Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation
BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Jean-Philippe Croteau

Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants, 1875–1960

Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2016. 288 pp.

L'école a joué un rôle essentiel dans l'intégration des élèves immigrants à la société canadienne, comme le démontre Jean-Philippe Croteau dans cet ouvrage. Son étude comparative porte sur quatre commissions scolaires des villes de Montréal et de Toronto accueillant les élèves de la majorité et ceux de la minorité. Afin de socialiser et d'assimiler ces enfants, les commissions scolaires ont adopté des politiques qui reflétaient les valeurs fondamentales de leur collectivité. Dans ce processus, les Néo-Canadiens ont négocié, à leur façon, leur intégration aux différents systèmes d'instruction.

La diversité culturelle et religieuse qui est au cœur de ce travail amène l'auteur, en ouverture de son livre, à faire un lien avec les polémiques identitaires soulevées au Québec depuis la Commission Bouchard-Taylor (2007–2008). Il veut remettre en perspective la prétendue singularité québécoise à l'aide des résultats de sa recherche. L'introduction se poursuit avec un bilan historiographique commenté suivi d'un bref exposé des forces et des faiblesses de l'histoire comparative.

Le premier chapitre décrit les particularités et les ressemblances entre Toronto et Montréal selon quatre dimensions : l'économie, l'influence des Églises dans l'espace public, la gestion du pluralisme culturel et religieux et le rôle joué par les écoles dans la construction des citoyennetés. L'analyse comparative de ces questions permet de saisir la nature diversifiée des sociétés étudiées, les défis qu'elles ont affrontés et les solutions qu'elles ont préconisées.

Jumelons les chapitres deux et quatre qui traitent des écoles de la majorité dans chacune des métropoles. L'auteur prend soin de faire un historique des systèmes d'instruction publique de l'Ontario et du Québec. Il fait ensuite ressortir les grands principes qui animent le Toronto Board of Education (TBE) et la Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal (CECM).

Ainsi, les commissaires du TBE tenaient à ce que leurs écoles véhiculent des valeurs chrétiennes et affichent leur loyauté envers la monarchie britannique. La connaissance de la langue anglaise devint le ciment de l'« *anglo-conformity* », puis de la « *canadianisation* » surtout après la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

La CECM, quant à elle, administrait les écoles catholiques de langue française et quelques-unes de langue anglaise. Afin de garder les immigrants catholiques dans son

giron, l'Église comptait sur l'école pour offrir un encadrement religieux et social aux élèves néo-canadiens. La commission scolaire encourageait l'enseignement de leur langue maternelle dans certaines écoles. La volonté d'intégrer tous les immigrants au groupe majoritaire ne s'exprimera qu'après 1945, un fait unique selon Croteau tant au Canada qu'en Amérique du Nord.

Les chapitres trois et cinq décrivent le fonctionnement des commissions scolaires des groupes minoritaires. Il est d'abord question du Toronto Separate School Board (TSSB), formé à l'origine par les catholiques anglophones irlandais. Ces derniers durent affronter un anticatholicisme virulent, d'autant plus qu'ils venaient briser l'unanimité religieuse et culturelle de Toronto. Ils se sont battus pour obtenir des écoles confessionnelles séparées, mais non subventionnées. Pourtant, ces écoles adoptèrent rapidement les valeurs véhiculées par l'école publique et firent, à leur tour, la promotion de la « *canadianisation* ». Les écoles catholiques francophones, peu nombreuses, n'ont dû leur existence qu'à la bienveillance de l'épiscopat irlandais et du TSSB qui considéraient les Canadiens français comme une communauté issue de l'immigration. Un seul avantage leur fut accordé, soit l'enseignement du français, privilège longtemps refusé aux autres groupes ethniques.

À Montréal, le groupe minoritaire est constitué par les protestants anglophones, ce qui est également unique sur ce continent nord-américain. Croteau relate que le Protestant Board School Commissioners of the City of Montreal (PBSCCM) valorisait la culture britannique et la religion protestante dans une atmosphère d'état de siège où l'on défendait le caractère confessionnel des écoles comme une sorte de rempart face à l'ultramontanisme. Pourtant, les anglo-protestants avaient fait inclure à l'article 93 de l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique une clause leur assurant une autonomie scolaire sur les plans pédagogique, administratif et financier qui s'inspirait du système public ontarien. En raison de l'accueil des élèves immigrants, dont les enfants juifs, l'école protestante devint « le siège du pluralisme culturel et religieux à Montréal » (240) comme en témoigne ce dernier chapitre.

Au terme de son étude comparative, Croteau conclut qu'il n'y a pas vraiment de différence québécoise en ce qui concerne l'intégration scolaire des immigrants. Les deux sociétés se rejoignaient d'autant plus que le virage de la CECM dans les années 1970 vers la « *franco-conformité* », c'est-à-dire que l'enseignement en français était devenu obligatoire pour les Néo-Canadiens, démontre qu'il s'agissait plutôt d'une institution en accord avec l'ensemble des sociétés nord-américaines. La diversité des milieux a favorisé des solutions particulières selon les besoins et les époques.

Sans aucun doute, Croteau renouvelle le débat sur l'intégration des immigrants par son analyse comparative entre Montréal et Toronto qui révèle que chacune des quatre commissions scolaires prônait des idéologies qui tantôt se rapprochaient et tantôt se distinguaient. Il maîtrise bien son sujet, la revue de l'historiographie qu'il présente en introduction et au premier chapitre en est la preuve. Cependant, il n'explique pas le choix de la périodisation, soit de 1875 à 1960, qu'il déborde volontiers. Une dernière remarque concerne l'utilisation, dans le cas de Montréal, de « double majorité » à quelques reprises. Nous lui préférons les termes de « majorité catholique francophone » et de « minorité anglo-protestante » puisque cette dernière ne

représente jamais plus de 25 % de la population scolaire totale au Québec, et se situe en moyenne autour de 15 %. Aucun des neuf graphiques ne nous permet de comparer la proportion des élèves catholiques et celle des élèves protestants, ni à Montréal ni à Toronto.

Ces quelques commentaires n'enlèvent rien à l'ouvrage qui s'arrime, en plus, à des questions débattues dans l'actualité. Voilà une réflexion originale. Notons que l'intégration des élèves juifs montréalais par la PBSCCM est traitée d'une manière approfondie et apparait comme un des points d'intérêt de ce travail. L'auteur démontre toute la richesse de l'analyse comparative qui permet des nuances autrement impossibles à faire. Ce livre expose les particularités de quatre commissions scolaires qui visent à terme le même objectif, l'intégration réussie des élèves immigrants. Jean-Philippe Croteau souligne à juste titre que rarement un tel potentiel comparatif a été exploité. Bien documenté, ce livre enrichit non seulement l'histoire de l'éducation, mais l'histoire sociale à la fois de Montréal et de Toronto, d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.

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Chercheuse autonome

François-Olivier Dorais

Un historien dans la cité : Gaétan Gervais et l'Ontario français

Ottawa : Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2016, 264 pp.

