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IVETA SILOVA AND WILLIAM C. BREHM

Editors' Introduction

William W. Brickman: His History, Our History

In the history of comparative education few people were as passionate about educational biographies and historical research as William W. Brickman. Throughout his academic career, Brickman wrote multiple biographies, histories, and *Festschrift* volumes about a wide variety of distinguished educators.¹ From Comenius (1592–1670) to Kandel (1870–1965), Brickman's biographies reflected his commitment to uncovering "lessons of deep significance" from the study of our predecessors set against the background of larger developments in educational history (Brickman, 1946, p. 302). Inspired by his passion for educational biographies and historical scholarship, this special issue honors the lessons and legacies of William W. Brickman in comparative education.

Our first encounter with Brickman began nearly two years ago while writing the history of *European Education* in celebration of its fortieth anniversary (Silova, 2009; Silova & Brehm, 2009). Having thoroughly combed through more than forty years of journal issues, articles, and editorials and interviewed many of the former editors, we quickly realized the journal had originally occupied a strategic position in the field of comparative education. It was established in 1969 to preserve a methodology (cross-national, multiple-case-study analysis) and geographic focus (Western Europe) slowly fading in the pages of comparative education scholarship during the 1960s and 1970s. Of all former editors, one stood out among the rest for his liberty in and insistence on historical scholarship. That editor was William W. Brickman.

As we immersed ourselves in the journal's history, we became increasingly aware of the important role Brickman played in safeguarding historical and qualitative inquiry in the field. At the same time, however, we noticed signs of Brickman becoming, in Andreas Kazamias's words, a "forgotten man" in the institutional memory of Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). Further engaging into biographical research within a field relatively devoid of this type of scholarship, we quickly noticed a paradox among the different generations of com-

parative and international education scholars: younger generations rarely reference Brickman's work and contributions to the field, yet older generations of scholars clearly remember him. As editors of this issue, we occupy the former space—one of us literally represents the youngest generation in the field as a graduate student of comparative education—and take responsibility to tell a more complete (hi)story of our Society's first president and a former editor of this journal.

The more we engaged in preparing this special issue, reflecting on biographical methods, and learning about Brickman's life, the more we began to define this issue by what it is not. The following pages do not collectively tell a traditional biography found in bookstores, for the thoughts and ideas come from many individuals, some who knew Brickman personally and others who only studied his work. It is also not a true *Festschrift*, for we honor Brickman posthumously. Nor is it an obituary or in memoriam of Brickman, for we hear Brickman's own voice through some of his work. In the end, the pages that follow are a compilation of stories, anecdotes, inquires, reflections, and academic articles connected by a common thread, William W. Brickman.

We have been careful to honestly present Brickman's life and work in this issue, understanding that "misrepresentation . . . occurs not only through factual error . . . but by faulty organization, the clumsy construction of page, paragraph or sentence" (Bowen, 1969, pp. xiii–xiv). Conceiving, preparing, and finalizing this special issue was not easy. Encompassing elements of both biography, *Festschrift*, and traditional academic writing, this publication highlights possible problems inherent in crossing boundaries of different genres so freely—the risk of making an individual's life a narrative fiction or a dry, linear account of events and encounters; the inevitability of omitting important segments of lived experience and the subjectivity of focusing on selected aspects of one's life; and the possibility of imposing distortions due to temporal distance between us and our subject. As Virginia Woolf once asked, "My God, how does one write a Biography . . . and what is a life? And what was Roger [Fry]?" (cited in Backscheider, 1999). Taken further, a meta-analysis of our attempt to blur boundaries between writing genres and use everything—any reflection, encounter, intellectual commentary, or academic paper—asks us to consider whether Brickman would approve of this publication in the first place, and whether we have learned more about ourselves than the subject in question through this process.

Conceptualizing this issue

Just as Brickman stood out for his multifaceted and complex scholarship, so too does the conceptual organization of this issue. We organized the contributions according to the overarching themes of Brickman's scholarship. The four thematic sections include comparative education, history of education, teacher education, and Jewish education. Since many of the themes emerging from essays, reflections, and memoirs cross our constructed boundaries with ease, it may be more

meaningful to think of these boundaries as fluid, allowing ideas to weave in and out of each section as they come together in a more complete and nuanced tapestry of Brickman's life. This unique combination of diverse voices attempts to capture Brickman's dynamic character as an individual, a visionary, a scholar, a teacher, and a mentor.

Comparative education

Following a fascinating glimpse into Brickman's life by his son Chaim Mann Brickman, the first section in this special issue examines Brickman's role in the field of comparative and international education and its leading society, CIES. In our article "For the Love of Knowledge: William W. Brickman and His Comparative Education," Brickman is revealed as a complex man who endlessly sought Truth and knowledge like the philosophers of the past. Despite his preference for and commitment to historical scholarship, Brickman firmly believed in academic freedom, which allowed him to accept (but not necessarily use) new methodologies emerging in the field in the late 1960s. However, his idealism in methodological and epistemological diversity quickly faded in the late 1960s and 1970s when his tools and methods of comparative education research were marginalized by positivism and quantification. A reflection on Brickman's humanistic, philosophic, and historical beliefs is continued in a commentary written by one of his early colleagues, Andreas M. Kazamias (2009), who belatedly adds Brickman to the ranks of "forgotten heros" of comparative education and recounts his and Brickman's participation in the methodological and epistemological debates of the 1960s.

One of these debates comes to life in Erwin H. Epstein's piece "Bill Brickman and the Noachian Disputation." Epstein tells a story of his 1979 CIES debate with Harold Noah (former CIES president, prominent scholar, and former editor of *Comparative Education Review*), which Brickman observed during the conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Epstein carefully weaves together his personal memories of Brickman with reflections of Brickman's role in the field of comparative education, highlighting his criticism of quantitative methods completely in lieu of in-depth cultural and historical studies in the field. The section concludes with a short piece by Max Eckstein, a former CIES president. He highlights Brickman's ability to excel in personal relationships with students and colleagues, as well as his power as a historian, the central theme of the next section.

History of education

The use of historical scholarship straddled Brickman between comparative education and the history of education. In this section we print an unpublished article by Brickman on the history of comparative education in the nineteenth century found in his archives at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. It represents his strengths (and weaknesses) as both a historian and a comparativist. The article

details educational transfers from Europe to the United States and the “beginnings” of comparative education by focusing on Jullien, Basset, and Mann. Within this piece is the implication that history is a linear process, although more complicated than one starting point at Jullien, the “father figure” of the field. Brickman points to the possibility of multiple starting points for the history of comparative education, thus complicating the beginnings of comparative education and making the history more nuanced.

Noah W. Sobe and Corinne Ness explore Brickman’s historical scholarship from contemporary perspectives on the use of historical research methodologies by analyzing Brickman’s publications on John Dewey. The authors argue that Brickman’s scholarship was rooted in an “educational transfer” problematic that prioritized diachronic, influence-oriented studies. While Brickman’s work made occasional reference to the ways that Dewey’s ideas were localized and transformed around the globe, this remained a largely suggestive and undeveloped line of research for him—particularly in contrast to the recent interest in the field of comparative education in understanding processes of indigenization, appropriation, and translation. The article reflects the evolution—including the divergence and continuity of various aspects—of the field of the history of education from Brickman’s piece to Sobe and Ness’s. Together the two pieces in this section show how history of education is not a static field, and how we can learn from comparative historians of our past.

Teacher education

Teacher education was perhaps the *raison d’être* for comparative education in Brickman’s eyes. In a speech originally published in *Educational Theory* in 1956, he argues that the teacher of quality must master several foundational fields in education, including the psychological, the sociological, the historical, the philosophical, and the comparative. The latter three fields were of greatest concern to Brickman, since the former two had already gained prominence in the field of education by 1950. Moreover, Brickman argues teachers need liberal arts education, not professional training, to become good teachers. In Brickman’s view, the educational area between professional teacher training and liberal arts is precisely the space comparative and international education occupies. This field prepares teachers by focusing on critical thinking, international perspectives, and classical (that is to say, philosophical) education.

Brickman not only championed these ideas throughout his life but exemplified the qualities of a good teacher in the classroom. Three reflections written by Brickman’s former students reveal exactly why and how he was a good teacher. Elizabeth Sherman Swing, Raymond Wanner, and Yaacov Iram all point out Brickman’s ability not only to challenge his students intellectually but also to engage with them much more as a friend and colleague than merely as a student. From summoning Swing’s dissertation committee in the summer, to finding Wanner his first job, to sending boxes of comparative education books to Iram in Israel,

Brickman deeply cared for and enthusiastically encouraged his students in their academic and professional careers.

Jewish education

While Brickman is well known for his role in the professionalization of comparative education, he is also revered among the Jewish community in the United States and internationally for his central role in bolstering rabbinic and Talmudic studies. Yet Brickman's scholarship on Jewish education has been virtually unknown in the comparative education field. In "William W. Brickman's Legacy in Jewish Education Worldwide," Rabbi Aryeh Solomon chronicles Brickman's influential role in creating an accreditation system for Jewish schools in the United States and details his respect within the Jewish community globally. Solomon points out Brickman's devout orthodoxy and his ability to combine his academic scholarship with his religion. With Solomon's contribution, the perceived barriers between Jewish education and comparative education can finally begin to crumble.

Indeed, our analysis of Brickman's scholarship suggests that Brickman perceived Jewish education as part of comparative education. While Sylvia Brickman (personal communication, February 1, 2010) explained how Jewish education was something her husband did outside of academe (as if he could not study Jewish education while on the grounds of the University of Pennsylvania), this may indicate a larger neglect of Jewish education in our field (for example, *Comparative Education Review* published only one article dealing with Jewish education before 2001).² Brickman's notes suggest that he viewed the study of Jewish education as a part of his comparative education scholarship. In particular, his public lecture topics on historical, comparative, and international education include several titles directly dealing with Jewish education and religious education. For example, three of the nine lecture topics under the "Comparative Education" heading deal with Jewish education, including "Jewish Education in Comparative and International Perspective," "Religion, the State, and Education in Israel," and "Religion Versus Atheism in Soviet Society and Education." Despite this combination of Jewish and comparative education within his lectures, he separated (or was forced to separate) his publications into comparative education journals and Jewish education journals. The last article in this issue reveals for the first time Brickman's extensive writings on Jewish education in a comparative education space. The reader will quickly realize that Brickman's contributions to Jewish education were as significant, if not more so, than those to comparative education.

William W. Brickman's reach was far, deep, and honest. He found the potential in his students, loved education and knowledge, and was devoted to the Jewish cause. As Maxine Greene points out in her Epilogue to this special issue, good teachers have "the capacity to free others for new beginnings." We believe Brickman exemplified this by opening up new institutional beginnings (the establishment of the Comparative Education Society), new professional and academic beginnings (his

ability to weave the comparative, historical, international, and religious educational fields into his scholarship), and new personal beginnings (his ability to notice and nurture the untapped potential of his students). It is this ability to explore “new beginnings” with courage, tenacity, and grace that was key to Brickman’s role as a scholar, educator, and friend. And it is an ongoing pursuit of “new beginnings” that CIES should strive for in a new era of epistemological and methodological diversity.

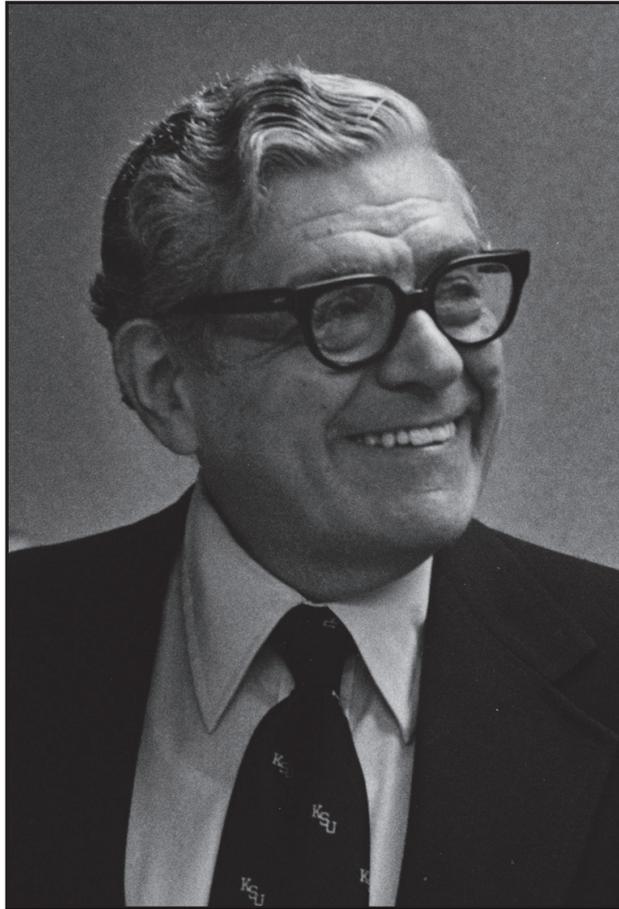
Notes

1. Among many others, Brickman’s biographical research focused on Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), Anna Maria Van Schuurman (1607–1678), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), George Sylvester Counts (1889–1974), and Isaac Leon Kandel (1870–1965). He even wrote his 1938 doctoral dissertation entirely on Herman Lietz (1868–1919).

2. See Krug (1963).

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William W. Brickman (June 30, 1913–June 22, 1986). Courtesy of Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, William W. Brickman Collection, Box 120.

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CHAIM MANN BRICKMAN

A Glimpse into the Life of William W. Brickman

My paternal grandparents immigrated to the United States from Jedwabne, northern Russian Poland, around 1908 (Baker & Baker, 1980). My grandfather's father, David, was a tailor who wanted his first son born in the United States to be a rabbi. However, my grandmother, Sara, had a more liberal education in Russia and her educational philosophy apparently prevailed. William,¹ or in Hebrew Ze'ev ("wolf"), was born on June 30, 1913 in a tenement house located at 200 Eldridge Street on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The family obstetrician was a second cousin named Dr. Isador C. Rubin, who later devised the Rubin Pregnancy Test. Father's daily speech was Yiddish with some Hebrew, Polish, Russian, and German vocabulary derived from his parents. His earliest exposure to English was on the street and, at age five, in school, where he applied himself assiduously to his studies. His younger brother Murray (Moish) applied himself less, so my father received the better education based on the family's budget. He attended religious elementary and high schools in Manhattan: Rabbi Jacob Joseph School and the Talmudic Academy (forerunner of Yeshiva University High School), respectively. Father received his baccalaureate in 1934 from the City University of New York (CUNY) where he majored in German and participated in wrestling and swimming. In 1935 he received his master's in education from the same institution and his doctorate in education was granted in 1938 from New York University, not an easy accomplishment for Jews in those days.

David Brickman passed away in 1942. My father was drafted late in World War II (1943), perhaps because he supported his mother, who was unable to work

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due to severely deforming rheumatoid arthritis. While his parents had given him but one name, the U.S. army required a middle name. He chose Wolfgang and signed his name W.W. Brickman from that time forward. I can only conjecture that he chose that particular name because of his Hebrew name, his love of music, his facility in German and Yiddish, and/or his subtle sense of humor. Initially assigned to a team of U.S. Air Force historians, Father was selected in 1945 for special training as a mailman, a human resource the allies anticipated would be required in postwar Germany. The mailman story was actually a pretense for drawing people who spoke fluent German into the newly formed Office of Strategic Services (OSS, the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency). So, at the age of thirty-one, my Sabbath-observant, orthodox Jewish father was handed a *Schutzstaffel* (commonly known as the SS) uniform and inserted behind German lines as a counterspy. His unit was assigned the task of finding high-ranking SS officers and officials attempting to flee Germany from the East. Years later, when he treated me to a James Bond movie, he showed me his OSS card. His number was 004 (see Photograph 1).

According to envelopes addressed to my father and signed official letters, he was the chief officer of the 970th Counterintelligence Detachment, Straubing Sub-regional Office, Deggendorf Branch, near the German–Czechoslovak border. The men assigned to his unit notified local residents of his ability to assist deserving German officers in relocating to safe havens, such as South America.

When applying officers were introduced via intercom to my father by his secretary in the outer office, he would place SS insignias on his epaulets just one rank above the applicant in order to obtain their complete loyalty and unquestioned obedience. At the conclusion of such meetings, rendezvous times and places were set, at which time the would-be escapees were quietly arrested, interrogated, and eventually transported by the U.S. Army to Nuremberg for future prosecution. During his entire army service, my father maintained a kosher diet, bartering Spam for eggs, potatoes, and bread. At the conclusion of the war, he visited several recently liberated concentration camps, officiated at the wedding of several Holocaust survivors, and was eventually given responsibility for certain aspects of security at the Nuremberg Trials.

Sergeant William Wolfgang Brickman returned home to the Bronx on discharge. Although I never had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of my paternal grandmother, my father inherited from her a library of Yiddish expressions, one for every occasion, and an inclination for punning. Shortly after the passing of his mother in 1957, my father was introduced to my mother, Sylvia (née Schnitzer), a recent divorcée with two children (my sister Joy, age ten, and me, age five). They were married in a small private ceremony in Brooklyn in February 1958, immediately after his return from evaluating the German and Israeli educational systems at the request of those governments. It is difficult to imagine that Father anticipated at that time the critical supportive, advisory, and spousal roles Mother would play for the next twenty-eight years in both his professional and family lives.

My first recollections of my adoptive father were the Tinker Toy set he presented



Photograph 1. William W. Brickman is wearing a *Schutzstaffel* uniform on the morning the war in Europe ended. Photograph courtesy of Chaim Brickman.

to me the morning after the wedding and the strict approach he took to my informal Jewish education. For example, while other children attending our synagogue were allowed to arrive at will, roam the grounds, and attend youth services, my father insisted that I accompany him to synagogue and sit next to him for the duration of the entire adult services, including the prayers, weekly Torah readings, and rabbinic sermons. I admit that as a child I failed to comprehend the educational value of these excruciating exercises, but I have since come to appreciate the facility these practices afforded me in the prayer liturgy, cantonal melodies, and biblical literature. On the way to synagogue, we often marched together in military step or played memory games. These were bonding and educational exercises as well as his way of making the lengthy Sabbath synagogue services more attractive.

In May 1958 my father received invitations from the Ministry of Education of Israel to continue his assessment of their schools and by the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign to teach a summer course in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. The entire family accompanied him on these trips. The

following year Joy and I were legally adopted and in September 1959 our sister Sara was born.

Although my father spent no time playing with us children, he insisted on tucking us into bed on Friday night, the start of the Jewish Sabbath. This, too, was an educational tool of sorts. On one level, the entire family was captivated by his fictional stories regarding a Jewish lady by the name of Mrs. Shniff-Shniff (and family members Shimshon, Shmuel, Shoshana, Shlomo, and Shimon) whose obesity and unlimited diet were the basis for many hilarious adventures. However, on a higher level, each story included a concealed clue to a biblical story that we had to identify. As I grew older, his biblical puns and quizzes grew more sophisticated and challenging.

During the long summer Sabbath (Saturday) afternoons, the family would gather for an hour to hear my father's interpretation of *Pirkei Avot* (popularly translated as *Ethics of the Fathers*), a 1,500-year-old text discussing sundry topics including ethics, respect, tradition, learning, godliness, communal responsibility, and honesty. These lessons were constantly and consistently reinforced by example. My parents were impeccably honest. Father incessantly read secular newspapers, journals, and manuscripts along with Torah and Talmud (the Jewish oral law recorded following the destruction of the Temple). When I spoke, he corrected my grammar and challenged my sources or logic. He stood when addressed by anyone standing, tipped his hat to passing women, held the door for all women and for older men, and stood when an elder or a scholar entered a room. He was respectful to all, even adversaries, and had zero tolerance for racism and for disrespect of other religions or nationalities.

While active in my religious training, Father was more passive in my secular education, entrusting that role to the religious schools my parents carefully selected together. Mathematics and the sciences were my mother's domain, although my father occasionally asked me at the dinner table to "say something in algebra for us." He had no interest in sports or movies, except for an occasional spy movie, Marx Brothers film, or final game of the World Series in baseball. Father was all thumbs with house tools, never cooked, and rarely read for pleasure. He enjoyed working on manuscripts in the sun on Sundays and would never turn down a brief swim on the rare family vacation.

During the 1950s and 1960s, governments and universities around the globe invited my father to evaluate the quality of their education and to lecture on topics in education. During his many trips behind the Iron Curtain as a guest of the Soviet regimes, he cautiously met with members of the Jewish communities under constant KGB surveillance. Additionally, he carried in his cursorily checked luggage forbidden Hebrew prayer books and Bibles, Jewish calendars with selected religious passages, and even dollars for discreet distribution. He once described to me how he would layer communist propaganda over his contraband, to conceal it from Soviet custom agents.

I attended several of his public lectures for laypeople and they were mesmerizing,

with a mix of scholarly didacticism, historical vignettes, personal experiences, and linguistics. He enjoyed challenging his audience with questions, punning, speaking momentarily to attendees in their childhood dialect, as well as parrying on topics of history, geography, or religion.

In 1962 he accepted an offer from the Graduate School of Education of the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) that offered him not only more professional autonomy than he had at NYU but also more personal freedom. Unlike his NYU contract and particularly important to my parents, Penn permitted him to independently organize his teaching schedule, allowing him more family time around the Jewish holidays. His offices both at home and at the university consisted of a small sturdy metal desk and piles upon piles of articles, books, and manuscripts that he had mentally catalogued and could miraculously locate on demand. My parents' first criterion during their house hunt in Philadelphia was basement size, since at its peak he had more than 10,000 books and monographs in his private, subterranean library. First-time guests in our home were treated to a private tour of his collection, which included rare copies of Nazi books, flags, uniforms, swords, and currency that he had collected during his army service.

My clearest memories of my father were from his years at Penn. Father awoke every morning around 6:30 A.M., prayed in synagogue daily with the customary prayer shawl and phylacteries, ate breakfast with the requisite matching "Maw" and "Paw" hillbilly coffee cups he shared with Mother, and did not stop working until 11 P.M. every night. In his office at home, a radio tuned to the classical music station played softly in the background. Italian, French, and German opera was his favorite, and he understood much of the dialogue, but our family record collection also included Gilbert and Sullivan, Roger and Hammerstein, and Israeli folksongs. Mother says he was fluent in twenty languages, including English, Hebrew, Russian, French, Polish, German, Yiddish, Dutch, and Afrikaans. He read and understood Aramaic. I fondly recall the children's songs and lullabies he taught us on returning from trips abroad as well as the traditional Danish expression of gratitude he became accustomed to conveying to Mother after every meal she served.

He cherished students and learning, although kosher ethnic food, especially pickled herring and slivovitz plum brandy, were not far behind. Fiercely loyal to his family and students, Father most of all respected scholarship. He often teased Mother that he was in love with the three female medieval scholars whom he researched and published. Yet this otherwise very serious man was putty in the hands of a child, particularly those of his grandchildren.

During his four most productive decades (1940–80), Professor Bill Brickman (as he was endearingly called by his friends and associates) also devoted considerable time and effort to the advancement of religious elementary, high-school, and college education, particularly Jewish education. He consulted for the National Society for Hebrew Day Schools (Torah U'Mesorah) and regularly contributed essays to the *Jewish Parent*, their journal, as well as to *Tradition*, published by the Rabbinical Council of America. During their early years of development, Yeshiva

University and Touro College consulted him regularly. A strong proponent of federal support to private and parochial schools, my father was invited at least once during the 1960s to testify before the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee on this issue. He was also instrumental in the establishment of the Torah Academy of Wynnewood, PA and the Association of Advanced Rabbinical and Talmudic Schools (AARTS) Accreditation Commission, an organization that helped institutions of religious education improve their faculty, curricula, and libraries so as to deserve formal accreditation and governmental funding. Through his decades of experience and contacts, he was equally comfortable discussing educational issues with U.S. senators, Christian archbishops, ultra-orthodox Jewish rabbis, Buddhist doctoral candidates, university deans, and parent–teacher organizations.

During the 1970s he experienced several setbacks. First, our house in Philadelphia was (ironically) expropriated by the Board of Education under the Law of Eminent Domain, forcing our family and library to move to southern New Jersey. Second, his vision slowly began failing due to progressive macular degeneration, but that did not stop him from reading and writing with the use of magnifying glasses.

The retirement required by the university at age sixty-eight saddened him, but did not slow him down. He continued his library research and participation on the university's Foreign Language Examination committee. Mother and he established Emeritus Press, through which he published articles and books. In 1986, Grandpa Bill from Cherry Hill succumbed to a brief bout with leukemia and was laid to rest in Jerusalem. The contents of his personal library were donated to institutions around the world: books to the University of Pennsylvania, Touro College, Yeshiva University, and Ryder College; manuscripts to the Hoover Institute of Stanford University; and Nazi memorabilia to Yad Vashem (Israel's holocaust museum) and the U.S. Smithsonian Institute in Washington, DC.

