazines, and a few worked through craft guilds. One person was invited to become an apprentice after having won a local craft award.

**3. At what level of technical proficiency did you enter your apprenticeship?**
The answers to this question indicated an almost evenly divided return between rank beginners and intermediate craftsmen. Those who described themselves as intermediate most often had received extensive college training in their crafts. About half of those who listed themselves as rank beginners indicated that indeed they had absolutely no training in the craft. A few responded that they considered themselves professional or near professional craftsmen before they started their apprenticeships, having run their own workshops for a year or more.

**4. If you received academic training in your craft, how well did it prepare you for your apprenticeship?**
Paradoxically, in answer to this question, academic training came off better than one might expect from the hostile attitude toward academia expressed in the answers to question number 1. A modest percentage of apprentices considered their academic training poor, and the majority rated it good to very good, while a small number considered it excellent. Many looked at their academic training with a certain ambiguity, asserting that it was very good in some areas—such as aesthetics—and very poor in others—such as discipline and technical proficiency. On the whole, however, most considered academic training in their crafts to have been very beneficial.

**5. What kind of working arrangement did (do) you have with the master craftsman, i.e., work expected or performed, reimbursement, housing, and so forth?**
In answer to this question, almost every respondent described a different working arrangement with the master craftsman. A number of apprentices who had worked under the same master outlined dissimilar situations, which tends to underscore the very personal relationship between a master and an apprentice. Too rigid a working arrangement will often not allow the master to adjust to the level of skills and maturity of the apprentice.

Many apprentices were paid between $15-$35 plus room and board, for a 35-40 hour work week, which would include all the chores connected with the workshop, and some chores outside, such as running errands and babysitting. Some apprentices received a minimum hourly wage and were treated very much like an employee; while no room and board was given, there was plenty of instruction. There were no complaints with this arrangement.

Quite a number of apprentices were reimbursed on a piecework basis, receiving room and board, as well as studio time for their own work. Some worked the first year for room and board, and if they remained a second year, received a fixed salary, or a salary based on sales.

Many worked on a graduated scale, receiving little or no money for the first few months, and later, as they became more proficient, receiving payment on a piecework basis.

In those arrangements where no money was involved, there was often a complex trade-off. In one case, an apprentice worked 3½ days for the master, and 50 percent went to personal work, with studio and household chores evenly shared. In some instances, the arrangement was openly businesslike. Room and board was provided in exchange for a forty hour work week. On weekends the apprentice was provided shop space plus free materials, and he could sell for the full price whatever he made.

Lastly, some apprentices paid for the privilege of working with the master. Most often this did not exceed $100 per month, and it barely covered room and board. This arrangement was sometimes reversed during the apprenticeship, and at the end of the year, the apprentice found that he was, in turn, being paid by the master.

**6. How was the arrangement agreed upon: written contract, or oral agreement? Trial period? Conditions for cancellation?**

Over 90 percent of the apprentices responded that the arrangement was made by oral agreement. Less than half of the apprentices required a trial period, with most trial periods lasting from one week to one month. Conditions for cancellation were infrequent; in most cases when one party wanted out, the relationship was simply terminated. A few agreed in advance that one week's notice would be given. Some complained that the agreement was vague, while almost an equal number indicated that the arrangement was carefully spelled out. Informality in arrangements, however, seemed to be the rule.

**7. Length of apprenticeship: Was (is) it too long, too short?**

Answers to this question indicated that the length of the apprenticeships varied from two months to three years, with one lone apprentice going the distance of six years. The majority spent between twelve and fifteen months, and most considered this about the ideal length of time for an apprenticeship.

**8. Was (is) the master craftsman a full-time production craftsman; a full-time, one-of-a-kind craftsman; or a part-time craftsman, part-time teacher?**

Over five times as many apprenticeships were offered by full-time production craftsmen as by the second largest group, full-time one-of-a-kind craftsmen.

| | |
|---|---|
| Full-time production craftsmen | 78% |
| Full-time, one-of-a-kind craftsmen | 12% |
| Part-time teachers, part-time craftsmen | 10% |

**9. Were (are) other apprentices or helpers employed in the workshop?**

Approximately 40 percent of the respondents answered that the master craftsman accepted only one apprentice at a time. About 45 percent of the answers indicated that the master worked with one to three appren

tices. In one rare instance six apprentices were working under one roof. The remaining 5 percent of the answers indicated that the master craftsmen paid helpers, part-time or full-time.

**10. Did (do) you have workshop space, material, and time to work on your own?**
Most respondents answered "yes" to this question. About 20 percent marked a flat "no." A few apprentices replied that while workshop space and materials were available, they were much too tired to take advantage of them.

**11. Did (do) you participate in chores not directly related to the workshop? Specify.**
While most apprentices participated in some chores outside the workshop, this was most often on a volunteer or semivolunteer basis. A hint from the master was sometimes difficult to overlook. Gardening, cutting wood, cooking, babysitting, and running of errands were chores commonly mentioned. Approximately 18 percent of the apprentices answered that they never participated in chores outside the workshop.

**12a. Did (do) you finish an entire piece of work designed by the master for his line, or did (does) the master take over at some point?**
The replies to this question were almost equally divided. Most potters' apprentices finished the entire piece. Decorating, however, was sometimes reserved for the master. Apprentices in weaving and jewelry seldom completed an entire piece, leaving the finishing touches for the master.

**12b. Did (does) the master mark the work done entirely by the apprentice differently than his own work?**
Most answered that the master made no distinction between his work and the work done by the apprentice. Potters often stamped production pieces with a studio mark and signed the occasional one-of-a-kind item.

**13a. How was (is) your training structured?**
No training structure, or very loose structure, was most frequently mentioned. Most apprentices indicated that they learned through observation and application; and by asking thousands of questions. Day-to-day exposure to the normal work routine was the rule. Demonstrations of new forms were given by the master, followed by constant practice and criticism until the apprentice got them right. One despairing apprentice reported that her training was structured from crisis to crisis.

In the few instances where the training was strictly structured, the apprentice went from piece to piece, operation to operation, with a carefully planned progression from the simple to the complex.

Although there were many complaints that the training was too unstructured, there was only one complaint that it was overstructured. This apprentice found that his training had begun the day of the interview, when the master asked to see him walk around the room without breaking anything.

**13b. Did the master critique your work?**
Criticism of the apprentice's production work and personal work was listed overwhelmingly as an integral part of the apprenticeship program. In most cases, it was generously given; in some cases, it was only given when the apprentice asked; and in only a very few cases was it totally lacking.