Grâce à cette biographie intellectuelle de l'historien sudburois Gaétan Gervais rédigée d'une plume alerte et élégante, François-Olivier Dorais apporte une nouvelle lumière sur l'œuvre d'un historien engagé au cœur des bouleversements qui ont ébranlé le Canada français dans les années 1960. Suivant un ordre chronologique explorant la jeunesse et la formation de Gervais, ainsi que son ascension dans une société en mutation, les deux premiers chapitres d'*Un historien dans la cité* campent bien sa posture de témoin privilégié d'un mouvement de remise en cause de l'organisation de la société canadienne-française. Entré au collège classique de Sudbury où son éducation l'insère dans une communauté nationale reposant sur la religion et le traditionalisme, Gervais voit rapidement s'effriter les assises de ce grand projet national. Alors que l'État prend le relais des institutions religieuses et que l'unité du Canada français est sérieusement ébranlée par le « repli » (59) du nationalisme québécois à l'intérieur des frontières provinciales, Gervais prend conscience que la collectivité franco-ontarienne est à un tournant. La thèse de Dorais consiste à montrer comment, à la suite à la rupture consommée lors des assises nationales des États généraux du Canada français tenues à Montréal en novembre 1967, Gaétan Gervais est devenu un acteur important de la recomposition de l'espace franco-ontarien en cherchant à « actualiser une référence franco-ontarienne autonome, située dans la continuité du projet national canadien-français » (85). Ce faisant, l'auteur s'inscrit en faux contre les historiens qui ont vu en Gervais un idéologue passéiste défenseur du clergé et des autres élites de

la société traditionnelle, homogène et repliée sur elle-même (5–6). Présentant plutôt l'historien et professeur à l'Université Laurentienne comme un médiateur entre tradition et modernité, Dorais fournit une représentation plus nuancée de cet intellectuel pénétré par les tensions de son temps.

La principale tension qui parcourt l'œuvre de Gervais nait du besoin de rapatrier le référent identitaire dans l'espace ontarien, sans pour autant rompre avec le passé national canadien-français à la manière du Québec de la Révolution tranquille. D'emblée, il s'oppose au mythe de la rupture promu par la relève artistique de la contre-culture franco-sudburoise qui revendique un Nouvel-Ontario débarrassé « des pesanteurs historiques du vieux Canada français » (63) et du poids « aliénant » de la tradition. Gervais cherche plutôt à dépasser cette tension en opérant une synthèse entre la nouvelle identité franco-ontarienne enracinée dans la dimension spécifique de son expérience historique, et l'héritage du grand projet universel canadien-français. Il se démarque ainsi face au paradigme « révisionniste » qui domine une historiographie québécoise davantage préoccupée par la « normalité » de l'expérience historique.

Au centre de la réflexion que mène Dorais, le troisième chapitre propose une analyse pointue de la pensée de Gervais sur la spécificité franco-ontarienne. On y comprend que face au destin incertain de la société minoritaire à partir de laquelle il se positionne, l'historien a conscience d'agir par « devoir » (107), et même par « nécessité » (110). Par ses écrits, Gervais veut situer l'Ontario français dans l'histoire, le doter d'un « horizon de sens » (97) lui permettant de justifier son existence et sa permanence comme communauté culturelle autonome à l'intérieur de l'ensemble canadien. À ce titre, Dorais livre une réflexion féconde sur la manière dont histoire et mémoire font corps dans l'œuvre de Gervais. Alliant traditionalisme et nationalisme, il formule un discours voué à restituer une personnalité collective à l'Ontario français ; à affirmer le destin national d'une minorité héritière d'un des deux peuples fondateurs. Dans ce contexte minoritaire marqué par l'absence d'un territoire commun, Gervais accorde un rôle fondamental à la tradition institutionnelle qui assure une certaine continuité et une forme d'enracinement, en même temps qu'elle contribue à la cohésion sociale. Malgré tout, le problème du territoire franco-ontarien semble demeurer une tension sous-jacente à l'œuvre de Gervais.

Sur ce point, Dorais postule que l'historien développe très tôt un rapport particulier à l'environnement, au point où « le Nord en vient à acquérir chez lui une valeur référentielle » (55). Or, cette dimension mériterait d'être explorée plus en profondeur, dans la mesure où on voit assez mal comment se traduit l'influence de ce « terreau nord-ontarien » dans lequel l'œuvre « plonge ses racines ». Certes l'auteur montre que le Nord, comme territoire, offre à Gervais le canevas où se déploie l'expérience distincte de l'Ontario français. Il note toutefois que cette volonté d'ancrer l'imaginaire franco-ontarien dans le territoire concret du Nord de l'Ontario ne lui est pas spécifique et s'inscrit dans la continuité d'un discours historique régionaliste valorisant l'enracinement (167–168). À partir de Sudbury, le Nord peut bien apparaitre comme une façon d'être canadien-français, mais il serait pertinent d'explorer quelle est la place particulière que Gervais accorde à cette nordicité dans la référence franco-ontarienne ; dans cet « espace géographique particulier » (145) qui permet

à la collectivité de se définir ? Évidemment, la manière dont l'historien a cherché à réconcilier l'espace et l'identité franco-ontarienne durant sa carrière n'est pas statique. À cet égard, il semble se dégager progressivement des appellations Nord de l'Ontario ou Nouvel-Ontario afin de rapatrier l'expérience historique des Franco-Ontariens du Sud et de l'Est de la province. Dorais semble sensible à cette évolution lorsqu'il suppose que l'adoption d'une référence à l'espace provincial serait une forme « d'accommodement » (170). Pour autant, ces questions restent à explorer.

Si la vision de l'Ontario français où la continuité repose sur les institutions plutôt que sur un territoire partagé permet de prime abord d'esquiver ce paradoxe, la question demeure quant au(x) centre(s) d'où rayonnent ces institutions et les élites qui y gravitent. Cette question n'échappe pas à Dorais qui s'y attarde dans le dernier chapitre consacré à l'éducation postsecondaire en Ontario français. Pour Gervais, la difficulté d'établir un consensus et les « tiraillements » observés dans le dossier de la création d'une université unilingue française démontrent le danger inhérent à la division de la communauté franco-ontarienne en fonction d'intérêts particuliers. Il cite alors « l'aliénation » de l'élite franco-ontarienne historiquement groupée autour d'Ottawa qui se serait « marginalisée » (218), voyant du même coup la direction de l'Ontario français glisser vers Sudbury et Toronto.

Pour Gervais, la nécessité d'une institution universitaire française va bien au-delà de la question de l'éducation, et représente la capacité de l'Ontario français à maintenir sa cohérence culturelle et sa légitimité en tant que minorité nationale. Il est malaisé de savoir si l'actualité de cet enjeu signifie que l'Ontario français contemporain est engagé sur une telle voie. De même, il est permis de se questionner sur la part d'imaginaire canadien-français qui imprègne la référence franco-ontarienne. Quoi qu'il en soit, François-Olivier Dorais donne une nouvelle profondeur à cette réflexion en signant un ouvrage appelé à devenir une référence sur l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Ontario français, et de l'un des derniers grands penseurs du Canada français.

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Helen Raptis with members of the Tsimshian Nation

What We Learned: Two Generations Reflect on Tsimshian Education and the Day Schools

Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2016. xiii, 224 pp.

Much has been written during the past thirty years about the system of residential schools for Indigenous children. Once ignored by researchers, these schools are now viewed as the darkest chapter in Canadian history. The attention paid to the residential experience has tended to foster the view that confinement to an institution was normal or inevitable for those growing up on reserves before the 1970s. Not so. Residential schools were concentrated mainly in the west and north and were thin

on the ground in Central and Eastern Canada. Moreover, even at their pinnacle they only enrolled a minority of school-age Indigenous people.

The majority received their education at day schools on reserves and, from the 1950s onwards, increasingly at public schools adjacent to their communities. In *What We Learned* Helen Raptis and her collaborators bring into focus the experiences of two generations of the Tsimshian First Nation who continued to live at home while attending school. One of the few serious studies of the subject, it provides an unusually detailed account of the transition from on-reserve to integrated schooling through the eyes of those who were there.

In the opening chapter, Raptis explains the origins of this project and how she forged relationships with members of the Tsimshian community around Prince Rupert and Terrace who ultimately became her co-researchers. There is much to be learned here about academic protocols, research ethics, and the complex challenges facing outsiders who do this kind of work.

The generation of Tsimshian collaborators born before the Second World War grew up mainly in Port Essington, an ethnically diverse community south of Prince Rupert sustained by the logging and fishing industries. An "Indian day school" on the reserve introduced Indigenous children to English, literacy, and the like, but traditional Tsimshian learning was also part of their upbringing. The Sm'algyax language, although under siege, retained much of its vibrancy.