Note

1. Jewish tradition strictly forbids children from referring to their parents by first name. Therefore, with rare exception, I use such terms as “Mother” or “Father” despite their repetitiveness.

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IVETA SILOVA AND WILLIAM C. BREHM

For the Love of Knowledge

William W. Brickman and
His Comparative Education

This article discusses William W. Brickman's contributions to the field of comparative and international education. Through archival research of Brickman's collection at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, interviews with his former colleagues, students, and family members, and a content analysis of his publications and the two journals he edited, the authors examine Brickman's role in founding the Comparative Education Society, his notion of comparative education scholarship, and his service to the larger academic community through a lifelong career as journal editor. In addition to his contributions to advancing historical research and qualitative methodologies in comparative education, Brickman should also be remembered for his relentless efforts to protect academic freedom by encouraging epistemological and methodological diversity of the field. Brickman's role as a scholar, educator, and editor can therefore be best understood through his unyielding love of knowledge—like the philosophers of the past.

A man's feet must be planted in his country,
but his eyes should survey the world.

—George Santayana

I have made a ceaseless effort not to ridicule, not to bewail,
not to scorn human actions, but to understand them.

—Benedict de Spinoza¹

Iveta Silova is the Frank Hook Assistant Professor of Comparative and International Education at the College of Education at Lehigh University. Her research focuses on the study of globalization, democratization, and policy “borrowing” in education. William C. Brehm is a graduate student and research assistant at Lehigh University in the Comparative and International Education program. His research interests focus on the history of education and international development in education.

William W. Brickman left a unique legacy in the world of education. He is known as “the architect of the Comparative Education Society” (Swing, 1987, p. 1), remembered as “one of the nation’s foremost scholars” (Torah World, 1986, p. 1), and considered “a rare renaissance man in an age of specialization” (Parker, 1987, p. 3). Notwithstanding their wide-ranging connotations, these superlatives have one common thread. They highlight Brickman’s limitless love of knowledge. Like philosophers of the past, Brickman understood that “he had not attained the truth, but he was constantly engaged in seeking it” (Brickman, 1971). Brickman (1971) was “willing to learn from anyone and to respect everyone.” He strove to understand, not to critique, dominate, or undermine others. Throughout his life, he worked diligently “to sift fact from fancy and to eliminate error from erudition” (Brickman, 1971). Being a true scholar meant becoming “somewhat like Plato’s philosopher, a lover of knowledge” (Brickman, 1965).

Brickman’s desire to understand educational issues in their entirety opened an intellectual space for him to explore issues of wide-ranging breadth and meticulous depth—from the history of comparative education, to state/church relationships in education, to the role of learned ladies of the sixteenth century, to Jewish education. As one of his former students, Elizabeth Sherman Swing (1987), highlighted, “the intellectual curiosity of this twentieth-century Renaissance man was as inexhaustible as his energy” (p. 4). For Brickman, understanding educational phenomena implied a simultaneous pursuit of historical, comparative, and international inquiry. His ongoing quest for knowledge was contagious to his students and colleagues. It was reflected in his scholarship and the communications he had with some of the greatest education thinkers of the twentieth century. He was a prolific writer who published twenty-nine books, a prized journal editor for *School and Society* (later renamed *Intellect* and now *USA Today Magazine*) for twenty-three years (1953–76) and *Western European Education* (later renamed *European Education*) for seven years (1979–86), the first president of the Comparative Education Society and the only member to serve the society twice, and respected by some of the most distinguished educators of his time, including William C. Bagley, Isaac L. Kandel, George Counts, John Dewey, Maxine Greene, and Robert Ulich, to name a few.

Brickman brought his passion for the pursuit of knowledge to comparative education. While his version of comparative education—one based on contextualized, historical scholarship—was only one of many varieties of comparative education in the history of the field dating back to John Amos Comenius’s *Didactica magna* (The Great Didactic) in the seventeenth century, he valued diversity in both theoretical orientations and preferred methodologies—the “tools” of comparison—during the professionalization of the field in the late 1950s. When the search for “epistemological certainty” (Coulby, 2002, p. 42) took American comparative education on the path of positivist techniques, quantitative methodologies, and modernization ideologies in the 1960s and 1970s, Brickman did not waver in his commitment to historical scholarship. Instead of criticizing the “scientific” preoccupation of the field, he aimed, rather, to achieve Truth through a steadfast pursuit of historical,

comparative inquiry and his belief in academic freedom. His intellectual openness and generosity envisioned comparative education as a space that would be capable of embracing different theoretical orientations and methodological approaches. He therefore devoted his academic life to preserving such an intellectual space in comparative education through his own historical scholarship and lifelong career as editor.

Brickman's commitment to historical scholarship, however, had serious implications for his reputation in the field. During the 1960s and 1970s, when the field was moving toward the "science" of comparative education with escalating speed, Brickman was regarded by the editors of *Comparative Education Review* as a specialist in the history of comparative education; they published five of his nine articles in the journal on the history of the field. Today, many comparative education scholars remember him primarily for the study trips he organized early in his career, without paying due respect to his larger contributions to the field. It is unfortunate that the historical accounts of comparative education as a field tend "to discount earlier versions of the field or cast them as inferior and defective" (Rust, Johnstone & Allaf, 2009, p. 123). Today, it is fitting to revisit Brickman's legacy in comparative education and raise him and his scholarship from the ranks of "forgotten men, forgotten themes"² (Kazamias, 2009, p. 37).

Although Brickman's legacies in comparative education are many, we will focus on three: his role in founding the Comparative Education Society, his notion of true comparative education scholarship, and his service to the larger academic community through a lifelong career as journal editor. We hope to illuminate Brickman's legacy in and influence on the field of comparative and international education through archival research of his personal and professional material held at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University; interviews with some of his former colleagues, students, and family members; and a content analysis of his publications and the two journals he edited. Despite our cursory attempt at what can only be described as a daunting task of uncovering the life and work of a man who had, for example, conducted seventeen different research projects four years before his death and who had been simultaneously working on five handwritten books during the last year of his life, we hope to inspire more faculty and students in comparative education to reach into the history of our field to understand its present. As Robert Cowen (2009) rightfully observed, "we have a lot of unseen history," which needs urgent revisiting now and in the future (p. 7).

The formation of the Comparative Education Society: More than "junket-like tours abroad"

William W. Brickman's journey toward comparative education began during his childhood in the multilingual Lower East Side of New York City in the early twentieth century. It was a poor section of New York filled with tenements for immigrants and the working class. The buildings "were a bad after-thought of a heedless day"

(Riis, 1890, p. 20), crowded, impoverished, and forgotten. This neglected area of New York became Brickman's linguistic playground. He was surrounded by parents who spoke Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic, Polish, German, and Russian; newspapers written in English, Italian, Hungarian, Russian, Yiddish, and Greek; and store signs, movies, plays, and radio in most of these languages. Despite the terrible living conditions and disease-laden streets, Brickman was inevitably exposed to culture, language, and history of all sorts. When his brother, born Morris but called Moish and later changed to Murray, was born in the "three-room, cold-water, gas-lit, unheated" tenement, the young Brickman at the age of two years and eight months greeted "each visitor with the proud declaration, 'Der dokter hot gebrakht a baybie in a shretchel.' The last word was my Yiddishization of satchel, one of the few English words that I had heard" (Brickman, 1985).

After graduating from the City College of New York with both a bachelor's degree in German and a master's degree in education, he would combine his love of linguistics, education, and history into a 1938 dissertation titled "The Contribution of Herman Lietz to Education" presented to the faculty of New York University (NYU) as one of the first Jewish Orthodox doctoral candidates. Graduating with a terminal degree as the war in Europe saw the United States' involvement, Brickman's fluency in German made him a vital candidate for the war effort. As an officer in the United States military during World War II, Brickman conducted trilingual interrogations, learned the Bavarian, Austrian, Silesian, Rhineland, Berlin, and Leipzig dialects of German, and became conversant in Czech. Among the few European languages Brickman could not speak (to his disappointment) were Finnish, Gaelic, Basque, Albanian, and Icelandic.

After World War II ended, Brickman transitioned from military service overseas (on one vita he labeled his profession during those years as "special agent") to professor in the history of education department at NYU. While at NYU, he became convinced professors of education who taught "courses which refer to systems of education and educational theory in other lands" had been "treated in a very superficial and dead manner, no doubt because of the almost total absence of contact by American educators with education abroad" (Brickman, n.d.). Brickman set out to remedy this problem by arranging one of the first academic study tours to Europe with Professor Gerald Read of Kent State University and Dr. Bess Goodykoontz of the U.S. Office of Education to "add life and meaning to the teaching of courses in foundations of education, history of education, and comparative education" (Brickman, n.d.). Following in the footsteps of Kandel and Ulich, Brickman was convinced that one could not engage in a true comparative study without the intimate knowledge of foreign languages and first-hand familiarity with the political, economic, and social contexts of the countries studied:

Dr. Ulich stressed what Dr. Kandel had said earlier, namely, that knowledge of a foreign educational system is derived from "personal study and familiarity" and not from documentary materials alone. Time and again, Dr. Kandel impressed this point on the present writer. (Brickman, 1966, p. 7)

The first trip occurred in the summer of 1956 and included school visits, conferences, discussions, interviews, and cultural experiences during a five-week period (see Photograph 2).³ In Brickman's (1966) view, a study tour like this represented "alternate, short-term" solutions for the many teachers and professors lacking international experience, while providing additional time for the formulation of a "program of systematic visitation of professors of comparative education" in order to provide "adequate experiences for foreign school observation" (p. 7). More importantly, however, Brickman (1972) believed that "firsthand visitation" was only one of the core competencies necessary to engage in the study of comparative education, which went hand-in-hand with the following, equally important competencies: scholarship, language skills, objectivity and open-mindedness, source readings in original languages, and precision in analysis and terminology. When the study tours led to the genesis of the Comparative Education Society in 1956, Brickman (1977a) considered it "an act of rashness perpetrated by a relatively younger generation" (p. 398). He would have preferred a less spontaneous professionalization of the Society.⁴ As he admitted ten years after the establishment of the Society, "it might have been desirable to exercise more deliberation in the establishment of an organization designed to raise standards of study, teaching, and research in comparative education" (p. 8).

Contrary to popular belief, Brickman's influence did not stop at these "study tours." Firmly believing in Ulich's and Kandel's philosophy of comparative education, Brickman aimed to move comparative education beyond the "junket-like tours abroad" and the resultant courses taught by amateurs (Brickman, 1954, p. 398). By professionalizing the society, Brickman (1966) hoped to raise standards in all aspects of scholarship, thus "preventing dilettantes from pre-empting the field" (p. 8). At the time of the establishment of the Society, for example, he observed that the term "comparative education" had been used "too loosely and too irresponsibly":

The field was wide open, and anyone who so desired could leap into the vacuum. What the Comparative Education Society tried to do was to gain recognition in the academic and professional world as a group of scholarly-minded, serious specialists with high standards of teaching, research, and publication. (1966, p. 8)

Indeed, Brickman's vision of the Comparative Education Society was wide and diverse. The Society's origins—or what has been called the prehistory—date back to 1954 when Brickman held informal meetings in New York City with comparative education scholars and students. Around the same time, he took responsibility for organizing the first annual conferences of comparative education held at NYU. The goal of the first conference on April 30, 1954 was "to bring together those who teach and those who are otherwise engaged in comparative education to discuss some of the fundamental problems of this field" (Brickman, 1973, p. 28). A group of thirty-five conference participants, including scholars Robert Ulich and Maxine Greene, pondered issues of far greater importance than the "study tours." They discussed topics like the nature and value of comparative education, avenues of



Photograph 2. One of the first activities organized by the Comparative Education Society was a European study program, which took place from August 18 to September 17, 1956. Photograph courtesy of Hoover Institute archives, Stanford University, William W. Brickman Collection, Box 118.

action toward a revival of comparative education, methods of teaching comparative education, and desirable types of research in comparative education.

It is clear that Brickman was genuinely concerned with the future direction of comparative education. He thought that the field was too preoccupied with practicalities (such as “study tours”) and not enough with building its theoretical and methodological foundations. At the third annual conference of comparative education in 1956, Brickman devoted his address to “The Theoretical Foundations of Comparative Education,” where he explained the importance of moving beyond practical ends and toward theoretical considerations in making comparative education a legitimate field of study:

Comparative Education is very often regarded as basically a practical field. It is often defended as an area of study on the ground that it is of great value to school and university administrators, to educational officials in the government, to individuals engaged in organizing student and teacher exchanges, and to experts going on foreign technical assistance missions. There can be no doubt that these are worthwhile functional values of Comparative Education. Yet, it is important to ask ourselves if we have done our duty to this field in stressing its practicality. Any practical work which is founded on ideas and scholarly data must necessarily be rooted in a theoretical basis. Without a strong theoretical substratum, the practice tends to lose direction and its professional character. (Brickman, 1973, p. 116)

Quot homines, tot sententiae

Brickman believed that there was no one correct way of doing comparative education. His call for formulating the theoretical basis for comparative education went out to scholars of different theoretical and methodological backgrounds. While acknowledging the need for “more exploration and more rigorous thinking,” he appealed to his colleagues not to forget the words of the Roman playwright Terence—“*quot homines, tot sententiae*” (“so many men, so many opinions,” quoted in Brickman, 1973, p. 125). In outlining the general principles of comparative education, Brickman insisted that differences were “not only inevitable, they were desirable” (1973, p. 125).

This belief in the value of diverse opinions was also reflected in the original goals of the Comparative Education Society. Of the eight goals formulated during the third annual conference of comparative education, four echoed Brickman’s appeal for collaborative exploration of different theoretical and methodological approaches to comparative education, including (1) encouraging cooperation among specialists in comparative education throughout the world in joint studies, exchange of documents, and first-hand descriptions of education; (2) cooperating whenever possible with such organizations as UNESCO, the International Institute of Education, and the Pan-American Union; (3) promoting intervisitation of educators and on-the-spot study of school systems for a better understanding of the theory and practice of education throughout the world; and (4) cooperating with

specialists in other disciplines, particularly the social sciences, and interpreting educational developments in a wider cultural context. The other four goals included promoting and improving the teaching of comparative education in colleges and universities throughout the world, encouraging scholarly research in comparative and international studies in education, generating interest in comparative education among professors of all areas of professional education and in other disciplines, and facilitating the publication of studies and up-to-date information on comparative education.⁵

During the first decade of the Comparative Education Society,⁶ academics and education professionals engaged in rigorous debate about the epistemological nature of the field. In this process, the Society's journal, *Comparative Education Review (CER)*, became a "testing ground in which new ideas and concepts about comparative education were allowed to compete" (Campisano, 1988, p. 43). In part, this was possible due to the skillful editorship of George Bereday, the journal's first editor, who was recognized for using the journal to provide "an outlet for scholarship of different viewpoints and perspectives" (Altbach, 1984, p. 6) and expanding "the parameters of the field giving room to the breadth of interests, talents, and perspectives" (Campisano, 1988, p. 69). Brickman acknowledged Bereday's "brilliant editorship" by highlighting its respect for theoretical and methodological diversity, which was central to the advancement of the field:

the *Review* has indeed covered the significant issues, problems, and developments in the various aspects of education in international perspective. It has stressed historical and socio-political-cultural-economic contexts, as well as scholarly documentation. It has given space to veterans and newcomers, to Americans and foreigners. The book reviews, bibliographies, editorial introductions, news notes, and other features have made the *Review* the indispensable source for all who are concerned with education on an extra-national scale. (1973, pp. 17–18)

However, Brickman's vision for a vibrant epistemological diversity of the field began to fade in the mid-1960s, with science and statistics becoming the dominant tools in comparative education. When Harold Noah took over the editorship of *CER* in 1967, the principles of "scientific rationality" increasingly became more visible in the journal's publications. Based on their analysis of *CER* articles prior to 1977, Altbach and Kelly (1986) note that the "state of the art" in comparative education at that time reflected "the theoretical dominance of structural functionalism, combined with positivist methodological assumptions" (quoted in Crossley, 1999, p. 250). Furthermore, Kelly and Altbach (1988) argued that the interpretative traditions, critical theory, and conflict studies "scarcely entered the discourse of the field and were not promoted through its major journals and texts" (p. 14). Reflecting on this change, Noah (1968) himself admitted to "the growing attention given in our field to the social sciences" and by extension the emergence of science and statistical tools, challenging the field's former grounding in educational history and philosophy.

In retrospect, some scholars referred to this period of comparative education

as “stifling orthodoxy” (Rust, Johnstone & Allaf, 2009, p. 132) and even “historical amnesia” (Watson, 1999, p. 235). Others pointed out how such developments came at a high “epistemological and methodological cost, namely the sacrifice or almost total abandonment of the historical dimension in comparative education research” (Kazamias, 2009, p. 156). Scholars practicing historical scholarship in comparative education, including Brickman and his predecessors Kandel and Ulich, were inevitably displaced from comparative education, as the rapid decline of their publications in mainstream comparative education journals during the 1960s and 1970s clearly attest. However, it did not signify the death of historical scholarship in comparative education. Quite the opposite, historical scholarship was alive and thriving—as Brickman’s scholarship confirms—albeit in different education spaces.

**Brickman’s comparative education:
The “leading edge of educational history”**

William W. Brickman’s worldview began with “a reverence for history, with recognition that present and future were a function of the past” (Swing, 1987, p. 4). He understood the field “in line with the statement of the late Dr. I. L. Kandel, the world-renowned expert in the field, that comparative education is ‘the prolongation of the history of education into the present’” (Brickman, 1977a). Brickman eventually codified his definition of comparative education as the “analysis of two or more national systems of schools and other formative institutions and influences, parts of systems; or of learning, teaching, and related problems and developments—in the light of historical, political, cultural, economic, social, religious, and other factors” (Brickman, 1972).

In Brickman’s conceptualization, comparative education was the “leading edge of educational history” (Brickman, 1977a). Even after the call to add “international” to the title of CES was recognized, Brickman continued to believe the study of international education was included, almost inherent, in comparative education by design, which the founding documents of CES make clear. In any case, Brickman squarely placed both fields of study under the larger academic branch of the history of education, negating any reason to debate the inclusion or exclusion of “international” in the study of comparative education. It is almost as if Brickman had an ordering system for the academic study of education. First came international education, where the scholar would review the concrete methods and material of some part of an education system and how those systems moved to other countries. Second came comparative education, where the scholar would systematically compare two or more systems—or parts of systems—and use theory to explain the differences and/or similarities. Last came the history of education, to provide a fuller understanding and give detailed explanations as to how and why the present systems studied came into existence. Each study supported the next, creating a firm ground for the history of education to stand.

This three-tier system has its flaws, of course. Namely, how can international education be first in Brickman's conceptualization if he had labeled comparative education the "leading edge" of educational history? One way to clarify this is to view international education not necessarily separate from but rather supplementary to comparative education, like development education and intercultural education. Erwin Epstein outlined this viewpoint in a letter to the *CER* editor:

If a correlation is found between length of name and base of popular support, we might eventually wish to name our organization the International Comparative Development and Intercultural Education Society! Only then might we satisfy all of the people all of the time. Until that time, let our rose keep its name, and we'll be sure it smells as sweet. (Epstein, 1968, p. 378)

Whatever his opinion, Brickman remained relatively silent on the debate to change CES to CIES. He preferred to spend his time figuring out how comparative education fit into the history of education, and supported other scholars who did the same in the economics of education, the sociology of education, and other disciplines.

Brickman's historical scholarship

Brickman's process of comparison was systematic; it was as orderly as the military, as honest as his belief in academic freedom. It fused international, comparative, and educational history into a seamless process that resulted in profoundly deep understandings of the many topics and interconnections throughout history and across linguistic and geographic borders. He preferred outlines to organize ideas, lectures, research, and historical events. He outlined everything from "The Writing of the History of a College or University" in 1954 to a "Tentative Prospectus for a Boys' Yeshivah Academic High School" in 1965, and from "Education for Leadership in a Global Society" in 1980 to the "History of International Education: The Educational Work of the League of Nations—1919–39" (n.d.). His archives are filled with hundreds of typed outlines on every topic of interest. Taken together, the outlines provided not only a holistic view of his corpus but also a method to his process, which started with bibliographies and literature reviews.

His bibliographies and literature reviews began early in his career. Brickman was known for such reviews in *School and Society*, an extended version of the various bibliographies he habitually created. He became a formal contributor to the publication in 1946 when he returned from the war. "I am delighted to inherit you as a collaborator with *School and Society*," Kandel wrote Brickman. "We greatly need the kind of composite reviews which you have begun to write."

Brickman began a long career of pulling together books and articles on a variety of topics published as educational literature reviews or as bibliographies (titled "books for educators" in *School and Society*). Brickman recruited graduate students to search for citations and references as he worked on his literature reviews and bibliographies. One of Brickman's research assistants at the University of

Pennsylvania remembered such impossible tasks as searching for the citation of an anonymous quotation in a foreign language unknown to the assistant (personal communication, Raymond E. Wanner, March 2, 2009). Indeed, Brickman's archives are littered with annotated citations, sometimes in rolodex form but often scribbled on scrap paper and envelopes, haphazardly placed in folders labeled, in one instance, "AMvS"—his abbreviation for Anna Maria van Schurman, a seventeenth-century learned lady, as Brickman called her. His method, as disorganized as it may have appeared, produced an almost unthinkable breadth and depth of analysis. "I certainly appreciate," John Dewey exulted in a letter dated November 3, 1949, "your sending me that wonderfully complete reference list. But I appreciate even more the pains and thoroughness with which you have done the work no doubt," adding, "Needless to say the list is prized and will be carefully preserved. I never dreamed of having anything of the sort."

Readers of *School and Society* were equally impressed by Brickman's reviews. In an August 2, 1948 letter, Edward L. Thorndike called his reviews "scholarly, sensible and well-written." Frederick Rogers of Monterey, California wrote Kandel on April 30, 1947 to explain his respect and admiration of the educational reviews: "It is gradually being borne in upon your readers that in William W. Brickman *School and Society* has a rare jewel. How he does it all defeats my imagination; I mean particularly the number of books reviewed, plus the very evidently alert and well informed critical apparatus he brings into the lists." His ability to bring together vast quantities of sources—both primary and secondary—was all part of his larger methodology of historical research.

Before writing, Brickman outlined more than bibliographies and literature reviews. He would continue with lists of cultural figures in different countries, side-by-side comparisons of education systems and languages, extensive reports on trips abroad, chronological outlines of educational events in various countries, and eventually a detailed outline of a potential manuscript. This method required Brickman to learn new languages and cultures of different countries, to work in archives around the world to find primary documents, and to take extensive field notes for every trip abroad. His archives, case in point, contain a box of little notebooks, one for each trip, filled with thoughts, ideas, and observations from experiences abroad. These would turn into typed notes (often labeled "for private circulation only") with titles such as "Books, Blue Jeans, and Bellbottoms" and "Learned Lady of the Lowlands." All of his collected information would then be slowly turned into manuscripts. Sifting through his archives, it is common to find myriad outlines of the same topic. Each iteration of the outline became longer and more complete than the last. Eventually, for some of the topics, hand-written manuscripts, some as long as 800 pages, would emerge among his papers.⁷

Brickman explained his research methodology in a document detailing the work for his doctoral students of educational history:

The history of education, as one of the constituent areas of the field of history, is a scholarly subject which is studied on the basis of the examination, analysis,

and interpretation of primary source materials, as far as possible in the original languages. International educational history comprises (a) the development of education in countries other than the United States and (b) the interaction of nations in educational and cultural affairs throughout time (1977a).

This type of work required proficiency in multiple languages. Yet Brickman noticed a decline in foreign-language study in the United States, which would make his preferred scholarship nearly impossible. Near the end of his life he observed, “the change in the history of American Society and education from multilingualism to unilingualism and from a cosmopolitan to a constricted curriculum” (Brickman, 1981) should be of great concern to the institution of education.

There were two important debates in comparative education during Brickman’s years.⁸ The first centered on the methods of comparative education research, the second on the tools. The debates on methods asked whether the field should use social science methodologies or develop its own. George Bereday argued for the latter while Harold Noah, Max Eckstein, and Arnold Anderson preferred the former. Before 1969, “there was a lively debate between those such as Bereday, who felt that comparative education should develop its own methodology, and Anderson, who argued that comparative education is not a discipline but, rather, a topical area that should utilize social science methods” (Altbach, 1991, p. 498). Brickman remained relatively silent on this debate, preferring to focus his energy on the tools of comparison.

