The Democratic-Republican Societies: An Educational Dream Deferred

by Brian W. Dotts

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties.

—Address given at the Patriotic Society of the County of New Castle, Delaware, on January 8, 1795, quoting John Milton's *Areopagitica*

The common schools envisioned by Horace Mann in the mid-nineteenth century developed as one of many institutions designed to manage a citizenry often perceived as different, ill-mannered, boorish, and indigent. As one historian explains, "Mann considered education the antidote to a plethora of social ills—poverty, crime, poor health, ignorance, sloth, and greed." Although Mann explicitly advocated a system of common schooling for all children, rich and poor alike, his message was often interpreted in ways that identified common schooling as "pauper schooling" (Baines 2006, 269, 272). Dominant moral values were to be impressed upon the working class and poor to maintain order and stability in a rapidly changing society.

Yet we might ask of those attempts to establish a uniform orthodoxy: What happened to the "age of passion" and the "age of reason"? What of deliberation, novelty, spontaneity, imagination, creativity, informed action, social and political dissent, and diversity of opinion in the early debates over common schooling? What of democratic education, we might ask, has been suppressed by institutionalization, standardization, and routinization? What about those high ideals that sustained us throughout the Revolution? What opportunities were lost? What ideas went unnoticed in the debates over common schooling? Although Mann and reformers won the debate

over the actual purposes of common schooling in the nineteenth century, the normative battle over those purposes continues.

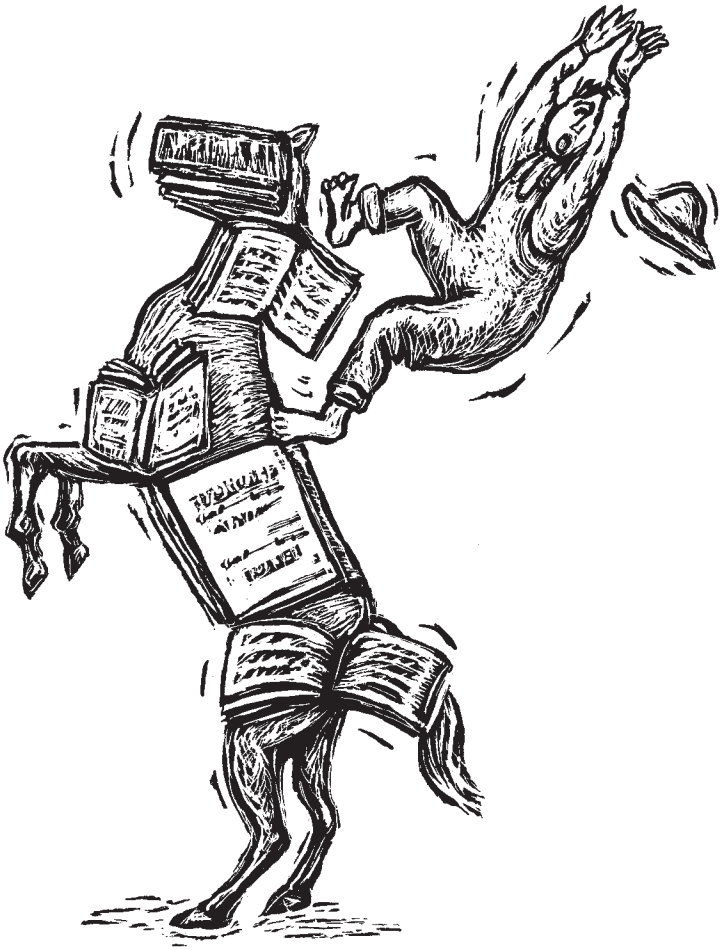
Introduction: Contrast of Democratic-Republican Societies