After the war things were quite different. The decline and ultimate abandonment of Port Essington and relocation to Kitsumkalum found the younger generation attending integrated public schools in Terrace. Here traditional Tsimshian culture played a much diminished role in socializing the young while integrated classrooms brought them face to face with racial prejudice both on the part of peers and teachers.

Raptis and her collaborators emphasize again and again the key role played by teachers in either encouraging or discouraging success at school. They also point to the incoherent policies of the federal Department of Indian Affairs that was always ready to unload its responsibilities on church or province. Day schools could never match their residential counterparts in the horrors they inflicted; they did not, however, provide an education that was fondly remembered by most of those who experienced them.

With its contextual richness, innovative methodology, sharp analysis, and poignant personal narratives, *What We Learned* is a book that deserves a wide audience.

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Jean Barman

Abenaki Daring: The Life and Writings of Noel Annance, 1792–1869

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016. 374 pp.

Abenaki Daring is a testament to friendship and collaboration. Though Jean Barman wrote the book, its origins rest on Morag Maclachlan's shoulders, specifically her

article "The Case for Francis Noel Annance" in *Fort Langley Journals, 1827–30*. As Maclachlan neared the end of her life in 2011, she drew Barman's attention to two primary sources from her decades of research on Francis Noel Annance's life. These were his fur trade journal and a series of love letters, which are reproduced in *Abenaki Daring* in their entirety. Maclachlan encouraged Barman to complete a book-length treatise on Annance's life. The resulting text is rich and nuanced and well situates Noel Annance in the broader historical contexts of his times.

In many ways, Noel Annance was unique. And yet, as Barman deftly illustrates, his life reveals much about the domineering settler-colonial structures that shaped Indigenous lives over the mid-nineteenth century. Great grandson of New England captives Samuel Gill and Rosalie James, Annance grew up in the Abenaki town of Odanak. In the summer of 1808, he followed his father, the community's schoolteacher, to Moor's Indian Charity School and Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. Noel left the school four years later with the outbreak of the War of 1812, serving as a lieutenant and interpreter for the British. When peace returned, he tried his hand at teaching before joining the Northwest Company and heading west. He spent the next decade and a half working the fur trade in the places now known as British Columbia and Washington State. At the end of 1834, he returned home, spending the next thirty-five years navigating the complicated social and political contexts developing alongside the expanding Canadian state.

According to Barman, Annance's life can be broken into two periods. During its first half, the Abenaki man considered himself a "highly educated person who happened to be Indigenous." But, as racial divisions increased alongside the normalization of non-Indigenous settlement and growing colonial infrastructure, that identity shifted. By the time he left the fur trade, Annance came to identify as an "Indigenous person who happened to be highly educated" (157).

Abenaki Daring is at its strongest where it marks this transformation from perceived inclusion to explicit exclusion. Though she is careful to emphasize how schooling and alphabetic literacy were settler tools of dispossession, setting up the context for the ultimate and deliberate exclusion of Abenaki people from colonial society, Barman well demonstrates how, for men like Annance, writing became a "tool of choice to contest [that] exclusion" (157). Carefully navigating this complex historical context, Barman draws our attention to a poorly understood reality of mid-nineteenth-century Canada: a desire by some for an inclusive society in which Indigenous peoples wielded influence and agency.

We see this argument made most clearly in the book's concluding chapters. Here Barman's analysis of the 1857 Gradual Civilization Act, which set out conditions through which Indigenous peoples could join the Canadian body politic, draws some startling conclusions. It was previously believed that there was little interest in enfranchisement. (Only one man, Elias Hill, was enfranchised under the 1857 legislation.) Barman, however, suggests that the Indian Affairs archive (RG10) is scattered with additional unsuccessful requests for enfranchisement. If Annance, who was qualified and applied for enfranchisement but was rejected, is any example, she suggests that it was the Indian Department that lacked interest in bringing about

enfranchisements not Indigenous people. For Barman, "the inference left is not, as historians assert, that no one wanted to be 'civilized' but that virtually no one was permitted to be 'civilized' and thereby to disrupt a comfortable status quo within the Indian Department and the Department of Indian Affairs more generally" (235). This suggests, she stresses, that had it not been for the Indian Department needing to maintain control over its putative charges, Canada's future might have looked considerably different (231).

It is in its broad framing where *Abenaki Daring* might be critiqued. Though the biographical frame provides important glimpses into these themes, and Barman's thorough research (drawing on a number of excellent recent MA and PHD theses) does an excellent job contextualizing Annance in the historiography of captivity narratives, schooling, and the fur trade, the biographical approach also limits our seeing broader patterns. More could have been done, for example, to examine the interconnection between schooling and territory. The book sticks fairly closely to Odanak rather than exploring the diverse strategies that Abenaki people used to maintain their connection and presence on the Land (a space that included Moor's Indian Charity School and Dartmouth College). Similarly, though she is careful to emphasize that Annance fit within a broader Abenaki tradition of schooling, and to place him in an emerging literature on Indigenous writing (79–80), it would have been interesting to see him compared to others of his generation. One wonders just how different Annance was from similarly educated Indigenous men like Peter E. Jones, Eleazar Williams, Dr. Oronhyatekha (Peter Martin) or William Apess.

I make this latter point not so much as a criticism of Barman's work, but rather to emphasize that this book is one of many biographies published over the last five years anchored in a rich and emerging historiography on Indigenous schooling, literacies, and critical engagement with settler colonial social, political, and cultural systems of power.[1] In fitting within this literature, Barman has made an important intervention in the historiography, demonstrating how *Abenaki daring*—a term she uses throughout the book—proved a key strategy for negotiating the developing hegemony of the settler colonial state. From upon this foundation, I suspect a rich and nuanced historiography shall emerge.

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1 Allan Sherwin, *Bridging Two Peoples: Chief Peter E. Jones, 1843–1909* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2012); Donald Smith, *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013); Michael Oberg, *Professional Indian: The American Odyssey of Eleazar Williams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Keith Jamieson and Michelle Hamilton, *Dr. Oronhyatekha: Security, Justice, and Equality* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2016); Drew Lopenzina, *Through an Indian's Looking-Glass: A Cultural Biography of William Apess, Pequot* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017).

Joseph A. Merasty and David Carpenter (contributor)

The Education of Augie Merasty: A Residential School Memoir

Regina: University of Regina Press, 2015. 120 pp.

The Education of Augie Merasty: A Residential School Memoir is an improbable and devastating book. It is a short, beautifully written, and unforgettable memoir by a man who fought seemingly impossible odds to have his and his fellow students' stories of trauma and resistance told so that, in Merasty's own words, "all that has happened in our school, and other schools in all parts of Canada — the abuse and terror in the lives of Indian children — does not ever occur again" (62).

The story behind the writing of book is, in itself, a remarkable one. It starts in 2001 when the book's editor — the author and former University of Saskatchewan instructor David Carpenter — was given a letter addressed to the "dean of the University of Saskatchewan" and which requested the assistance of "someone who has a good command of the English language to help me write a book" (xi–xii).

This letter was the start of a relationship between Merasty and Carpenter that, mostly through correspondence and over the phone, lasted more than a decade. Merasty periodically sent handwritten pages of the manuscript to Carpenter and, over the phone or in letters, they worked together to clarify and strengthen the narrative. As Carpenter writes in the introduction, the process was slow and uncertain, with pages arriving in fits and starts as Merasty struggled through personal tragedy and addiction. By the time the book was published in 2015, Merasty was homeless and staying mostly in a Prince Albert detox facility. The end result is an enormously harrowing account of trauma, resilience, and resistance that is powerful far beyond the book's tiny physical size.