**14. What would you consider to be the most beneficial aspect of your apprenticeship? The least beneficial?**
The most beneficial aspect cited by apprentices was the opportunity to become totally involved in a production situation. "Being able to eat, sleep, and live the craft," said one apprentice. Becoming aware that earning a living as a craftsman is hard, serious work was high on the list. Others mentioned the importance of learning how to be self-reliant, and self-motivated, and open to another lifestyle or another aesthetic. Many also mentioned the revelation of seeing how necessary rhythm is to the day-to-day operation of the workshop. The friendship that develops between master and apprentice was sometimes found by the apprentice to be more beneficial than any technical knowledge gained. One apprentice shrewdly observed that it was a real blessing to make all the mistakes at someone else's expense.

Very few apprentices responded to the second half of this question. Lack of money and a feeling of isolation were the occasional complaints made, as well as the onus of having to make objects that the apprentice did not like or respect. One former apprentice remarked that after four years, she still felt the lingering imprint of the master's forms.

**15. What kinds of problems, if any, did you encounter?**
Personality conflicts were cited by the majority of the respondents as the number one bone of contention. Ego problems with the master or other apprentices, strained relations with the master's spouse, overinvolvement in the master's family life, an inflexible master, and masters who showed little concern for the apprentice's progress were common complaints. Lack of privacy and a feeling of being exploited were also high on the list. Many grumbled that the master was seldom around when needed, or when there, had difficulty in delegating work. Poor organization was frequently noted.

**16. How did your feelings about the apprenticeship change after one month? Six months? One year? Longer?**
The answers to this question could best be summed up by the following (from an apprentice who considered his apprenticeship very successful): "A month into my apprenticeship, I was still starry-eyed. After six months, I first considered staying on longer than one year. After a year, I began to tire of it all; and at eighteen months, I was more than ready to leave."

**17. Would you take on an apprentice?**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 93% | Maybe | 2% |
| No | 5% | | |

Two apprentices' comments that are worth quoting here were:

> Yes, but not until I'm better established. It costs money to have an apprentice.

> Yes, but I would never take on someone as inexperienced as I was; nor would my former employer.

**18. What suggestions do you have for improving the master-apprentice relationship?**

In answer to this question, most apprentices were in common agreement that it was of paramount importance to spell out the arrangements as clearly as possible, and that expectations on both sides should be understood from the start. Many apprentices replied that more organization and more understanding from the beginning would help get the apprentice over the rough first months. Many apprentices also wished that the relationship with the master could be more open, so that problems could be discussed before they got out of hand.

Some apprentices suggested that a modest salary would smooth relations considerably, and one respondent offered the heretical thought that an employer/employee relationship works best. Whatever the arrangement, most felt that the apprentice should feel that he/she is wanted, helpful, and important to the workshop. Some random quotes were:

> I think the key to the relationship is a deep love for the craft and the respect of fellow craftsmen.

> Any student who wants to try an apprenticeship should work a summer with a brick mason, or at a lumberyard, to learn the art of watching, staying out of the way, and finally, the intuitive art of jumping in to save the master that one extra step.

*Peter Sabin is a potter, former editor of* Studio Potter *magazine, and lives in Warner, New Hampshire.*

# Proposed Studies of Training for the Crafts in the Master-Apprentice and Academic Programs

## by William R. Adams, M.D.

Perhaps a few words of introduction will explain my interest in the subject of apprenticeship programs. I am a training analyst in adult and child psychoanalysis, with interests in the problems of teaching, preceptorship, and the creativity of the art and craftsmanship essential to that field. I am a partner in a corporation, Timeless Designs, with Jane Weiss, who has broadened and deepened my interest in and knowledge of the crafts through her dedication to the crafts and the development of the craftsperson. Further, I was co-founder and assistant director of the

first Division of Research in Medical Education anywhere—at Case Western Reserve University School of Medicine, Cleveland, Ohio. Over a period of about twenty years I pursued interests in problem-solving, evaluation, selection, curriculum design, and creativity. My current interests are the importance of play and getting back to one's roots in the creative process.

As part of our medical education group at the Division of Research, we had the services of a full-time research psychologist, Dr. Milton Horowitz, a social psychologist, Dr. Betty Mawardi, and we had regular consultations with such people as Jerome Bruner, John Benjamin, M.L. Abercrombie, Ralph Tyler, John Ginther, Fred Herzberg, Benjamin Bloom, and many others. (See "Bibliography" for the published studies of these members of our medical group.) A large variety of testing programs were investigated by and even administered to members of our group, and some were used in various studies. It is my conviction that in developing a research program, ample time and effort must be devoted to learning the field to be studied and to defining the problems, needs, and objectives as accurately as possible. This is difficult enough, but then a reasonable decision must be made as to what studies through psychological tests, if any, may be useful. Anthony Storr, who is well known in Great Britain for his studies on creativity, concludes in his book on the subject that there are a few tests of interest but none of known assistance in selecting people for creativity or even defining how creative people are unique.

The view that major effort should be put into defining the area to be studied in educational research is stressed by Ralph Tyler, a person I consider the dean of educational research in this country. He makes this a keystone in his studies and in his monograph on the "Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction." It is also emphasized by Flanagan in his writings on the development of the critical incident procedure, which I will mention shortly. He contrasts the shotgun approach of psychologists; testing without adequate knowledge of the elements required by the job with "...a more thorough study of the job prior to initiation of testing procedures."

Tyler emphasizes that in any educational work one must first define objectives, then plan a curriculum to meet those objectives, and finally develop an evaluation program to see what happens. Feedback of evaluation findings results in further definition of objectives and revision of the curriculum. In a well-run, ongoing program these cycles of feedback and correction continue to repeat.

To apply this directly to a thorough study of training for the crafts in the apprenticeship and academic programs, one must go through the stage of defining objectives, studying the programs to see how they fit the objectives, devising methods to evaluate the results. In many cases the verbalized objectives may be quite different from the ones the teacher actually emphasizes in his behavior. Such a program could go on indefinitely, but worthwhile changes often occur fairly quickly just from the first attempts to define objectives and improve communication in the field—in this case, between craftsmen.

I would like to consider all three aspects and outline three possible

studies: (1) a Critical Incident Study, (2) a Naturalistic Observational Study of the existing training programs, and (3) a Self-Education Training Program for Master Craftsmen and Teachers, using these direct observational studies in study groups analyzing the results of the observations. We did all three studies in a medical setting, where the art and craft of medicine is taught with the real patient between one teacher (preceptor) and one student physician (apprentice). All three studies were published and were considered highly effective and surprising in their results.