Despite education historians' focus on Mann and his ilk as the original advocates of common schooling, the notion of free universal public education actually originated among several democratic clubs, at least forty-two in number, that briefly flourished during the 1790s along the eastern seaboard states from Maine to South Carolina. Identified today generally as Democratic-Republican societies, the clubs' radical conception of education connected learning to reason, deliberation, and democratic action, derived from the revolutionary spirit that had fueled a desire for knowledge for its own sake among many better-informed colonists. The societies functioned similarly to and may have derived their inspiration from the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence formed before the Revolutionary War (Link 1973). They utilized newspapers and broadsides to advocate not only universal public schooling at state expense but also the broader goals of liberty, political equality, and dissent toward the Federalists. Several early academies, seminaries, and colleges and universities were "begun . . . or aided by" members of the societies: the University of Vermont, Franklin College, the University of Pennsylvania, Washington Academy, Transylvania University and Bourbon and Rittenhouse academies in Kentucky, Wythe Academy in Virginia, the House of Industry in Maryland, and Winnsborough Academy in South Carolina, among others (Link 1973).

Membership in these clubs numbered many prominent leaders and scientists, including George Logan, a politician and friend of Thomas Jefferson; David Rittenhouse, a scientist and member of the American Philosophical Society; Alexander Dallas, secretary of state of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Bache; Philip Freneau, a Revolutionary poet and newspaper editor; and Peter S. Du Ponceau, a lawyer. A majority of the societies' membership, however, included ordinary citizens: teachers, shoemakers, printers, tailors, cordwainers, blacksmiths, grocers, innkeepers, and shipwrights. For example, Robert Coram, a teacher and librarian from New Castle, Delaware, took an active role in his local society. In 1791 he authored a small treatise, *Political Inquiries*, denouncing the unequal distribution of property and its requirement for voting as well as advocating political equality and the necessity of universal education. That year, Coram sent President Washington his proposals for dividing

communities into districts and financially supporting schools through property taxes (Coram 1791).

As the nineteenth century neared, many scientists and thinkers, uninhibited by religious dogma and a state-supported church, considered republican governments and free inquiry equivalent. Merchants and artisans, too, increasingly commingled the idea of republicanism with democracy, a term that still carried pejorative overtones among society's elites. In the new view, knowledge could now liberate the common person from the social and political disadvantages of one's social position and facilitate what Jefferson referred to as the "natural" aristocracy, as opposed to the "artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth" (Jefferson 1984).



The Democratic-Republican societies understood the importance of public education for enhancing civic opportunity and public deliberation, not simply economic opportunity. Only education and enlightenment could sufficiently enable commoners to recognize tyranny in its various forms. With education at their command, ordinary folk could hold their representatives and public leaders accountable to the former's demands and expectations. In this way, representatives would act as "servants and not masters," according to Tunis Wortman, a member of the Democratic Society of New York. To deny the common man a role in civics because his ignorance disqualified him was "to reason in a circle," he remarked. History had shown too often not only how governments repudiated the idea of an educated populace but also how political and religious institutions subordinated individuals to their authority. "If Ignorance furnishes an apology for Despotism," Wortman exclaimed, "Despotism, grateful for the favor it receives, perpetuates Ignorance" (Wortman 1970, 268). Not unlike ex-slaves during post-Civil War Reconstruction, club members clearly understood the power of knowledge and its empowering quality.

According to the available historical sources, the Democratic-Republican societies emerged between 1792 and 1793, and although they remained deferential to President Washington, the vitriol they directed toward Vice President John Adams, Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, and other leading members of the elite-oriented Federalist Party only intensified throughout the 1790s. Although opposition to the Federalists and support of Thomas Jefferson and his Republican Party are firmly established in the societies' resolutions, toasts, constitutions, and correspondence, the groups went beyond Jefferson's proposals for public education, which they viewed as having been neglected by the "listless inattention" of legislators, by advocating "a guarantee to every member of the community, the means of acquiring a knowledge of those duties . . . and fundamental principles [as] an essential means of preserving . . . a pure Republican government" (Foner 1976, 322–323). Liberated from the weight of tradition, a member of one society in Pennsylvania who penned himself "Democratus" cautioned: "I hope there are few Americans who would adopt that British maxim taught . . . and supported by ecclesiastic authority, viz. that it is not for people of ordinary capacity to argue but to obey" (Democratus 1794, in Foner 1976, 126).