Brickman had clear beliefs on the debate over the proper tools of comparative education. What tools should the field emphasize in research and scholarship? Noah, Eckstein, and Bereday believed the field should rely on science and statistics. Brickman, by contrast, thought the tools of comparison required a firm grounding in the study of history and cultures. With the publication of *Towards a Science of Comparative Education* (Noah & Eckstein, 1969), however, the field shifted methodological emphasis and popularized science and statistical tools in comparative education. Science and statistics eclipsed Brickman’s preference for historical and cultural tools in the field of comparative education.

Brickman’s preference appeared in what he did and did not assign as required reading. On the one hand, he required students to read Bereday’s (1965) *Comparative Method in Education* in a 1965 class on the foundations of education while he was a visiting professor at the University of Pittsburgh. Although Bereday supported similar positivist techniques as Noah and Eckstein, Brickman nonetheless assigned this seminal book in multiple courses. On the other hand, of the syllabi found in his archives, *Towards a Science of Comparative Education* appeared only once as recommended, not required reading. Swing confirmed Brickman’s dislike of the book but explicitly remembered reading it for class (personal communication, March 4, 2010). Brickman obviously took a firm stand in opposition to science and statistical tools in comparative education. He emphasized instead history and cultural studies as his preferred tools for comparative education in his classes.

“The history of education,” Brickman wrote (1977b), “offers a body of knowl-

edge helping toward the understanding of the educational scene of the past and present. It is especially useful in aiding the individual to comprehend current educational problems, since all have roots in the past,” adding, “no claim can be made that the scholarly knowledge of the content of educational history and of the methods of historical research has been instrumental in supplying the basis for the solution of particular problems in education.” He preferred the discipline of Bagley, who was known to sit quietly in Room 283 at Teachers College, Columbia University working on the “essentials” even if that kept him from the bleeding edge of Dewey’s Progressivism. If during the educational debates of the early 1930s Bagley (cited in Null & Ravitch, 2006) “would rather be right than Progressive,” then during the 1970s Brickman would “rather be right than scientific.”

More than an editor: Brickman’s pursuit of academic freedom

Brickman devoted a significant part of his academic career to editing journals and other publications. As early as 1942, he served as both editor of *Education Abstracts* (1942–44) and assistant managing editor of *Modern Language Journal* (1942–46). Between 1947 and 1949, he acted as editor of *School and Society*—the only journal in the country that was published weekly at that time—while its official editor, Isaac L. Kandel, was away at his alma mater, the University of Manchester, as the Simon Research Fellow and Professor of American Studies.⁹ Brickman succeeded Kandel as editor of *School and Society* four years later in 1953 and served in that capacity for twenty-three years until 1976. In the history of the journal, he became one of two editors who served the journal for more than twenty years, surpassed only by the journal’s founder, James McKeen Cattell, who edited *School and Society* for twenty-four years (1915–30) before selling it to the Society for the Advancement of Education. In 1979, Brickman accepted the editorship of *Western European Education* (later renamed *European Education*) and continued there until 1986. His editing career spanned forty-four years, interrupted only twice by a four-year and a three-year hiatus.

For Brickman, editing was a noble endeavor. It was much more than a technical compilation of the most recent scholarship. And, it was much more than a powerful opportunity to shape, influence, and control the future direction of the education field. Despite the few published articles—not editorials—where Brickman used his historical scholarship, his preferred methodology did not bias his editorship. For him, editing was his foremost academic duty to advance academic freedom and integrity of scholarship in the academic world. It was a “constant campaign on behalf of the freedom of every member of the intellectual community” (Brickman, 1969, p. 268). Time and again, Brickman devoted his editorials to examining many “significant matters of editorial policy and practice” (Brickman, 1958, p. 315). In *School and Society*, for example, he strived to follow in the tradition envisioned by Bagley to make the journal “an unbiased, impersonal, disinterested medium of information” without becoming “the mouthpiece or organ” of any specific viewpoint—a tradi-

tion later supported by Kandel (quoted in Brickman, 1958, p. 315). Throughout his lifelong career as an editor, he tried to live up to this policy of “resolutely maintaining the freedom . . . without grinding any particular pedagogical axe” in order “to hear all points of view on controversial issues, even in the face of public opposition” (Brickman, 1958, pp. 315–16). Commenting on the role of academic freedom in educational journals, Brickman wrote:

Criticism must not be regarded as an attack. In a democratic society, criticism is a right and a duty. . . . Individuals will keep on presenting viewpoints on educational questions—regardless of the popularity of their opinions—as long as they are responsible, have something to say, and can defend what they say. Any other policy stifles thinking and promotes the kind of conformity which constitutes a danger to a democratic society (1958, pp. 316–17).

Moreover, Brickman practiced what he preached, even if it meant putting himself and the journals he edited at risk of public attack, outrage, and opposition. On September 19, 1953, *School and Society* published a critique on the education and certification of teachers by Arthur E. Bestor Jr. At the time, one popular explanation of the problems in public education placed the blame on professors of education who preferred research and theory to practice, leaving teachers inadequately trained for their profession. Many scholars adamantly disagreed with Bestor’s attack on progressive, secondary, and higher education and blamed not only the author but also the editors who gave him space to publish. Brickman was one of those editors.

After publication of the article, Brickman received countless letters criticizing his professionalism and conduct as editor. (One box in Brickman’s archive is devoted entirely to loose letters, many dealing with the Bestor article alone. For this reason, we define this article and ensuing uproar as the “Bestor incident.”) Simply because readers disagreed with Bestor, Brickman was attacked as a poor editor. Brickman engaged in folly, many scholars believed, for publishing the piece. “I have been considerably surprised and distressed,” wrote W. H. Sauvain, then acting head of the department of education at Bucknell University, one month after the Bestor incident, “that you . . . would lend your columns to such an article as that recently written for you by Arthur Bestor,” adding, “such articles in reputable journals does far more harm than good to our profession.”

The incident grew exponentially with each issue of *School and Society* when Brickman published rather than censored some of the very negative letters sent to him. Debate, Brickman believed, was healthy in academia, and he gave space for various opinions of the time in *School and Society*. There were, however, a few notable scholars in support of Brickman. “Don’t let them shake you about the Bestor Article,” proclaimed the president of Teachers College, William F. Russell, in a November 23, 1953 letter. “I don’t agree with him, but surely he has a right to be heard. You were exactly right in publishing the article—and more power to you.” Brickman concurred with Russell: “Criticism of the educational establishment and effort is necessary, but it must be founded on scholarship and reason” (Brickman, 1968, p. 230). One year later, Brickman wrote an educational literature

review in *School and Society* on the various strands of criticism in American public education. He appealed to the use of logic to examine the claims and arguments of individuals—not the individuals themselves. It is worth reprinting in full the last paragraph of his essay:

Very little is the product of individuals who are hostile to the aims and practices of the public schools. It is necessary to examine all statements of dissatisfaction, as well as those of defense, in the light of logic, faithfulness to fact, and other objective considerations. The attitude of bellicosity which has all too often greeted those within the profession who have ventured to call attention to weaknesses in the fabric or function of the school must give way to a greater degree of receptivity to dissenting ideas. American education has nothing to gain from administrative policies which frown upon differences of opinion. While this practice of discouraging controversial sentiment on educational matters is not confined to any one branch of the profession, it is vexing to find it among educationists, who, as a group, have openly committed themselves to the teaching of independent thinking. It would be wholesome indeed to see the educational conventions and conferences once more become the battleground of contrasting ideas. Just as the schools are not the private province of the teaching profession, the education of teachers is not the personal preserve of the educationists. (Brickman, 1954, p. 140)

Although Brickman cherished academic freedom and a diversity of theories and methodologies in the study of education, as evidenced during his editorship of *School and Society*, by the late 1970s he noticeably reacted to the shift away from historical scholarship in the field of comparative education by becoming editor of *Western European Education*. He actively began to preserve the shrinking space available for (what was quickly becoming) the former, forgotten methods and tools in comparative education. The journal, which had been edited by a former student of his (Raymond E. Wanner), was the perfect journal for Brickman to forge a stronghold for historical scholarship. Brickman had the freedom to edit as he pleased. As editor between 1979 and 1986, he continued Ursula Springer's founding intention of promoting both a marginalized geography (Western Europe) and methodology (cross-national, qualitative studies) in comparative education within the journal's pages (Silova & Brehm, 2009). Yet Brickman pushed the limits in his editorials, often publishing long historical analyses having nothing to do with the issue at hand.¹⁰

Brickman's time at the journal can be understood as a reaction by the once-famous scholar who, although having started the Comparative Education Society, took on the editorship of a much smaller journal than *School and Society* to keep alive a dying breed of comparison. That *Western European Education* was devoted to Europe seems to be both a welcome coincidence to a scholar who devoted his career to studies and languages of Europe after serving in World War II and a conscious realization that European education scholarship maintained a similar diversity of thought and methodologies to the comparative education Brickman remembered. In this light, the journal became a way of preserving not only a marginalized meth-

odology but also scholars like himself, whose prominence was overshadowed by men “bearing computers on their backs” (Noah, 1968, p. 125).

Remembering Brickman: The past and future of comparative education

In 1981, William W. Brickman turned sixty-eight, the mandatory age of retirement at the University of Pennsylvania at the time. Although granted the coveted emeritus status, Brickman was not keen about the new label. Since he likened the word to that of a disease, he created more attractive variations for himself: “Emeractive,” “Activeritus,” and “active retirement.” Active was exactly how he spent his retirement. In one letter he wrote to all of his graduate students notifying them of his newly changed status at the university, he not only offered to write recommendations in the future and see through his current students’ dissertations, but also explained his plans to write a seven-volume series of studies of the world history of universities. Although he never completed such a series, Brickman was intensely trying to show retirement does not mean an end to scholarship. In fact, he even began his own publishing company with his wife, Sylvia, called Emeritus Press, as both a jab at the conventional conception of emeritus status and a place for him to continue publishing. And continue publishing he did.

This episode in Brickman’s life is an example of how he lived his entire life: dedicated to family, friends, and colleagues; motivated to attain the highest level of scholarship; and humorous and light-hearted to all those around him. “Dr. Brickman set, always, exceptionally high standards for his students and was there to show them how such goals might be achieved,” wrote Ronald E. Ohl, one of Brickman’s students, in a July 3, 1980 letter to the prominent linguist Dell Hymes. “As always, Dr. Brickman was, himself, the best example of a truly fine scholar, representing what I believe every university hopes for its students.” We would extend this thought further by arguing that Brickman represented what any academic and professional association (including the Comparative and International Education Society) would hope for in its leaders—an individual of uncommon commitment to furthering the field, while preserving its theoretical and methodological diversity through academic freedom and integrity.

From the day he was a little boy in New York’s Lower East Side to his time in Cherry Hill, New Jersey as an “Emeractive” retiree, Brickman’s love for knowledge guided his work as an educator, scholar, and journal editor. He consistently aimed for Truth in the study of education by being meticulous in research, fastidious in historical scholarship, and honest in life. Furthermore, Brickman exemplified the principles of academic honesty, integrity, and freedom in pursuing his own scholarship and furthering comparative education as a field of study. Yet Brickman became to some extent a casualty of the epistemological shift toward science and statistical tools in comparative education during the 1960s and 1970s. The neglect of historical scholarship has been long and drawn-out, resulting in the marginalization of the

“traditional historian-cum-philosopher-cum-humanist” (Kazamias, 2001, p. 440) approach in comparative education. Honoring the legacy of Brickman allows us not only to reevaluate critical contributions of the founding members of Comparative and International Education Society, but also to reimagine the past as we strive for a more inclusive future of comparative education—one open to the multiplicity of theoretical and methodological perspectives. Whether called “neo-comparative education” (Broadfoot, 2000) or neo-historiography, the task is to problematize the existing discourses and revisit the historical accounts of the development of comparative education as a field of study today and in the future.

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the Hoover Institution at Stanford University for its support of this research; Sylvia Brickman, who not only gave the Hoover Institution the rights to William W. Brickman’s papers, but also worked with us patiently as we tried to uncover her complex and fascinating late husband; and Elizabeth Sherman Swing, Erwin H. Epstein, Noah W. Sobe, and Audree Chase-Mayoral for their helpful comments on earlier drafts.

Notes

1. These two quotations were found in William W. Brickman’s archives held at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. They were carefully written on small note cards as if preserved for future use. More interesting, as unorganized as Brickman’s papers are, these two quotes were placed atop a pile of papers in one of the few folders in the collection. Since his archives have not been cataloged, this folder must have come from Brickman himself, making the two quotes stick out more than his other papers.

2. Andreas Kazamias (2009) does not include Brickman in his list of “forgotten men” in comparative education, even though he devoted an entire chapter to those educators who were forgotten primarily because of their historical scholarship (such as Sadler, Kandel, Ulich, and others). Brickman has therefore become the “most forgotten” in comparative education, adding another superlative to the long collection that has defined his career.

3. One of the first activities of the newly formed Comparative Education Society was the European study program, which took place on August 18–September 17, 1956. The goal was to “provide a significant first-hand experience in Europe for professional educators who has a responsibility for teaching courses or phases of courses that dealt with education in other lands” (Read, 1955, p. 53). The visits were primarily to schools, teachers’ colleges, and universities in Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, France, Holland, and England. The program also comprised lectures, symposia, formal and informal discussions, accumulation of documents and books, and other related activities. As Brickman (1966) later reported, one of the outcomes of the study trip was the enrichment of the courses given by the participants not only in comparative education, but also in related fields.

4. In preparation for the first study tour, Gerald Read became aware that the travel expenses for an organization would be substantially lower than for an unorganized group. This financial consideration served as a catalyst for the establishment of the Comparative Education Society during the third conference at NYU on April 27, 1956 (Brickman, 1966).

5. These eight goals appeared in a document titled “summary of the meeting to establish

The Comparative Education Society” in Brickman’s archives. It should be noted that these eight goals are not all reflected in the current purpose of the CIES constitution. The use of “cooperation” is the most obvious difference in the current purpose of CIES and that of CES. Although CIES currently supports “theories,” “related areas of inquiry and activity,” and “comparative, cross-cultural, interdisciplinary, and international studies,” it makes no explicit appeal for cooperation as Brickman had emphasized in 1956. Also, it is interesting to note that Kazamias and Schwartz (1977) list only four goals of the Comparative Education Society in their historical account of the Society’s foundation, including (1) promoting teaching and research in comparative education and international studies in institutions of higher learning; (2) promoting the study of education as a phase of the work of other comparative and international disciplines, area studies and centers of international studies; (3) facilitating publication and distribution of comparative, cross-cultural, interdisciplinary, and international studies contributing to interpretation of developments in the field of education in their broad and interrelated political, economic, and social context; and (4) encouraging exchanges and other visits by educators. Again, the goals directly focusing on the collaborative nature of the society are omitted from their retelling of the formation of CES.

6. The Comparative Education Society was renamed the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) on July 5, 1968 by a vote of 149 to 51 (letter from Alan Peshkin, Walter Kaulfers, and William Spencer to Barbara A. Yates, July 5, 1968 in William W. Brickman Collection, Hoover Institution, Stanford University).

7. As organized as Brickman was, his archives remain as cluttered as his home office. Only Brickman, these authors would like to believe, could possibly know the exact location of each document in his archives.

8. We thank Erwin Epstein for clarifying this idea.

9. The Simon Research Fellow program was set up at the University of Manchester to bring distinguished scholars to campus for one academic year (Null, 2007). During the 1947–48 academic year, Kandel became the first Simon Research Fellow, and one of his tasks during this time was to build a new American studies department at the university. Halfway through his appointment, Kandel was offered the position of professor of American studies, which he held until October 1949 (Null, 2007).

10. Brickman once wrote a thirty-five-page editorial on the educational contributions of Martin Luther for one issue of *Western European Education* (the title of the present publication until 1991). Considering each issue consisted of only ninety-six pages at the time, the editorial director for M.E. Sharpe, Arnold C. Tovell, was noticeably upset when, on December 13, 1983, he wrote Brickman saying, “Since the Journal promises translations, I think you should keep your essays to not more than 12–15% of any issue. OK?” Brickman obviously pushed the limits of *Western European Education* beyond the comfort of the publisher.

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ANDREAS M. KAZAMIAS

Remembering William Brickman

A “Forgotten Man,” a Friend, and a “Co-player” in Comparative Education

In the recently published *International Handbook of Comparative Education* (2009), edited by Professor Robert Cowen of the University of London and myself, I wrote a chapter on the history of comparative education titled “Forgotten Men, Forgotten Themes: The Historical-Philosophical-Cultural and Liberal Humanist Motif in Comparative Education” (Cowen & Kazamias, 2009, pp. 37–58). In it, I examined critically the comparative education discourse/paradigm—methodological and epistemological—of four doyens of comparative education, namely, Michael Sadler, Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans and Robert Ulich, a dominant discourse/paradigm until the mid-1950s, but one that has since gone into desuetude. Regrettably, I did not mention another noted representative of the historical-cultural and humanist motif in comparative education, William Brickman. I am grateful, therefore, to the editors of this issue for giving me this opportunity to make amends for my oversight by writing this commentary about my departed friend, and for a time (in the 1960s) coworker in our efforts to elevate the status of comparative education as a historical interpretive “humanistic science.”

I came to know Professor Brickman’s work in educational history and comparative education when I was a graduate student under the tutorship of Professor

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Robert Ulich at Harvard University in the mid-1950s. It was a period of intellectual ferment regarding the nature and scope of comparative education and Professor Brickman was a key player in seeking to systematize such an “amorphous” area. As an important step toward that goal, he organized annual conferences at New York University and was instrumental in the establishment of the Comparative Education Society in 1956, which was designed “to raise the standards of study, teaching and research in comparative education” and to bring order and respectability to the field. As he himself wrote, ten years later:

The field was wide open, and anyone who so desired could leap into the vacuum. What the Comparative Education Society tried to do was to gain recognition in the academic and professional world as a group of scholarly-minded, serious specialists with high standards of teaching, research and publication. (Brickman, 1973, p. 15)

In the early 1960s, as a member of the faculty of the newly established Comparative Education Center of the University of Chicago, I came to know Brickman personally, and we developed a professional friendship that lasted until his death. During this period, we met and participated in national meetings of the Comparative Education Society; we served on its board of directors, and we wrote separate articles on the development of comparative education in special editions of the *Comparative Education Review*, the latest one being the special issue of the journal, under my editorship, on the “State of the Art” in 1977 (*Comparative Education Review*, 1977).

The 1960s was also a period of intense debate about the nature, the methodology, and the subject matter of comparative education as a field of study. A new generation of comparative educationists in the United States and England (e.g., George Bereday, Harold Noah, Max Eckstein, C. Arnold Anderson, Mary Jean Bowman, George Psacharopoulos, Philip Foster, Brian Holmes, Edmund King, and I), some of whom, unlike the “older” historical-cultural-humanist comparativists, were trained and educated in the social sciences (mainly in sociology and economics), questioned the contemporary approaches, exemplified by venerable scholars like Isaac Kandel, Nicholas Hans, and Robert Ulich. In their efforts to elevate the status of comparative education, these social scientists argued that comparative education, methodologically and epistemologically, should adopt the methods and techniques of the empirical and even natural sciences, thus becoming a more “scientific” discipline. As we have written recently: “If the inspirational deities of the old player-comparativists were history, philosophy, and humanistic paideia, those of some influential modernist ‘scientific’ parvenus were ‘science’ and the ‘scientific method,’ ‘empiricism,’ ‘instrumentalism,’ and ‘technocratic rationality’” (Cowen & Kazamias, 2009, p. 53). William Brickman and I participated quite actively in these debates of the 1960s, but held different views about the nature of the field from those of the “social scientists.”

William Brickman belonged to the aforementioned historical-cultural and

humanist school of thought associated with Isaac Kandel, Robert Ulich and, we might add, the German scholar Friedrich Schneider, all of whom he cited approvingly in his writings on the historical development of the field. In line with the epistemic discourse of these pioneers, Brickman conceived of comparative education as an explanatory interpretive “humanistic science,” in the Greek meaning of *episteme*, or the German meaning of *Wissenschaft*, that aimed at “understanding” and “interpretation” of how national systems of education developed to be what they are, not as an “empirical,” a “positivistic,” a policy-oriented, or an applied social science. In his words:

The irreducible aim of Comparative Education is to furnish reliable information concerning the educational systems, ideas and problems of various countries, including one’s own. A second significant aim is to provide the framework, techniques, interpretation, and conclusions of a comparative study of educational systems and problems. (Brickman 1973)

And further on, in the same text:

The first aim of CE is “descriptive,” what Friedrich Schneider referred to as *Auslandspädagogik* (study of educational matters/provision of “basic facts” in other countries which does not involve comparative analysis), but the second aim of Comparative Education/*Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft* is interpretative analysis. (Brickman, 1973, pp. 118–19)

And again in another text:

Actually, comparative education seeks to supply an understanding of the various interactive forces that make educational systems tick. Quantitative data there must be solid and accurate, for otherwise one would be generalizing *in vacuo*; but there must also be critical interpretation and perspective if the facts are to have more than a superficial meaning. (Brickman, 1975, p. 14)

Like William Brickman, but unlike the “social scientists” of the new generation mentioned above, I was trained and nurtured in the historical and humanistic Eurocentric intellectual tradition. Like Brickman, I viewed comparative education as an exegetic, interpretive humanistic *episteme* or *Wissenschaft*. But, unlike Brickman, in the debates of the 1960s, I was critical of the historical approach of Kandel and Ulich, in that it was not “comparative historical,” a point that cannot be elaborated in this short essay (see Kazamias, 1963, pp. 383–98).

Epilogue

Karl Popper, the eminent philosopher of science, has written: “To sum up, there can be no history of ‘the past as it actually did happen’; there can only be historical interpretations, and none of them final; and every generation has a right to frame its own” (Popper, 1957, p. 268). In addition to satisfying a request to contribute to a publication honoring William Brickman, composing this commentary has given me the opportunity to make amends for an oversight of mine. As mentioned in the

introductory paragraph of this essay, in a chapter on the great “Forgotten Men” of comparative education in the *International Handbook of Comparative Education*, I omitted Brickman, the noted educational historian, the erudite scholar, the key player, and coworker in the development of comparative education as a humanistic *episteme*. Mea culpa, my old and highly respected friend. In line with Popper’s dictum on history, as quoted above, William Brickman will most assuredly be included in “reframing” my interpretation of “Forgotten Men: Forgotten Themes” in comparative education.

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ERWIN H. EPSTEIN

Bill Brickman and the Noachian Disputation

יחל נח איש האדמה ויטע כרם

—Genesis 9:20

It is not often that I begin an essay with a quotation from the Holy Scriptures, and even more unusual yet, one directly from the original Hebrew. Nevertheless, this quotation, though it describes the biblical Noah, and not the subject of my essay, sets a proper stage for the description of my subject, William W. Brickman.

This biblical quotation brings to my mind the most vivid memory I have of Bill Brickman. I used it during a debate I had with a modern-day Noah—namely, Harold Noah, a former president of the Comparative and International Education Society, a former editor of the *Comparative Education Review*, and among the most prominent comparativists of our day. The debate was organized by Max Eckstein, another illustrious comparativist, as the focus of the main plenary session of the 23rd annual meeting in 1979 of the Comparative and International Education Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan. The debate was to focus on the proposed resolution: “Resolved that Comparative Education should have a major role in the preparation of teachers.”

The debate was to be entertaining, if not entirely serious; Max Eckstein, in giving us our assignments, encouraged us to use ad hominem remarks and off-the-cuff jabs at our opponent. He gave Harold Noah the task of defending the resolution, the obvious popular side,¹ and me the task of opposing it. The debate was held in a grand auditorium at the University of Michigan, with only Eckstein as the moderator, Noah and me on the stage. At the debate’s end, the audience was to vote for or against the resolution.

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I knew I had lost even before I had begun, even before Noah presented his side. In 1979, teacher education was an unusually gripping concern of the academy, and comparativists were eager to tap into the major concerns of the day. I sensed that the only way I could gain an advantage was to do something rash.

Noah began with a polished, methodical argument in favor of the resolution. His presentation was cogent and completely serious, without any hint of *ad hominem* insinuations or even a single reference to me, his opponent. I saw that it was futile to debate him on reasoned grounds, and besides, I was not entirely committed to opposing the resolution. So instead, when my turn came, unlike Noah I focused not so much on the resolution as on my opponent. I intended to raise the levity level of the debate and remove the sober edge that Noah had orchestrated. I felt I had to do something to defeat the undefeatable.

