

of religions and affiliate with larger political movements. Casey concludes her analysis of black women teachers by stating that "being a black teacher means raising the race; accepting personal responsibility for the well-being of one's people, and especially for the education of all black children" (p. 152). The reader is left to wonder why Casey ascribes these features to black teachers and not, to paraphrase the words of Bakhtin, to all teachers who work for social change.

Casey's study draws heavily on neo-Marxist analysis and is continuously grounded in the author's own personal experiences. It provides an example of how one researcher constructs a framework and utilizes personal narrative—of both the researcher and the subjects—in the construction of meaning. Casey defends her chosen framework as a means of giving voice to voiceless teachers. Her subjects "cannot be separated from the contexts in which they originated" (p. 166); yet she supplies few references through which the reader can link the experience of these women to a more broadly defined historical context.

Perhaps the author's own description of the work as "historical sociology" should serve as a guide for readers. In spite of the author's concluding exhortation, this reader did not find the work inspirational.

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Lorraine Smith Pangle and Thomas Pangle. *The Learning of Liberty.* Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1993. Pp. 350.

The Learning of Liberty began life as Lorraine Smith Pangle's senior thesis at Yale University. It has, however, a direct link to political theorist Thomas Pangle's previous book, *The Ennobling of Democracy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1992). In that book Pangle addresses what he sees as the most serious problem facing modern republican regimes: the scepticism with which elites and the general population consider the rational basis of modernity. *The Ennobling of Democracy* is a thoughtful challenge to postmodernism. He argues that Heidegger's critique of classical rationalism provided the philosophic groundwork for postmodernism and therefore those who care deeply about the political good must demonstrate the perfidy of Heidegger's claims. Pangle asserts that only through Socratic rationality can modern republicanism be sustained; he establishes that modern republicanism needs classical civic rationalism. Pangle also argues in *Ennobling* that modern republicans have failed to build a secure moral and educational foundation for the political regime. It is this failure of modern republicanism the Pangles address in *The Learning of Liberty*.

The single most important problem the Pangles see in the current crisis in American schools is the inability of schools to uphold the principles which form the basis of modern republican-

ism: freedom, the defence of rights, and the honouring of citizens who have represented and defended the ideals of the American Founders. Their goal in this book is to examine the educational ideas of the Founders—to return to the philosophic roots of modern republican education—in order to gain some insight into the current difficulties plaguing American schools. They develop their understanding of these difficulties by contrasting the ideas of the American Founders with the educational philosophy of the classical republicans. Two distinctions between the ancients and the moderns frame the study. First, when the classical republics were disturbed by instability, they saw education as the centre of the problem and as the key to the solution. They understood that the best defence of the republic lay in the creation of wise citizens of good character. The modern republicans, as represented by the American Founders, concentrated instead on legal and political institutions which would restrain vicious behaviour. Second, within their discussions of education, the Greeks emphasized tradition and respect for authority: “The firmest democracy was understood to be that in which equality meant primarily the equal subordination and devotion of all to the civic whole handed down from the sacred past.” The Americans, by contrast, saw education not as an introduction to the past but as liberation from it. Through education people would understand the autonomy of the individual and appreciate the rights that derive from that autonomy. The Founders saw education in terms of enlightenment, and the Fangles exam-

ine the roots and implications of that vision: “Our intention is to resurrect and reassess some of the most important reflections on civic and personal education appearing in the writings of those among the Founding generation who spoke clearly and compellingly on the subject.” Yet they see within the ideas of the Founders the seeds of the current malaise in American education: “A study of the Founders’ views of education will help us to see that the difficulties we now experience in trying to understand the goals of education are in some measure an outcome of unresolved tensions imbedded in the Founders’ own conceptions of education, of republicanism, and of human nature.” Understanding the philosophic roots of the problem may help Americans seek more meaningful solutions.