The societies' conception of education encouraged their members' active citizenship on equal parity with that of an Adams or a Jefferson. Unlike the Federalists and Republicans, who both preferred a citizenry receptive to patriarchal forms of leadership, the societies adopted the view that all should be free to deliberate

upon and criticize "the nature of laws and government," just as they would "acquire a knowledge of astronomy and . . . mathematics." Education in particular was to "habituate" citizens in the respect and maintenance of their "equal entitlements . . . to the enjoyments of . . . life, understanding, property, and liberty" (Republican Society of Baltimore, Maryland, 1794, in Foner 1976, 342). As the author stated elsewhere,

> Like Jefferson, the Societies viewed education as a public matter, not in the ordinary conception of what the term public meant at the time, namely, schools open to the public and paid by tuition fees. Rather, education for them was truly a common enterprise, even going beyond the New England model of mixed financing, to be solely funded by public revenues, and considered an entitlement to each citizen at no cost. . . . Unlike Jefferson, the societies not only believed citizens to be equal in their rights, but also in their capacities. Their philosophy contributed to the idea that all individuals had the competence to participate in politics and to serve as republican bulwarks against tyranny. (Dotts 2005, 236)

The American Revolution served as an example that established a right to question authority. With the Revolution's ideological fervor still fresh in their memories, "the revolutionary elites" taught members of the societies "how to respond to patriarchal authority." Justification for the separation from and eventual battle with Britain had rested on the weight and conviction of ideas, ideas that had been absorbed by a literate people. Likewise, the societies "appropriated the classical [republican canon] in a radical way, sculpting and shaping it to conform to their understanding of the Age of Reason, while refusing to passively accept the ideological presuppositions" imposed by elite authorities (Dotts 2005, 239). One premise of the new consciousness was that individuals were no longer subjects but citizens who could alter their government to reflect their understanding of what a republic should be. The concept suggested an inversion of traditional social practices. As Philip Freneau announced in one of his essays in 1788: "The Power of Novelty [is] amongst the many strange and unaccountable propensities in human nature," the desire for which is "the most common and universal [attribute] implanted in man" (Dotts 2005, 188). Recognizing man as possessing varied yet potentially valuable characteristics and feelings that can contribute to public discourse illustrated a new revolutionary consciousness. (See Gordon Wood's work, for example.) What common folk learned during the Revolution included appreciating the power

of democratic ideas and creating a sense of efficacy through their dissemination. The transition from colony to republican government had yet to be completed, and the measures implemented by Adams and Hamilton only confirmed this fact.

With the Revolution having memorialized extensive and broad-based deliberation over political ideas, it is not surprising that the societies published resolutions or constitutions calling for the establishment of public schools. Their preferred curriculum was much more radical than what one would later find in, say, the New England spellers or the popular nineteenth-century McGuffey readers (Dotts 2005, 234). Rather, the responsibilities and obligations of citizenship, according to the societies, mandated an affection and enthusiasm for energetic and contested public dialogue. The societies welcomed the chance to spar with those who held opposing views, and they were convinced that their understanding of republican government and civic virtue was accurate.

One may even conclude that the societies' view of public education served as the antithesis of what Mann and other reformers would decades later adopt in their common school movement. [See appendix.] The societies' view of education included "impressing [upon] every class of citizens . . . a true sense of their rights, duties, and obligations, [and] a just knowledge of rational liberty," intended to prepare students for active roles in public life. The "avenues of information," they claimed, must be open to all persons so that they may be better equipped "in their redress" toward representatives (Democratic Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1795, in Foner 1976, 108–109).