I began, congenially enough, with a laudatory description of our field's role in preparing the minds of educators and making them critical thinkers. I moved my argument gradually toward criticizing those who would degrade their own field to achieve popularity by catering to fads *à la mode*. I then abruptly uttered Genesis 9:20 in Hebrew to draw my audience's close but quizzical attention. Once having engaged their curiosity, I was going to plunge my *ad hominem* dagger with the English translation. Yet instantaneously and much to my and everyone's surprise—before I was able to give my translation—an enormous, ground-shaking roar of laughter burst out from one point in the huge room, veritably stunning the rest of the audience into confused silence.

Once the reverberating laughter faded, I gave the translation in English, and this time the entire audience broke out in unabashed merriment. It was a sudden, resounding collective understanding of both the stunning outburst emitted just before I had given the translation, when I had anticipated complete silence, and the inference behind the translation. The audience exuberantly awakened to the connection I was making between the modern-day Noah and the biblical Noah in Genesis 9:20: "Noah, the man of the earth, debased himself and planted a vineyard."

As you may have guessed, the source of the ground-shaking laughter at my biblical quotation in Hebrew was none other than William W. Brickman. Fluent in several languages, including Hebrew,² and a prodigious scholar of history and philosophy, with expert knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, Brickman immediately recognized the quotation as I presented it in the original—he being the only person in the room not in need of the translation and attentive to the idea behind the quotation. He knew that the Bible, though acknowledging ancient Noah's virtues, did not hesitate to take notice of his defects, just as it did those of all biblical heroes. Genesis refers to Noah as "the man of the earth" to show that he was prone to base temptations, and Brickman discerned instantly that I was associating biblical Noah's weaknesses with modern Noah's inclination to give in to faddism. And Brickman knew that the biblical phrase "and planted a vineyard" referred to ancient Noah's craving for wine and the means—planting a vineyard—he used to provide a continual source for satisfying his base desires. Brickman instantaneously inferred the

association I was making between the biblical quotation and modern-day Noah's exploitation of comparative education as a "vineyard" to pursue a popular fad. Notwithstanding the vote at the debate's end in favor of the resolution, the event was glorious, and, as Max Eckstein told me afterward, though I had lost the war, I had won the battle.

The Noachian disputation was not my first encounter with Brickman. To be sure, among the many universities in the United States and abroad at which he taught, he had been a visiting professor at Loyola University Chicago, where I presently teach, but that had been well before I came to that institution. My first recollection of seeing Brickman was a decade and a half before the Ann Arbor encounter, when, as a graduate student at an annual meeting of the Comparative Education Society (later renamed the Comparative and International Education Society) sometime in the early to mid-1960s, I observed an exchange that he had with my mentor at the University of Chicago, C. Arnold Anderson, about the nature and purpose of comparative education. That had been a time of rising positivism and quantification in research, an emphasis that Anderson and the Comparative Education Center at the University of Chicago vigorously advanced. Brickman, though not opposed to quantification in comparative education research, railed against the use of quantitative methods at the cost of in-depth cultural and historical studies and stressed the importance of foreign-language fluency when focusing on education in a society different from one's own.

Interestingly, the first extended chat I had with Brickman was on a six-passenger, two-engine propeller airplane flying from Salt Lake City, Utah to Sun Valley, Idaho. It was in the early 1970s when I was still a young scholar trying to make a name for myself. I was thrilled to be invited as the discussant for Brickman's keynote address at a Western regional meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society. I had to take two flights to get to Salt Lake City, one of which was on a private, two-passenger single-engine propeller plane flying perilously through heavy fog from Rolla, MO to St. Louis. To get to Salt Lake City via St. Louis, I had to fly due east and then due west, and I was exhausted by the time I arrived. Yet once aboard the small prop plane in Salt Lake City, I was energized to find myself as one of three passengers on the flight to Sun Valley; the other two passengers, sitting directly in front of me, were Brickman and Cole Brembeck, another well-known, venerable scholar in the field. Brembeck, from Michigan State University, and Brickman were old friends. The three of us conversed about many matters, shouting at each other all the way over the din of the thundering propeller-driven engines. Although I do not recall the details of Brickman's keynote speech in Sun Valley, I do remember being impressed by his scholarship and clear thinking, and my discussion of his address was highly laudatory.

My next encounter with Brickman, three years prior to the Ann Arbor debate, was at the 1976 annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) in Toronto. Brickman liked my discussion of his speech at the Sun Valley meeting, but sought me out in Toronto also for another reason. He had

suspected that I am, as he was, an Orthodox Jew, because we had both requested a kosher meal at the Sun Valley meeting banquet. Indeed, each of us had been surprised that another participant made such a request. My discussion of his keynote speech in Sun Valley and our shared dietary restrictions created something of a bond between us that we renewed in Toronto. Some years earlier, Brickman had been a consultant on Jewish education issues in that city, which he knew well. Now, at the Toronto CIES meeting, despite his extremely busy schedule, he took me under his wing and invited me to be his guest for lunch at his favorite kosher delicatessen. We had only about an hour to chat, but for me, that hour made the entire CIES event worthwhile.

William W. Brickman was, to be sure, an extraordinary scholar. Author or editor of over two dozen books and numerous articles, and a long-time editor of *School and Society/Intellect* (1953–76) and *Western European Education* (1979–86), he was well known for his scholarship in both the history of education and comparative education. Yet he was also a talented and creative builder. He was the first and ninth president of the Comparative Education Society, the only president in the Society's history to serve two terms. No individual was more instrumental in that organization's founding than he. And, even more, he was an extraordinary mentor to younger scholars. Elizabeth Sherman Swing, in her eloquent memorial essay in the *Comparative Education Review*, says about him that "beneath a rigor in which he took great pride, he was kind, considerate, compassionate, and generous." I remember in Toronto that he lifted my spirits by telling me how impressed he was with my scholarship and with the obstacles that I had to overcome in view of my being, at the time, at a small university in central Missouri without access to a major library.

Bill Brickman left an indelible mark on both the history of education and comparative education—and, with his grace and good will, on all those that he touched. If there is any one word to describe him best, it would be in Yiddish, a language that he knew so well: *mensch*.³

Notes

1. Eckstein and Noah were and are close friends and research collaborators, and Noah was far more prominent than I.

2. Brickman was fluent in more than twelve languages. See Elizabeth Sherman Swing (1987).

3. Like many Yiddish words, this word has a pungency that is difficult to translate. It refers to a man who is especially kind, gracious, and generous. Yiddish was Brickman's first language.

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MAX ECKSTEIN

Brickman as Comparativist

William Brickman was instrumental in the founding of the Comparative Education Society (CES) in the United States in the 1950s. While at New York University he gathered a group of like-minded comparativists around him in informal meetings, and then with George Bereday participated in arranging the first meetings of the burgeoning CES.

At the same time, as his list of publications will attest, Brickman was one of the first to look into the antecedents of comparative literature work, particularly in Western Europe. His historical work in this area was original and thorough, rooted in a sound grounding in foreign language and culture. But it was also in his personal relationships with students that Brickman excelled. He generously encouraged students and newcomers to the growing field of interest with warmth and enthusiasm. In his professional life, he blended the characteristics of an academic scholar and a teacher.

Max Eckstein, professor emeritus, Queens College, City College of New York, was president of the Comparative and International Education Society (1982) and selected as an honorary fellow (1994).

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WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

Comparative Education in the Nineteenth Century

In this previously unpublished essay, William W. Brickman complicates the traditional conception of the historical foundations of comparative education—that is, the role of Marc-Antoine Julian as a “father figure.” The article examines influences on Julian (by César-Auguste Basset’s influential publications, for example) and discusses the methods of comparative analysis before the nineteenth century. The author turns to early notions of educational transfer, focusing on the European educational systems influence on education in America. Most notably, he explores Horace Mann’s contribution to the field of comparative education.

The development of comparative education during the nineteenth century took place along more clearly defined lines than heretofore. For one thing, the ancient–modern, classical–European comparison of the previous century continued, for some time at least (Evers, 1806; Gierliw, 1801). In a more modern vein, however, the growing awareness of the need for educational reform and the establishment of a national system of education was undoubtedly responsible for the increasing interest in the analysis of the educational programs of other countries. To an extent, this idea was in the tradition of the efforts in the late eighteenth century by Poland, Austria, Russia, and other countries to set up some sort of school system, possibly following the example of Prussia. Moreover, it stemmed from the thought and action of the French Enlightenment and Revolutionary thinkers, such as La Charlotais and Condoroet, and possibly also from the spate of writings, around the turn of the century, delineating a system of education for the new republic of the United States of America (Hansen, 1962; Rudolph, 1965).

Whatever the reasons, there is a multitude of publications testifying to the great interest in education in countries other than one’s own. In 1808, César-Auguste

Essay courtesy of the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, William W. Brickman Collection, Box 34.

Basset, a former professor of literature at the Ecole Militaire of Soieze, published a work on the organization of public instruction in France that called attention to “the usefulness of making observations in foreign countries about education and instruction in general” (Basset, 1808, pp. 71–87).¹ He urged that the Université de France, created that year, should send an official abroad to make such educational observations. Such a person, he insisted, should be “free from national and methodological prejudices, a scholar, a man of letters, an administrator, familiar with all aspects of liberal and popular education . . . and he should survey all the places likely to offer him useful researches. His work should be that of the historian: to observe, compare, and present the facts” (Basset, 1808, p. 85). After enumerating the major points to be covered by the observer abroad, Basset (1808) went on to specify that he should “judge men and things on the basis of real and established facts, and not on the basis of written systems and speculative plans” (p. 87).

The second edition of Basset’s book, published in 1814 and distributed among a wider circle of readers, again stressed “the usefulness of making observations in foreign countries about their different procedures of education and instruction” (Basset, 1814, pp. 79–105).² In the interim, Basset had attained greater stature and influence in education. He was now a doctor of sciences and of letters of the Académie de Paris and director of education in the Ecole Normale. His *Essais* received favorable attention in an anonymous review published in 1816 in a new educational journal.³ It is significant, in the light of future reputation of Marc-Antoine Jullien as a founder of comparative education, that Jullien began publishing his work in the same journal later in the year.⁴ Neither in the series of articles nor in the pamphlet that reprinted them in 1817 did Jullien (1817c) mention his fellow countrymen. However, as Fraser (1964, pp. 89, 93–95) has demonstrated there is a reasonable probability that Jullien was affected by the ideas of Basset.

In any case, there was still an intermediate step in the early-nineteenth-century history of comparative education. During 1808, the date of the publication of Basset’s work, Napoleon reorganized the Université Impériale, which he had established but two years earlier, as virtually a centralized ministry of national education. Also in that year Napoleon appointed the famed pioneer in comparative anatomy and paleontology, Georges Cuvier (1769–1832), to membership on the council of the Université. Perhaps because of his interest in comparative studies,⁵ he became chairman of commissions, in 1809 and subsequently, which were to study education in the territories recently acquired by France and to ascertain how they might be related to the Université Impériale. Of particular significance to the development of comparative education was his first report on education in Germany, Holland, and Italy (Cuvier, 1811).

Cuvier and the members of his commission not only wrote descriptions of foreign education but also analyzed what they observed in terms of the historical and political context. In addition, Cuvier made some comparisons, as, for example, between Holland and Germany, and offered an interpretation of differences (Fraser, 1964, p. 88). It is difficult to imagine that such an educated man as Jullien

would be unaware of these reports. Furthermore, Jullien may have been hinting at Cuvier's work when he stated that "the researches on *comparative anatomy* have advanced the science of anatomy. Similarly, the researchers on *comparative education* ought to furnish new means toward perfecting the science of education" (Jullien, 1817c, p. 13).

The idea and methods of comparative analysis were applied to various scientific disciplines on an increasing scale from about the mid-1750s through the early nineteenth century. Hilker mentions Georges Buffon of France, Pieter Camper of Holland, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Samuel Thomas von Sömmering of Germany in scientific research; Wilhelm von Humboldt of Germany in comparative anthropology; Franz Bopp of Germany in comparative linguistics; and François Villetain of France in comparative literature (Hilker, 1962, pp. 15–16).⁶ In these and in other intellectual fields there were stirrings that indicated awareness on the part of scholars that their subjects must be approached in a comparative context, geographical and otherwise. The stage was evidently set for the appearance of Jullien, a "revolutionary" (Goetz, 1954), who endeavored to make comparative education a fundamental, pertinent element of the field of education. Jullien assumes particular importance in the history of comparative education for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that he has been identified by specialists as "a 'father figure'" (Fraser, 1964, p. 115; see also pp. 106–17) in their field. However, one is permitted to speculate what would have happened if Ferenc Kemény of Budapest had discovered in 1885 in a bookstall along the Seine in Paris a work by some other writer instead of Jullien's. Would Basset or someone else have been considered by the scholars as the "createur de l'éducation comparé" (Rossello, 1949, p. 7)?⁷ Perhaps more historical research—and revisionism—is in order.

Jullien's *Esquisse* [Sketch] was prepared against the background of extensive observation of education in Switzerland, Italy, and Germany. Essentially, it furnished the framework, both theoretical and practical, for a systematic study of education in Europe for the purpose of undertaking rational action toward reform. Apparently inspired by the internationally influential innovators, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Phillipp Emanuel von Fellenberg of Switzerland, Jullien was concerned with the establishment of educational reforms on the basis of "a nearly positive science" of education. Such a science could be derived "from compilations of facts and observations, arranged in analytical tables which make it possible to bring them together and to compare them, so as to deduce from them certain principles, specified rules" (Jullien, 1817c, p. 13). Instead of isolated individual research, Jullien urged a team approach, a *commission special d'éducation*, to gather and compare data, with the aid of carefully selected correspondents, presumably from various countries, toward the preparation of a general survey of European methods of education and instruction.

In addition to the exposition of the theoretical principles underlying his research project, Jullien proposed that an *institut normal d'éducation* for the training of good teachers be established in various areas. Several institutions of a similar type in

different locations “would offer very useful points of comparison” (Jullien, 1817c, p.10). An educational bulletin or journal published by the institute, possibly in several languages, would facilitate an international exchange of educational ideas toward the betterment of national school systems (Jullien, 1817c, p. 11).

Jullien offered a long-range, comprehensive program of research, but he realized that human betterment could not wait for the eventual establishment of comparative education as a science. Accordingly, he suggested a pilot project on a reduced scale in Switzerland, which, in his judgment, best exemplified the union of “all the desirable conditions for carrying on with success researchers into comparative education” (Jullien, 1817c, p. 15). After a very brief general outline of the study to be done in the cantons of Switzerland, Jullien proposed that France consider “honorable examples drawn from a neighborhood region, where higher scientific instruction is not very advanced, but where elementary and general education, the essential foundation of all education, is perhaps more widely disseminated and better suitable for the future of people than in any other country” (Jullien, 1817c, p. 20).

Appended to the *Esquisse* of Jullien’s “work on comparative education in the different countries of Europe” was a section composed of questions on the various phases of public education. Jullien intended to publish six series: primary education, secondary and classical education, higher and scientific education, normal education, education of women, and education in relation to legislation and social institutions. Actually, the pamphlet published in 1817 contains only the first two series, 120 and 146 questions respectively. A note on the final page promised that the remaining four series of questions would be published immediately (Jullien, 1817c, p. 56), but no record of such a publication has yet been found.

The relevant literature in comparative education is vast for the entire nineteenth century—too vast indeed to be mentioned even by title within the limits of an historical survey. At most, one can indicate the high points and the works that apparently were widely read or were particularly interesting or influential in education. Perhaps, in dealing with the many writings, it will be helpful to consider them from the standpoint of aim and type.

Visitation of foreign schools was a very common and popular source of information for the writers of the reports, which might be considered under the broad heading of comparative education. An American chemist, John Griscom, in his *A Year in Europe* (1818–19), described educational conditions in Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Holland, and North Europe but did not apply the comparative method of analysis even if he did make some critical and comparative statements (Griscom, 1823).⁸ Additional data of educational interest, also derived from travels abroad, were presented by the well-known German educational historian, August Hermann Niemeyer (Niemeyer, 1824). Of great international impact was the report in 1831 of a visit to the Prussian educational system by the French philosopher-educator, Victor Cousin (1831).⁹ His favorable report on the schools, universities, teachers’ seminaries, and educational administration and organization impressed

the French to the extent that it played an important role in the enactment of the 1833 law on education.

A German educator, C.A.W. Kruse, visited schools during the 1830s in France and England and included comparative comment in his reports (Kruse, 1832). A particularly significant document for American education was a firsthand study of elementary education in Europe made for the Ohio General Assembly in 1836–37 by the Rev. Calvin Ellis Stowe (Stowe, 1838), professor of biblical literature at the Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati and husband of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The scholar visited schools and universities in Great Britain, France, Prussia, and various states in Germany. In his report, he concentrated on the excellence of the Prussian school system. His passages on Prussian education, a surprising inclusion, must have been based on data other than on-the-spot evidence. Stowe offered descriptive matter, but also added analytic comment. He urged the adoption of the best features of Prussian education. “If it can be done in Europe, I believe it can be done in Prussia, I know it can be done in Ohio. The people have but to say the word and provide the means and the thing is accomplished; for the word of the people here is even more powerful than the word of the King there” (Stowe, 1838, p. 307). The Ohio legislature printed 10,000 copies of the report, which was reprinted by Massachusetts, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia (Knight, 1930, pp. 246–47). Even if the Stowe report could not be considered an exemplary essay in comparative education, it is important because of its impact on the “educational revival” in the United States. Another study, published in the same year, on education in Europe on a grander scale was made by a German classical scholar, Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch (1784–1860) of the University of Munich. His three-volume work (Thiersch, 1838) on education in the Western states of Germany, Holland, France, and Belgium, based on visits, is a valuable addition to the contemporary knowledge and understanding of European education, rather than an extended exercise in comparative analysis.¹⁰ Another German observer whose reports were in multiple volumes was Johann Christoph Kröger. During 1833–40 he produced four volumes on education in its specialized aspects in Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, and Austria (Kröger, 1833–36; 1840).

A monumental contribution resulted from a two-year study trip (1836–38) in Europe by Alexander D. Bache, professor of natural philosophy and chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. The report (Bache, 1839), over 600 pages in length, was made to the trustees of the Girard College for Orphans, of which Bache was appointed president. With all the detail, the scholar managed to insert comparative comment on the schools of Prussia and France. He was more favorably impressed by the former than by the latter. An important point made by Bache, apparently lost upon many of his contemporaries, was that transplantation of educational features from one country to another should not be done on the basis of direct imitation, but rather in a modified form in terms of different socioeducational traditions and conditions in various countries (Bache, 1839, pp. 3, 5–7).

Perhaps the most intensely publicized American report on European education

was that by Horace Mann, secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts in 1844. As the foremost practical educator in the United States at the time, Mann felt the need for observing at close range the educational work in various European countries. No doubt he reached this conclusion, to some extent, with the aid of reports published in the 1830s. He requested and secured permission from the Board of Education to take a trip to Europe at his own expense so as to observe the operation of the outstanding systems of public instruction. In his Seventh Annual Report for 1843, he described and analyzed in some detail his six-month visits to the schools of Great Britain (England and Scotland), France, Germany (Prussia, Saxony, etc.), Belgium, and Holland.

In his exposition of the rationale of his European school study tour to the Board of Education, Mann pointed out that, in his desire to fulfill the mandate of dissemination of the best methods of education, he had visited the schools in most of the Northern states and in some of those in the South. In addition, he attempted many professional meetings and read the native and foreign pedagogical literature. In spite of this program of study, he felt that his knowledge was inadequate without a study of foreign schools to determine “whether, in any respect, those institutions were superior to our own; and if anything were found in them worthy of adoption, of transforming it for our improvement” (Mann, 1844, p. 19). From the standpoint of preparation prior to the trip, it would seem that Mann left very little undone. Because of his wide familiarity with education in his own country, with educators, and with various types of educational writings, he had the requisite background for the kind of analysis he wished to make. Since his report revealed familiarity with German, it might be inferred that he was at home with that language, although it is not easy to determine the precise extent of his competence.

Mann’s methodology of inquiry was not conscientious. He would spend full days in the schools. Furthermore,

I generally visited [German] schools without guide, or letter of introduction—presenting myself at the door, and asking the favor of admission. Though I had a general order from the Minister of Public Instruction, commanding all schools, Gymnasias and universities in the kingdom to be opened for my inspection, yet I seldom exhibited it, or spoke of it—at least until I was about departing. I preferred to enter as a private individual, and uncommended visitor. (Mann, 1844, p. 134)

If the American visitor fancied himself traveling incognito, he may have been deluding himself. It is not unlikely that the secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts was identified as a state minister of education, if not of the United States. Since Massachusetts was prominent in the movement for educational reform, and inasmuch as there was only one more comparable official, Henry Bernard in Connecticut, Europeans may have regarded him as the American educational ambassador. In any event, it is improbable that Mann and his whereabouts were as unknown as he believed. Let one consider Mann’s famous observations: “I never saw one child undergoing punishment, or arraigned for misconduct” (Mann, 1844,

p. 133). He was aware of the fact that there was corporal punishment, and, in fact, he was told that it was used infrequently. But, is it conceivable that a teacher would punish a pupil in the presence of a distinguished educational official of a foreign country?

Aware that he would be criticized for an ambitious report after a six-month visit to several countries, Mann stated, rather modestly, that he “was not wholly unprepared for the investigation beforehand; and that the time, though short at best, was prolonged by diligence. The better to accomplish my purpose, many of the great thoroughfares and most of the attractive objects, which the throng of travelers, in pursuit of mere personal gratification, commonly selects, were left” (1844, p. 199). In brief, Horace Mann was no mere tourist. However, he must have displeased his bride, the former Mary Tyler Peabody, who probably expressed her thoughts about a honeymoon that was being spent in classrooms.

The Massachusetts educator was naturally attracted to Prussia. “Among the nations of Europe, Prussia has long enjoyed the most distinguished reputation for the excellence of its schools” (Mann, 1844, p.21). This view was hardly unique to Mann, since educators of virtually all nations were beating a path to the Prussian school. Reports praising the excellence of Prussian education were crowding each other on the bookshelves, at least since the publication of Mme. de Staël’s *De l’Allemagne* in 1810. This learned lady of international literary fame, who had spent considerable time in Germany, had written that northern Germany is full of “the most scholarly universities of Europe” (de Staël, n.d., p. 102).¹¹ Although she had some favorable comment about the beneficial impact of the free institutions of England and America on the development of the people’s intelligence and wisdom (de Staël, n.d., p. 117), she was especially appreciative of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg as educators, and by implication, of Germany, which had applied their ideas on a large scale (de Staël, n.d., pp. 109–18).

Mann was by no means uncritical of Prussia, a fact that sometimes escapes those who write about him. He was aware of evil mixed with good. “If the Prussian schoolmaster has better methods of teaching reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, &c., so that, in half the time, he produces greater and better results, surely, we may copy his modes of teaching these elements, without adopting his notions of passive obedience to government, or of blind adherence to the articles of a church” (Mann, 1844, p. 22). Moreover, granted that the Prussian system is rooted in autocracy, “if Prussia can pervert the benign influences of education to the support of arbitrary power, we surely can employ them for the support and perpetuation of republican institutions” (Mann, 1844, p. 23). The possibility that methodology might be linked in some way to philosophy did not occur to the American pedagogue.

The report made repeated references of a comparative nature to school buildings, reading books, teaching materials, teaching methods, curriculum, organization, teachers’ seminaries, supervision, and secondary education. Although Mann made complimentary allusions to various aspects of education in the countries he

visited, his focus was Prussia. He found Prussian schools superior with respect to the practice of grouping according to age and attainment, music teaching, nonsectarian Bible history and knowledge, and teacher education. However, for the teaching of geography he was less enthusiastic: “in some respects, it was taught imperfectly, in others preeminently well” (Mann, 1844, p. 113).

No passages in Mann’s report are as ecstatic as those dealing with the professional preparation, methods, and attitude of the Prussian teacher. During all his classroom visits, Mann observed that he “never saw a teacher hearing a lesson of any kind (excepting a reading or spelling lesson) *with a book in his hand* . . . never saw a teacher *sitting*, while hearing a recitation . . . *never saw one child undergoing punishment, or arraigned for misconduct. I never saw one child in tears from having been punished, or from fear of being punished*” (Mann, 1844, p. 133). He went on to report that “the looks of the Prussian teacher often have the expression and vivacity of an actor in a play” (Mann, 1844, p. 134). Further, “He seems so much interested in his subject (though he might have been teaching the same lesson for the hundredth or five-hundredth time) that his whole body is in motion; eyes, arms, limbs, all contributing to the impression he desires to make; and at the end of an hour, both he and his pupils come from the work all glowing with excitement” (Mann, 1844, p. 135). Not much imagination is needed to read between the lines that such teachers were not available elsewhere, including Massachusetts. Small wonder, then, that thirty-one Boston schoolmasters felt sufficiently incensed to engage in a pedagogical pamphlet war with Horace Mann (Cubberley, 1934, pp. 362–63).