As a preliminary step in writing this present paper, I interviewed seven craftsmen, using the critical incident procedure as an introduction, but adding questions as I went along and allowing the craftsmen complete freedom to express their ideas. The results, and the ensuing discussion and ideas, will be summarized later in the paper. The interviews were exciting and productive, and they convinced me of the feasibility of a pilot study using this technique. All the craftsmen I interviewed were bursting with years of thought, ideas, questions, and convictions about training in the crafts.

**Preliminary Considerations**

The first step in researching apprenticeship might be to consider the significance of requesting studies of the training situation in the crafts. You may hope to limit your involvement to simply agreeing or disagreeing, or to being willing to answer periodic questionnaires and to hire outside people to do some studies. There is much experience to suggest that research done by outside observers is ignored by those being studied. I personally have no interest in such studies.

You can, however, choose to get involved. This means that you will have to expose your teaching, your objectives, and maybe hardest of all your values to your peers. Of course, tact and consideration of confidentiality are crucial to observational studies, but being observed can be unsettling. I believe many people in the crafts are private about many matters. Do any of you want the interactions resulting from involved participation in a study of your work?

You will have to look at each other and at yourself in very specific terms, and you must be prepared for surprises. Of course, most craftsmen are observers by nature, and are required to be very specific and precise in much of their work. I believe you have the skills and nature to do the observation of teaching, if you can extrapolate your skills in the crafts into observation of the interaction between craftsman and pupil.

You will have to study the process of criticism and the effect of halo on your judgment; you will have to distinguish between observed data and interpretation and consider implicit as well as explicit teaching, nonverbal as well as verbal communication, the effects of attitudes, values, biases, style, learning environment, and the emotional aspects of the master-apprentice and teacher-student relationships.

I can say that it is fun for many people—a revelation to most. The detailed part of these studies is time-consuming. All of you can contribute some data and interact with the findings, but it will require a small group to really put in the time and work together.

The findings may be able to be generalized to include the majority of

craftsmen, if a statistically valid sample is used. Studies can lead in many directions, depending upon your perception of what you need as you go along. For example, Flanagan lists several major categories of application of the critical incident procedure alone: (a) measures of typical performance criteria, (b) measures of proficiency, (c) training, (d) selection and classification, (e) job design and purification, (f) equipment design, (g) motivation and leadership (attitudes), and (h) counseling and psychotherapy. I will now outline the three studies indicating my idea of the order of priority in carrying these out.

**The Critical Incident Study**

This technique is designed for collecting direct observations of human behavior in such a way as to facilitate their "...usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles." "By an incident is meant any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act." It is a systematic use of anecdotal material—something we all do, informally, every day.

Incidents have been collected and analyzed for a variety of purposes. For example, during World War II there were many unexplained plane crashes. Incidents collected from pilots revealed a problem in the location of instrumentation in the cockpit.

Another study concerned the cause of an unacceptably high rate of failure in student pilot training. Proceedings of elimination boards were studied, including reasons pilot instructors gave for eliminating a student. It was found that many of the reasons given were cliches and stereotypes such as "lack of inherent flying ability...," "inadequate sense of sustenation...." Flanagan adds that along with these were a number of specific observations which could be used as the bases for a research program for selecting pilots.

For our study of a medical school, we were interested in the improvement of the evaluation of the clinical performance of medical students in a special teaching clinic. In this clinic the student has patients of his own and really functions as the doctor, under the supervision of a preceptor. There is continuity of teaching, with the same preceptor around each patient, although the student may have several preceptors and patients while he is in the clinic. The teacher supervises and demonstrates his own method of taking a history, doing a physical, and talking to and treating the patient, and reasoning out and resolving problems. The ordinary ratings by instructors of the clinical performance of their students was useless. One study intercorrelating such ratings given by different faculty members had an average reliability not significantly greater than zero.

The clinic study had two goals: the development of criteria of student performance and the training of faculty. A possible later step to collect and analyze hundreds of incidents to get a set of behavioral requirements for the medical student in that situation was not carried out, but the preliminary step of collecting and analyzing 100 critical incidents had many important results. A few are detailed in the following paragraphs.

The teachers developed much more effective communication with each other in terms of specific items of performance. They discussed the "halo" effect, for example, finding many ineffective incidents that they had glossed over when regarding a student as "a fine person." The individual instructors were relieved of making global judgments because now specific performance items could be recorded. Counseling a student was much more effective because it could be done by detailing specific effective and ineffective behavior instead of just saying, "You lack the inherent ability to make a good doctor."

Part-time teachers felt unable to give an overall rating, but they contributed incidents and were better motivated.

An important change in traditional clinic procedure and teaching was brought about as the result of the study. Incidents had been collected allowing the instructor to choose any area of activity to be observed he wished. Analysis revealed that the majority of incidents were in the area of interpersonal behavior, while very few incidents were in the area of technical proficiency, and most of these were "ineffective."

The reason soon became apparent. The instructors never watched a student take a history or do a physical. They only discussed his report of such an activity, or checked a specific problem area. The reason given was that looking over his shoulder would interfere with the student's performance. The ineffective technical proficiency incidents were collected because deficiencies appeared in the course of following the patient, or omissions and errors were noted in the initial presentation. The student could seldom present examples of brilliant history taking or physical examination. These were largely revealed to the person who observed the student, when the clinic procedure was changed. The observation was appreciated by most students, who now got the help and praise that was missing before.

An easy extrapolation can be made into teaching crafts. In the selection of advanced students in arts and crafts, a portfolio or its equivalent is often required, but how often does the selection committee see how the work is done? They see the results. How often, in fact, does the master craftsman have time for, or experience in, sitting down and watching the apprentice at work? In comparing the teacher in academic work with the master craftsman in his studio, it appeared in my interviews that the craftsman was more pressed for time than the teacher. Observation, however, may naturally be more possible in the studio. Even with time, does the teacher actually observe? Our teachers had not, although ample time was provided. When I speak of observation, I mean seeing, not just looking at. For years, my squash and tennis teacher told me to look at the ball. Finally one day I saw the ball—quite a different sensation!

I am sure that the same anxiety about looking and being looked at that bothered our (craftsmen) medical school teachers affects the artist and his student. If there are those of you who are willing to participate in an observational study, you may find changes in your ability to see. Our research group and the teachers who took our course reported a change from looking to seeing.