While ultimately a story of horrific both physical and sexual abuse, Merasty insists, from the start, on highlighting all the good staff and teachers at the school. And even when discussing his abusers, he tries to humanize and understand them. A chapter outlining his sexual abuse at the hands of one nun, for instance, is filled with empathy and he even writes of forgiveness and respect.

Many of the portraits, though, are of abusers who left devastating permanent scars — both physical and psychological — on Merasty and his classmates. The cover image, for instance, telegraphs one of the most haunting stories. Merasty and a classmate are forced to walk twenty miles on a frozen lake, in -40° C weather to find a lost mitten. But this is one among many stories of punishment for minor, even non-existent, offences that led to regular vicious beatings with straps, garden hoses, fists, and the feet of priests, nuns, and other staff.

Peppered throughout the text, nevertheless, are stories of resistance. These include minor "pranks" on abusive nuns like putting thumbtacks on their seats to a haunting and incomplete account of a meeting with a former sexual abuser on the streets of The Pas, after Merasty had graduated and the priest had been fired from the school. Like much of Merasty's story, it is left to the reader to fill in the gaps and the effect is a powerful one.

Few readers will put this slim volume down — which could be read in a few short hours — unaffected. And this is most of all not just because of the horrors of the residential school system but because it is impossible not to be struck by Merasty's strength and resilience against a system of colonial governance that was, by its very nature and intent, genocidal. This is a book that has the power to open up a range of conversations about Canadian settler colonialism, both in and outside the classroom, and we should all thank Merasty for fighting so hard to tell his story.

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Deirdre Raftery and Elizabeth M. Smyth, editors.
Education, Identity and Women Religious, 1800–1950

Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2016. xv, 221 pp.

Education, Identity and Women Religious, 1800–1950, edited by Deirdre Raftery and Elizabeth Smyth provides a stimulating addition to the history of women religious, gender, religion, and social and cultural change. It explores the work of women religious in missions and in founding schools, colleges and teaching hospitals and in the wider constituencies that they served. The opening chapter rehearses feminist theological narratives of religion and provides a broad overview that highlights themes that recur in both the editors' introduction and the ten empirical chapters that follow. These drill down into archival holdings of congregations to look at how communities of women operated as transnational religious institutes and engaged in teaching and nursing in various locations in Africa, Australia, Canada, Europe, New Zealand, South East Asia, and the United States. Chapters look at the distinct stages in the lives of women religious, how sisters were formed, what their vows meant in different contexts, how the concept of vocation was communicated in schools and broader communities, and how women religious responded to changing contexts in which they found themselves.

The collection combines bibliographical data and contextual information for scholars new to the field, with in-depth primary research for those already versed in histories of women religious. Authors introduce readers to forms of archival data collected and preserved by women religious in a range of private and public archives, while some chapters delve into material culture or develop oral histories of communities. Particularly informative is Raftery's commentary on researchers' use of convent annals and on how the inclusion of regular self-examination within the reflective nature of religious life situates women religious as articulate oral history respondents with high levels of awareness of their own shortcomings (and of the education they offered), but whose accounts nonetheless reflect the particular culture of their communities.

Gender, feminism, and transnationalism are among the theoretical optics used

to frame analyses which variously balance accounts on the continua of celebration-critique and of theory-empiricism. Noteworthy is Smyth's challenge to Jürgen Osterhammel's statement that while "religion can be seen as a key worldwide communication network during the nineteenth century" (45) it would be "banal" to describe such a network as transnational. In contesting Osterhammel's view, Smyth builds on Patricia Clavin's view of transnationalism as concerned with people, social spaces they inhabit, networks they form and ideas they exchange,[2] a framework that is particularly useful when retrieving histories of women. Smyth argues that the women religious she studies were members of congregations with international presences and that women religious' vows, congregational cultures and constitutions nested them within transnational organisations. Other chapters look at questions of ethnocultural diversity running in tandem with the transnational movement of women religious, which provided new challenges to religious communities and their traditions. The collection also includes instances where authors "trouble" the transnational, as in Rosa Bruno-Jofré's inclusion of the violence of colonial 'civilizing' understandings in her analysis of the movement of a religious order from France to Canada. She traces how the illocutionary force (or intentionality) of the salvation of the soul that sustained the sisters' work, along with the keeping or re-creating of a Catholic order within the configuration of church doctrines and authority, played out in three different settings to generate unexpected meanings and cultural and political practices: the building of a French Canadian identity in the village of Grande Clairière; the silencing of the soul in the Marieval Indian Residential School; and the quest for social recognition in the mission in Brandon.

As with innovative scholarship, the collection prompts further questions, including around the entanglement of gender and religion in writing the history of women religious more fully into the narratives of women's history, educational history, and history in general. A number of chapters hint towards the history of the senses by indicating the importance of music and the regularities of singing, of contemplation, and of prayer (silent and shared) that shaped both a religious life and a religious self that was auditory, and formed through sounds and silences in the resonances and materials/materiality of bodies and buildings. Attention to hearing and listening, to the sounds of singing and the 'silences' of contemplation, point forward to research on the sonorous and the affective in the formation of both the religious self and the pupil self.[3] The sensory has the potential to move histories of women religious beyond how funds from music teaching supported the establishment of poor-schools and beyond attention to an accomplishments curriculum for girls. Discussion of women religious' engagement with national systems of education also prefigures how histories of women religious might be integrated into a more expansive history of education that looks at similarities and differences in the education of and by women religious

2 Patricia Clavin, "Defining Transnationalism," *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 4 (2005): 421–39.

3 For auditory histories of education see Joyce Goodman, "Experimenting with Sound and Silence: Sonorous Bodies, Sonic Selves, Acoustic Topographies and Auditory Histories of Schooling," *Paedagogica Historica* (2017, forthcoming).

in locations where their schools operated alongside those of other denominations, as was the case, for example in Mauritius and Malacca in the early nineteenth century.[4]

At the point when the number of women entering religious life continues to diminish, the editors and authors are to be congratulated on an important addition to the growing research on women religious' historical experience. As Raftery and Smyth note, the book "represents the energies of scholars who recognise that there is much more work to be done" (5).

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E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, editors.

Women in Higher Education, 1850–1970: International Perspectives

New York: Routledge, 2016. 290 pp.

Higher education, like the rest of societal institutions, currently faces uncertain and even perilous challenges. Given the rise of a populist nationalism across Europe and the United States — with state leaders decrying the legitimacy of non-"native" citizens and calling for decreased access to countries, benefits, and education — the academic field of higher education seems compelled to respond. History of postsecondary education in "Western" countries is replete with examples of how individuals — and their cultural comprehensions — change from exposure to, and engagement with, cultures other than their own.

For women, gaining entry to higher education was historically an engagement with a "different" culture, one relegated and regulated by men. E. Lisa Panayotidis and Paul Stortz, along with their contributing colleagues in *Women in Higher Education, 1850–1970: International Perspectives*, shine new light upon both of these topics of intercultural exchange.

The editors trouble any notion of simplistic progression of expansion of women into academia; rather, they expressly desire to demonstrate in this volume the complexities of women's advancement into higher education, which was neither without disputations nor denials, always delineated by the social expectations placed upon women via class and race, as well as gender.

The volume is slightly misleading in its title; the collection is an exploration of postsecondary education experiences of women in primarily English-speaking countries: Canada, the United States, England, Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand, and Australia. Despite that delimitation, the chapters included provide new evidence and analysis of how higher education was conceptualized, structured, and often restricted

4 For Mauritius, Malaga, and Malta see Joyce Goodman, "'Disposed to Take the Charge': British Women and the Management of Female Education, 1800–37," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 11, no. 1 (Fall 1999): 59–74.

in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: should a postsecondary course of study reinforce a woman's social place, or should women have access to the same curricula and experiences as male college students?