Not that the Massachusetts [Board of Education] was unaware that the Prussian teacher might be less than perfect. However, he mentioned but one example of disappointment: “The only striking instance of disingenuousness or attempt at deception, which I saw, was that of a teacher, who looked over the manuscript books of a large class of his scholars, selected the best, and bringing it to me, said, in seeing one you see all” (Mann, 1844, p. 128).

On the critical side, Mann found fault with the Prussian school-leaving age of fourteen, the dearth of suitable reading matter for older children or young people, the lack of use of knowledge and skills of elementary school leavers, and the tendency of the lower classes to copy the upper classes. Even if he was convinced that the United States was superior to Prussia in some respects—school libraries and free schools, for example—he nonetheless felt that much was to be learned from that country (Mann, 1844, pp. 20–21).

Mann was highly appreciative of the comparative, international approach in education. In his appraisal of education in Prussia, he attributed the excellence of its schools, in part, to the fact that “before establishing her own school system, she commissioned agents to visit other countries to examine into theirs, in order that her own path might be illuminated by all the light that could be reflected upon it, from other parts of the world” (Mann, 1844, p. 146).

Interestingly, without describing in detail his methodology, Mann graded the

European school systems with respect to quantity and quality of instruction. First came Prussia and the other German states; second, Holland and Scotland; third, Ireland and France; fourth, Belgium; fifth and last, England (Mann, 1844). Apparently, his chief criterion was the presence or absence of a system of education. He was not concerned in making distinctions among the German states; nor did he make any effort at differentiation within England proper.

If Mann's study did not meet the highest standards of research for that period, it cannot be said that he did not make a notable contribution to comparative education. To Dr. Hans, "this report, perhaps, was the first attempt at assessing educational values" (Hans, 1958, p. 2), even if mainly in comparing teaching methods and school organization in several countries. To another English educational historian, the Seventh Annual Report was "a brilliant sketch of schools in Europe which Mann had visited in 1843" (Farrar, 1965, p. 39). At any rate, Mann satisfied many Americans that he had obtained the answer to the question as to what was the difference to a people between a universal or a partial system of education. His conclusion rang throughout the nineteenth century in the United States and reechoed in Latin America and even in Europe. This was what he termed "the *eternal truth*," namely that "In a Republic, Ignorance is a Crime" (Mann 1844, p. 198).

Notes

1. All translations are by the author.
2. The previously quoted description of the University's traveling representative is on p. 100.
3. For more information see *Journal d'Education*, vol. 2, February 1816, pp. 311–316.
4. For more information see Jullien (1816, pp. 166–80; 1817a. 205–25; 1817b, pp. 273–88). These three articles appeared anonymously in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, vol. III, November 1816; vol. IV, March 1817, and April 1817. Also see Stewart Fraser (1964, pp. 96–99).
5. Cuvier published *Leçons d'anatomie comparée*, 5 vols., 1800–1805.
6. Fraser (1964) calls attention to the fact that "in 1782 a short pamphlet titled *Essay on Comparative Anatomy* had already been published in Paris by M. Monro" (p. 90, n. 14). Apparently, the author was Alexander Monro (Secundus), who taught anatomy at the University of Edinburgh for nearly half a century, 1759–1807. It is important to stress that comparative studies in anatomy went back some two centuries. Pierre Belon (1517–1564), a Frenchman, "is universally recognized as the founder of comparative anatomy" (Russo, cited in Metraux & Crouzet, 1963, p. 316; see also Cole, 1944, p. 473).
7. Dr. Rossello repeats here the story of how Kemeny "discovered" Jullien's *Esquisse* ("decouvert en bouquinant sur les quais de la Seine en 1885"). See also Rossello (1943, p. 19).
8. Extensive passages have been reprinted in Edgar W. Knight (1930, pp. 16–111).
9. An English translation by Mrs. Sarah Austin appeared in 1834: *State of Public Instruction in Prussia*. A reprint of this translation was published in 1835 in New York.
10. As an example of informative content, see Thiersch's report of his visit to Holland in 1835, "Der öffentliche Unterricht in Holland." On the life and work of Thiersch, see Hilker (1962, pp. 28–32).
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Comparative History of Education

William Brickman and the Study of Educational Flows, Transfers, and Circulations

This article discusses William W. Brickman’s historical scholarship on the international circulation of educational ideas and practices by examining the ways Brickman wrote about John Dewey and his international significance as an educational thinker and reformer. The authors argue that Brickman’s scholarship was rooted in an “educational transfer” problematic that prioritizes diachronic, influence-oriented studies. The result is to situate Dewey as “an original author” and lose sight of the social and cultural formations that made Dewey’s ideas possible. While Brickman’s work makes occasional reference to the ways that Dewey’s ideas were localized and transformed around the globe, this remained a largely suggestive and undeveloped line of research for him—particularly in contrast the recent interest in the field of comparative education in understanding processes of indigenization, appropriation, and translation.

The writing of history changes with time. Due to an increased interest in the historical experiences of diverse groups of people, including those marginalized and silenced in traditional historical narratives, as well as increased interest in the social and cultural dimensions of human experience across time, historical writing

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today looks very different than it did 50 or 100 years ago. In trying to capture these changes, Alan Munslow (1997) proposes that historical scholarship is no longer defined “by the established categories of analysis—economic structures, competing nationalisms, political and cultural revolutions, the march and opposition of ideas” (p. 124). Instead, he suggests, scholars today are much more likely to take an interest in “how societies interpret, imagine, create, control, regulate and dispose of knowledge” (p. 125). In one sense, the question of how societies organize and supervise knowledge has long been a mainstay among historians of education. We need only think, for example, of the oft-cited 1642 account of the English settlement of North America, *New England’s First Fruits*, which proudly records the founding of Harvard College, and whose claim that after basic necessities had been provided for “one of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity.” This document has long been drawn upon by historians to provide evidence for the ways that knowledge was viewed, valued, and parceled out in seventeenth-century Massachusetts Puritan society. Yet, as shown by the triumphalism of *New England’s First Fruits* and certain invocations of it in the scholarly literature (e.g., Belknap, 1784; Cubberley, 1919; though not Spring, 2005) scholarly attention to how societies administer knowledge can still be fully enclosed within a “march of progress” historical narrative. Nonetheless, within the history of education over the past 50 or 100 years there have still been noteworthy shifts in how historians approach the ways that societies interpret, control, and regulate knowledge. In this essay we examine William Brickman’s historical scholarship from the 1940s through the 1980s, focusing specifically on how Brickman undertook comparative historical scholarship on the flows, transfers, and circulations of educational knowledge and practices.

The history of what in more recent years has often been described as “educational transfer” was only one part of Brickman’s historical oeuvre. However, as is suggested by the title of his 1985 collection of essays, *Educational Roots and Routes in Western Europe*, an interest in the “transfer of scholarly and educational ideas and methods” (p. 4) was a central feature of much of his work. Since Brickman typically approached educational history with the international lens of a comparative education scholar, we think it appropriate that our discussion of his work as a historian centers on his approach to studying the international diffusion and circulation of educational thought—and specifically on the ways that Brickman wrote about John Dewey’s international significance. The ways that Dewey’s ideas were “moved” and “received” around the world has attracted considerable scholarship in recent years (see, e.g., Biesta & Miedema, 1996; Donoso, 2001; Nubiola, 2005; Schneider, 2000), thus making an examination of Brickman’s writings on Dewey a useful strategy for exploring how Brickman approached the comparative history of education and how we can place his work in relation to work undertaken in recent decades.

Dewey and the question of influence

In his earliest writings about Dewey, Brickman (1949a) set out to trace the “influence” of Dewey on foreign educational systems by chronicling the spread of Dewey’s writings in foreign countries. Brickman’s *Guide to Research in Educational History* (1949b) devoted considerable attention to the difficulties and intricacies that historians face when they attempt to establish “influence.” He advised his student audience that such a project was to be avoided in term research papers and best undertaken as a dissertation research project in that it required “application of special and delicate techniques” (1949b, p. 137). In this methodological how-to guide, Brickman discusses doing research on Dewey in the context of explaining that the examination of an educator’s foreign travels could generate “serviceable leads for the beginning of the study of an influence” (1949b, p. 140). Brickman noted that after World War I, Dewey traveled extensively overseas, where he “spent varying amounts of time in these lands and conferred with school officials.” According to Brickman,

Here is a fruitful field for the determination of actual influence. The research worker will have to describe accurately the educational conditions prior to Dewey’s visit, the actual contacts between Dr. Dewey and the foreign educators, and the changes in the educational system that were attributable to the American educator and to no one else. (1949b, pp. 140–41)

As is evident from this methodological suggestion, the temporal sequence of events is an object of intense interest in influence-oriented studies of this nature. And, as Brickman’s own work indicates, texts as well as travels could be fit to this framework. Brickman’s general strategy for identifying and discussing the spread of Dewey’s ideas was to gather data from educational literature, including “translations of books and articles, professional reviews, discussions of ideas in professional and other publications, and references to theory and practice in miscellaneous sources” (Brickman, 1949b, p. 258). A diachronic, time-lapse perspective that attempts to chronologically trace the “flow” of Dewey into the “native” pedagogic literature of foreign educational systems is evidenced in all of Brickman’s historical accounts of John Dewey (e.g., Brickman, 1949b, 1964, 1985; Brickman & Leher, 1961). This perspective is also evident in Brickman’s efforts to discuss the global influence and spread of Dewey’s ideas. One of Brickman’s typical rhetorical stances was to begin by citing the first international translation of Dewey (which Brickman [1949a] claimed was a translation of Dewey into Czech in 1904, though other scholars have since noted that his *School and Society* essay was translated into Japanese in 1901 [Boydston and Andresen, 1969, p. 49]). In Brickman’s work this is then typically followed by a geographically and chronologically sorted overview of Dewey’s overseas visits, his scholarly writings on foreign education systems, and the translations of his works. In this respect, Brickman’s work can be properly considered “transfer scholarship” in that, in contrast to a strictly comparative method that focuses on the synchronous analysis of “cross-sections” that are temporally stabilized or “frozen”

(Werner & Zimmermann, 2006), Brickman paid explicit attention to sequences and chains of events unfolding in time.

One of us, Sobe (2009a), has recently published a critical examination of transfer research traditions in the field of comparative education. In Brickman's case—as in much other, more recent “transfer paradigm” scholarship—the use of a diachronic “chronological” frame to study the circulation of educational ideas and practices also means that the research tends to assume fixed points of “departure” and “arrival.” This frequently means, for example, that an innovation (be it the early-nineteenth-century Monitorial Methods associated with Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, the Project Method associated with William H. Kilpatrick, or what has been referred to in various contexts since the 1990s as “Outcome-Based Education” [OBE]) is analyzed solely as departing from a coherent central point and arriving in different contexts as a pedagogic reform that is variously “received.” While this strategy can provide some profitable insights into how schooling changes over time, it risks obscuring the complexity of the connections and intercrossings that engender certain cultural forms and social patterns and not others. One thinks, for example, of the trend in colonial studies to depart from exclusive reliance on a mythical “center-periphery dynamic,” and instead to find ways to better account for the multiple networks of relations, as well as the multidirectional nature of those relations (Gruzinski, 2002; Stoler, 2006; Steinmetz, 2007). In Anglo-American comparative education scholarship the desire to model the departures and arrivals of educational transfers remains strong (Phillips & Ochs, 2004; Rappleye, 2006). Leaving aside questions of general theory in the social sciences, however, one can argue that the rigid frames of reference necessitated by a social science approach to modeling transfers do not perfectly serve historians' general preferences for complex/complexifying accounts, overdetermined explanations, and tentative conclusions.

In surveying the history of scholarship on the globalization of Dewey, Thomas Popkewitz (2005) remarks that the early intellectual history “places Dewey as the originator of thought to assess others' faithfulness or abuse of the ideas” (p. 8). Brickman's account of Dewey's influence in the Soviet Union worked in this mode by postulating a singular point of origin and examining the ways that Russians were true to or deviated from Deweyan notions. In explaining the spread of Dewey's ideas in the Soviet Union, Brickman noted that the revolution of 1917 “popularized Dewey's ideas” among Russian intellectuals who “regarded Dewey as the foreign thinker closest to the spirit of Marxism and Russian Communism” (Brickman, 1964, p. 147). However, once Dewey became involved in the political conflict between Trotsky and Stalin in the late 1930s, “the de-Deweyization of Soviet education proceeded at a rapid pace” (Brickman & Leher, 1961, p. 145). While this historical narrative acknowledges the interrelationships among Deweyan ideas, the Soviet political landscape, and the position and priorities of Russian intellectuals, Brickman's account can largely be read as a record of Russian faithfulness to and then rejection of Deweyan ideas. Notably, this is *not* a story about the “indigenization”

or “localization” that Dewey’s ideas underwent in the Soviet setting—something we will discuss in the following section.

Fully in step with the monumental significance in Western culture of what Michel Foucault labels the “author function,” Brickman inclines toward positioning John Dewey as a Proper Name, as “different from all other men,” as “the genial creator of work[s] in which he deposit[ed], with infinite wealth and generosity, an inexhaustible world of significations” (Foucault [1968]1998, p. 221). To borrow Foucault’s arguments, one can say that such attributions of “authorship,” while they pretend to evoke the indefinite proliferation of meaning, actually serve a regulative role that “impedes circulation and free manipulation, the free composition, decomposition, and recomposition” of discourses (Foucault [1968] 1998 p. 221). Clear evidence of the significance of treating Dewey as “an original author” comes in Brickman’s own ultimate, summative appraisal of Dewey’s global influence: “too many countries took too much too soon from his doctrines without enough reflection” (Brickman & Leher, 1961, p. 143). To locate the failure of Dewey’s ideas to fully “take root” around the globe in a deficiency of careful thought sidesteps the very question of what made “Dewey” attractive in the first place and simultaneously advances enthronement of a singular, unified, and correct Dewey as the proprietary font of modern, progressive education.

The question of “changing” Dewey

One of the primary thrusts of transfer research in the field of comparative and international education over the past decade has been to theorize and empirically excavate the processes of “indigenization” or “transformation” by which the educational ideas and practices that move are changed in the new settings in which they arrive. Many scholars today would agree that educational fields are not empty spaces ready to be filled with received knowledge but rather are complex sites where knowledge and practices are resignified in distinct ways. Yet, all the same, there is an enduring tradition in the field of conceptualizing educational transfer through the binary of “transmittable/not transmittable” (Caruso, 2008, p. 833), as we touched on above. The “inviolability” of Dewey is one implication of this tradition; another implication—that ironically builds off the same underlying logic—is the idea that a set of “pure” or “intact” ideas depart from a coherent point of origin and are only transformed and “hybridized” afterward.

As noted above, for the most part Brickman’s scholarship on Dewey centered on the fidelity with which his ideas were received in foreign pedagogical literature and the extent to which they were popularly accepted and disseminated. Yet at other times Brickman evidences a sensitivity to the ways that Dewey was reworked and recoded in various pedagogical conversations around the globe. However, for the most part, this appears to have remained a merely suggestive and undeveloped line of research.

Marcelo Caruso (2008) notes that the global transmission of ideas through

books as a “media of diffusion” led to a “situation in which knowledge became possible without the need for direct communication with the distant object” (p. 832). Sensitivity to this is evident in Brickman’s (1949a) discussion of the text-based diffusion of Dewey into foreign contexts. Brickman argued that books and translations made it possible for intellectuals in Iraq, India, and Africa to experience Dewey’s American pragmatism and educational philosophy without any first-hand, direct contact with Dewey. Removing the requirement of direct contact introduces the possibility of interlocutors and mediators who might potentially play a pivotal role in “the John Dewey” that became available to particular people in particular settings. Though Brickman remarks on the curiosity that it was “a Belgian and a Chinese” who produced the earliest French translations of Dewey’s work, he does not explore what the possible implications of this might be (p. 261). In another publication Brickman (1961) remarked on the fact that French translations of Dewey were preceded by a translator’s introduction. He also noted (1949a) that Georg Kerschensteiner was instrumental in translating Dewey’s texts into German and, also, through Kerschensteiner’s own pedagogical writings, in extending Deweyan concepts into Germany and Turkey. Yet Brickman did not weigh in on what consequence or importance this might have had. Sobe (2005, 2008) has argued that Dewey’s translators and commentators can be considered an “envelope” that powerfully shaped the way the “contents” were read; and he has written on how Edouard Claparède’s essays on Dewey meaningfully informed the ways that Dewey was assembled in Central/East European countries such as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s.

Clearly, Brickman did pay attention to the “routes” by which Dewey’s texts traveled. In addition to the above examples, one can note his suggestion (Brickman, 1949a) that knowledge of Dewey in Brazil was likely the result of translations and pedagogical writings by Spanish intellectuals. (In contrast, more recent scholarship on the circulation and popularization of Dewey’s ideas in Brazil has emphasized the importance of both the Belgian pedagogue Omar Buyse’s writings on Dewey as well as the study at Teachers College, Columbia University by educators such as Anísio Teixeira [Warde, 2005].) However, on balance, what consequence these “routes” had for “changing” or localizing Dewey did not become, for Brickman, a central topic of inquiry.

Brickman, Dewey, and the march of modern progress

At the outset, we noted that a triumphalist “march of progress” orientation can readily be attached to analyses of how societies control, regulate, and dispose of knowledge. Dewey himself can rather easily be worked into such accounts as one of the seminal educational prophets of modernity. It is thus critically important that historians explore the ways that Dewey and early-twentieth-century progressivism in education were part and parcel of modernization projects—though we would propose that the academic’s proper task is not to laud the “successes” that were

achieved and lament the failures and obstacles that were encountered, but rather to try and unpack the ideals, norms, and governing principles that structure human societies and the possibilities for what can and cannot be considered “reasonable” in particular places and times. Accordingly, key questions to ask about the global circulation of John Dewey’s educational ideas include questions about the concepts and ordering principles that “traveled” with Dewey (and/or with translations of his writings); questions about what was privileged and what was prohibited or embargoed; as well as—as alluded to in the previous section—questions about how these various and varied ideas were recoded and resignified.

Above we pointed to the inadequacy of locating a pure point of “origin” for John Dewey and of overemphasizing notions of “authorship,” yet this does not mean that we propose that Dewey’s ideas “float freely” as ideas. The particular contexts in which Deweyan thought was anchored must be taken into consideration, something that, paradoxically, is shortchanged by the race-to-the-origins impulse of certain strands of transfer research. To take Dewey’s ideas as only “hybridized” when they leave Hyde Park in Chicago or Morningside Heights in New York, or to take the “force” of authorial intent as only encountering other “forces” when it moves outside its creator’s direct control, is precisely the kind of emptying of history that Walter Benjamin (1968) warned against. It is, in Thomas Popkewitz’s words, to make Dewey appear “as a logical system of thoughts or ‘concepts’ that has no social mooring in the interpretations and possibilities of action” (Popkewitz, 2005, p. ix).

In his writings, Brickman does direct some attention to the broader sociocultural setting within which Dewey’s ideas were articulated and circulated. For example, he typically explained the global attraction to Dewey’s ideas in relation to political circumstances and the “spirit” of the times. He noted, for example that Dewey’s name had become “well known in pedagogical circles in Europe prior to World War I.” In the aftermath of the war, interest in Dewey took on new momentum, and Brickman proposed that “the spirit of postwar reform, which also affected education, was responsible for the spreading of Dewey’s doctrines to other parts of the world” (Brickman & Leher, 1961, p. 133). Other scholars have noted the significance of World War I as helping to effect a shift from Europe to America in the global authority for norms-making (de Grazia, 2005; Sobe, 2009b). And Brickman himself notes,

That Dewey’s thinking about education won adherents in Europe, Asia, and other areas was quite a phenomenon, since Americans, as a general rule, were not deemed worthy of serious consideration in cultural, intellectual and educational circles. (Brickman & Leher, 1961, p. 133)

The privileging of the “American” version of modernity warrants careful attention, as does the process by which Dewey himself became what Deleuze and Guattari (1994) refer to as a “conceptual persona.” Dewey was one of a crowd of early-twentieth-century educational thinkers of iconic status who peopled peda-

gologic literatures around the globe and around whom a common grounding for modernization projects could be based.

Thomas Popkewitz (2005) suggests that we treat Dewey's writing as embodying "a particular set of concepts and ways of reasoning about the world and the self that is not merely that of Dewey" (p. 6). While there is considerable valence in how Dewey is "viewed" across the globe, it is also evident that Dewey did not function as an empty signifier to whom any meaning whatsoever could be attached. Popkewitz suggests that we view Dewey's work as embodying three principal cultural theses: (1) the notion that the individual is an agent of change with "responsibility for personal and collective progress"; (2) the practice of ordering and calculating time—chiefly writing the future into the present—for the purpose of enacting that agency; and (3) the recasting of science as a method of daily living, less for ascertaining Truth than as a tool for enacting "plans of operation" (pp. 16–25). Agency, the taming of change and science are not, in Popkewitz's schema, "variations of a single theme." Rather, they enter into different configurations—cultural configurations that both relate collective identities with individuality and draw in other knowledges and cultural practices to shape modernity and the "modern" self. One can as legitimately speak of such "cultural configurations" in a particular American setting as in an overseas setting. Thus, the research challenge is to understand Dewey as always a particular (and variegated) local figure, and nowhere merely the simulacra of an original. Put differently: even Dewey is never just Dewey and no one else.

With this in mind, it is useful to return to Brickman's methodological command that the comparative historian of education interested in Dewey discern what changes in a given education system "were attributable to the American educator and to no one else." This seemed a daunting task at the beginning. Even were one convincingly to isolate a single, discrete Deweyan intervention, the question remains as to how one would disprove the counterfactual, in other words, the possibility that said change would have taken place without Dewey. Given the position we have elaborated above, it now seems an impossible task. It is our view that the intellectual agenda of scholars engaged in the comparative history of education should move well beyond questions of attribution and influence to instead make intercrossings, intersections, and entanglements (Sobe, 2009a) the chief object of inquiry. Proceeding along these lines would actually be a great tribute to William Brickman and his lifelong interest in the "roots" and "routes" of educational ideas, systems, and practices.

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WILLIAM W. BRICKMAN

The Quest for Quality in Teacher Education

This essay by William W. Brickman was first presented at the College English Association Institute for Liberal Education and Industry on April 5, 1955, and published a year later in Educational Theory (vol. 6, no. 4). The essay outlines Brickman’s conception of what it takes to become a “quality teacher,” a good teacher. He argues that the teacher of quality must master several foundational fields in education, including the psychological, the sociological, the historical, the philosophical, and the comparative. While the first two have found their way in most teacher education programs in the United States, Brickman proposes to give a more serious consideration to the important role of the historical, philosophical, and comparative dimensions of teacher education programs.

I

The past few years have been marked by the emergence of such slogans as “the rising tide of students” and “the impending tidal wave,” among others, to indicate warnings that steps must be taken now to meet the expected large increases of students in the high schools and colleges. At the same time, the public and the educational profession have been hearing much about the current teacher shortage and the prediction about worse things to come. There can be no doubt that the problem of quantity is a most serious one, so much so that some superintendents of schools are reputed as practically willing to appoint as teachers any persons who can remain in an upright position. The lamentable lack of teachers is no small matter; it should keep the entire community awake, not simply the school administrators. And yet there is another problem that is of equal—or even of greater—significance, namely, the quest for quality in the education of teachers.

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It is all too easy to overlook the pressing need for properly educated, thoroughly trained teachers who can work with children in an atmosphere of sympathy and understanding at a time when there exists a dramatically arresting shortage in numbers. Be that as it may, it should not be forgotten that the by now hackneyed saying, "As is the teacher, so is the school," is as true today as it was more than a century ago, when it was widely used to promote the cause of normal schools. It is therefore of supreme importance to consider the role played by quality in teacher preparation. The following paragraphs attempt to outline one man's conception of what it takes to make a "quality teacher," a good teacher.

II

Let us begin by drawing upon and modifying the famous definition of the orator as given by Quintilian in his "Institutio Oratoria." A teacher might be defined as a *vir bonus* (or *mulier bona*) *docendipertitus*. Just what does a *vir bonus* mean? A proper answer might be an individual who acts with poise and dignity, respects the rights and individuality of others, tends to cooperate, and seeks to further the good life for himself and for those with whom he is in contact. These are enviable characteristics, to be sure, but they are not enough to make a good teacher. In addition to the qualities that describe a good man or woman, the teacher must possess a strong educational foundation that furthers at the same time his own development as an individual and his or her unfolding as an intellectual being responsible for the guidance of children and youth.