The first section of the book examines the legacy of educational thought the American Founders inherited from Europe, from the classical republicans, and from John Locke. They felt that European education, with its roots in an aristocratic and Christian tradition, was unsuitable for the needs of the new republic. It would not create a citizenry aware of its rights and capable of self-rule. While the Fangles provide an excellent overview of the European roots of education and assess the impact of forces such as Puritanism on the Founders’ conception of education, they never address one simple question that arises from this examination: why did the Founders dismiss so much of the European legacy when they themselves were products of such an education and yet had come to an appreciation of their

natural rights and the legitimacy of modern republicanism? The classical republican conception of education was also dismissed by the Founders because of the nature of republicanism it represented. The ancients recognized virtue as the chief aim of civic life and politics as the business of caring for souls. For modern republicans such as Locke and his followers, "government or politics has no legitimate authority to promote the health or excellence or salvation of men's souls." The Pangles identify the moderns' dismissal of classical notions of virtue and nobility as the largest failing of their educational philosophy: "The Founders thereby failed to recognize the depth of the attachment that they still felt for nonutilitarian virtue and failed to ponder sufficiently the powerful hold that morality has on the human heart altogether." They underestimated the extent to which man's moral feelings must be cultivated.

John Locke transformed educational theory by arguing that the goal of education was the creation of citizens capable of enlightened self-interest and grounded in rational self-control. The American Founders accepted Locke's assessment of human nature and human potential, but they departed from his understanding of education in one significant way: Locke understood education as primarily moral education and therefore the responsibility of parents, not the state. The Founding Fathers, however, saw education as a public concern. The Pangles stress the extent to which the Founders desired an open and egalitarian society and their conse-

quent commitment to public education. While some historians may suggest that the Pangles overestimate the Founders' democratic sentiments, what is clear from this book is the extent to which the Founders had to think about education in an original way. The emerging republic simply found little of practical use in the educational legacies of Europe, the classical republics, and Locke.

The second section of *The Learning of Liberty* offers the most insight into the views of the Founders on schooling. The Pangles summarize the opinions of Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and educators such as Noah Webster and Samuel Knox. Out of their examination of the schooling debate in the new republic come two interesting observations. The first concerns the connection between public schooling and natural rights. Jefferson argued that all citizens should be educated as to their natural rights as well as their duties. Others argued that the state had a responsibility for the education of children whose parents were incapable of providing a suitable education and who would therefore remain incapable of intelligent citizenship. Some writers, however, reinterpreted the social contract to include not only the right of every citizen to a basic civic education, but to economic opportunities associated with vocational education as well. Robert Coram, for example, in a Rousseauian twist argued that the right to private property guaranteed by the social contract was only valid if accompanied by the right of every individual to a minimal education which would allow them to earn a living and there-

fore the means to acquire property. He even advocated that the state force parents to send their children into apprenticeships. In many ways Coram's expanded notion of social and economic rights anticipates the "rights talk" of the contemporary United States. The Pangles demonstrate that the economic imperative that drives contemporary American education was philosophically embedded in the discussions of rights surrounding education in the days of the Founders: "The young were to be trained as citizens who understood their rights and were prepared to meet their civic responsibilities; but they were to meet those responsibilities as persons chiefly devoted to work and business rather than to leisure and the 'beautiful and useless things' that adorn the life of Aristotle's man of greatness of soul."

The Pangles' second observation regarding the debate surrounding education in the new republic concerns the unfortunate consequences of the Founders' insistence on a practical education. The curriculum at Benjamin Franklin's academy for example abandoned Greek and Latin and emphasized instead the study of the English language and rhetoric, subjects Franklin felt were indispensable for future leaders of the republic. Thomas Jefferson admitted that his own emphasis on the utility of knowledge may have contributed to the contempt with which many Americans treated education. The Pangles conclude that ultimately, the Founders' insistence that the nation's civic health depended on good public schools was ineffective; their emphasis on practical, even voca-

tional, education was more persuasive, which meant that public schools were not established until the middle of the nineteenth century when there was sufficient economic motive for educating the masses. This conclusion raises an important contradiction within the premise of the Pangles' book: on the one hand they argue that many of the current educational crises reflect weaknesses in the educational thought of the Founders, but they also argue that the Founders had little impact on the public education systems that were eventually established. It is difficult to understand, therefore, how they can be held responsible for the inadequacies schools now demonstrate. Clearly the connection between the philosophy of the Founders and the goals of public schools deserves closer consideration.