Now, how might we proceed? What might be gained?

**Project 1: Critical Incident Procedure**

I propose that a small group of investigators from your midst decide to invest some time in collecting and analyzing critical incidents. These incidents would form part of a more extensive interview to be developed in a pilot study.

An attempt should be made to get a representative sample of craftsmen. For example, one dimension of the sample might include equal proportions of those who do apprenticeship work, those who combine academic and apprenticeship teaching, and those who work primarily in academic settings. Another dimension might be craftsmen practicing different kinds of crafts. There should be sufficient knowledge in the research group of the particular craft being studied to understand the nuances of the incidents and to facilitate their classification. Another dimension might be length of experience; that is, whether the craftsmen are in the early, middle or late stage of their careers.

The geographic distribution of the study sample will take care of itself if you use a national roster and choose each craftsman at exactly equal intervals down the roster—the total number chosen depending on the size of sample you want. If this technique is used, you commit yourself to attempt to see each craftsman selected, wherever he may be. If the study includes foreign countries, an international roster is necessary. You will be forced to travel to anywhere in the world that such a craftsman happened to live. In other words, a reasonably random sample, stratified according to various dimensions, can be obtained and the results can be generalized to pertain to the entire body of craftsmen. We actually did this in a career study of medical graduates, and considerable travel and grants were involved.

The decision about how rigorous you wish to get has to be made by you. I would think that a preliminary pilot study would be wise, including at least rough attempts to sample by crafts, programs, length of careers, and geography. A small group could meet to establish a uniform way of collecting incidents, then return home, collect these incidents, and meet again to analyze the collected incidents and write up the results. Results of this preliminary study could then be used to determine what more, if anything, is desirable to do.

Exactly how are these incidents obtained? I have available some of the incidents I collected. Since I was exploring, I added parenthetical remarks, asked supplemental questions, and allowed ordinarily succinct examples to expand. It is easier to classify examples if they are kept to the point, but you may wish to separate them off and keep all additional remarks. A decision about the anonymity of the example must be made. Changes to conceal identities may often be necessary, if information is used in raw form. I do not give names, locations, or the sex of the craftsperson or apprentice. Obviously, there is a conflict between the vividness of the incident description and the need to main confidentiality.

After a general introduction, during which the craftsman often volunteered much useful information, I asked for at least one *effective* and one *ineffective* incident.

**1.** Effective: Tell me the last time you observed an apprentice or student behave or perform in such a manner that you felt he was effective.

Probes: (a) What was the situation?
(b) What exactly did he do?
(c) How did the apprentice or student's behavior differ from behavior that you consider acceptable but not outstanding?
(d) What were the consequences of his behavior?
(e) Can you think of any other incidents?

2. Ineffective: Tell me the last time you observed an apprentice or student behave or perform in such a manner that you felt he was ineffective.

Probes: (a) What was the situation?
(b) What exactly did he do?
(c) What should he have done?
(d) What were the consequences of his behavior?

3. Please describe the critical characteristics of the behavior and performance of an *effective* apprentice. Be as specific as you can.

Wording is very important and may be modified to fit your situation. I believe that *craftsperson,* for example, is a term used by many. The use of *he* always requires modification. It was found that in incident collections in which the word *behavior* was used instead of *performance,* there was a tendency for mostly psychological material to be submitted.

It is possible to focus incident collection on a specific topic or area, but in this collection it was left entirely to the craftsman to choose the area—to decide what was significant, what the "oughts" were, and even what consequences were being considered. The choices made by the craftsman of course reveal his area of emphasis, something about his values, or (as in our study) in what areas there is possibility of observation. It may be helpful here to discuss the results of my interviews.

I attempted, then discarded, several groupings of items of interest to me derived from the interviews. The grouping presented here is only temporary and would later change continuously as new data was gathered.

1. Expectations of the Apprentice (and Values of the Craftsman)
2. Concerns
3. Interpersonal Aspects
4. Goals
5. Studio vs. Academic

1. *Expectations of the Apprentice (and Values of the Craftsman).* The craftsmen I talked to have definite expectations, including the following: high standards and hard work. How these are applied varies. One man dislikes to correct anything once, much less twice. One craftsman felt his apprentice was really insightful when he said he had learned the secret of being an artist—to "work one's ass off." This includes the ability to really be there and to concentrate—"...the difference between good and outstanding." Tolerance of mistakes varies. In firing a kiln, for example, carelessness can be very dangerous and further, it can wreck days of work. Examples are given of failures to put cones in a kiln, of misnumbering cones, of forgetting a kiln for a few hours, and of overfiring. There is emphasis on respecting the danger of fire in raku firing.

A major emphasis by more than one man concerns the apprentice's

knowledge of his role. He must know the difference between the master and the apprentice. One example given was of an apprentice who passively fought every suggestion by the master, making the master's teaching job psychologically miserable for a year. This was contrasted with a brilliantly creative apprentice who genuinely welcomed the master's involvement with the apprentice's work. The good apprentice is "...open, a receiver, with respect for the person he is working for."

Another man similarly emphasized the different roles. The artist (craftsman) works from an inner image and is ultimately responsible for everything. The good apprentice must not just obey but also understand, have empathy, and be self-correcting. He should be cooperative, balanced, essentially good natured, and take pleasure in the job he does.

The expectations are determined by the apprentice's previous experience, and length and type of training. One man defines an apprentice of his as coming from a good training in glass, equivalent to that of a graduate student—not being absolutely green. Others take apprentices from scratch. Examples of effective or ineffective performance are qualified by reference to training and experience. "After eight months of glazing and two years as an apprentice, the worker should have known better." Another apprentice with years of experience as a production potter, but having had no exposure to high standards, was evaluated with this deficiency in mind. Obviously, levels of training and expectations are important.

One characteristic desired, and apparently not always found, in the apprentice is the ability to take responsibility and to do independent thinking. This was crucial to busy craftsmen who traded teaching for relief from routine work, but often found they had to supervise constantly or do it themselves. An apprentice who works on his own, has ideas to improve the studio, and who has loyalty and interest in the studio and in the master is highly valued. At least one craftsman kept a loyal apprentice on, even in the face of gross mistakes. Another craftsman was touched that his apprentice took part of his own vacation to design and build a photographic table for the studio.