Had time and space permitted, it would have been eminently worthwhile to examine in full detail the components of a solid educational foundation for the teacher. An academic and well-informed lay audience, however, will have no need for long expositions; *verbum sat sapientibus*.

First, let us consider the general education of the properly balanced teacher. It is inconceivable for the representative and interpreter of society who guides the growth of the child into that society to be ignorant or only partially aware of its cultural heritage. This means the history of world civilization and of one's own country, the literary masterpieces of the past and present, and the march of man's mind toward an understanding of the concepts of philosophy and religion. The prospective teacher must also comprehend political-economic trends and forces—national and international. Familiarity with the principles and facts of science and mathematics should not require a defense in the second half of the twentieth century. A knowledge of the structure of the community and of the interrelationships of its constituent elements is another requirement for one who would be an evenly balanced instructor of youth. Also to be included in this curriculum are the studies that would develop appreciation of the arts and music. To this varied collection of subject-matter must be added the acquisition of skill in expression and communication—specifically in writing, speaking, and listening—not only in one's native language but also in at least one foreign tongue.

Just as general education forges the link between the teacher and the specialists in other areas of activity, as well as with learned men or women of all types, so the study of the basic disciplines in the field of education builds the common background for all educational workers. The teacher of quality must master several foundational fields in education—the historical, the philosophical, the psychological, the sociological, and the comparative. The psychological and the sociological require no special advocacy at this time. In their zeal to offer a highly practical program, many leaders in teacher education have sacrificed the theoretical foundations upon the altar of extreme functionalism. What they have overlooked is the demonstrable fact that a thorough grounding in theory furnishes the good educator with a firm, reliable basis for practice and for experimental work.

The good teacher, then, should have a solid knowledge of the history of education, including its growth and expansion in the United States. He must be well informed about the origin and development of the various controversial problems in education. Too often, specialists in education emphasize current issues in their teaching and writing without taking sufficient note of the historical roots and the precise unfolding of the problems, thus presenting analyses that may be one-sided and superficial. How one can fully comprehend and appreciate present-day practice and theory in education without the historical underpinning is a feat that still awaits proof.

Developments in education in key countries throughout the world have also been neglected, as a general rule, in teacher education curricula. Familiarity with educational systems and problems abroad adds another dimension to an understanding of what takes place in schools. Better perspective is obtained for one's own educational problems by means of a comparative analysis of similar issues in other countries. Comparative education, it is clear, is one of the necessary elements in the foundational program of the superior teacher. In the years to come, this subject will have to play a greater role in the preparation of the teacher than in the past, especially because of the greater number of opportunities for international communication.

The last component in the pattern of foundational knowledge is the philosophical. The teacher of quality should have a clear conception of aims, values, principles of knowledge, logic, and other theoretical phases of education. That is to say, he should gain facility in the application of philosophical content and methodology to questions involving the school, the child, society and its institutions, the teacher, the curriculum, and so on. Educational philosophy is the discipline that can help the teacher tie together all his knowledge into a pattern that has real meaning. It is unfortunate that this branch of teacher education has often been watered down to something vaguely called "principles" or, worse still, to a "philosophy" that is little more than a statement of unexamined belief or prejudice.

Up to now, the discussion has centered on the broad and theoretical areas of knowledge which help make the individual an educated person and educated teacher. Since teaching is specialized activity that calls for considerable skill in such matters

as planning, motivating, supervising, questioning, testing, counseling and correcting, among others. It is necessary that the prospective instructor be initiated into the principles of general method applicable to children of various age levels and to different types of subject matter. To be specifically blunt and possibly somewhat dogmatic about it, there does not seem to be any rationale for the proliferation of courses in the methodology of teaching. Assuming that the teacher has mastered the broad outlines of teaching procedure and has learned how to apply them to certain age and subject-matter levels, it would be tiresomely repetitious and needlessly time-wasting for him to concentrate upon methodological minutiae. Equipped with general and theoretical knowledge, and trained in procedural principles, any individual possessing intelligence, imagination, and initiative will find out for himself additional ways of teaching children subject-matter, ideals, and skills. Excessive preoccupation with pedagogical practice has not only distorted the professional preparation of the teacher, but has also served to give the field of education a bad name in the academic arena.

Along with his training in the art of teaching, the prospective teacher should be given opportunities to visit schools and to see the educational process in action. His own practical experience as a student teacher under supervision will round out his period of basic professional preparation. To these should be added some experience with children in nonscholastic surroundings, such as the summer camp, the athletic team, and the club.

In recent years there has developed a tendency in many teacher education institutions to require much participation on the part of the teacher-to-be in social agencies in the community. While such activities are of undoubted value to him, it is questionable whether the expenditure of large blocks of time in community service at this stage is the proper thing to do. We must not forget that such work consumes time and energy, that the teacher-in-process must devote time to cultural, personal, and recreational pursuits, as well as to intellectual activities. Some work of a sociological nature is beneficial, but an inordinate amount tends to sidetrack the student from the main objective of becoming a teacher. There is also something faddish about the trend by many teachers colleges to give more and more emphasis to communal work.

III

I have presented in brief the type of education and training that a teacher of quality should have. It is also necessary to make some recommendations regarding the locale of study. It seems obvious that professional educational background and practical training should be given under the auspices of the school or department of education in the university, although it is not always necessary to have the theoretical study under an educational specialist. At times, the professor of education is one who has been a successful practitioner as principle or superintendent of schools, but whose foundational equipment may have been fragmentary. In such instances

it is preferable to have a trained historian, philosopher, or psychologist who has done additional work in the educational phases of his specialty take charge of the broad professional courses.

So far as general education is concerned, the best place for the prospective teacher to obtain this background is in the liberal arts college or at least under scholars who have specialized in these disciplines. The practice in some teachers colleges and some of the larger schools of education to have noneducation courses taught by people who had concentrated on education is a hard one to defend. The advantage of enrolling future teachers in liberal arts colleges for their general education is soon evident when one considers the problem of obtaining professional instructors of a superior nature. In a liberal arts college, the teacher aspirants have contact with the general academic population, rather than with their own kind. Moreover, they have to compete with some of the best students in the university. Most people are aware of the unfortunate circumstance that the standards in the academic work in teachers colleges are not comparable as a rule with those prevailing in the liberal arts colleges.

The preparation of the quality teacher must take into account several additional factors, such as personality development, mental hygiene, human relations, physical ability, recreational resources, and affinity for crafts, to mention some of the more outstanding. This is not to insist that all of these activities be taught in formal courses; rather, we should emphasize that many skills can be developed in out-of-college situations, especially when individuals make use of a strong will. Let it also be remembered that some types of learning can be acquired by self-application.

It will have been noted that the teacher of quality outlined in this essay is one who possesses exact, thorough knowledge, a full theoretical background, professional skill, and other necessary characteristics. Some consideration, however brief, should also be given to the problem of quality administrators. Such men and women are required if we are to have the flowering of the teacher with superior training. Just as the teacher is prepared with an eye toward making him a professional educator to a degree, the administrator must be enabled to become a superior educational statesman. To the background of the teacher, already described, must be added genuine teaching experience, depth of philosophy, breadth of culture, and compassion in human relationships. The quality administrator, therefore, should be a scholar and philosopher in practical educational activity. We have too many technicians who are masters of minute methods in administration but lack vision, understanding, and evaluative power.

IV

Logic also suggests that something needs to be said about the professor. *Mutatis mutandis*, most of what has been described heretofore is applicable with greater intensity to the education of the quality instructor to whom will be entrusted the courses in college and university. In the past, it has too frequently been the case that

the professor was insouciant, or even arrogant, about the pedagogical nature of his profession. More recently, however, enlightened faculty and administrators have become convinced that a clear understanding of the learner, the learning process, teaching procedures, and guidance techniques is necessary for the best possible instructional service in the liberal arts and other colleges. Professors of quality require, in addition, opportunities for domestic and foreign travel, research grants, superior library facilities, and a reasonable teaching and advisory schedule. Such are some of the steps that will help society obtain the most from the individuals who will be responsible for the education and training of young people, not only in general knowledge, but also in the specialized and professional areas.

It was inevitable that the question of a quality school should come under direct notice, even if implications can be found in the previous paragraphs. The learning environment best calculated to produce the best teachers must be superior in several essential respects—faculty, library, accreditation, laboratory facilities, freedom of atmosphere, and standards of academic performance. Such a university should provide a balanced curriculum in the form of a solid core of liberal studies, a rich program of general professional education within the larger plan of training for service as teacher or engineer, and an effective sequence of practical experiences for the professions. Stress must be laid on the necessity of providing a proper combination of general and specialized studies for those whose attendance at the university is derived from the principle of *scientia gratia scientiae*.

Apart from the educational program and environment desirable for the preparation of the quality teacher, we should consider carefully some of the salient factors that will make it possible for him to remain within the profession once he has entered it. Of paramount importance, in a society where other pursuits lure the learned person toward more lucrative rewards, is the salary of the teacher. Now we can rarely expect the school to match dollar for dollar the paychecks offered by industry, commerce, or governmental service, and it is very doubtful if it can make the attempt. A salary that will enable the teacher to live without economic anxiety, to raise his children properly, and to allow him to grow in his profession would be satisfactory to most people. The quality teacher also requires good retirement provisions, tenure, recognition of his rights and responsibilities under academic freedom, a proper policy with respect to promotion, encouragement for advanced study, time for travel, and subsidies for research and experimentation. School boards and educational administrators of goodwill should have little difficulty in determining other factors that will help the superior teacher stay at his post. We have the right to demand that the teacher should show excellence in and devotion to his duties, and it is not too much to expect an idealistic attitude on his part, but we must do all we can to provide him with satisfactory support in material matters and in other fundamental respects.

I have sketched the paths that have to be followed, in our judgment, to assure the acquisition of a corps of quality teachers. What has been offered is not a precise blueprint, no exact time schedule, but rather a general plan that hugs the surface.

There is no exhortation for lengthening the period of study, for multiplying courses. In point of actual fact, we have more than hinted that self-study, retention of what has been learned, and other intellectual habits are indispensable to the exceptional teacher. A quality teacher must make maximum use of his scholarship, ideals and attitudes, and professional skills in the development of his pupils and in the further development of himself.

In our quest for teachers who are “persons of capacity as well as of superior training” (Harvard Committee, 1945, p. 148), I am not presenting any thoughts that are radically new. Nor is there any lack of awareness that not all teachers can be prepared in accordance with what may appear to be an unattainable ideal. What is being done at this point, however, is to lay stress on certain principles that have become submerged with the expansion of teacher education, especially the necessity of combining sound scholarship with professional skill. I hope in this way to avoid either extreme of emphasis on narrow techniques or the neglect of all but a bare minimum of professional education. The truth in teacher education lies neither in the ultra functional tendencies in contemporary teachers colleges nor in the type of opposition spearheaded by Professor Arthur Bestor, but rather somewhere in between.¹ It is this *via media* that has been outlined in this essay.

It is appropriate to conclude with another classical quotation, in my not very literal translation. In his celebrated work, which dates from the first century B.C., “De Architectura,” Vitruvius Pollio sums up his idea of the education of the professional:

Neither genius without training nor training without genius can produce an accomplished professional man. But he should be a liberally educated man, skilled in drafting, learned in geometry, well acquainted with the past, faithfully attentive to philosophy, appreciative of music, not ignorant of medicine, familiar with legal opinion, acquainted with astronomy and celestial computations. (Book I, Chapter I)

Should the quest for quality in teacher education be concluded with anything short of this ideal?

Note

1. For more information on Arthur Bestor see Silova and Brehm’s article in this issue, pp. 17–36.—Eds.

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ELIZABETH SHERMAN SWING

William Brickman, Master Teacher

William Brickman was my professor, my dissertation advisor, my mentor, and my friend. My pursuit of a Ph.D. in late middle age may have seemed strange to friends, family, and some of my professors, but not to Brickman. A master of setting goals by indirection, he frequently spoke of the seventeenth-century Dutch scholar Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), whom he described in a monograph as “not just an educated lady but rather one who could compete with men on the same level” (Brickman, 1985). No goal was too high for Brickman.

I enrolled in my first Brickman comparative education course one humid summer when I, a high-school teacher of English with a master’s degree in literature from Harvard, decided I needed to stretch my mind. There were no graduate courses in English literature at the University of Pennsylvania Summer School in 1972, but there *was* a graduate comparative education course taught by a William W. Brickman. Its description indicated a focus on Europe. Having just returned from a year in Belgium with my husband and children, I decided this course was just what I was looking for.

Matriculation involved a daily commute on an early train and a wait for the class to begin, during which time Brickman frequently invited me into his office for a conference over a cup of coffee. The setting for these conferences I will never forget. Piled high on his desk was what at first appeared a random chaos of books and papers. The chaos was not random, however. Brickman knew where each paper and book was located. Our conversation was not random, either. Brickman wanted to know about my year in Belgium, about my children’s adventures in Belgian schools, about an earlier year my husband and I had spent in the Netherlands. Entering a heretofore unknown field like comparative education was not on my radar that summer, but I was impressed by the range of references scattered throughout

Elizabeth Sherman Swing, professor emerita, Saint Joseph’s University, is an honorary fellow in the Comparative and International Education Society (2000) and the Society’s first historian (1999–2008). In 1990 she was named *Ridder in de Kroonorde* (Knight in the Order of the Crown) for research on the Belgian language controversy.

his conversation and by his devotion to learning. I did not realize it then, but over those cups of coffee Brickman had begun the process of inducting me into an area of learning that took all of recorded history as its timeline and the entire world as its geographic center.

When I first encountered Brickman, student revolt was still in the air. Several of Brickman's colleagues had adopted a radical ethos such as examination questions fished from a hat. There was no such aleatoric epistemology in Brickman's pedagogy. Brickman's class was teacher dominated. Students learned from the structure of the subject and from their own research. Some students found him intimidating. Young radical curriculum and instruction educators did not always understand him. Nor did quantitative researchers. Humanists, on the other hand, were delighted by his background in languages, history, and philosophy; and the Europeans I later encountered at professional conferences spoke of Brickman with deep respect. I was aware that he pushed, but I nevertheless found him kind and considerate. I also found him delightfully formal. CIES colleagues referred to him as "Bill," but he was "Dr. Brickman" to me. Even after I completed my Ph.D., to have called him Bill would have seemed presumptuous.

A research paper was built into each of Brickman's courses. In my first class with Brickman, I proposed to examine *democratization*, school reforms I had heard about while living in Belgium. Brickman, however, viewed *democratization* as too fuzzy a topic and suggested instead that I examine the Belgian language conflict, the centuries-old rivalry between French-speaking and Dutch-speaking Belgians and the impact of this conflict on schools. This turned out to be the best suggestion any professor has ever given me. I had witnessed language partisans in Brussels painting out the street signs in the language of their rivals. My ears were still tuned to raucous exhortations from loudspeakers on trucks that invaded our neighborhood daily calling on citizens to vote for the radical French-language party. I had lived in the middle of the Belgian language quarrel.

Research for this project became all encompassing. I made use of the University of Pennsylvania Library, then traveled as often as time and finances would allow to the Library of Congress in Washington DC, having scrutinized its listings in the massive and heavy LC tomes that predated computer research. I had written research papers in an earlier scholarly incarnation, but never a research paper like this. That I needed to spend hours, days, and weeks on a Brickman project I came to assume. That I needed to travel to do research, I came to take in stride. There is a postscript to this tale. Brickman not only helped me find a research subject, he arranged for this first paper to be published in what was then called *Western European Education* (see Swing, 1973–74). Subsequently, the Belgian language conflict became a point of departure for my Ph.D. dissertation; and it was Brickman who led me to the scholar who recommended publication of my dissertation by a Canadian research group. Brickman cared deeply about promoting and advancing a scholarly career.

A unique and very important part of Brickman's teaching was an oral examination

on the term paper—sort of a minipreparation for what could later be the defense of a doctoral dissertation. The oral exam was an event of high energy. Brickman picked out areas for discussion from the student's research paper, and then initiated a complex line of questions. It was difficult to guess in advance what the focus of the questions might be—not always the central point of the paper. Sometimes Brickman raised his voice as he pushed whatever point he was making—a mode of teaching that seemed, until I became used to it, like an attack. To some students it seemed like a confrontation. Several told me after one exciting event that they thought Brickman had been a bit brutal with me. I did not. I had come to view public interrogation by Brickman as a challenging honor reserved for the stronger students. I particularly remember the oral exam on a paper I wrote on student revolt. In this paper I mentioned a French student who viewed a university as a place where students learn to become revolutionaries. Brickman was outraged by this idea—or perhaps by the fact that I had taken the time and trouble to mention it—and he pushed hard. Was *this* what a university education was really about? Did I believe this? In retrospect, this was the most contentious of my oral examinations, although there was really nothing to be contentious about. Neither of us believed revolution was the purpose of a university.

I completed writing my doctoral dissertation on one exhausted afternoon in May and notified Brickman immediately. The logical timing of the next step would have been discussion of what I had written and an oral defense a few months later, with the summer intervening. This is what Brickman initially proposed. I was, however, in need of an immediate, substantial professional boost, including evidence that I had completed work for the Ph.D., a requirement for a postdoctoral grant for research in Belgium in July. Once he realized my professional concerns, Brickman summoned me to appear immediately; and I drove with my daughter to Brickman's home in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, with dissertation in hand. I can still picture the startled expression on my daughter's face when Brickman announced to her that he was a "father professor." Thereafter, he went to considerable difficulty to convene my committee and to schedule the defense of my dissertation in June, thus assuring my contract, my grant—and my career. I will always be grateful.

One other aspect of my relationship with this master teacher deserves mention. For Brickman, being a teacher was a lifelong commitment. Even after I received my Ph.D., he sent handwritten letters congratulating me on achievements and defining my next goal. I always had the sense that he was in the background of my professional life. Whether this level of caring can explain the unexpected gift he gave me on a postdoctoral visit to his office several years before his death I do not know. During that visit, he handed me without explanation an armful of pamphlets, plus selected issues of *School and Society* and *Intellect*. The pamphlets included copies of the papers given at the very first meetings of what would become the Comparative Education Society. I might have found this material in several libraries had I the need to do so, but with what Brickman gave me, I had in one place a record of the prehistory of the Comparative Education Society and a window on the history

of comparative education in the United States. Could he have had intimations that I would make use of these documents in writing his obituary for the *Comparative Education Review* (Swing, 1987)? Could he have had intimations that I would be appointed historian of the Comparative and International Education Society, a new position that he surely would have held had he lived longer? Could he have guessed that I would write the history of the Comparative and International Education Society for the WCCES volume on comparative education societies (Swing, 2007)? Whatever his motivation, Brickman saw to it that his student would be able to construct a record of his role as founder of what became a vibrant professional Society. Years later I was honored to be able to do so.

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RAYMOND E. WANNER

William Brickman, Doctoral Professor

I had the good fortune of having two great teachers over a twenty-three-year period of formal education, one at each end of the educational spectrum. The first was the Reverend Vincent Eaton, my English teacher during the first, second, and fourth year of high school at St. Charles College, a preparatory school in Catonsville, Maryland, for studies leading to the Roman Catholic priesthood. The second was Dr. William Brickman, the subject of this essay, my doctoral professor at the University of Pennsylvania. Both regrettably are deceased; both were great men and great teachers. Both demanded much of their students and gave much to them. Both treated their students unfailingly with dignity and respect.

Unlike some, more experienced in academia than I was at the time, I did not go to the University of Pennsylvania to study under Brickman. I met him there by chance—and fortuitously—on July 1, 1968 at a summer course on international education. I had not chosen the class because he was conducting it. I chose it because I had just been admitted to a doctoral program in the philosophy of education, had little money, was eager to start, and this appeared to be a course I could handle.

The day before classes began, I had left the Roman Catholic priesthood after twelve years of preparation and nine years of active service, first as a parish priest, then as head of a secondary school. I had little real-life experience and no specific career plans. But I did have the good sense to realize that I needed retraining if I were to make a living outside the protective arms of the church. As for pursuing a doctorate, I believe, consciously or not, I thought that if I were to shed the title of Reverend, I needed a respected title to replace it. Moreover, I had always looked upon earning a Ph.D. as a challenge, similar in large measure to running a marathon,

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simply to see if I could do it. My plan was to build on my strengths as I perceived them: a sound liberal arts undergraduate education, four years of graduate studies in France, wide European travel, good French-language ability, a grounding in Latin and Greek, and comfort with the classics, and experience as a secondary school principal. I would take this summer course along with one in history of education with Dr. Brickman's colleague, Dr. Saul Sack, and see what would come of it. In the meantime, I planned to get married sometime before summer's end. I assumed mindlessly that the money would come to make all this possible.

I looked forward to Dr. Brickman's course first thing every morning. It was, as I recall, highly anecdotal and entertaining in the details he recounted of his international travels and adventures in academia. However, it was not long before I found I needed to spend long hours in Penniman Library to keep up with class assignments. Some weeks into the course, Dr. Brickman asked me to stop by his office. He came right to the point. "You were a Roman Catholic priest, weren't you, Mr. Wanner?" he asked. Having enjoyed my newly found anonymity and nonclerical status during the summer, I was surprised at his knowing this, though, upon reflection, I realized that it could not have been difficult to deduce my past status from the academic records that he had in hand. He asked me about my plans. I told him I wanted to earn a doctorate, get married later that summer, get a job, probably in education somewhere, and start a new life. He asked if I had money for tuition and to support myself. I replied, "Practically none, but money had never meant much to me." He smiled and responded, "It might mean something to the young woman you expect to marry in a few weeks." He then offered a quid pro quo. He would try to obtain a grant that would pay for all my studies and provide (what turned out to be a generous) annual stipend, if I would agree to be his research assistant and do my doctorate under him. I agreed on the spot and, within a day or two, he announced that he had Dean Gross's concurrence for the grant and the stipend. He then carefully examined my transcripts from Johns Hopkins where I had completed a master's degree and a certificate of advanced study in education and accepted a significant number of credits in lieu of additional required coursework at the University of Pennsylvania. It was the beginning of a privileged apprenticeship with a great scholar. After many years, I realize that in addition to an initiation into real scholarship, this apprenticeship provided a protective aura around me with the university establishment. The unspoken message appeared to be, "If Mr. Wanner is Bill Brickman's research assistant, he must be OK and competent. Let's give him the benefit of the doubt."

With classes usually between 4:30 and 7:00 P.M., my day would begin with a stop at Dr. Brickman's office shortly before 9:00 A.M. He would invariably give me a handful of scraps of paper with authors and titles in various languages of books he would like me to get from Van Ness Library. I would usually get them to him by early afternoon but always by 7:00 P.M. when he left for the day. The next morning there would be further sources to track down from footnotes and bibliographies and a new set of books to seek and find. Nearly every Sunday evening he would call

with a request for a list of books to get and references to check from his weekend reading. I kept a collapsible shopping cart in my office, next to his, to return the piles of books. Librarians rolled their eyes as my wife and I pushed cartloads of books to the return desk every few days. Occasionally, Dr. Brickman would give me a scrap of paper with a note on it saying, "Someone said this somewhere. It might have been Herodotus or Plato or Tacitus. Will you see if you can find it for me, please?" It was win-win situation in my eyes: he benefited from my legwork and perseverance while I learned to use a great research library.

At one point a rumor circulated among students that no graduate student in memory had received a doctorate while working under Dr. Brickman, and that it was pointless to waste one's time trying. The rumor was false, but in my ignorance I was concerned. Fortunately, I asked him about it directly. He was stunned to hear it and, I believe, somewhat hurt. He said to me, "You know what the university requirements are, Mr. Wanner, and you are on your way to complete them. If you do your part, as I am confident you will, you will receive your doctorate." As always, Dr. Brickman was true to his word. Some years after I had graduated I realized I had completed my doctoral studies with him in less than three years. Several other graduate students completed their work with him in the two to three years that followed the conferring of my degree. A psychic blockage—or more likely, a graduate school myth!—had been eliminated.

Months passed during which I continued my research assistantship with him, took classes from him, with Dr. Saul Sack, and elsewhere in the university, including a course on the history of the book from the university librarian and a course on the Renaissance from Werner Gundersheimer in which Dr. Brickman was particularly interested and, I believe, proud that I received an "A" for translating from Latin to English a Renaissance text by Angelo de Decembrio on how to select books for one's personal library. It was about this time also that Dr. Brickman suggested that I be examined in Latin for one of my foreign-language requirements. I believe he was testing the university's willingness to accept Latin as fulfilling a language requirement as well as my ability to pass it. He again looked out for my financial well-being by inviting me to correct the French foreign-language examinations that he administered as chair of the language-requirement committee. I received ten dollars for each examination corrected. It was modest but appreciated extra cash.