Arranged temporally, the chapters convey a sense of how women's collegiate experiences differed over time and, in some ways, nation. Judith Harford explores the advent of women into Ireland's (primarily) Catholic higher education, and Christine D. Myers analyzes embedded ideologies of imperialism confronting women who attended Scottish universities. Julia Horne's chapter on Australian women and public higher education in the nineteenth century, in contrast, demonstrates a national system of higher education that from its inception included women. Documenting how gender shaped curricular and career options are the focus of Jane Martin's chapter on the London School of Economics, and of Tanya Fitzgerald's contribution on "home science" (domestic science) at the University of New Zealand. Kira Marie Taylor and Kay Morris Matthews also study New Zealand students, specifically Maori women who became educators. In a strongly theoretical chapter, Ann McClellan utilizes a Feminist New Historicist analysis of the changes in cultural perception of women's communities within British higher education between the two world wars.

Several of the contributors focus on how women adapted (sometimes not by choice) to college life, analyzing the socialization processes of women to collegiate cultures. Sara Z. Burke has a chapter demonstrating this in Canadian universities, while Panayotidis and Stortz provide one on the initiation of women at Western Canadian universities. Jennifer Redmond proffers a detailed analysis of the Bryn Mawr women who obtained international fellowships, reflecting the ideals of the college's leadership to provide what was considered by many in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to be the apex of a liberal arts education: studying abroad, specifically in Europe. Redmond's study ends in 1930; in the final chapter of the volume, however, Linda Eisenmann documents how, between 1945 and 1970, women's higher education in the United States became curtailed: female college students became viewed by many as "incidental" to the true purpose and function of the nation's postsecondary system: the training of men for leadership and industry. By the postwar era, women were in theory able to access the same educational experiences as men, but in practice, they were relegated and counselled (either directly or socially) into secondary social roles; those few women who persisted within the US academy were viewed as an oddity, a woman who had to give up her feminine aspects to become an "honorary man" in her discipline.

While each of the chapters stands well on its own, taken together, they portray a history that changes in its details yet remains constant in its theme: advances by women within higher education, across Western culture, was accompanied by continuing restrictions and delimitation based not upon merit (nor even class) but because of the students' (and faculty's) gender. Readers looking for a rosier depiction of the history of women's higher education need look elsewhere; this collage of analyses is somewhat disheartening, even when depicting specific acts of progress.

Fortunately, the introductory chapter provides a reader a perspective that allows the hope of progress at least to be evident. Panayotidis and Stortz's introduction

accomplishes an admirable task: placing the well-written yet disparate chapters into a chronological and thematic historical analysis of higher education for women in Western countries between 1850 and 1970. Consequently, the introduction stands well on its own, accessible for readers who have only a basic understanding of the history of women or of the history of higher education. Panayotidis and Stortz offer a framework for understanding—historically and theoretically—how women have long been considered an "other" within Western education, a culture that was both foreign and also believed to be fully understood, a minority distinct from and inferior to men. Such an understanding of history might be very useful today, as so many people struggle to reconcile their ideals and beliefs with the bellicose blustering and nasty nationalism filling our world.

While perhaps too expensive for class adoption in such courses, *Women in Higher Education, 1850–1970* should be included in the libraries of those faculty and institutions that offer women's history and/or higher education programs. This book is a testament to the artistic research and activist scholarship both of Stortz and of Panayotidis, whose life and career ended unexpectedly and far too early.

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David W. Livingstone, ed.

Liberal Education, Civic Education, and the Canadian Regime

Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015. 292 pp.

The argument of this volume of essays consists essentially of two propositions. One, Canadian democracy depends for its effective functioning on an appropriate process of civic education designed to illuminate the meaning and implications of democratic responsible government. Two, the civic education best suited to the flourishing of parliamentary democracy and responsible government consists of a liberal education rooted in a close study of the great works of Western political philosophy that shaped the thinking of the founders of the Dominion of Canada in the 1860s and that retain their relevance today. To quote the editor of these essays, David Livingstone, "A great books approach to liberal education ought to be a crucial part of Canadian civic education" (5).

To this end, Janet Azjenstat provides a lucid summary of her argument that Canada's founders consciously drew on political philosophy and especially on the work of John Locke. They were not only "thinkers about their country" but also "thinkers about politics—men consciously acting within a tradition of political thought" (5). To understand them, and the Canada they created, we need to understand the "great books" of political philosophy that directly and indirectly shaped their thinking. As Azjenstat sees it, Canada's historians took a wrong turn in the 1960s and beyond when they moved away from political and constitutional history

and embraced so-called history-from-below, thereby creating a "striking new story about Canada's origins" that discarded the story of Canadians' pursuit of "liberty" and instead searched for evidence of the emergence of a sense of "community" (29).

For Livingstone this shift in Canadian historiography has played "a crucial role in undermining liberal education" (9), though he does not examine the reality that liberal education was under threat long before historians turned to social history, thereby reinvigorating both the study of history and our understanding of Canada.

As examples of what a return to political history might look like, particularly in the context of Canada's "founding," this volume contains informative essays on D'Arcy McGee (by David Livingstone), George Brown (by Geoffrey Kellow), Egerton Ryerson (by Colin Pierce), and John Bourinot (by John von Heyking), though there are no essays dealing specifically with such luminaries as John A. Macdonald, George-Étienne Cartier, and other familiar names, or for that matter with such anti-Confederates as A.-A. Dorion or Joseph Howe. The most interesting choice is that of John Bourinot who, as John von Heyking demonstrates, through his long service as Clerk of the House of Commons and as textbook author and source of advice to many levels of government, played an important role in entrenching parliamentary democracy across post-1867 Canada. Other contributors to this volume, while drawing on historical examples, move beyond Canada's founding to examine more contemporary issues.

Thus, Ryan Topping argues that the decline of Roman Catholic colleges and universities has weakened Canadian civic culture by eroding access to a Christian world-view that enshrines "a democratic conception of justice" (169) and puts human dignity and the sanctity of life at the centre of its thinking. Topping argues that "Western democracy is predicated upon Christian anthropology" (177) and proposes an approach to civic education organized around Pope John Paul II's 1995 encyclical *Evangelium Vitae (Of the Gospel of Life)*.

In his essay, Grant Havers examines the historical relationship between Protestantism (Jerusalem) and the classical "great books" tradition of liberal education (Athens). Drawing on the work of George Grant, Marshall McLuhan, and others, he concludes that "A true liberal education must, at the very least, encourage serious reflection on the implications of the Athens-Jerusalem distinction that Protestants once engaged" (161).

Two other essays pursue this historical investigation of liberal education in Canada, using Alexis de Tocqueville's 1835 *Democracy in America* as their guide. For Richard Myers, de Tocqueville serves to remind us that we too easily fall victim to the conventional wisdom of our times, as evidenced by the widespread belief that answers to the "great human questions" are only matters of taste and preference. For Myers, in an essay which pays more attention to pedagogy than any other in this volume, part of the solution is to be found in a return to a more traditional teaching style designed to show students the inadequacies of their taken-for-granted assumptions by introducing them to "minds of intellectual greatness to inspire them in their quest for wisdom" (190).

In his exploration of what Canadians can learn from de Tocqueville, Luigi

Bradizza examines the role of courts of law and other unelected bodies that enmesh Canadians in "a dense web of laws and regulations" (193) that erodes their ability to make their own decisions in concert with their fellow citizens. Bradizza reasonably claims that liberal education will free us from our prejudices and prepare us for "life as free citizens in a free country" (208) but leaves unexplored the possibility that what he calls the "soft despotism" (201) of the welfare state has increased, not reduced, the enjoyment of rights and liberties for many Canadians. Surprisingly, neither he nor any other contributor examines the most egregious form of the "soft despotism" that erodes civic discourse and indeed liberal education itself: the increasing influence of the commercially-driven mass media and the economic order they reflect and legitimize.