**2.** *Concerns.* The pressures of business are big ones, and in at least one case they led to a failure to appreciate the personal needs of the apprentice, who wanted to be talked to and recognized as a person. The absolute rules of many studios reflect partly the expense and sometimes the irretrievable losses caused by mistakes. One example in the interviews involved a print with twenty-three stages which was destroyed when the assistant violated the rule of using a precise and invariable procedure to match colors.

Particular problems are addressed. One master felt the problem of exploitation of the apprentice was one he had to be on guard against. It was tempting to take for granted the apprentice's help in nonstudio matters. In an article on apprenticeship in the *Studio Potter,* Nancy Jurs speaks of being willing to take on an apprentice who is good at household repairs. Other craftsmen feel the exchange should be fair and not exploitive.

The degree of closeness in the relationship between master and apprentice is brought up more than once. I chose to discuss this under the next heading—Interpersonal Aspects.

Termination of the apprenticeship is a goal for many, and a concern as well. One craftsman periodically reminds his apprentice that he is free to go when he wishes.

Teaching of values is a conscious concern for some. One man wants to impart his craft as a way of life.

**3.** *Interpersonal Aspects.* Obviously many items overlap, but I feel several items belong under this particular heading.

I was struck by the awareness and concern of several craftsmen about the interpersonal aspects. This is not just in terms of problems. For instance, one craftsman gave an example of effective behavior in a very creative apprentice. He takes delight in this creativity and feels it "feeds" him himself. He visualizes an ultimate goal of the independence and detaching of the apprentice when "Art becomes more...and...the apprentice becomes greater than the master." The empathy and ability necessary to get to a point in a relationship in which working communication is easy and often nonverbal is highly valued. The loyalty, support, and identification with the work and the master's goals are greatly valued. One craftsman has an apprentice who became an assistant and colleague after many years of such a relationship. He says that the relationship of master and apprentice can be closer than a marriage, with even more problems.

Problems in these relationships are evident. One craftsman tolerates total destruction of kiln loads by a previously reliable assistant because of concern about the problems of the assistant and because of the value of the relationship. Some craftsmen become psychologically ill or miserable over problems of negativistic assistants, or over a serious mistake by a usually reliable assistant. After the loss of the multi-stage print, the production of which was never again undertaken, the master said to the apprentice, "We made a terrible mistake." He felt ultimately responsible, and was also concerned that he not destroy the future working relationship with, or the pleasure of, the apprentice in the studio work. Obviously some craftsmen feel they have nowhere to turn for advice on these problems, although one man relied upon the director of his academic department for this. Some craftsmen seem to take refuge in business, and they say that any apprentice who really jeopardizes the work cannot be tolerated and should be let go. As one put it, "We are not here to be their doctors." The different conditions for paying, or being paid by the apprentice, or for exchanging teaching and studio space for work, are relevant to the ease of any premature termination that might be necessary.

Termination is the subject of all sorts of technical seminars and papers among the psychoanalysts; one of the goals of these seminars is the ultimate independence of the patient. I suspect much in-service training could be done on this theme. For example, the craftsman who periodically says, "You are free to go," probably doesn't really deal with the

difficulties of the subject; he may make the apprentice feel rejected, or he may shift the worry to the apprentice.

How many apprentices go on to independence? What is the post-termination relationship like? One man says his former apprentice remains his friend and will rent studio space from him. Another apprentice remains with the master after many years, doesn't do his own work, and is apparently quite content.

**4.** *Goals.* The goal of learning the craft is seen by one craftsman as "becoming a technician," and by another as "learning to emulate." The goal is carefully distinguished from the creativity. The requirements to learn a craft, said one craftsman, are "one-half, the ability to be humble and have enough respect..." to learn from him,and the other half, to be able to evaluate and have motor coordination. Another version is that all that is needed is good eyesight, motor coordination, and average intelligence.

Creativity is valued, but not discussed much. One craftsman calls it a private, inside matter or a "basic neurosis," but evidence of it (however small) in the apprentice excites the craftsman—take for example the apprentice who, on his own, devises a new way to trim a pitcher.

Termination as a goal is not often a problem, since many of these apprentices have short contracts of a year or so. This is in contrast to the goal of the craftsman, who feels that three years is the minimum period for the apprentice to become useful.

The image of the master in the mind of the apprentice after the apprentice leaves and becomes a master himself can be important. Some apprentices model their lives after the master. This was noted as important to many of the doctors in our career study who revered and held as model some professor at school. These heroes may not be ones the doctor actually worked with, just as one of these craftsmen may revere a teacher he never had.

There are variations—from the craftsman who wants to train assistants, and who believes isolation of the apprentice from participation in the master's work is sterile, to the craftsman who as a rule would not allow the apprentice to take part in the master's work. Nancy Jura speaks of the strange feeling of signing a pot she didn't throw when, for the first time, she allowed an apprentice to throw a pot for her.

**5.** *Studio or Academic.* This question seems to be in the air, so I asked about differences. Some of the craftsmen had done or were doing both: working with apprentices in a studio and teaching crafts in classes in an academic setting.

What were some of the perceived differences? Time, goals, and relationships were some of the variables. The teacher often seems to feel his primary goal is to teach, and that he has time to concentrate on the student and let some things evolve, including problem behavior. The same craftsman in a studio situation liked to teach, and he even organized studio classes but felt he could no longer afford the luxury of letting unexplained behavior that was destructive to the business go on very

long. Several craftsmen echoed this. However, soul-searching over a problem apprentice seems to occur, as well as over a problem student.

One problem is with the student who takes other courses, pays tuition, and does passing technical work in the school studio. He cannot always be dropped easily, as he could in a private business, if he becomes intolerable—even if most of the faculty agree. One of the teachers, also with experience in the master-apprentice relationship, describes exactly such a case.

The reality of the studio work for the apprentice must be significant. In our medical clinic, the real responsibility for the patient's life that was put on the student and the supervisor made for highly relevant teaching and motivated learning. To the extent that the apprentice can feel a part of the birth or death of the studio product and experience the feeling of the awfulness of destroying a creation unnecessarily, the more relevant he may feel his work to be and the more motivated he may become. A cynical master may not impart this. A studio in which the apprentice does not really feel crucial to the product at some point may not impart this. These would be questions to be studied. As one man put it, "One must be a good master to have a good apprentice."

The combination of academic work and the studio is described by one craftsman who tried to teach the elements of printmaking to students in a college. They had a variety of teachers, and even over a three-year period many could not learn the elements of the craft. So the craftsman arranged with the college to send the students to his studio for a four-day period. They received credit for this. Every student learned the sequence of the process. More than one craftsman interviewed perceived some sort of combination of studio and academic to be the most desirable.