Dr. Brickman invited me and other students to his home periodically to see and use his extraordinary personal library and to meet his wife Sylvia and his children. I remember the particularly festive celebration of the 25th anniversary of his having earned his doctorate.

Dr. Brickman looked out for me in other ways too. He invited me to teach his classes during the Jewish high holidays each September, he appointed me chair of the Thomas Woody Society, which met monthly to discuss aspects of educational history, and he nominated me for the Thomas Arnold Award "for promise of leadership in education." As my wife and I were carrying the university chair that was given to me as recipient of the award down the steps of the University Museum

where the ceremony was held, a City of Philadelphia police car stopped us and the officers inquired about the object we were taking from the museum. Fortunately, they believed our story.

Dr. Brickman also recommended me to an orthodox Jewish day school that was looking for a headmaster. As it turned out neither the search committee nor I thought it would be a good fit, but this demonstrates that Dr. Brickman, while, a strictly observant and orthodox Jew, did not allow religion to create barriers. This was true even within the traditions of his own faith. At a memorial service after his death, a former student told the assembly that though orthodox Jewry did not recognize women rabbis, Dr. Brickman always referred to her both publicly and privately while she was his student as “rabbi.”

As teacher and researcher, Dr. Brickman emphasized the importance of primary sources and when possible the advantage of reading them in their original language, but he also stressed the importance of bringing one’s own powers of analysis and interpretation to these sources. This was a lesson I learned well when he returned the first chapter of my dissertation. As was his wont for papers long or short, he returned the chapter the day after I submitted it. I had done so with enthusiasm—I was finally on the last lap of the doctoral marathon and the chapter was heavy with primary source material. He praised the sources and their credibility and then complimented me somewhat more soberly than I expected. He then returned the heavily marked-up chapter and said it needed more work. “I don’t find *you* in the chapter, Mr. Wanner! Where is your analysis of the sources and where is your interpretation of their context? In brief, where is your voice?” Reading the disappointment in my face, he then said something that I will never forget: “I can tell you are disappointed, Mr. Wanner, but remember that this collaboration between you and me in writing your dissertation could be the last time in your professional life that you will receive an honest and thorough and constructive critique of your work.”

I learned my lesson, and Dr. Brickman worked with me and provided guidance throughout the months that followed. His final contribution was to write the introduction to “Claude Fleury (1640–1723) as an Educational Historiographer and Thinker” when it was published in the Hague as part of the Martinus Nijhoff series *International Archives of the History of Ideas*. And, of course, it was Dr. Brickman who had suggested that I send the manuscript to Martinus Nijhoff.

It will not surprise the reader to learn that Dr. Brickman played a key role in getting me my first job. He had written several studies for the then U.S. Office of Education’s Comparative Education unit. One day he asked me to go with him to call on his contacts there. I had no idea his real purpose for inviting me was to give its leaders a chance to look me over and interview me without my realizing I was being interviewed for a job. Some months later, I started work with them as a comparative education specialist for Western Europe.

Collaboration continued during the years to come. Dr. Brickman would stay with my wife and me at our Capitol Hill house when he came to Washington to work at the Library of Congress and he advised me to accept the editorship of *Western*

European Education and later the Department of State's invitation to serve in Paris as education attaché at its diplomatic mission to UNESCO. He believed firmly that government service, particularly of the kind I was engaged in, could make a contribution to society and to scholarship comparable to many academic careers. He continued to be my mentor until his death. I have the most moving memory of his invitation to me one evening in the kitchen of our Capitol Hill house to address him as "Bill." It was difficult, but ultimately I managed to do so. He stopped addressing me as "Mr. Wanner" and from then until his death it was "Ray" and "Bill," a memory I cherish that brings tears to my eyes as I think of him. I realize in hindsight that Bill was more proactive in the guidance he gave me, and the hand he extended, than might be the norm, but I believe he did so consciously to compensate for my inexperience and somewhat understandable naïveté at a time in my life when I had nothing and needed everything.

I miss Bill. I miss what he stood for and I wish he were still with us to share his wisdom, scholarship, and collegiality. (It is noteworthy that during my years of daily contact with him, I never heard him utter an unkind word about anyone, colleague, or student.) He set a standard of integrity, work ethic, generosity, and collegiality that I and—I am certain—many others have striven to emulate. My gift to his legacy will be to continue to do so.

YAACOV IRAM

Tribute to an Admired Teacher and Mentor

I was fortunate to be one of Professor William Brickman's students in his post-doctoral program in history and comparative education at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia during the academic year of 1972–73. Since we were a very small group, the seminars were conducted in his large office around a huge table piled high with books that accumulated there—and kept growing at every biweekly meeting as a result of books arriving daily to be reviewed in journals that he edited (especially *School and Society*). His seminars were of course conducted not as lectures but as Socratic dialogues to which Professor Brickman contributed his vast knowledge and international experience.

How much Professor Brickman served as a mentor is evident as follows: At the end of that year I was to return to Israel, where I was appointed as a lecturer at Bar Ilan University. Needless to say, his supporting letter of recommendation was a major factor in this process. At the end of the last session he asked me to stay in his office and offered me to choose any books that I might find useful in my teaching in Israel. I was excited and grateful, but hesitantly told him that shipping them would be very expensive. Professor Brickman replied that his offer included shipping as many books as I might find of interest. When I arrived in Israel several boxes full of books awaited in my office. These books, many of them authored by Professor Brickman himself, became the foundation of my library in history and comparative education. Professor Brickman encouraged me to attend the annual CIES meetings and later to form the Israeli Comparative Education Society and participate in the World Council of Comparative Education Societies. On more than

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one occasion of my visits in the States I was invited to his home in New Jersey to spend the Sabbath with him.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s I was instrumental in inviting him to Israel both for public lectures and seminars. Professor Brickman continued to be active after his formal retirement in research, writing, editing and in academic administration. When I asked, "Aren't you retired?" he replied to me in his inimitable humorous style, "Don't you know that to retire means putting on renewed tires and moving on?"

To conclude I would use a quote from the Mishna that epitomizes Professor Brickman's interaction with his students and friends: "Joshua the son of Perachia would say: Get thee a wise teacher and win for yourself a friend, and judge every man to the side of merit" (Ethics of the Fathers, chapter 1, verse 6).

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ARYEH SOLOMON

William Brickman’s Legacy in Jewish Education Worldwide

While William W. Brickman has been acknowledged as an erudite scholar, prolific writer, and pioneer of comparative education, his substantial contribution to Jewish education is largely unknown. This article seeks to redress this shortcoming by examining his work in training aspiring Jewish educators, his efforts for the accreditation of fledgling Orthodox Hebrew schools, and his international endeavors for Jewish education, particularly in the USSR. The author argues that Brickman’s experience in Jewish educational institutions and his exceptional educational credentials enabled him to play a pivotal role in advancing Jewish education and scholarship both in the United States and globally.

You have certainly accomplished a great deal . . . and may the merit of your communal endeavor stand you in good stead in all your affairs, especially in the areas of Jewish education where Divine Providence has been especially generous to you in terms of bestowing upon you exceptional capacities as well as opportunities.

—Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson (1975)

The furtherance, enhancement and intensification of Jewish education will ensure the future existence of the Jewish people and its continued contribution to the spiritual welfare of all mankind.

—William W. Brickman (1971a)

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William W. Brickman has been acknowledged as an erudite scholar, prolific writer on matters of educational concern,¹ and a pioneer in the field of comparative education. However, little is known of his substantial contribution to Jewish education. This paper seeks to redress this shortcoming by examining three aspects of Brickman's endeavor in this area: his ground-breaking work in providing pedagogical training for aspiring Jewish educators, his innovating efforts for the accreditation of fledgling yeshivot (Orthodox Hebrew schools) and championing the cause of Jewish education in the United States, and his international endeavors for Jewish education, particularly in the Soviet Union.² As this article will reveal, Brickman made critical input into each of these domains.³ Given the multidimensional nature of Brickman's contribution, his work for educational initiatives of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement will serve as the central case-study whereby this paper explores the extent of his contribution.⁴

Before delineating these areas of contribution it is appropriate to consider those factors that ensured Brickman's ideal position to be of such assistance to Jewish education. These can be divided into three broad categories: his intense Jewish education and advanced Jewish scholarship, his vast experience in Jewish educational institutions, and his exceptional educational credentials as an educational scholar and writer.

Brickman's intense Jewish education and scholarship

That Brickman should have made a significant contribution in these three areas is not surprising, given that he was an observant and dedicated Jew who in his formative years had received an intense Jewish education in New York. Brickman was born in 1913 in New York City, the son of David Shalom and Chaya Sarah Brickman. His father had studied in the famous Yeshiva of Lomza in Poland and was a strictly Sabbath-observant Orthodox Jewish cutter in the clothing industry. Because of his family's scrupulous Sabbath observance, David Shalom Brickman was often out of work, and from the age of fourteen, William would push clothing carts throughout the summer vacation to assist the family's financial situation (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2007). Despite this disadvantage, Brickman would rise to become a world-renowned scholar of the history of education and of comparative education. Such was young William's love of learning that as a teenager he would use the money his mother gave him for lunch to buy books to quench his thirst for knowledge⁵ (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2007). Reminiscing about his childhood, Brickman related,

In line with the tradition of Eastern Europe, my father engaged a Hebrew tutor for me after I reached the age of three. . . . My school hours were daily (Sunday through Thursday) from 8:30 A.M. to 7 P.M. and Friday from 8:30 A.M. to 12 noon. (1985, pp. 1–2)

Brickman attended Rabbi Jacob Joseph Talmudic Academy, where, ironically, he was perceived to be "a slow developer," an assessment that inspired him "to [make]

an extra effort, so that by the time [he] reached *bar mitzvah* age (thirteen years of age) [his] teacher recognized some achievement and potentiality” (Brickman, 1985, p. 3). He attended and graduated high school from the New York Talmudic Academy (then the high-school section of Yeshiva College of Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary) in New York City. Even though he opted to leave formal religious education at Yeshiva College and entered the City College of New York, Brickman meticulously kept his promise to his father that he would study with a private Talmud teacher so as to maintain his advanced level of Judaic studies. He remained a member of Talmud and Maimonides study circles during this period and beyond (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2007).

Throughout his life, Brickman’s devotion to Judaism and his study of Torah never wavered. Indicative of his level of Judaic scholarship is a comment he made *en passant* while paying tribute to the memory of his younger brother where he noted that it was his custom annually to prepare a *hadran* (lecture after completing the study of a Talmudic tractate) for each of his parents and his brother (Brickman, 1985, p. 6). It is to be noted that the annual completion of study of three Talmudic tractates is a most substantial achievement for even a full-time scholar, particularly given the scope of Brickman’s arduous and multifaceted educational endeavors.

His respect for Torah and Torah scholars was legendary. Senior Jewish educators, especially those who were in a position to know the role he played in gaining respect for and recognition of Torah in a secular world, respected him in turn. Several formed friendships with Brickman that lasted throughout his life. They attested that Brickman would set aside fixed time for his personal Torah study, attend regular daily prayers, and encourage others to do so as well (Kaminetzky, 1987). Brickman was also described by Kaminetzky (1987) as “a truly religious and observant Jew, and a *Ben-Torah* (one devoted to the study of Torah) . . . [who] . . . genuinely brought credit to religious observance through his exemplary conduct.”

Brickman’s experience in Jewish educational institutions

Prior to embarking on his academic career Brickman taught for years in and served as principal of several yeshiva high schools. Immediately on gaining his B.A. he began teaching at Yeshivat Chaim Berlin High School in Brooklyn and he served as principal of the Salanter Jewish Day School in the Bronx. On his return from World War II in 1946, Brickman resumed a life of teaching while simultaneously pursuing an academic path, which led to his becoming one of America’s most accomplished scholars.

This Jewish teaching experience encompassed elementary, secondary, and tertiary levels as well as administration positions in several Jewish day schools. Brickman’s teaching experience included his service as a teacher of Jewish history in Sunday schools in New York City and St. Louis; an instructor in social studies, German, and English at Torah Vodath High School in New York; and at Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch Junior High School. At the tertiary level, while pursuing

an academic path, he was a visiting professor of educational history and philosophy at Yeshiva University's Graduate School of Education, a lecturer on education and sociology at the Young Israel Institute of Adult Studies (New York), and dean of faculties to Touro College.

His administration experience in Jewish schools included his service as principal at the Lubavitcher High School, the Rabbi Israel Salanter Elementary and Junior High School, Yeshiva Preparatory High School, Forest Hills, N.Y., and as dean of instruction at the Mirrer Yeshiva Teachers' Institute. Brickman's experience teaching in Jewish educational institutions ensured he was fully qualified to make recommendations concerning the viability of Jewish educational institutions and to express an authoritative opinion on how deserving they were of government aid or support by Jewish philanthropies.

Brickman's credentials as an educational scholar and writer

Coupled with his vast experience in Jewish education, Brickman's impeccable credentials as an educator and educationalist beyond the Jewish community enabled him to make his monumental contribution in the area of the accreditation of Jewish educational institutions. For example, when Brickman received his doctorate at NYU in 1938, he was one of the first orthodox Jews to have received such a degree. Similarly, he had a reputation throughout the "education community" for attributes that included an exceptional mind, a phenomenal memory, and prodigious energy and ability that stamped him as a member of a virtually extinct breed—a twentieth-century "universal man."⁵ A remarkable linguist, Brickman was fluent in some twenty languages that included Hebrew, Classical Greek and Latin, and Yiddish, as well as German, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Portuguese, Romanian, Bulgarian, Dutch, Afrikaans, and several other Asiatic and African languages (Swing, 1987 p. 4).⁶

As an acclaimed author and editor of educational journals and reference books, Brickman's reputation as an educational authority was confirmed. Throughout his career, he published on a wide range of topics and the breadth of his research interests astonished his peers (Swing, 1987, p. 3). A man of prodigious energy, Brickman was author, coauthor, editor, or coeditor of more than twenty books, monographs, and pamphlets. He also served in important editorial positions on numerous academic journals and contributed prolifically to academic journals and reference books.⁷

In addition to his prolific writing, Brickman was known as a compassionate and generous person, a man of great intellect, and a true *mensch* (human being of integrity). Recalling his humility, refinement, and friendliness, Rabbi Yisroel Gordon commented, "By his simple mannerisms he communicated respect. He was not a fault-finding individual but was a man of grace and compassion who always overlooked negatives and viewed lovingly those whom he taught and assisted" (personal communication, Rabbi Yisroel Gordon, 2009). Similarly, his colleague George Z. F. Bereday, professor of juvenile law, sociology, and education at Teach-

ers College, Columbia University, held him in the highest esteem. Bereday wrote of Brickman:

Professor William W. Brickman enjoys a well-deserved reputation as the best bibliographer in social studies and comparative education in this country. He is completely conversant with the Russian language and research on Soviet society and education. I had the honor of coauthoring with him a book on the Changing Soviet School, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1960. I have also benefited for several years from his substantive and bibliographical help as a colleague and in my capacity as the Editor of the *Comparative Education Review*. (1983, p. 1)

Brickman was a member of the National Fulbright Selection Committee, the College Entrance Examination Board, American Colleges for Teacher Education, the American Historical Association, the National Society for the Study of Education, and the Authors League of America. As well, he served as a consultant to departments of education in Maryland, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and to the U.S. Office of Education (Swing, 1987, pp. 3–4).

Given the convergence of his abilities and scholarly credentials, Brickman was uniquely placed to make a highly significant contribution to the groundbreaking endeavors for Jewish education in America and elsewhere. He did this in three principle ways: by (1) pioneering the pedagogical training for aspiring Jewish educators, (2) facilitating the accreditation and funding of yeshivot in the United States, and (3) advocating for state aid to parochial schools. Each of these is deserving of examination. While an account of Brickman's contribution to pedagogical training and the accreditation and funding of yeshivot within a variety of religious educational organizations is beyond the scope of this paper, attention will be paid to his work with the Chabad-Lubavitch school of Hasidism whose emphasis on pioneering and extraverted educational initiatives and pedagogical training has been a distinctive feature of its self-definition.

Pioneering the pedagogical training of aspiring Jewish educators

An indication of the significance of Brickman's contribution to Chabad-Lubavitch education can be gleaned from a letter written by the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe (spiritual leader of the Chabad-Lubavitch movement),⁸ Rabbi Yoseph Yitzchak Schneersohn, addressed to the board of Merkos L'Inyonei Chinuch [The National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education], urging the speedy implementation of Brickman's courses to enable yeshiva heads and primary and secondary Jewish studies teachers to expand and develop their knowledge concerning educational methodology. Rabbi Schneersohn wrote:

I hereby urge the Board of The National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education to implement, as soon as possible, courses of teacher development whereby Yeshiva heads, primary and secondary Jewish Studies teachers will expand and develop their knowledge concerning the education and guidance of children. (1947a, p. 223)

In a letter of the same date addressed directly to the yeshiva heads and primary and secondary Jewish studies teachers of the New York Lubavitcher Yeshiva and its subsidiary branches throughout America, Rabbi Schneersohn (1947b) simultaneously urged the entire education faculty to attend Brickman's courses of teacher development for the above-mentioned purpose and to obtain formal accreditation for these skills. The letter further states its request:

Whosoever is somewhat familiar with education and is seriously involved in the guiding of youth, recognizes and perceives that the most gifted and experienced educators need to periodically discuss methodologies of education and guidance which are most appropriate for the students whom they are guiding. How much more so does this principle certainly apply to younger, less experienced educators who are duty bound to do all possible to widen their knowledge of education and guidance. It is upon this knowledge that much of their success in this area of utmost responsibility is dependent. For this reason I have asked the Board of the National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education, to organize teacher-training courses for teachers. I hereby turn to all elementary and secondary Jewish Studies teachers of the New York Central Lubavitcher Yeshiva and all of its subsidiary branches throughout America as well as the elementary Torah schools to regularly attend these teacher development courses and to receive certification of their proficiency in this area. (Schneersohn, 1947b, pp. 223–24)

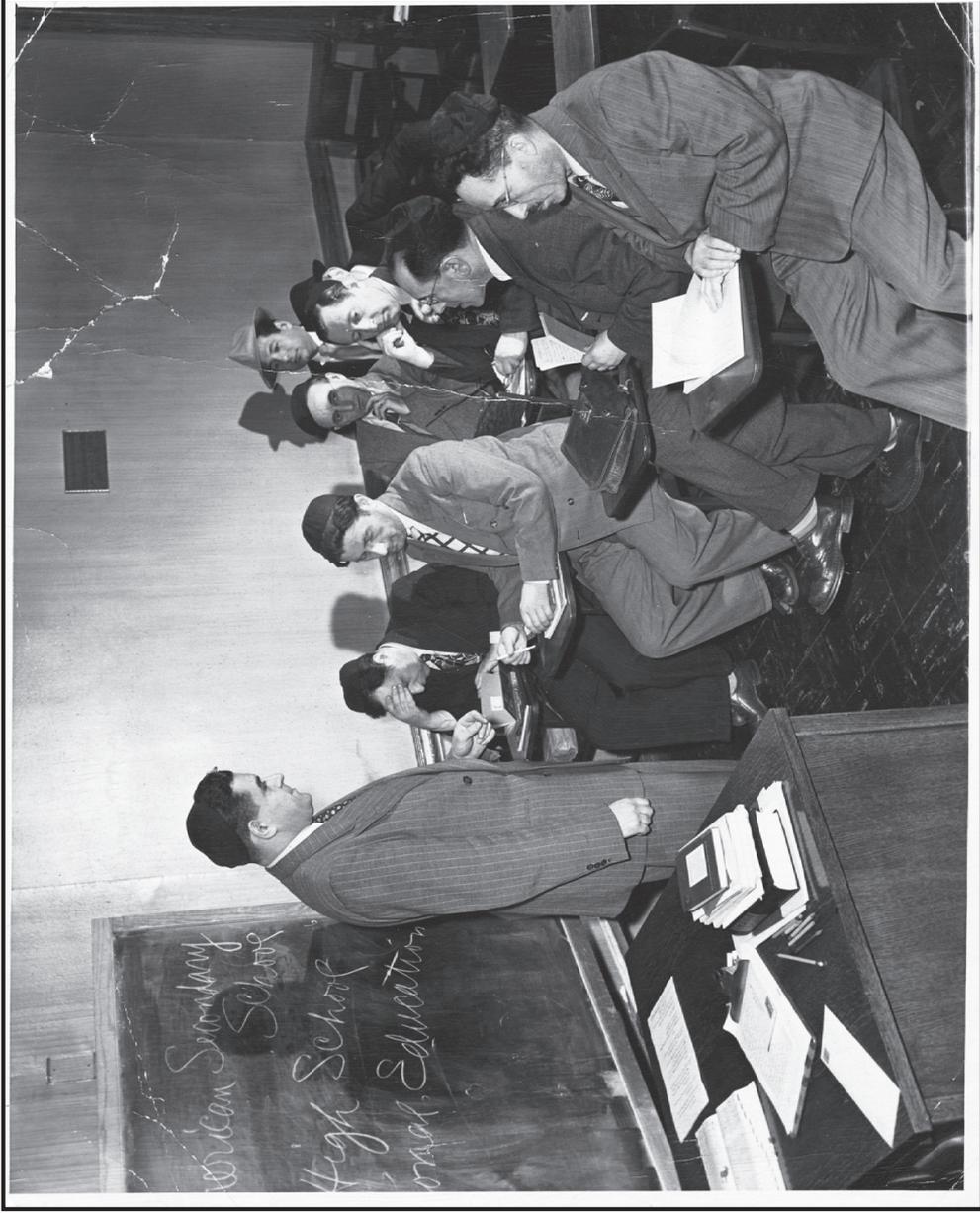
It was Brickman who personally conducted these courses for senior yeshiva students and alumnae anticipating an imminent educational assignment from Rabbi Schneersohn that would almost certainly entail a significant teaching component. The courses took place weekly for several months each year and were initially held at the Lubavitcher Yeshiva at Bedford and Dean Avenues in the Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood of New York City.⁹ At the conclusion of the courses, the participants received a certificate to confirm satisfactory completion of the subject matter covered.¹⁰ These teacher-training classes for students of the Lubavitcher Yeshiva continued until the late 1950s. Similar courses in pedagogy took place at other yeshivot, including Yeshivat Chaim Berlin and Yeshivat Ner Yisrael (see Photograph 1).

We know today that in his recommended approach to teaching, Brickman advocated effort, discipline, the logical organization of material, and the setting of long-term goals. A statement by Brickman (1972) gives us an indication of the educational philosophy he sought to imbue in trainee teachers under his guidance:

Education should strive for the lifelong development of each person, regardless of type, to his fullest capacity along desirable and satisfying intellectual, social-economic, moral-ethical, and aesthetic paths, as an individual and as a member of society, and in accordance with his ambition, effort, and achievement.

The accreditation and funding of yeshivot in the United States

Today one takes for granted the vast numbers of yeshivot and Jewish day schools worldwide that are recognized as legitimate educational institutions, fully accred-



Photograph 1. Brickman teaches Jewish educators circa 1950, location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, William W. Brickman Collection, Box 120.

ited by government authorities. In the 1940s when pioneers of authentic Jewish education in the United States were few, Rabbi Yoseph Yitzchak Schneersohn was dispatching his emissaries for the groundbreaking work of founding yeshivot in communities hitherto devoid of Torah education. The establishment of each yeshiva entailed a struggle for government accreditation, with both the general authorities and very often the lay Jewish leadership opposing the new institutions. In those early days, when Rabbi Yoseph Yitzchak Schneersohn and others worked tirelessly to melt the icy indifference to the establishment of Jewish educational institutions and the establishment of Torah institutions, the validation of Jewish day schools and institutions of Torah learning was of pivotal importance.

The struggles faced by Rabbi Yoseph Yitzchak Schneersohn's emissaries in Worcester, MA, were typical of those faced by other emissaries of the Rabbi Yoseph Yitzchak seeking to establish yeshivot elsewhere.¹¹ Rabbi Yisroel Gordon joined Rabbi Hershel Fogelman in Worcester in 1953 as principal of the Hebrew Department of the Worcester Lubavitcher Yeshiva. Rabbi Gordon related that when the pioneering educators dispatched to Worcester sought financial support for the Worcester Yeshiva, their efforts for funding were met with indifference and even opposition from philanthropists who were highly suspicious of Orthodox Judaism and its yeshivot. These financially influential individuals were reluctant to allocate funds to an institution that they perceived to be not providing "a balanced education" and this opposition continued for many years.

