

colonial government schools were often an arena of contest between claims of indigenous people to education as subjects of Her Majesty Queen Victoria and her successors, on the one hand, and segregationist—even racist—attitudes, on the other, such studies would have raised many interesting and important questions. Such issues, together with questions of gender discrimination are, however, usefully developed in relation to South African *mission* schools by Deborah Gaitskell in chapter eight.

Such seemingly vital omissions are commonly to be found in symposia, the pattern of which is largely dictated by the academic predilections of contributors. The rich veins of erudition which are consequently revealed usually compensate for such design-faults and this book is no exception. It fills an important gap in the more traditional historiography of education and imperialism and offers a wealth of novel insights. With perhaps one exception, the essays are very readable and there are no instances of the often tortured English or tortuous argumentation that so often bedevils writing in this field.

Although the book is handsomely presented, some criticism must be levelled at the publishers for many type-setting errors, including the misprinting of names (e.g. "Barlyn" instead of "Bailyn," p. 6; and "Altback" instead of "Altbach," p. 10). A more serious criticism concerns the omission of captions from the illustrations which precede the chapter texts. Authors' names are printed so close to the illustrations that they have

the appearance of captions with unfortunate effect, particularly in one instance where the illustration is of a cartoon from *Vanity Fair*!

The question mark in the title of the book, "*Benefits Bestowed?*", might lead readers to hope for an evaluation of the balance in the profit and loss account of education under British imperial rule from the points of view of both colonizer and colonized. After reading it, they may feel that they have simply been left with the question mark. In fact, they will have greatly enhanced the store of evidence on the basis of which they can make their own judgements.

Laadan Fletcher
Formerly University of Western
Australia

David A. Nock. *A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988. Pp. 194. \$14.95 paper.

A Victorian Missionary and Canadian Indian Policy: Cultural Synthesis vs Cultural Replacement is a fascinating biography for those concerned with the on-going controversy around missionaries, residential schools, and First Nations' people. David A. Nock elucidates the life of Edward Francis Wilson, an evangelical who spent most of his missionary days from 1868 to 1893 near Sault Ste. Marie as principal at Shingwauk and Wawanosh Residential Schools. Nock focuses on

Wilson's changes in perspective towards policy. An important contribution to those interested in the notion of First Nations' control are "The Fair Play Papers," a series of four anonymous articles (Appendix A) attributed by Nock to Wilson and published in 1891 in *The Canadian Indian*, a journal he co-edited.

The strength of Nock's work lies in his convincing argument that Wilson is indeed the author of these papers. To demonstrate that the principal of two residential schools moved from implementing policy based on anglicizing and Christianizing Ojibway people to becoming an advocate, albeit anonymous, of a very progressive notion of First Nations' self-government is no mean feat. Chapters I and II describe Wilson's family history and its connections to the Church of England's Church Missionary Society (CMS). Nock documents Wilson's initial attraction to missionary work, somewhat unusual for one of his middle-class background. He outlines the policies of Henry Venn of the CMS who promoted "train[ing] up the native church to self-dependence" (p. 177). Wilson's unwillingness to follow Venn's direction was fuelled by his intense rivalry with the Methodists who had arrived earlier in Sarnia, the place Wilson began his work. Chapter III confirms the residential school as the missionaries' tool of cultural replacement and explicates Wilson's role as principal of Wawanosh and Shingwauk Residential Schools, established near Garden River Reserve. Located near Sault Ste. Marie, Garden River was Wilson's

second appointment. The fourth chapter presents the influences on Wilson's changing thought and lays a foundation for the argument that he was the author of the "Fair Play Papers." A letter to his father shows a very human forty-year-old disillusioned by his lack of success and low wages at the residential school and seeking change. While one is compelled to think of the apathy Wilson noticed among his charges as, in fact, active resistance to the unacceptable imposition of a foreign education system, one can empathize with the frustration expressed in the letter. Wilson's subsequent transformation came as he developed an interest in anthropology and learned of a variety of First Nations' cultures, enabling him to develop a personal appreciation, first of the Cherokees in the United States and their autonomous government, and then of the people with whom he had been working, the Ojibway of Sarnia and Garden River. In the fifth chapter, Nock reveals the strong parallels between Wilson's work and that of "Fair Play."