In an informal discussion on this topic, with one of the craftsmen and a visiting teacher of painting in an institute, considerable concern was expressed about the student or apprentice who gets stuck with only one teacher, who might be unsuitable in style or otherwise for this particular person. The freedom to move from one craftsman to another may be necessary to prevent this, but it may dilute the training for some apprentices who keep moving and get little depth or involvement with any teacher. It would seem essential, for the richest understanding, that the learning relationship go on for some time, if teacher and studio can stand the closeness—and many cannot. The point was made that the opposite problem of dilution and confusion was part of many academic settings, particularly large ones, where part-time teachers and full-time teachers have little contact, few shared goals, and no in-service training, even informally, in teaching and solving problems in this area. This was certainly true in our busy clinic, which was manned in large part by many part-time instructors who had had little training in, or opportunity for, communicating with each other.

In this informal study I did allow myself the same freedom given to those interviewed, to collect data wherever I found it. Informal discussion stimulated by the interviews and the writing of this paper was fruitful, as it would be for those of you trying a pilot study.

One question raised about all these studies of the teacher is what the

perception of the craftsman and the teaching is by the apprentice. One could do a separate or associated study of interviews with a sample of apprentices, but before this is attempted, I would suggest adding questions to the interview about the master craftsman's own training and his view of his masters. In this sample of mine, one spoke of a master as very much a continuous model of what a craftsman should be, as one whose life is still studied by the exapprentice, who compares his work with apprentices to that of his master. For example, he sees the advantage the master had of a considerable age difference from the apprentice. The younger master has had some problems dealing with the envy felt by an apprentice about the same age, but very inexperienced, who seemed to feel that he should do as well as the master. On the other hand, the younger master seems to make an effort to be better than the older master. For example, the younger felt his master knew so much that he often assumed the apprentice knew more than he did and that he could therefore omit explanations. The younger master gives very careful explanations to his apprentice.

I would urge you to encourage freedom of expression and the use of the critical incident questions as the nucleus of an interview which may evolve to include certain common questions as the pilot study proceeds. If a more rigorous study is attempted later, these questions evolved in the pilot study could make possible a reasonably uniform nucleus for all future interviews.

I found it important to add a question to the interview as I thought about the next part of the proposal. I asked each craftsman if he could think of a particularly significant time of the day or week when important things were communicated to the apprentice or when an important interchange took place. Answers were similar with several. It took place while they were working together around a real task. Some were specific. One felt it was a time when the work customarily assigned to the potter apprentice, for example, a series of types of pots, was reviewed. An academic teacher mentioned a student critique session in which peers discussed each other's work, with the student whose work was being discussed present. Another spoke of a friend, who is noted for her cooking as well as her craft. He believed from observation that the mealtimes, when the apprentices gathered to eat the master's cooking, were very significant occasions for verbal and nonverbal communication.

I included the question and explained it as possibly helping to set up a double, naturalistic, observational study. It would be interesting to follow some craftsmen around for several days, at least until they slept, to see if you could find certain significant times to focus on. Short of this, however, the craftsmen may help us select their key teaching times. It well may be, as several said, that it includes nonverbal time of unspoken sharing in tasks. It is of course impossible to capture all the richness. We can only hope to sample.

This leads to the second and third parts of my proposal. It may be possible to do observation studies of the craftsmen, as distinct from the interview studies just proposed, selecting a crucial portion of the day to observe. Further, these observations could serve as the basis of a self-education study group for the master craftsman.

**Project #2: A Naturalistic, Observational Study**

This is a naturalistic, observational study of the master-apprentice and the teacher-student process.

Our version of such a study was carried out over a period of several years in the same special teaching clinic, the Group Clinic, in which the critical incident study had been initiated. The study was devised to find out what the operational objectives of a group of preceptors were. To repeat, operational objectives are those emphasized by both explicit and implicit means, often not consciously known to the instructor. In our study we used observers who were at times also teachers in the clinic, so on occasion the observers became the observed. The subjects were selected in a random way. Each physician-member of the research group conducted observations.

The nonparticipant observer sat down with the student and preceptor when they began to discuss a case, followed them when they went to see the patient, and stayed with them through the final discussion, which included the plans for treatment.

The observations of the verbal and nonverbal behavior were kept in longhand in four columns: Time, Instructor Activity, Student Activity, and Observer Comments. A sequential record was thus obtained of the teacher-student dialogue. The total observation varied from 45 to 130 minutes. A total of 19 individual teaching performances were observed. It was considered crucial that the observers be physicians familiar with the nuances of the observed activity. At the conclusion of the observation, the instructor was asked a few questions:

1. What were your objectives in the teaching session?
2. What were the steps you took to realize them?
3. What was your estimate of the strengths and weaknesses of the student?

The record or protocol was typed, coded for anonymity as far as the casual observer would be concerned, and distributed to each member of the group.

The next procedure was to analyze the protocol. We began by noting and recording all the items of performance, large and small, that we could dissect from the record.

The student activity and other occurrences were used as context to "...help recognize broad emphases, to make judgments of the effectiveness and relevance of the instructor activity. Interpretations were also made when the instructor omitted activities or carried out activities that seemed to interfere with the effectiveness of a particular emphasis."

A list of categories was derived. This process requires art, intuition, and a group that works together. Such a process is described by Darwin P. Cartwright. Reasonably exhaustive but mutually exclusive categories were sought. Our particular backgrounds led to unusual categories such as five points of reassurance, varieties of approaches to problem-solving, and aspects of teaching that emphasized the activity of the student.

The categories were then grouped under nine major headings that we evolved. Seven were related to "What the instructor emphasized." Another, "Learning Environment," described how the instructor worked. The last heading was about the emphases the instructor made in

his evaluation of the student. We went on further, to construct profiles for each instructor—what he seemed to emphasize, be neutral about, or omit or work against in his emphases on the observed performance. Lastly, we tried to find a composite profile—the overall emphases of a group of instructors. Application of some of these procedures might be useful in a situation in which a student craftsman has a number of instructors.

We preserved subjective judgments and labeled them as such. They revealed our own value systems and models of effective performance. If we became furious because an instructor seemed to be cutting the student down, we noted that as a subjective judgment; we realized that we were exposing our emotional convictions. It took time, working together, for the group to become open about these feelings.

The effect of the observer seemed minimal in most sessions, partly because the intense concentration on the real problem to be solved soon took over, after a few comments on note taking and some attempts to involve the observer as a consultant.