In a different approach to Bradizza's point, Thomas Bateman argues that the judiciary has increasingly defined the rights and liberties associated with citizenship, so that the Supreme Court has become Canada's "moral tutor" (257) with the power to tell Canadians what sort of citizens they must become. Perhaps, as Travis Smith argues in his essay, modern Canadians are not disciples of John Locke after all. Rather we are unthinking Hobbesians, living under the shadow of the Great Leviathan that constitutes the modern state and in a society that is "ever more Hobbesian — relativistic, scientistic, atomistic, and unfree in thought and action" (279).

Taking a somewhat different line from the other essayists in this volume, Leah Bradshaw turns to Aristotle and argues for a sense of citizenship as "friendship" — not in any strictly personal sense but in the realization that one's fellow citizens are entitled to particular consideration as participants in "the articulation of a common life" (217). And, this, argues Bradshaw, will not come from lessons in Canadian history or imbibing "invigorating founding stories," or even internalizing a Lockean vision of liberty. Rather, it must be rooted in the construction of "a substantive basis for trust and friendship among Canadians" (225).

Taken together, these essays deal more with Canada's political "regime" than about either civic or liberal education. The essayists are committed to a "great books" approach to liberal education which they see as vital to the health of Canadian democracy, but, with the partial exception of Richard Myers's chapter, they offer few specific suggestions about curriculum design or pedagogy and make no reference to the ever increasing volume of books dealing with both liberal education and civic-political education. Nor do they consider the possibility that studying the great books might not achieve the results they hope for. A truly liberal civic education, after all, consists of much more than the study, no matter how intensive, of a few classics of political philosophy.

Nonetheless, this volume illuminates a debate now taking place among Canadian political philosophers over the nature and historical development of Canadian democracy and, more particularly, the relative strengths of liberalism, conservatism, and communitarianism (*aka* civic republicanism) in its shaping. As David Livingstone argues, we need to place Canada's political and constitutional regime "within the larger framework of political philosophy, beginning with an elucidation of the original principles" and then working through their historical development: "Only then

might we get a better sense as to whether the regime that we currently inhabit is the one that was originally intended, and if it is not, whether the one we happen to have now is better or worse" (23–4).

It seems appropriate to end this review with a reference to that champion of liberal education, Mathew Arnold, who famously argued that the point of studying "the best that has been known and said" is that it enables us to turn "a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits." This is something that this volume certainly succeeds in doing.

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Duncan McDowall

Queen's University Volume III 1961–2004: Testing Tradition

Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016, 592 pp.

Duncan McDowall's *Queen's University Volume III, 1961–2004: Testing Tradition* is a well-crafted, critical account that makes a strong contribution to the field of the history of higher education in Canada. The book is not only strongly grounded in archival sources and oral interviews, but is also quite readable. It will appeal to a wide audience, as historians, Queen's alumni, and the public at large will find it both a powerful examination of the past and a record of cherished traditions and memories. McDowall's work follows two previous volumes: Hilda Neatby's *Queen's University Volume I 1841–1917: To Strive, to Seek, to Find, and Not to Yield*, and Frederick W. Gibson's *Queen's University Volume II 1917–1961: To Serve and Yet Be Free*.

McDowall's book has several strengths, albeit with a few minor weaknesses. The format of *Queen's University Volume III* allows the author more flexibility and space for analysis than the traditional, often century-long, institutional history. This is a strength. By limiting the scope to forty-three years, McDowall avoids the trap that other institutional histories often fall into: narratives constructed around top-down administrative histories that are progressive and hagiographic. McDowall's text is organized chronologically, but the shorter time span allows for a more nuanced and contextualized discussion of the themes and issues under consideration. The author takes six approximately eight-year periods and discusses a set of important themes in each: administration, faculty, students, traditions, built environment, and staff. Outside of the chronological history, McDowall has included four specially themed chapters that delve deeply into student and faculty cultures, as well as "town and gown" relations. Administrative history is present in the text, but clearly McDowall has made the lives, struggles, and cultures of students and faculty the primary focus. His narrative is full of energy and life as the personality and character of the people at Queen's come to the fore. Focus on students and faculty makes McDowall's book both a good history and a pleasure to read.

The range — archival research and oral interviews — and quality of McDowall's

research — two years in the archives — is impressive. He has a clear command of the secondary literature surrounding the history of Canadian universities and Canadian social history. His work is highly contextualized as he writes impressively about major events in Canadian history and how they impacted the various communities on campus. One very minor complaint about the context provided concerns the limited discussion of the Cold War. The author does reference it at certain points in the text, but a larger discussion of how it affected curricula, research, and programs is largely absent.

The unifying theme of tradition holds the ten chapters together and provides an overarching framework. McDowall focusses his history around "a testing of the durability and utility of traditions at Queen's" (12). In well-crafted vignettes and analyses, McDowall teases out the tensions between tradition and the impulse to change. He directly tackles such important questions as: how did Queen's, with its own distinctive identity and traditions, adapt and survive in a Canadian society undergoing dramatic and rapid changes; how did a Queen's community that was traditionally Anglophone and rural adjust to a Canadian society that was multicultural and urban; and, how did the male ethos that dominated the Queen's campus accommodate shifting attitudes towards women?

The answers to these questions are not immediately obvious and McDowall excels in drawing attention to what makes Queen's somewhat unique. As an example, the radicalism, demonstrations, and student protest often associated with the 1960s largely bypassed the campus. As McDowall explains, with the exception of Alma Mater Society (AMS) President Charles Edwards spearheading radical protests over housing, "there was no denying that Queen's students had never *en masse* embraced the placard-waving, building-blockading ethos demonstrated by many North American students in the 1960s" (220). Rather students and faculty alike were more interested in what McDowall labelled as progressive liberalism — incremental growth based on open discussion, inclusion, and compromise. As another example, the author analyzes the effects of Second Wave Feminism at Queen's and highlights an interesting paradox: women students asserted their rights and made significant advancements while "women on Queen's faculty and staff largely remained caught in a backwater, denied access to academic and administrative power and often frozen out of the cultural ethos of the place" (118).

McDowall is at his best when handling sensitive and controversial issues. A good example is his nuanced account of the firing of popular registrar Jean Royce in 1968 by Principal J.A. Corry. The context and commentary for her firing lasts five full pages and two distinctive perspectives on the matter are offered. Corry regarded the firing in functionalist terms: Corry was winding down his second term as principal and wanted to tie up loose ends; Royce's successor had been selected and was waiting in the wings. While this scenario is possible, McDowall believes another reason was more likely. Corry's decision to fire Royce was "probably conditioned by the gendered framework within which Queen's at the time operated" (89). An attitude existed at Queen's where "university management was a male precinct and the handful of women who had penetrated its perimeter were there on sufferance" (91). He

concludes by arguing Royce was fired in a "summary and insensitive manner" (89).

McDowall is candid about the challenges and concerns facing Queen's and is not afraid to level criticism when warranted. Justifiably, he is critical of AMS financial mismanagement in the 1960s: "There was a fundamental failure to appreciate that new services for students took not only vision but also careful planning. The AMS tended to plunge into new activities without thinking" (159). Further, the author takes administration to task for their failure to oversee the campus built environment. The 1960s expansion lacked vision, a basic plan, and "was guided by little other than expediency" (180). McDowall frequently portrays Queen's as a community that tended to "slip into a comfortable, self-justifying conservatism" (45) where tradition acted like a sedative, breeding ambivalence. As McDowall writes, it was this complacent mentality that "segregated Queen's from Canada's unfolding multiculturalism" (521). For too long, Queen's was dependent on student admissions from white and Anglo-Protestant areas of eastern Ontario.