In 1794, the New York Tammany Society, in a resolution commemorating the British evacuation of New York City, toasted President Washington, urged the abolition of "every species of slavery throughout America," promoted a complete reform of penal and debtor laws, and demanded the establishment of public schools in the state of New York. Similarly, the Patriotic Society of New Castle recommended to the Delaware legislature in August 1794 establishing public schools in order to enlighten the children of indigence as "an essential means of preserving equality . . . [and] pure Republican government" (New York Tammany Society 1794; Patriotic Society of New Castle 1794, in Foner 1976, 204; 322).

The societies were neither seditious nor subversive. Like so many throughout American history, they accepted the new U.S. Constitution but differed in its interpretation. However, the elites viewed the societies as neither authoritative in their interpretation nor suitable as participants in constructing the nation's organic law. Rather than recognizing the intellectual value of the societies' civic

activities and discourse, the upper classes saw them as contravening conventional authority, stepping outside their traditional roles by questioning the actions and policies of governing elites.

Viewing himself and the government as synonymous, George Washington referred to the societies' presence as stirring "a spirit inimical to all order" and concluded that this form of extra-legislative opposition had no place in a republic (Hofstadter 1969, 93–98). Furthermore, despite John Adams's initial approval of the "political clubs," the Alien and Sedition Acts implemented during his administration attempted to stifle opposition to his policies. It is easy to argue that the Adams administration's reactions to the societies were exaggerated, but that only illustrates the historical luxury of hindsight. Washington, Adams, and Hamilton did have serious concerns about the success of the new American experiment. With Europe watching, the Federalists who governed the country during its first twelve years were apprehensive about the success of the new government, and they viewed opposition to their administrations as illegitimate.

Most Federalists' and Jeffersonian Republicans' ideas of citizenship differed widely from those of the societies, and they saw themselves as model statesmen deserving both respect and deference. Elites often associated education with "the well-born" and "the indoctrination of 'fundamentals' without raising doubts or questions, and for the suppression of contrary ideas," according to Eugene Link. Nevertheless, "strong impetus for popular education in the post-Revolutionary period came from the so-called 'lower order of men' and was of, by, and for the 'many.'" The societies "insisted upon the uncontrolled freedom of inquiry and the unlimited expression of opinion." They did not merely accept information filtered from "above." Rather, they viewed themselves as delegates responsible for keeping their representatives in check by analyzing "the minutes of Congress . . . so that they could recommend capable persons to the legislative bodies." Moreover, the Canaan, New York, society "resolved against the 'dark intricate, antiquated formalities' and the 'obsolete phraseology,' which bewildered the people and prevented all but the lawyers from grasping the meaning of the laws" (Link 1973, 159–161). Members of the societies had the audacity to confront their representatives when they adjourned Congress and returned to their districts. Representatives were often invited to speak to members of the clubs and to face questioning, and "in towns and districts all over the country, popular meetings were called, to canvass opinion upon important issues and to forward instructions to the duly elected delegates" (Link 1973, 163).

As a result of such society activities, partisan newspapers burgeoned throughout the country to counter Federalist propaganda. The societies published their resolutions, constitutions, addresses, and petitions in ideologically favorable newspapers and financed supplements in a few Republican-leaning newspapers, such as Greenleaf's *New York Journal*, as Link (1973) has shown. In one issue, a sermon of the Rev. Samuel Miller informed his readers that they had the responsibility of

> WATCH[ING] OVER THE INESTIMABLE PRIVILEGES WE ENJOY, AND ENDEAVOUR TO TRANSMIT THEM, NOT ONLY UNTARNISHED, BUT HIGHLY IMPROVED, TO THE LATEST POSTERITY.