Still, the formal government accreditation of the fledgling Worcester Day School was a prerequisite for community support from communal leaders and benefactors who viewed this school as a remnant of Eastern Europe that would never meet U.S. accreditation requirements. To their amazement, when the government-approved educational expert arrived to carry out an accreditation assessment of the new school's curriculum, he first inquired as to the time the students and faculty prayed at the afternoon service, as he wished to interrupt his analysis of the school's curriculum in order to pray with a quorum. Contrary to their anticipation, this government inspector endorsed the pedagogical integrity of the yeshiva and its curriculum, explaining in his report how the curriculum of Talmudic studies was not only no less intellectually rigorous than subjects taught in the public school system but in fact far more academically challenging. The inspector was none other than Brickman. Soon other non-Chabad yeshivot were being founded, following the example set by the schools established by Chabad pioneers, and Brickman played an ongoing role in their accreditation (personal communication, Rabbi Yisroel Gordon, 2007).

In the 1950s and 1960s, when yeshiva education spread across the United States, and when structured Torah organizations became a necessity, Brickman was viewed as a virtually limitless community resource, always available, always ready to visit, recommend, participate, and help. He was a consultant for, organizer of, and participant in groups dedicated to Torah and to the spread of Torah education. Thus he was a consultant to Torah Umesorah [National Society for Hebrew Day Schools]. From the very outset, he became one of the consultants on education

to Torah Umesorah and its National Parent Teacher Association (PTA). Despite a very demanding schedule at the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania and at New York University prior to that, he made himself available for principals' and regional conferences and the like. As much as his schedule would permit, he conducted educational surveys for Torah Umesorah.

For many years, while the *Jewish Parent* was being published, Brickman wrote a regular column on general educational matters, indicating their relationship to the Day School movement and its essential significance for American governmental and educational bodies. He was one of the genuine patrons and advocates for the yeshiva movement. All this, of course, was done with alacrity, on a voluntary basis. Even in his final years, notwithstanding physical hardship due to ill health, he was still actively involved in gaining accreditation for newly established yeshivot (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2009).

By 1982, Brickman had facilitated the accreditation of some fifty boys' schools,¹² of which twenty-seven were fully accredited and the other twenty-three had been granted "candidate for accreditation" status pending further examination (not including girls' schools such as Beth Rivka¹³ and Beth Jacob, where he was particularly involved).

In 1977, Brickman cofounded the Association of Advanced Rabbinical and Talmudic Schools (AARTS) with Rabbi Y. Weisberg of Lakewood. The objective of AARTS was to prove to state authorities such as the Council for Higher Education Accreditation that yeshivot were places of higher learning and research. Brickman played a central role in providing the intellectual and scholarly justification for creating an independent accrediting association for the yeshivot. There is no question that his credentials assuaged the doubts many secular educators and government officials had about Torah education as a postsecondary enterprise. He thereby brought honor and recognition to the study of Torah by his many studies (see Brickman 1943; 1968; 1971b; n.d.) on Torah study—and yeshivot throughout the ages (Kaminetsky, 1987).

He traveled widely to make visitations on behalf of AARTS in this work of accreditation. Thus Brickman (1979) wrote, "On July 4, 1979, as part of my duties as chairman of the visiting accreditation committee for the Association of Advanced Rabbinical and Talmudic Schools, I interviewed Rabbi Meir Krauser, Dean of the Rabbinical Seminary of New Square, Spring Valley, N.Y." Commenting on the vital importance of the *yeshiva* high school, Brickman wrote:

In this essay the writer has attempted to evaluate, on a foundation of historical and contemporary fact, the status of the various types of Jewish schools in the United States. There appears little reason to have much faith in the Sunday School, the Yiddishist School, and the *Talmud Torah* (after school classes) as guarantors of Jewish well-schooled generations in the future. The work of these schools should not be disparaged. Within the limitations of their nature and program, they have doubtless accomplished something of value for Jewish education in America. The *Talmud Torah* particularly will undoubtedly long be resorted to by a large part of the community and accordingly must be strengthened to the

maximum. Some Jewish learning is better than none. Even a thin thread may bind an individual to his people. But this minimum cannot be satisfactory for the community which is benefiting from the results of their work. It is the obligation of the American Jewish people to give the *Yeshiva* the means wherewith it can expand and deepen its program of infusing the content and spirit of Judaism into the children and youth of America. This is the only way by which the American Jewish community of today can ensure the existence of the American Jewish community of tomorrow. (1959, p. 8)

He summarized his oft-expressed position on the educational integrity of the yeshiva as a tertiary institution in the concluding paragraph of the opening chapter "The yeshiva as an institution of higher education: interpretations of international terminology" of his unpublished study *Limitless Learning: The Yeshiva in History and in the Contemporary World*:

The significance of the *yeshiva* as an institution of advanced intellectual study must be emphasized in that, particularly, it embodied the idea of timeless training and learning without limit. The yeshiva has been a unique institution, without interruption and without geographical boundaries, for at least two thousand years. It has made a profound contribution, through the ages, to the perpetuation of the Jewish religion and its people. For all these reasons, and more, it deserves study and analysis as a movement in higher education. (1959, p. 12)

Brickman worked as a consultant on Jewish education,¹⁴ belonged to Jewish educational organizations, visited and was a committee member at many schools and educational organizations, and lectured widely across the United States.

He did not hesitate to tackle head-on those who were hesitant in their support for yeshivot. Writing in his capacity as chairman of the Education Committee of the Beth Jacob School of Philadelphia, Brickman addressed a letter to William B. Rudenko, challenging the scant funding apportioned to the Day School. Rudenko had written that he was irritated by the Beth Jacob School's "lack of national achievement tests" and "the control of the school by educators rather than by laymen." In reply, Brickman fought valiantly to defend the yeshiva and demanded:

Permit me to state what irritates me about the Education Committee: the depreciation by you, a non-educator, of the objectivity of renowned and authoritative scholars in Jewish education; your positive affirmation when all your data lacked any foundation in authenticated fact . . . your dogmatic approach to the question of a survey; and so forth. You might visit the school and see for yourself how our children conduct religious services in a way that is exemplary for adult congregations. . . . I am worried about your implying, at least, that [you are] the judge of what constitutes a good school and a good Jewish education. I am also worried about you tying in control to the allotment of funds. It is an established principle in democratic government, as you know, that Federal aid to education is only beneficial when there is no control of education. . . .

As I wrote in my previous letter to you, I shall be glad to cooperate with you in discussing Jewish education in general and Beth Jacob in particular. For your part you might encourage yourself and your fellow Cabinet members to learn more about Jewish education. The best of intentions cannot be a substitute for

precise knowledge. I propose that, in any future meetings we may have, we begin with a five or ten minute exposition of basic content of Jewish learning. . . .

Responsible [educators] have told me that some of their colleagues are not only unfriendly to Beth Jacob School but to Jewish education in general. This is a pity, especially because many of us in education have managed to find a common ground with learned Christians in admiration and respect for our *yeshivot* and Torah Day Schools. As a leader in our community you are in a key position to educate others towards a positive attitude with regard to Jewish education. . . .

I am looking forward to your effective aid to Beth Jacob School and to Jewish education through your persuasive power in convincing your colleagues in the Cabinet to be more generous towards our school than in the past and they will help us achieve our highest aims and programs in the best possible manner. (1963, pp. 1–3)

Brickman gave of his time and energy to participate on many early visitations for AARTS and helped frame the procedures under which its visitations currently take place. Joseph Kaminetsky national director emeritus of Torah Umesorah, said of Brickman, “He used his great abilities of research, scholarship and familiarity with many languages to spread an understanding of Judaism, Torah and Yeshiva education on all levels to the vast educational academic world” (1987, p. 1).

The struggle for state aid to parochial schools

A passionate believer in state aid to parochial schools, Brickman addressed Congress on this issue and stood his ground even though in receipt of a barrage of criticism for this then-unpopular point of view. On May 9, 1971 he addressed the Synagogue Council of America’s Study Conference on Public Aid to Non-Public Education in Monsey, NY, where he delivered a paper titled “Ideas, Ideals, and Issues of Jewish Education” outlining the history of Jewish education. His study was encapsulated in his concluding comments that “the furtherance, enhancement and intensification of Jewish education will ensure the future existence of the Jewish people and its continued contribution to the spiritual welfare of all mankind.”

Kaminetsky (1987) wrote that Brickman had been “one of the first and most active academicians that fought for government aid to *yeshivot*,” noting that when the matter of the relationship of church and state in the areas of private education, specifically Hebrew Day School education, became actual, Brickman had written the first exhaustive study on the subject and was in the forefront of the battle to allocate federal funds to various aspects of yeshiva education. In one such essay, Brickman cited a variety of rabbinical opinions and concluded by citing concerns expressed by the Lubavitcher Rebbe about the practical allocation of funds:

To these orthodox Jewish statements must be added those issued in January and February 1965 by the Lubavitcher Rebbe, Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson. . . . For some time, the Lubavitcher Rebbe, a pioneer in rabbinical circles in supporting the principle of federal aid to nonpublic schools, approved the bill even though it does not yet satisfy all the justifiable demands of the secular departments of the parochial schools for federal aid. (1965)

He warned that, in the event of the passage of the bill, the vehement opponents of federal aid to parochial schools should be prevented from making an attempt “to grasp the administrative end of the program, to make themselves the interpreters and distributors of the funds.” Moreover, he stressed that

the majority of the Jewish antagonists of Federal aid to Parochial schools are those who are opposed to the very idea of Parochial schools. Many of them have the main say in the distribution of Jewish Federation funds, and resist support of *yeshivot* and day schools, either by giving them miserable token allocations, or by totally excluding them from any allocation. (1965, p. 35)

International endeavors for Jewish education

From the outset, the writer wishes to state that given the antireligious sentiment of the USSR and as many of Brickman’s efforts for Jewish education there were of a clandestine nature, much of his work behind the Iron Curtain, in contradistinction to his work in the United States, eludes full documentation. The following is but an explanation of the background to his circumspect work for Jewish education in the USSR and an acknowledgment of an area of heroic achievement by Brickman at a time of Russian hostility to religious education whose details remain largely inaccessible.

Brickman’s area of expertise was comparative education and he was an undisputed world expert on education in Russia. In the 1950s, when he was a welcome and frequent guest of the Russian government, which had valued his expertise, he became a key emissary to Russian Jews in Moscow, Leningrad, and elsewhere. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, virtually no Jews traveled from America to the USSR. Brickman received a formal invitation from the Russian government to visit in order to inspect schools there and to convey to the Russian government his assessment of the level of Russian schools in comparison to those in the West. As an official guest, he was granted certain flexibility during his stay (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2007). Brickman wrote:

From mid-December, 1957, to early January 1958, in the course of a mission to several Soviet-sphere countries on behalf of the Comparative Education Society, I managed to visit the Jewish communities of Moscow and Leningrad. My journey took me also to Warsaw and Prague, and with special permission I was able also to get into Vilna (now Vilnius) in Soviet Lithuania, for a few hours only. (1958a, p. 8)

From articles written on his return to America, we know that he visited other communities in the USSR such as Alma Ata (the capital of Kazakh SSR), Tashkent (the capital of Uzbek SSR), Stalinabad (the capital of Tajik SSR), as well as Georgian SSR. At every location he sought out its Jewish community and its synagogues. Indicative of the centrality of Jewish education to his stay in the USSR is his statement (1958a) regarding his work for Jewish education in Russia:

In spite of several attempts on my part to arouse interest in the Jewish education of children the Jews in the synagogue avoided any discussion of this painful subject.

The only time I was able to dent this stone wall of silence was during one of my talks with Chief Rabbi Abraham Chaim Lubanov of Leningrad. (p. 16)

Elsewhere in the same report he wrote, “I walked over to a boy of ten and asked him to read aloud in Hebrew” (p. 48). He also reported, “Whenever the opportunity presented itself, I inquired about the teaching of Hebrew and Yiddish during discussions with Soviet educational leaders and officials” (p. 58).

Brickman’s son, Chaim, attested to his father’s meeting with the Lubavitcher Rebbe before three of his trips, the content of their discussion remaining confidential. What is known is that he succeeded in bringing with him into Russia various religious articles and religious literature for Jews in Moscow. He met with several rabbis, including the chief rabbi of the USSR, in the synagogues and outside, as well as with numerous underground observant Jews and young idealists during that period. Perhaps the most tangible evidence of this discreet work for clandestine Jewish education in Russia was the inclusion in Brickman’s library of a Hebrew Bible that contained an inscription from an anonymous Russian “student” of Brickman’s “In appreciation of the items that you have brought to us discreetly and which cannot be mentioned” (personal communication, Chaim Brickman, 2009). Brickman was supportive of those engaged in heroic efforts to maintain underground religious education in the face of government hostility and even persecution.¹⁵ He urged others to emulate his example, writing:

For the peace of mind of Soviet Jews and for the perpetuation of whatever *Yiddishkeit* [Judaism] there is in the U.S.S.R., it is urgent that foreign Jews come to that area as often as possible. Such visits have contributed to, and will continue to inspire, a religious revival. Not only rabbis but also laymen have been and can be of great help in this respect. (1958a, p. 19)

Besides the USSR, Brickman traveled over many decades; in all his travels, he never failed to focus on the Jewish community in far-off lands, making contacts, bringing encouragement, and in every way helping the Torah Jews in a very difficult time.

As with his travels in the United States for academic conferences where he used the opportunity to address communities about bolstering Jewish education, Brickman’s international travels provided him opportunities to lend his authoritative voice to endorsing the cause of Jewish education (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2009). Thus in 1957, Brickman traveled to Europe, Israel, and South America. While in Peru, he visited the Colegio León Pinelo Jewish School in Lima and presented an oral report to the school board and visited classes. On his return from Peru, in a call that reflects his belief in the power of comparative education and is indicative of his devotion to the cause of Jewish education, Brickman (1958b) urged closer relations between American Jewish educators and those in Peru, stating, “All of us can profit from becoming familiar with each other’s achievements and problems.” Indeed, Brickman’s finding time to visit Jewish educational institutions while on a mission for comparative education indicates his passionate concern for the enhancement of Jewish education in every community he visited.

Conclusion

For students of education, William Brickman remains noteworthy as a prolific writer for the immense number of his publications, his prodigious editing work for prestigious scholarly educational journals, and his great abilities as a linguist. His most notable achievement is seen by many as helping to stimulate the development of the nascent field of comparative education in the 1950s and 1960s.

However, for those familiar with the struggle for Jewish education in the United States from 1940 until the 1950s and 1960s and its challenges under diverse circumstances internationally, Brickman was an indefatigable champion of the cause of Jewish education who trained a generation of pioneering Jewish educators to assume positions that required formal teaching qualifications, who oversaw the accreditation of yeshivot, and whose concern for Jewish education extended to far-flung communities around the world. Twenty-four years after his passing, the phenomenal growth of the yeshivot that he once endorsed as fledgling schools is testimony to his enormous contribution to Jewish education. For his pivotal role in securing accreditation for America's pioneering Orthodox Jewish day schools and yeshivot, and for training future Jewish educators and encouraging Jewish education globally, William Brickman can be credited with sowing the seeds for today's flourishing Jewish day school and yeshiva movement and the global revival of Jewish education.

Notes

1. His articles appeared in over fifty different journals and some were translated into as many as fifteen languages. He served on countless learned and educational societies and editorial boards, and was universally recognized and honored as one of the nation's foremost scholars.

2. As much of this endeavor was of a clandestine nature, much of Brickman's work behind the Iron Curtain defies full documentation.

3. The author is aware that the achievements outlined in this paper are but the "tip of the iceberg," given the 130 boxes of Brickman's voluminous archival materials that await detailed research and examination.

4. The choice of his work with the Chabad-Lubavitch group within Orthodoxy as a sample of his contribution is in keeping with this writer's previous research in the educational writings and initiatives of Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson, where this writer first discovered Brickman's contribution to Jewish education. See Solomon (2000), pp. 331–32.

5. An example of his breadth of interests is found in a statement (Brickman, 1981):

For some years I have maintained an active interest in the history of Christian learning in relation to the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, Talmud and other fields. I read and analyzed primary sources and secondary works in various languages, as time permitted. During my trip (December 1980–January 1981) to Denmark, the Netherlands, and England, I spent most of my time pursuing my interest in Christian Jewish lore, mainly during the seventeenth century. In my forthcoming study, I expect to concentrate on the Christians of the Netherlands who wrote with knowledge and in depth on topics in the areas of Hebrew language, Biblical and Talmudic literature,

and other themes related to Judaic studies. A major focus will be the origins and development of linguistic skills and substantive knowledge. Wherever possible, I will try to distinguish between intrinsic and missionary motivation, accuracy and inaccuracy, scholarship and dilettantism. The literature is abundant, even for one country and one century.

6. Such was Brickman's thirst for knowledge coupled with his exceptional linguistic ability that over many years he amassed a personal collection of 12,000 books.

7. Brickman's principal editorship was of *School and Society* (later called *Intellect*) from 1953 to 1976. He also served as editor of *Education Abstracts* (1942–44), as assistant managing editor of *Modern Language Journal* (1942–46), as editorial board member of *Soviet Society* (1962–68) and of *Paedagogica Historica* (1961–86), as editorial adviser, for the field of education, of the *Grolier International Encyclopaedia* (1962–70), as departmental editor of *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1962–71), as editorial adviser for the *Encyclopaedia of Education* (1967–71), and as editor of *Western European Education* (1979–86). He was managing editor of *Young Israel Viewpoint*, a contributing editor to *Jewish Parent*, and he contributed to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on the history of education as well as the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* on Jewish education.

8. Brickman frequently expressed his admiration of the work of Chabad-Lubavitch, stating, "Lubavitch adherents will go 'where angels fear to tread'" (personal communication, Sylvia Brickman, 2010).

9. It emerged from my discussions that in coordinating and delivering these courses, William Brickman worked closely with Rabbi Chayim Mordechai Isaac Hodakov, the director of the National Committee for the Furtherance of Jewish Education, a renowned educationalist who had formerly served as minister for Jewish education in the Latvian Parliament. He was the personal secretary of Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson both prior to and throughout the latter's formal leadership of the Chabad Movement.

10. So important were his classes in the estimation of the Rabbi Menachem M. Schneerson that on Saturday night prior to the weekly class, Rebbitzin Chaya Moushka Schneerson would personally phone the Brickman home to check that everything was in order for the anticipated class.

11. Rabbi Gordon related an example of America's antipathy to Torah education. Being newly arrived in Worcester and the younger emissary, Rabbi Fogelman encouraged Rabbi Gordon to seek funding for the yeshiva. At a meeting between Rabbi Gordon and philanthropists, one philanthropist challenged Rabbi Gordon: "Why is it that you teach so much Torah [Pentateuch] in your school? Why don't you teach more contemporary Jewish history? Why are you so preoccupied with the Pentateuch?" Rabbi Gordon responded, "It is because we love 'the Author.'" The philanthropists were perplexed by Rabbi Gordon's reply and could not fathom what he had meant. Their confusion was resolved only when one of them turned to his fellow philanthropists and explained in an undertone, "These educators actually believe that the Torah is Divinely-authored" (personal communication, Rabbi Yisroel Gordon, 2007).

12. These included Beth Medrash Gevoha, Lakewood, New Jersey; Ner Israel Rabbinical College, Baltimore, Maryland; Rabbinical College of Telshe, Wickliffe, Ohio; Mirrer Yeshiva, Brooklyn, NY; Rabbinical Seminary of America, Forest Hills, NY; Talmudical Yeshiva of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, PA; Rabbinical Academy Mesivta Rabbi Chaim Berlin, Brooklyn, NY; Central Yeshiva Tomchei Tmimim-Lubavitch, Brooklyn, NY; Mesivta Torah Vodaath Seminary, Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch, New York, NY; Yeshiva Beth Moshe, Scranton, PA; Telshe Yeshiva-Chicago, Chicago, IL; Beth Hatalmud Rabbinical College, Brooklyn, NY; Rabbinical College Beth Shraga, Monsey, NY; Rabbinical College of America, Morristown, NJ; Rabbinical Seminary Adas Yereim, Brooklyn, NY; Rabbinical College Chasam Sofer, Brooklyn, NY; Rabbinical College, Bobover Yeshiva B'nei Zion,

Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva Toras Chaim Talmudical Seminary, Denver, CO; Sh'ar Yoshuv Rabbinical College, Far Rockaway, NY; Rabbinical College of Long Island, Long Beach, NY; Rabbinical Seminary M'kor Chaim, Brooklyn, NY; Beth Medrash Emek Halacha Rabbinical College, Brooklyn, NY; Mesivta Tifereth Jerusalem of America, New York, NY; Yeshivat Zichron Moshe, South Fallsburg, NY; United Talmudic Academy, Brooklyn, NY; Ner Israel Yeshiva College of Toronto, West Willowdale, Ontario; Yeshiva Karlin-Stolin, Brooklyn, NY; Beth Hillel Rabbinical Seminary, Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva Ohel Shmuel, Bedford Hills, NY; Talmudical College of Florida, Miami Beach, FL; Beth Benjamin Academy of Connecticut, Stamford, CT; Rabbinical Seminary Beth Yitzchok, D'Spinka, Brooklyn, NY; Ohr Hameir Theological Seminary, New Rochelle, NY; Talmudical Seminary Oholei Torah, Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva B'nei Torah, Far Rockaway, NY; Talmudical Academy of New Jersey, Adelphia, NJ; Machzikei Hadath Rabbinical College, Brooklyn, NY; Mesivta of Eastern Parkway Rabbinical Seminary, Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva of Nitra Rabbinical College, Mount Kisco, NY; St. Louis Rabbinical College, St. Louis, MO; Yeshivat Viznitz, Monsey, NY; Kehillath Yakov Rabbinical Seminary, Brooklyn, NY; Rabbinical Seminary of New Square, NY; Brisk Rabbinical College, Skokie, IL; Yeshiva and Mesivta Torah Temimah Talmudical Seminary, Brooklyn, NY; Talmudical Institute of Upstate New York, Rochester, NY; Yeshiva Mikdash Melech, Brooklyn, NY; Darkei No'am Rabbinical College, Brooklyn, NY; Yeshiva Shaar HaTorah Talmudic Research Institute, Kew Gardens, NY.

13. Personal communication, Chana Gorovitz, November 11, 2009.

14. He was a consultant to Jewish Education Committee Survey; Torah Umesorah; National Association of Hebrew Day School PTAs; National Curriculum Research Institute, American Association for Jewish Education; Cochairman, Committee on Day Schools, World Conference on Jewish Education, Jerusalem, 1962; Department of Education, Ner Israel Rabbinical College; National Day School Survey, American Association for Jewish Education; Rabbinical College of America, Morristown, NJ; Association of Advanced Rabbinical and Talmudic Schools.

15. In his writings on education in Russia, Brickman wrote of the work of the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe for Jewish education in the face of Soviet oppression:

His stubborn efforts contributed immeasurably to perpetuation of Yiddishkeit in the former U.S.S.R. and ultimately to the current revival in the post-Soviet era. The enormity of the task and the significance of the achievement is especially evident given the history of Judaism in Russia. This was accomplished in the face of the Russian regime's perennial policy of atheistic indoctrination and forcible prevention of the exercise of religious freedom. Perseverance by the pious, in the society dedicated to their destruction, resulted in the preservation and perpetuation of the Jewish religion in Soviet Russia. (1980, p. 9)

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MAXINE GREENE

Epilogue

Bill and I were in the same department at New York University—in the late 1950s, I think, when I was a mere instructor in philosophy of education. I never took a course with Bill, but I was interested in *School and Society*, which he edited.

I had the nerve to suggest that he adapt the idea of “Profiles” from the *New Yorker* and print articles on important educators. He was kind enough to assign me to write pieces on some college presidents. I ended up doing interviews with the presidents of Harvard, MIT, the New School, and almost with Alfred Whitney Griswold of Yale, who died too soon. I cannot remember the one who ordered 2,000 reprints—a famous Aristotelian at Santa Barbara—who was also a great exponent of freedom, whatever his name.

Bill also let me do an article on Dewey’s centenary; and I am still grateful to him for—in effect—giving me a start in educational publishing—or at least giving me the courage to start. Now that I think of it that may be one of the signs of a great teacher—the capacity to free others for new beginnings. If I have any success with my books today, I owe delayed credit and thanks to Professor Brickman. I hope he guessed that might happen.

Maxine Greene is a professor of philosophy and education and the William F. Russell Professor in the Foundations of Education (emerita) at Teachers College, Columbia University, where she has taught since 1966. She has been cited in the *New York Times* as “one of the leading educational philosophers of the past fifty years.”