The finest part of *The Learning of Liberty* is the third section which examines the role of institutions other than the school in public education. The Founders recognized that the schools as they were established were unable to instill the population with the moral and political habits necessary for the functioning of the republic. They therefore turned to other social, political, and religious institutions to aid the schools in this task. The Pangles examine the educational role of the press and of legal institutions such as juries. Their summary of the debate surrounding the role of religion in the new republic, however, is an excellent analysis of a complex and often misunderstood aspect of republican thought. They point out that James Madison's attempt to deduce the illegitimacy of all governmental support for religion from the right of the free exercise of

religion was quite extraordinary within the context of its time. The Anti-Federalists, by contrast, called for the positive freedom to believe and worship as one wished; they did not call for the negative freedom from religion which now dominates American life and which the Pangles argue is largely responsible for the lack of moral direction in contemporary American life. The Pangles stress that for most of the Founders, there was a clear link between civic education, religion, and the moral standards necessary for the preservation of the republic. George Washington recognized this connection in his Farewell Address: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports....Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on the minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that National morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

The fourth section of *The Learning of Liberty* is the weakest, probably because it seeks to identify the lessons which might be learned from the Founders and applied directly to modern classrooms. The Pangles argue that modern American schools should try education through emulation of the Founders, specifically Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin. From each of these men, American students could learn lessons of character that would sustain them through their lives as intelligent citizens. The lessons the Pangles suggest, however, ring hollow. As worthy as these men were, it seems unlikely that modern students (and teachers) could overcome their cyni-

cism regarding human nature and their fascination with the private and scandalous to treat the Founders as serious models for life and character. The Pangles insist that Washington could teach students valuable lessons about honour and the merits of public service. Jefferson's and Franklin's struggles with the nature of virtue and happiness do not provide answers for students, but they do cast the debate in a way that could serve as the basis of discussion in American classrooms. However, it is difficult to imagine that questions about the relationship of the good of oneself and the good of society which stymied the greatest minds in American history could provide the inspiration for a new direction and a new commitment to republican principles among American youth.

The Pangles conclude that American education has been defeated by the problems Tocqueville identified: republics undervalue learning and the arts or demand that they be productive of other goods; they do not respect the contemplative life; they fail to provide any motivation for a sense of obligation to future generations or fellow citizens; and, the sway of majority opinion and the pressure to conform will always make equality more important than excellence. *The Learning of Liberty* clarifies the philosophical roots of modern republicanism and demonstrates the complexity of questions surrounding educational reform; it shows that we must examine the intellectual milieu in which schools operate as well as the social system of which they are a part. The Pangles' assessment of the educational philosophy of the Founders and of the impact

of those ideas raises many questions. It remains for historians to examine these ideas in historical context and trace the impact of the ethos of modernity on American schools.

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Gilles Gallichan. *Livre et Politique au Bas-Canada, 1791-1849.* Québec: Septentrion, 1991. Pp. 519.

Gilles Gallichan announces a remarkably ambitious and multi-faceted project in the opening sections of this book. He proposes to study the insertion of "the book" (as a generic knowledge-form) changing relations between people and the printed word in his period. He proposes to probe the dynamic, set in motion by the Lower Canadian Constitution of 1791, under which the printed word acquired a new importance, both practical and symbolic, in processes of state formation.

Gallichan is to be commended both for the breadth of vision evident in his research problematic, and for the painstaking, minutiae-attentive work which presents us with the first serious history of the libraries of the Lower Canadian and Union Parliaments. There is much to be learned from this work about the kinds of information to which politicians could gain easy access. Is it not intriguing, for example, to discover that, among the 25 works considered by a parliamentary committee of 1801 to be of prime impor-

tance, we encounter, alongside legal dictionaries, constitutional summaries, and parliamentary guides, books by Smith, Beccaria, Bentham, Montesquieu, and Grotius? Even leaving aside the unanswered sociological questions posed by the presence of such works—did anyone read them?—the symbolic importance of these texts is evident. Their presence also suggests a preoccupation, on the part of at least some parliamentarians, with the main political issues agitating contemporary Europe.

In the first of four sections composing this work, Gallichan provides a descriptive overview of social and cultural life in early Lower Canada and a brief discussion of the context and reception of the 1791 Constitution. A second section examines in rather general terms some dimensions of early library history, the various forms of printed material available in the colony, the organization of official printing, and the political place of the press, as well as the reading habits of some members of the Assembly.

The third and fourth sections of the work, by far the longest, are devoted to the parliamentary library. Here Gallichan charts the checkered history of the library collections, examines the biographies and activities of parliamentary librarians, and reflects occasionally on the utility of library materials to politicians. He proceeds to a detailed reconstruction and classification of the parliamentary library catalogues and examines the leading works present in each of some ten categories. An appendix to the work provides information about the physical organization of the libraries.