Miller continued by asserting,

> [I]n order for the security and perpetuation of Liberty, . . . it is of the highest importance that there be a GENERAL DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE among all classes of citizens. . . . Educate your children in the manners, the feelings, the principles, and manly ardor of Americans; and they will always be able and disposed to trample down the risings of arbitrary power. (Foner 1976, 426–427)

It was not uncommon for the societies to "distribute treatises on republican government, including Paine's *Rights of Man*. Those were the radical principles they believed ought to be part of an education worthy of its name. Whether it was the clubs in Philadelphia, New York, Delaware, Virginia, and Vermont, or those in Kentucky and the Carolinas, they brought the idea of public schools to the attention of people . . . long before public education began." None was as forceful in this cause, according to Link, as the Patriotic Society of Newcastle, Delaware, when it made the following motion:

> Whereas by our declaration of principles, we have pledged ourselves among other things, to promote the diffusion of knowledge among our fellow citizens: Therefore resolved that this society do recommend to their fellow citizens the establishment of schools throughout the state of Delaware, under direction of the government, whereby the unfortunate children of indigence and neglect may be educated and enlightened among the children of opulence and vigilance, which is an essential means of preserving that equality so necessary to the preservation of a pure Republican government and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a memorial to be

> laid before the legislature of this state, and report the same to our next meeting. (Link 1973, 166)

Many societies supported the same education opportunities for women and African Americans, as well as adult education. Toasts were often made supporting women's participation in civic affairs and female education. Although the societies' membership consisted primarily of white males, many of them advocated abolition and envisioned larger roles for blacks in the civic realm, as well as their pursuit of political and educational equality. Through national correspondence and deliberation the societies "made public education a national issue," according to Foner (1976, 15). The Revolution and the Enlightenment it manifested resulted in increasing demands for public education at public expense and education as an entitlement.

Representing more than a group of clubs advocating public education, however, the societies consolidated into a quasi-political party. Although many candidates of the time, Adams and Jefferson included, viewed themselves as above party politics, all of them were attempting to demonstrate and therefore establish once and for all their particular visions of republican government—which included education or schooling proposals that paralleled their ideological beliefs (Walsh 1998). Whether Federalists or Republicans (or their successors of the nineteenth century, the Whigs and the Democrats), these primary actors wielded a mixture of consistent beliefs and paradoxical assumptions. Both sides mistakenly viewed common schooling as an instrument that could remake citizens in their respective images and ultimately diminish party conflict by homogenizing their philosophical outlooks. Unlike the societies, the major factions or parties mistrusted and at least rhetorically opposed political conflict, viewing it as dangerous to the public good, no matter how much they engaged in it.

The Democratic-Republican societies, in contrast, viewed political conflict as natural and desirable, even beneficial, in a republic. They, more than did their superiors, readily accepted the rational and enlightened ideas of the period. They, more than their superiors, saw schooling as an empowering rather than a controlling force. However, the societies increasingly faced unyielding opposition from "the rich and well-born," including "colleagues and followers of Alexander Hamilton" (Link 1973, 176). Jefferson's electoral victory in 1800 against Adams paradoxically delayed what would be the eventual Whig response, i.e., common schooling, to a rapidly changing society. Their framework for schooling, eventually advocated by Mann and others, would lack any resemblance to the societies' expectations of what it meant to become an educated and active citizen.

Beyond philosophical perspectives, the Democratic-Republican societies' eventual demise or alteration can be understood through a number of contributing factors. The Federalists formed a number of clubs during this period that forcefully countered the democratic clubs, including, among many others, the long-standing organization known as the Society of Cincinnati (Link 1973, 188–189), of which Washington and Hamilton were members. In combination with the Federalist press, the opposition rarely bothered to counter the democratic societies' ideas and arguments; rather, they continually attacked, vilified, and defamed the clubs. First referred to as "levelers," the societies were increasingly described as "hateful synagogue[s] of anarchy, odious conclave[s] of tumult" and "poisonous garden[s] of conspiracy," to name a few (Link 1973, 175). Many Federalists and others viewed the societies as threats to order and property; even some of the larger landowners who belonged to the societies became cognizant of that and abandoned the societies to join the conservatives. Link (1973) has concluded that such factors made it no surprise that the societies either fragmented or joined other organizations, such as Tammany; he also mentions the societies' association with a democratic militia; the occurrence of slave revolts and concomitant anxiety over the issue of emancipation; the constant association of the societies with the more radical elements of the French Revolution; and even the eventual sabotage of the clubs by Federalists who joined them with the intention of dismantling them from within. A few societies continued to exist in the early nineteenth century under identical Democratic designations, but their solidarity was certainly weakened and fragmented.