The Papers themselves, included as Appendix A, are intriguing for all concerned with First Nations' control. They lay to rest the argument that missionaries worked with impeccable intentions and no understanding that indigenous peoples actually had cultures. In a defence of missionaries in Chapter III, Nock suggests that the alternative to missions and residential schools was "often represented by extermination, enslavement, or forceable removal" (p. 76). Interestingly,

Nock ignores the alternative Wilson presented in the papers:

What the United States has done for one tribe of 22,000 Indians, I propose our Dominion Government should do for her 17,000 Ontario Indians; hand over to them their funds, which are at present held in trust for them, appoint them a Lieutenant-Governor from among their own people, let them select a spot for their capital, and have their own Parliament and make their own laws. And if this be successful,...the whole management of Indian Affairs might be transferred from the Indian Department in Ottawa to the Indian Government at the Indian Capital (pp. 175-6).

When one considers the insight and knowledge which Wilson gained through his ability to listen to the people and to see the power of Ojibway cultures, one sees a strong individual who went beyond blind obedience to dogma and superiors to look critically at his role and responsibilities to the human beings with whom he was working.

But Nock ultimately disappoints the reader in search of a critical examination of this aspect of Canadian history. Other than some references to Wilson's work in residential school where the goal was "preparation for work in a hierarchical, bureaucratic, industrial-capitalist society" (p. 83), he fails to address in any rigorous way the struggles for power between colonizers and First Nations' people

which were in progress. His claim to present "a case study of different policies used by the whites in their dealings with North American native peoples" (p. 1) is somewhat overstated. Rather, he presents the life of one missionary encountering a number of policies.

Nock's efforts to place this biography in a larger sociological context are problematic. He begins his analysis with a presentation of a typology which C.W. Hobart and C.S. Brant use to describe colonizers' education systems in a somewhat obscure article entitled "Eskimo Education, Danish and Canadian: A Comparison." Hobart and Brant define "cultural replacement" as an attempt to replace traditional culture with a "modern" one within a generation or two. "Cultural continuity" refers to an attempt to preserve traditional culture by allowing for change without external manipulation. "Cultural synthesis" is "the thoughtfully conceived, carefully implemented introduction of change on a continuing basis, informed by periodic assessment of effects and modified by required corrective measures" (p. 1). Without differentiating between system and policy, Nock attempts to apply the types of cultural replacement, synthesis, and continuity to a number of policies which guided Wilson's work. He returns to these types in the conclusion and from time to time throughout the book. The fundamental problem with the original article and with Nock's analysis is that neither addresses the issue of *who* will conceive, implement, and assess change. All three authors

unquestioningly accept the invader of the indigenous cultures as the locus of control.

Nock suggests that Venn's policies emphasized cultural synthesis. But Venn wanted indigenous people to establish and define their own churches once they had a basic understanding of and commitment to Christianity. "He wished missionaries to prove the success of their missions by the 'euthanasia' of their mission" (p. 33). If Venn suggested monitoring the established Native church, Nock does not say so. On the contrary, Venn wanted missionaries to train indigenous pastors and leave as soon as possible. Nock does say that the fact that there were few missionaries to deal with the vast populations awaiting conversion was added incentive for Venn's scheme.

Nock also argues that the CMS under Venn did not advocate directed cultural change which he equates to cultural replacement. In this process, "the dominant group singles out certain elements of the subject group's culture for attack and also selects certain elements of its own for imposition."¹ The CMS sought to replace the element of "religion" in indigenous cultures. In another connection, J.A. Tijiboy has said of cultural invasion in Central America: "In religious matters, the major psychological violence was the imposition of the dominator's god in substitution to the Indian gods."² Nock does not address the central role of "religion"³ in Ojibway cultures. He accepts Venn's naïveté that it is possible for missionaries to replace "religion" while respecting the

"nationality and national feeling of those they dealt with" (p. 33).