The study revealed a wealth of information about what goes on in the teaching clinic, including such things as styles and methods of teaching, how problems are solved, effects of values and attitudes, the importance of the skill of the teacher as a physician. One of the most important by-products of the study was the effect on the observed and on the observers, in terms of surprise at and a new recognition of what the teacher was doing. Teachers began to reappraise their own performance, recognizing previously unnoticed needs of the student, and to question how they chose their objectives. Many instructors did not verbalize to the student why they did what they did, for example, they didn't say, "I ask this question because...."

Recognition of styles of effectiveness could lead to better matching of student and teacher, a point that has been discussed by Herbert A. Thelan. Obvious facts were recognized, such as how much harder and longer the student worked than anybody had realized. Styles of problem-solving and methods of teaching were rich topics. We saw the orderly problem solver and the disorderly one, the intuitive one, the one who uses jokes and metaphors. There were teachers who seemed to really value and know how to bring out the activity of the students, and there were others who simply took over completely.

How long did this study take? Several years the first time. Don't give up hope, because it can be shortened and still give worthwhile results. I would propose a similar study could be done—of craftsmen at work with their apprentices in their studios and of teachers at work with their students in academic settings. A research-minded group of craftsmen, a consultant, and some willing subjects are all that are needed for such a study. I have no doubt that new data would be collected, that crucial issues would be uncovered, and that highlighted and significant changes would take place in the investigators' ability to "see."

**Project #3: Self-Education for Masters and Academic Teachers**

We decided to try an abbreviated process in an eight (8) week course for instructors. While they worked in the Group Clinic, the instructors had

to agree to observe and record one instructor, be observed by another instructor, and participate in a two (2) hour group study session, weekly, for the eight week period. The basis of the group discussion was the observed protocol, which was analyzed and discussed by the instructors who had now become students. The abbreviated time period was possible because the research group had done this before and could serve as guides, but the sessions were very much self-discovery sessions and not guided by a set of imposed ideas. It was possible to initiate significant changes in a group of our most experienced and highest ranking clinical teachers.

In this course it became clear that the clinical teacher is not consciously aware of the many objectives he emphasizes. He has had little chance to study his own teaching or watch other teachers at work. If he does watch, he may see little, and he doesn't know how to describe this to others. The emphasis on self-education and self-evaluation led one man to say, "I never knew what the hell I was doing!" The course also demonstrated that quick changes were possible from learning to extrapolate the skills of observation used in clinical medicine into the observation of the teaching process.

There are many details that cannot be given here, including cautions about the use of the group method. This course was carefully monitored so that it would not become a sensitivity training session. Experienced leadership is important in this.

I believe that this process of self-education could be directly transferred to the training of some master craftsmen and academic teachers of the crafts. If only a few teachers could be so trained, they could serve as consultants to many others in training teachers or craftsmen.

**Conclusion**

I have outlined three possible studies to be investigated in pilot studies. These could lead to a variety of practical aids in improving the process we've discussed here. Ultimately, these could assist in producing usable lists of criteria for apprentice and student craftsmen, and for masters and academic teachers. The studies have relevance to problems of selection, teaching, and evaluation.

If the process of education can be better defined in the crafts, and if better training in how to be a good master or good teacher can be made available, more craftsmen may be willing to try working with apprentices. Particularly encouraging might be the knowledge that personal consultation on problems is available from people trained in their own fields. It is not easy to deal alone with problem students; to know how to encourage creativity; to maintain a working relationship; to set reasonable objectives; and to handle termination effectively, at the proper time or, if necessary, at a premature time. The line of development of an apprentice into a craftsman in a normal fashion, and its vicissitudes, need more illumination.

The emphasis must be on observation. Goist describes the influence of Geddes on Lewis Mumford in transforming him into a conscious student of the city; Geddes taught Mumford how to look at cities instead of taking them for granted, as he formerly had. The productive naiveté

in observation of the worker in the field is all we need to have. It can be fun, and very rewarding to see.

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# The Poetry of Work
## *Which is Subtitled For Some Strange Reason And Two Little Pigs (Arty and Crafty) Went to Market*
### by Jonathan Williams

To invite a poet to a conference is like asking Banquo's ghost to the banquet, or the Red Death to the masquerade. Everybody knows that poets are idiotic and not politic. A poet will try to convince you that he, like George Blanda, represents the cause of serious child's play, and that Imagination can do the work of the Will.

This poet won't try to convince you that he belongs at this conference, except by invitation and out of curiosity. The last time he went to a crafts fair (in Winston-Salem) he saw little but masses of slipshod pots and objects that Sears, Roebuck and Company would hesitate to belabor us with. The last time he went to an exhibition of crafts, he was depressed by the "museumization" (Hilton Kramer's word) of what he saw—too much space, too much price, too much preciosity, things too freighted and too big. Once upon a time, objects had agoraphobia and stayed in homes, passing from one set of hands to another; and makers thought about sacramental relationships, authenticity, the numinous, and even William Morris's moral strictures—not about merchandize marts, filling up culture palaces and bank lobbies, and making the pages of *House Beautiful* and *House and Garden,* who declared loudly that now you can decorate with crafts at last and Marge and Bob Cretin down the block won't think you're tacky.

On a Pennsylvania dresser in my workroom in Highlands, North Carolina, I have six pots and vases: a Ch'ien Lung mirror-black; a tall Ming celadon; an alchemical form by M.C. Richards; a small, spotted Bernard Leach celadon; a plump, white piece by Toshiko Takaezu; and a polished black piece from the Santa Clara pueblo with eagle-feather design by Camilio Tafoya; on the wall behind them is a portrait of Charles

Edward Ives, by W. Eugene Smith. A small quotation from the Shakers is pinned next to it: "No vice is with us the less ridiculous for being in fashion."

Why these ceramics, looming in the poet's scriptorium, when the poet couldn't make a pot to hiss in if his life depended on it? Charles Olson tells us:

> one loves only form,
> and form only comes
> into existence when
> the thing is born.

This will perhaps explain why I own ten versions of the Rachmaninoff *Third Piano Concerto* and never tire of comparing passages; and why I have added Jimmy Rowles, Ran Blake, John Lewis, Dave "Fingers" McKenna, and Fats Waller to my current shortlist of prime exemplars of the Universal Eighty-Eight; and why I take such joy in the fact of knowing that Anton Bruckner did not have his head into jogging. Who? What?