The nation continued to struggle with its identity and the institutions responsible for developing that identity during the nineteenth century just as it had done following the Revolution. "The paradox faced by those who want to remodel a culture through education has become a familiar one," according to Henry May. "To remodel, whether one is a Whig, a Jacobin, or a Bolshevik, means discipline; and discipline usually carries with it tradition" (May 1976, 180). The debates over public education, whether in the 1790s or the mid-nineteenth century, were no different. Because public schooling has always served a conservative purpose in any society, but also because radical ideas occasionally invade the discourse of educational reform, common schooling gained widespread acceptance not only by addressing those competing demands but also by convincing those in power of its capacity to maintain discipline and order, uniformity of purpose, and manageability. Indeed, those values served as a recipe for a common school system that exhibited

systematization, routinization, and an apolitical curriculum. We must remember too that the purpose of the Revolution was not to establish a democracy, but to establish ordered liberty. So from a philosophical perspective, and with historical hindsight, it is unrealistic to expect that the societies could have been successful in their educational appeals. They were simply too radical for their time.

We must also understand the societies' disappearance and the failure of their democratic and educational goals through an important philosophical paradox: the historical understanding and conception of education has been anything but democratic, notwithstanding modern scholars' tendency to link the ideas of education and democracy. Hence, the societies' radical ideas of education simply did not fit within the accepted political or educational ethos of the time. Common schooling and democracy were antithetical and incongruent with a developing nation. To conjoin education and democracy could have been viewed as preparation for mob rule, instability, and increased political conflict. Throughout our history, few Americans have really believed that democratic action, deliberative dissent, and dialectical methods of education should have prominent roles in a system of public schooling. As Link asserts, "Democracy is a method, not a fixed system of government. It is a constant, ongoing process of changing and reconstructing old forms and adapting to the new conditions of social life" (1973, 207).

Although public education may to some extent facilitate generational change and adaptation, any definition of democracy that includes unpredictability and reconstruction has been generally unacceptable in education reform circles. Those who were and would become responsible for education reforms in America would view this democratic conflation with education as unwelcome and nonproductive. The responsibilities expected of a system of common schooling required much more homogeneity and control from above, which would be intolerable from a democratic standpoint.

Appendix

Horace Mann, the Common Schools, and Democratic Learning

Historians often identify Horace Mann and other middle-class reformers of the mid-nineteenth century as the catalysts of the Common School Movement, the forerunner of today's public school systems. Nonetheless, despite rhetoric about the role schools should play in a democracy, Mann himself never used the phrase in the annual reports he wrote while serving as secretary of the state board

of education in Massachusetts. Instead, Mann and other school reformers sought to develop a school system and curricula that would diminish strife among a pluralistic people, supplant it with a common and universal patriotism, and instill respect for law and order. They unmistakably considered their solution—common, i.e., public, schooling—as a stabilizing force in a nineteenth-century society experiencing rapid change. Accordingly, the reformers, hoping to construct a homogenous culture, relentlessly emphasized the regulatory function of institutionalized schooling. Their success depended in large part on accentuating its "moral and religious" impact "without being sectarian," as well as its civic and political allegiance "without being partisan," according to Tyack and Hansot.[1]

Many common school crusaders during the nineteenth century espoused, as did Mann, the science of moral economy, which held that all individuals possess uniform capacities not only to learn but also to learn alike—a similar assumption to that behind Benjamin Rush's "republican machines." What was needed, therefore, was a standard and uniform method of training made available to all individuals. Combined with a paternalistic understanding of government, the common school reformers believed the state should assume responsibility in redeeming people through proper training.[2] The terms "education" and "training" are virtually synonymous in the literature during this period. Common schooling was expected to be didactic in method and implant within each student the moral values of the dominant culture. Like religious indoctrination, but often more subtly, schooling was intended to proselytize children with socially prescribed roles and expectations. Hence, the idea of common schooling included a process of fashioning students in a particular way in order to reach a specific outcome—an outcome predetermined by and conducive to the common school reformers' expectations of what it meant to be good and virtuous citizens. Political controversy, ideas of justice, and distributional fairness were not part of the reform curricula.