McDowall's work makes a strong contribution to the literature on the Canadian professoriate as well. So few institutional histories offer sustained analyses of the growth and change in the professoriate or academic cultures and it is pleasing to see faculty placed prominently and frequently in the text. McDowall offers a very interesting section on the marked shift from a teaching to a research focus in the 1960s, a trend accelerated by the growth of externally funded research. As he observes, "it no longer mattered so much what the fellow across the faculty-club table thought of you and your teaching. What mattered now was your success with external granting agencies or the editorial boards of academic journals" (174–5). And, in turn, faculty research and grants from external funding agencies became directly tied to Queen's burgeoning national and international reputation. This analysis is followed by discussion of faculty identity and the move towards collective bargaining. With that move, the collegiality of the 1960s and 1970s hardened into a more confrontational relationship. Furthermore, McDowall points out how the austerity of 1970s was the catalyst leading to employment patterns seen in the professoriate today: a core group of tenured faculty surrounded by lower-cost adjuncts and sessionals.

By 2004, Queen's had become more inclusive and tolerant — open to women and LGBTQ students — and featured a student body with a more diverse racial mix. While some traditions continued, such as frosh orientations, Gaelic pipe bands, the centrality of the AMS, and toleration of dissention and freedom of thought, other traditions proved adaptable to changing circumstances. McDowall discusses how the diversification of curricula and programs provided students with a far broader learning experience, how small intimate classes gave way to the crush of higher enrolments, how faculty focussed more on research and less on teaching, how the student body became more international and outward looking, and how student self-government became an adept provider of social services. The scope of the changes taking place at Queen's from 1961–2004 is vast, but McDowall is able to contextualize, analyze, and most importantly humanize them.

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A.J. Angulo

Diploma Mills: How For-Profit Colleges Stiffed Students, Taxpayers, and the American Dream

Boston: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016. 203 pp.

In the wake of the recent political earthquake in the United States, it is tempting to view every public policy problem, historical or contemporary, through the lens of the Trumpian presidency. This book, a concise history of for-profit colleges and universities (FPCUs), should be required reading for Betsy DeVos, the new Secretary of Education, and everyone who works in her department. It provides guidance on how to avoid colossal policy errors of the past.

FPCUs arose in the mid nineteenth century alongside non-profit public and private American universities, reflecting both the rising culture of entrepreneurialism and the failure of traditional higher education to meet the demand for apprenticeship and business training for young men, and later, women who were considered academically and culturally unqualified for university learning. Commercial colleges established a foothold, at their best providing working class and minority students training in bookkeeping and commercial law and practices. Once high schools and junior colleges began offering these and other vocational subjects, and once the medical and legal professions refused to accredit for-profits, the latter looked for other niche markets, and devoted considerable energy to recruiting immigrants and war veterans who were told that for a small price, private schools would launch them into secure and lucrative occupations.

These claims, it turns out, were largely hollow. Several investigations both before and after the Second World War found systemic problems in FPCU practices—and not just the "bad apples" among them. They used unethical recruitment strategies, spent far more on advertising and marketing than instruction, witnessed extraordinary dropout rates, frequently burdened students with huge debts in order to pay off inflated tuition fees, and earned extraordinary profits for their owners.

And yet they thrived, especially on the strength of the funding they received in support of post-war veterans under the GI Bill. Student subsidies filled their coffers, subsequent reports of fraud were widely circulated, and legislators in a number of states sought to rein them in, though lobbying from the FPCU sector was fierce and effective, then and later.

The author's summary of excerpts from a 1990 congressional investigation on FPCU malfeasance is worth citing. The report found "a culinary school that operated out of the cafeteria of a sewage treatment plant, a school that hired actors to fill classrooms and 'pose as students' when accreditation inspections took place, a truck-driving school that stuffed six students into a cab with their limbs hanging out the window, and a nursing school that according to one report, 'consisted of a bed, a desk and a classroom accessible through a hole in the drywall of an X-rated video store'"(99).

Fines were paid by some of the companies running these operations, but the

combination of Reaganomic deregulation and the rise of hedge-fund capitalism over the past quarter century, simply emboldened the FPCUs, none more prominent than the online University of Phoenix. Founded in 1976 by John Sperling, a socialist academic and community worker who had led a faculty strike at San Jose State University in the 1960s, Phoenix had 125,000 students at 116 locations by 2007, and was the major component of the publicly traded Apollo Group whose revenues surpassed $1 billion in 2003. After it had consumed more than $11 billion dollars in federal student aid subsidies, whistleblowers turned on the company which was found to have engaged in fraudulent recruiting and teaching practices, and in 2011 was sued by the American Justice Department and four states. Though significantly pared down, it still operates, collects federal subsidies, and has among the lowest graduation and highest student loan default rates in the country.

This is not really a muckraking book since the evidence it presents is hiding in plain sight in government investigations and court records and the author does an excellent job pulling the material together. His recommendation that all government subsidies to FPCUs be ended is more unlikely than ever to be implemented. Notwithstanding ongoing scandals (remember Trump University?), the god of free enterprise has been re-unleashed in the United States, and the relentless lobbying against regulation (directed, as always, at both Democrats and Republicans) will ramp up. Alas, Betsy DeVos, a tireless, billionaire advocate for school choice, is already onside.

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Leah N. Gordon

From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America

Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015. 257 pp.

Numerous studies in a robust historiography have examined the dynamics of education during the long Civil Rights Movement. Yet as Leah Gordon reminds us in *From Power to Prejudice*, the intellectual infrastructure behind rights-based activism is unexplored and too often implies that rights-based individualism was an inevitable evolution in the movement. *From Power to Prejudice* corrects this oversight and demonstrates how the rights-based individualism of the Civil Rights Movement was constructed at the nexus of various intellectual, philanthropic, and external causal influences since the 1920s.

Gordon in *From Power to Prejudice* provides an outstanding intellectual history of the rise of racial individualism since the interwar period that underscored the anti-discriminatory and anti-prejudice education initiatives of the 1950s and 1960s, which informed the rationale for legal desegregation. Gordon demonstrates that

racial individualism, a concept based upon psychological individualism, rights-based individualism, and a belief in the socially transformative power of education, gained wide acceptance among scholars and philanthropists after the Second World War. To many white scholars and philanthropists, racial individualism meant that racial justice would be attained through changing white minds and protecting African American rights, which left questions of structural political or economic reform unaddressed and largely ignored. To document the rise of racial individualism and the eclipse of structural analysis and large-scale solutions to the "race problem," Gordon provides an institutional analysis of the Rockefeller Foundation, the University of Chicago, Fisk University, the *Journal of Negro Education* at Howard University and the National Conference of Christians and Jews. She also provides an examination of the causal dynamics of scientism, federal and philanthropic funding, and external pressures of the Cold War, McCarthyism, and the Civil Rights Movement, and how they influenced the rise of racial individualism.

By re-examining the seminal text by Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,* Gordon begins to illustrate how scholars and philanthropists came to embrace racial individualism. By 1944, those interested in addressing the "race problem" read into Myrdal's work a focus on individual psychology and behavior as a predominant theme, though the work clearly pointed toward structural discrimination in a larger political economic context. As Gordon demonstrates, an analysis of the political economic context was an interwar period standard but such large-scale analysis and calls for structural reform fell out of favor by the 1940s. Though a study as comprehensive as *An American Dilemma* pointed toward systemic issues, the field of "race relations" increasingly drew upon individual, not structural, notions to explain the origins of and solutions to endemic racism. This understanding was supported by a move toward interdisciplinary research and a developing affinity with psychology and behaviorism that largely dismissed the institutional and political economic context.

Gordon's case studies of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) and the University of Chicago demonstrate how white institutions adopted racial individualism and prioritized investment in education over racial politics and activism. Rockefeller philanthropy long invested in building schools and supporting accommodation and social welfare programs. The movement toward racial individualism was aided by factors including a commitment to behaviorism and scientism; antiradicalism and the threat of external investigations; and increasingly refined individualistic research methodologies. Though the National Interracial Conference, sponsored by RF, embraced analysis of the political economy that called for reform-oriented social science, RF subsumed racial relations within the behavioral field and continued to invest in education and welfare programs. For institutions like the University of Chicago, who studied race relations and were susceptible to similar antiradical pressures after the Second World War, limiting action to intercultural education was easier than redistributing, redistricting, and desegregation. For these institutions, discourse narrowed after by the 1950s to rights-based liberalism and legal segregation, which left the methods for examining the social and economic context of race relations underdeveloped.