Gerry Willians suggested that "The Poetry of Work" should be the title of my paper. How can I be sure what he meant? ("The simplest words, we do not know what they mean unless we love and aspire," Emerson said.) There is no use expecting lucidity from J. Williams, Poet, derived from the Universe of Discourse or from the Cognitive Process; but, maybe, I can build a bit of a fire, using gists learned from poetry as kindling. Let there be light-wood!

The epitaph I wrote for Uncle Iv Owens, who farmed years ago up the highway toward Middle Creek Falls, runs as follows:

> he done
> what he could
> when he got round
> to it

which is as close as I can come to the elusive combination of Calvinist pessimism and the laconic wit you find in the Celtic people of the southern Appalachians.

And this, setting down words of Aunt Creasy Jenkins, a formidable lady who lived her days in Highlands, North Carolina. She worked very hard, taking in wash from the summer people:

> shucks
> I make the livin
>
> uncle
> just makes the livin
> worthwhile

Or this, from one of the ladies over near Penland School, in Mitchell County:

> I figured
> anything anybody

could do a lot of I
could do a little
of
mebby

One May, I heard a farmer near a place called Mouth of Wilson, Virginia, insist quietly that "the time to plant corn is when the seeds on the oak tree are the size of a squirrel's ear." I heard a farmer at Roaring Gap, North Carolina, says, "a good time to plant corn is when the hickory buds are as big as a squirrel's foot." This is the minute, particular poetry of work—something to occupy the mind when it's not sweating. If you are as busy as a jaybird's ass in mulberry season, you want the words to be savory.

Ever since Paul Goodman published an essay in *Dissent* (1958) called "Reflections On Literature As a Minor Art," poets and other writers with nothing to sell the deaf-ear society have been meditating gloomily on his conclusions: "In many ways literature has, in this century, become a minor art, more important than pottery or weaving, perhaps less important than block-printing or other graphics," and "...when we are called upon to teach our English and our Literature, we find ourselves like curators in a museum; the average student (like the average editor and publisher) no longer reads English like a native."

Even more repressive, if you happen to live in the Southland as I do about half the year, is the social order. The world is divided into the Nice People and the Just Plain Common. There are, of course, a few rich folks, busy as ever huntin' and fishin'. The black folks have been put out to separate-but-unequal pasture yet again. (I scarcely see a black person in the South anymore, unless he's an entertainer, a ballplayer, or a musician.) Ergo: no readers. The Nice People somehow know I agree with Gogol—that they are the nasty people—so they get the treatment in the tradition of Martial, H.L. Mencken, W.C. Fields, Jonathan Winters, B. Kliban, and me. The others simply have no inkling of the tradition, which makes the writer's desk a lonely place to be—easy to end up a dummy or a snob. I have a broadside on the wall over my desk: "By god, Jonathan, you know everybody, and that is why you are in trouble always. If you wish to compose a truthful poem, you will have to acquire a fine and solid sodality of enemies... Involuntarily I live like an eremite. To whom can I talk besides a wise book? Have no doubt about it, I enjoy chattering as much as the next fool, but when I wish to ascend the Cordilleras, who is there to accompany me? Each man must go alone to his writings, to his adages, and to his grave." Edward Dahlberg wrote that to me in 1964.

Basil Bunting, aged 78, is perhaps the most distinguished poet living in England today. (If the Muse amounted to a hill of beans, you would know this.) It is dangerous, hopeless, and suspicious to try to define poetry. I might try to say that it is a branch of manners, that it is a kind of music for the eye and for the ear, made out of words. *To record and elate*—for me those would be its primary functions. Poetry is traditionally a craft hard to come by, but particularly in a culture that does not

value experience and age. *"Craft is perfected attention,"* as Ezra Pound once rephrased a Chinese notion.

I went to school with a series of hard taskmasters: Charles Olson, Louis Zukofsky, Kenneth Rexroth, Edward Dahlberg. They knocked sixty-five percent of the dross out of my poems and showed me how to condense. I went to men who knew how to do the job. I did not go to the university, where poetry is yet another subject matter to argue out as dialectic, with students feeling themselves the equal of the teachers, with everything "credited," putting the teachers in a better position for jobbargaining, eventual tenure, and so forth.

Now, at my age, I do not bother the venerable Zukofsky, but I still measure my work as a musical director of the *Macon County, North Carolina, Meshugga Sound Society* against the best I know: Catullus, Basho, and a dozen others; and, having failed to find much of a community of letters in the Republic (except in my own head, across time and space), I lean more and more to the non-literate, homemade world of the eccentric, the sorehead, the weird, the caitiff—particularly in the South. I have just spent a week in Georgia, documenting Miss Laura Pope's Museum in Pelham; palavering with St. EOM, the ineffable Eddie Owens Martin, who is building his temples and dancefloors that are sacred to Mu, Atlantis, shamans of the Creeks and Seminoles, Walt Whitman, and all that boogies all night; visiting the Reverend Howard Finster's version of the Garden of Eden, in Cedartown. In May, I'll be in Kentucky, and I'll certainly want to drive up to Campton and see what Ed Tolson's been making over the winter. The words lie about him, ready to be fitted into poems with no trouble at all:

*Standing by His Trailer-Studio in Campton, Kentucky*
*Edgar Tolson Whittles A Few Syllables*

that piece
thats what some folks call a *spinach*

i got it
offn a match box

it needs wings
and a lions tail

some damn woman down in Lexington
wants it

Lest I leave you fidgeting up in Campton with Ol' Ed: my most serious poem lately, about vocation, takes place at Briggflatts Meeting House, near Sedbergh, Cumbria. Since George Fox founded it in 1675, the Meeting House has been a place of quiet worship:

*My Quaker-Atheist Friend, Who Has Come To This Meeting House Since 1913, Smokes & Looks Out Over the Rawthey to Holme Fell*

what do you do
anything for?

you do it
for what the medievals would call
something like
the *Glory of God*

doing it for money
that doesn't do it;

doing it for vanity,
that doesn't do it;

doing it to justify a disorderly life,
that doesn't do it

look at Briggflatts here...

it represents the best
that the people were able to do

they didn't do it for gain;
in fact, they must have
taken a loss

whether it is a stone next to a stone
or a word next to a word,
it is the *glory*—
the simple craft of it

and money and sex aren't worth
bugger-all, not
bugger-all

solid, common, *vulgar* words

the ones you can touch,
the ones that yield

and a respect for the music...

what else can you tell 'em?

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