Constructs for an analysis which acknowledges human agency amongst the invaded as well as the invaders are Paulo Freire's cultural invasion and cultural synthesis. Freire says:

In cultural synthesis, the actors who come from "another world" to the world of the people do so not as invaders. They do not come to teach or to transmit or to give anything, but rather to learn, with the people, about the people's world....Instead of following pre-determined plans leaders and people, mutually identified, together create the guidelines of their action....leaders must avoid organizing themselves apart from the people.⁴

Wilson's transformation to ethnologist, learning something of the cultures of the people he worked with, clearly changed his views. The Fair Play Papers provide a striking example of the possibility for cultural synthesis. The dialogue in which Wilson engaged as he learned to listen to the people enabled him to consider such a process. It is critical to the development of Canada that his proposals were ignored. It is perhaps more than coincidental that the journal which published the articles lost its funding shortly thereafter.

Cultural invasion for Freire is a phenomenon in which

the invaders penetrate the cultural context of another

group, in disrespect of the latter's potentialities; they impose their own view of the world upon those they invade....All domination involves invasion—at times physical and overt, at times camouflaged, with the invader assuming the role of the helping friend.⁵

The policies which E.F. Wilson encountered and worked with in his life were all culturally invasive. The policies of the Danish and Canadian governments to which Nock alludes in his analysis are culturally invasive. Even benevolent Danish despots are despots. Nock acknowledges that the problem with Venn is that "he did not take local circumstances and social forces into account" (p. 47). Further, he quotes John Webster Grant's comment that the missionaries' "major mistake" was "in relying too much on one-way communication" (p. 77). Wilson eventually came to engage in dialogue and to recognize a variety of local circumstances. In the power struggle in which many First Nations' people have been and continue to be engaged, he stands as an example of those who, for at least a century, have recognized the oppressive nature of the colonization of Canada and the United States.

Occasionally, Nock's use of language and some of his examples display a disturbing bias. At one point, he refers to a number of "Indians" in Wilson's mission remaining "heathen by choice" (p. 39). He makes no comment on this selection of words. To say that a number of Ojibway in the Huron region rejected Christianity is a

very different presentation. Another possibility is to say that these Ojibway chose to maintain their traditional spirituality. In describing Wilson's schools, he comments ethnocentrically, "Even the custom of Santa Claus had to be taught to the children" (p. 80).

In a reference to correspondence theory, Nock ignores the criticisms of this theory which, through consideration of resistance, allow all people in a school the possibility of action. His suggestion that the Canadian government is becoming "more accepting of ideas of cultural synthesis" (p. 7) demonstrates his apparent lack of awareness of the Nielsen Report of 1985 which again called for assimilation of First Nations' people.⁶ Including a map of the areas in which Wilson worked would have been illuminating for people unfamiliar with Ontario geography. Finally, Nock's vacillation between 1906 and 1907 as the date for the forcible dissolution of the autonomous Cherokee government is disturbing (pp. 110, 153). One wonders if this is Nock's confusion or poor editing or both.

Despite its shortcomings, this book is worthwhile reading. Nock portrays Wilson as a thoughtful and determined person who must be the author of the Fair Play Papers. The papers themselves are required reading for all concerned with the current struggle of First Nations' people in Canada.

1. Ralph Linton, *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1963), 505.

2. Juan Antonio Tijiboy, "Comments on 'Tradition, Change and Survival' related to the Indians of South America," paper presented at the Pre-Conference Round Table for the World Conference of Indigenous Peoples, June 2-6, 1986.
3. In many First Nations' cultures, including the Ojibway, spirituality is central to the process of living. To change gods is to change the fabric of life: values, history, and codes of behaviour, to name only a few aspects.
4. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1982, ©1970), 183.
5. *Ibid.*, 150.
6. See Sally M. Weaver, "Indian Policy in the New Conservative Government, Part I: The Nielsen Task Force of 1985," *Native Studies Review* 2, 1 (1986): 1-43.

Celia Haig-Brown
University of British Columbia