Democratic forms of learning and critical thinking had no place in the common school movement, for they were considered inimical to civic virtue. Because democratic venues, factions, political parties, and virtually every form of opposition thought continued to be viewed pejoratively, there was no reason to expect that common schooling would be implemented to further such goals. With the benefit of historical hindsight, we understand that the goals of schooling tend to correspond to the needs and desires of the dominant culture. While democratic reforms did occur in the early to mid-nineteenth century, during the Jacksonian period, they were resisted

with ferocity. In fact, the more democratic the country became politically, the greater became the anxiety among reformers to memorialize their world views institutionally with their reforms.

Indeed, the reformers' moral righteousness was neither novel nor ephemeral. The quest among moral crusaders for mass redemption has continued to be an undulating feature of the history of American schooling, whereby politicians and social leaders repeatedly rely on schooling as a panacea to remedy all our social ills. Only if children from diverse backgrounds were trained to act and think like the reformers would the latter's expectations for common schooling be viewed as successful. Reformers found it necessary to convince business and political leaders that their idea of schooling would not destabilize their communities. Rather, education was presented as a conservative and stabilizing force by inculcating respect for representative government and property. Common schooling, it was believed, could provide a substitute for a splintering religious culture by inculcating a common *civic* religion.

Having witnessed the energy and potential commotion dissenting ideas could generate, leaders in the burgeoning republic were unwilling or unable to associate common schooling with democracy and radical ideas. Schooling and democracy were viewed as simply incommensurable. Although the Revolution democratized republican thought among ordinary citizens, it also produced equally responsive reactions among the elite, who continued to connect democracy with mob rule and anarchy. So enduring has the idea of a moral science been in our history of educational reform that we often overlook opportunities lost in the early development of public education. Nevertheless, many contemporary educational historians and policy analysts continue to emphasize the importance of democratic reforms in our public schools as appropriate responses to standardization, uniformity, and centralization.[3]

Notes

1. David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820–1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 30.

2. Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 161.

3. A few of the better-known works on the topic include P. Goodman, *The Community of Scholars* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962); C. Rogers, *Freedom to Learn* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing, 1969); I. Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); A. S. Neill and A. Lamb, eds., *Summerhill School: A New View of Childhood* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992); and J. T. Gatto, *Dumbing Us Down: The Hidden Curriculum of Compulsory Schooling* (Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 1992).

Readers may also wish to consult H. Giroux, "Developing Educational Programs and Overcoming the Hidden Curriculum," *Clearing House* 52 (4) (1978): 148–151; H. Giroux, *Teachers as Intellectuals: Toward a Critical Pedagogy of Learning* (Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1988); M. Greene, *The Dialectic of Freedom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988); M. Hern, ed., *Deschooling Our Lives* (Gabriola Island, B.C.: New Society Publishers, 1996); David F. Labaree, *How to Succeed in School without Really Learning: The Credentials Race in American Education* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); D. Purpel, *The Moral and Spiritual Crisis in Education* (New York: Bergin and Garvey, 1989); U. Reitzug, "Bureaucratic and Democratic Ways of Organizing Schools: Implications for Teachers, Principles, Students, Parents, and Community," in *The Institution of Education*, ed. H. S. Shapiro, S. Harden, and A. Pennell, 4th ed., 85–98 (Boston: Pearson Custom Publishing, 2003); Ira Shor, *When Students Have Power: Negotiating Authority in a Critical Pedagogy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

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