Black institutions, research institutes, and academic journals presented alternatives

to the methodological and action frameworks proffered by white elite institutions. While institutions like RF and the University of Chicago developed "atomistic" and behaviorism frameworks, Gordon demonstrates how black institutions like Fisk University fashioned a framework that fostered an understanding of race contingent upon the political economy. They also argued that wide-scale reform was necessary. Though Fisk's Race Relations Institute "left many of the systemic and political economic sources of racial oppression unchallenged," Fisk was "a crucial postwar location where social scientists thought beyond the parameters of racial individualism" (129). Howard University and the *Journal of Negro Education* also presented alternative paradigms and knowledge production counter to white elitist conceptions. The journal, for instance, advanced a critique of segregated education that remained acceptable during McCarthyism, yet unequivocally advocated for legal desegregation. The *Journal of Negro Education* provided a national forum through which to sharpen tools in the attack on segregation while it maintained a space for alternative methods and reform agendas to address institutional disenfranchisement.

Gordon provides a study crucial to scholars interested in educational history and a necessary read for students of the Civil Rights Movement. This work provides integral context to arguments put forth by scholars like Daryl Scott and Jonna Perrillo who have noted the impact of notions of black deficiency inspired by inferiority arguments central to the *Brown* (1954) decision. *From Power to Prejudice* also provides an intellectual trajectory of individualistic and cultural deficiency interpretations grounded in the Moynihan Report (1965) and the Coleman Report (1966) that pathologized black culture. Since these interpretations had an irreparable impact on educational policy reform, it would be beneficial to trace how racial individualism shaped desegregation policy. Analysis in this text also poses the possibility of re-contextualizing the arguments at the grassroots level of individual rights-based activism, such as the sit-ins or Freedom Rides, versus larger political economic reform strategies embedded in economic boycotts, voter registration and housing policy reform initiatives.

Leah Gordon in *From Power to Prejudice* makes a crucially important contribution to the fields of civil rights and educational history by outlining the intellectual underpinning of rights-based activism. The intellectual trajectory of racial individualism, but more importantly its alternatives, provides a much-needed analysis in both fields.

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Ansley T. Erickson

Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016. xviii, 390 pp.

In *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and Its Limits*, Ansley T. Erickson explores the social and political constraints of school desegregation in a

southern metropolitan school district in the United States. Gleaning evidence from various sources (e.g., archives, newspapers, and oral histories, official education data, census data), the book meticulously traces changes and continuities in educational inequality in Nashville, Tennessee over the latter half of the twentieth century. Consistent with a political economy framework, the author argues that schooling interacted with social forces, economic conditions, and political power to fashion educational inequality in metropolitan Nashville.

Erickson critiques conventional legal and historical accounts of desegregation that treat school segregation as a function of residential segregation; she maintains that schools were not secondary institutions responding to changing social contexts, but rather, primary institutions that also *shaped* these contexts. For example, the author traces how housing policy and practices interacted with schooling to create segregation. In the 1950s, real estate developers and city planners positioned schools as valuable features of neighbourhood units—a novel urban planning concept at the time—while maintaining a commitment to racial homogeneity as a necessary condition of economic growth. Local school board officials reinforced the relationship between schools and inequality through exclusionary zoning and student assignment practices. In short, complex interactions among multiple actors and institutions made schools "central nodes in the making of the segregated metropolis" (303). As we grapple with racial inequities in the twenty-first century, *Making the Unequal Metropolis* offers powerful and timely lessons on some of the limitations of school desegregation in the twentieth.

This text focuses on the production of educational inequalities from the mid-1940s through the late-1990s. Erickson meticulously documents ways that the spatial and curricular organization of schooling, along with public discourse about education, advanced inequality over the course of two periods. Part 1 tracks these three modes of inequality from 1945 through 1968, from the end of Second World War to the beginning of earnest debates about busing. Post-war efforts to foster economic growth in Nashville and its suburbs, alongside expanding federal funding for urban renewal and slum clearance initiatives in the city, made metropolitan consolidation a reality in 1962. Amid this shifting political context, Erickson found that although the spatial organization of schooling shifted, longstanding racial divisions remained intact.

In the second half of the book, Erickson highlights the limitations of statistical desegregation, as she offers ways that inequality took on new forms despite Nashville's ostensible desegregation success. Part 2 follows the remaking of inequality over the last four decades of the twentieth century, as many schools were statistically desegregated via busing. Although local African American leaders and civic organizations initiated and maintained legal pressures to desegregate schools, busing ultimately proceeded in ways that privileged white suburban interests—introducing long-lasting inequalities into new and shifting contexts. Thus, changes in student assignment did not translate into equal education across race, as new differences in schooling experiences emerged between black and white students within the same schools. Curricular decisions in the 1960s to expand vocational education and to implement comprehensive high

schools would eventually become primary mechanisms by which racial inequities in education would extend into a new era.

This book includes many familiar features of desegregation narratives, such as local resistance to segregation and desegregation, white suburbanization, urban redevelopment, federal highway projects (which deepened community fragmentation), and a host of other complex interactions among schools, governments, and markets. Erickson's detailed analysis makes these processes explicit and sets her work apart from conventional legal and historical accounts of desegregation in other key ways. First, her meticulous analysis spans more than fifty years of segregation and desegregation. Second, Erickson's work stands out in its approach to understanding government culpability as a problem of political economy. She critiques de facto segregation narratives for masking state involvement, and demonstrates ways that state power operated across levels of government to maintain educational inequality. The book combines an expansive chronological scope with a political economy approach, and as a result provides countless examples of city planners, real estate developers, business leaders, and municipal officials making everyday decisions that ultimately perpetuated educational inequalities.

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Kristina R. Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Nolan Reilly, editors.
The Canadian Oral History Reader

Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015. 388 pp.

Llewellyn, Freund, and Reilly state in their introduction, "Here is one inclusive framework for thinking about the methods used in oral history: We can think of it as: a method for creating historical sources (methodology); a method for using and making sense of what we learn from eyewitnesses (interpretation); a method for archiving and presenting memories of our individual and collective past (preservation and presentation); and a method for disseminating knowledge and raising awareness about past and present injustices and inequalities (advocacy)" (5). Their decision to organize their collection into these four sections—Methodology, Interpretation, Preservation and Presentation, and Advocacy—with four articles in each section, works extremely well. Most articles are previously published but have been updated to reflect the goals of the collection; all are strong stand-alone pieces. The articles unfold through this astute organization, taking us from learning how to do oral history well (respectfully and self-reflexively) to appreciating oral history's deep social value. With articles in each section that range from highly accessible pieces to more challenging theoretical ones, this book guides beginners toward deeper analysis, while still offering much to longer-term practitioners. The book worked beautifully in my third year oral history course last year, in part because of the argument that my students

and I found so compelling, that oral history is "a global social movement for democratizing history" (3).

One way the authors mark their commitment to inclusion is by leading off with a previously unpublished article by Brian Calliou, which highlights Indigenous Elders' participation in oral tradition. Calliou offers insider advice on the best practices for interviewing Indigenous people, including protocol, obtaining permission from the local community, and analyzing material. The article's opening quotation, "Every time an Elder dies, it is like a library has burned down" (26) is a nice example of the article's (and the whole book's) coexisting accessibility and weightiness. Other articles in the methodology section by Stacey Zembrzycki, Nancy Janovicek, and Jill Jarvis-Tonus consider issues around sharing authority with a family member; the impact of ethical guidelines in the 2010 *Tri Council Policy Statement: Ethical Research Involving Humans*; and the legal community's view of practicing and using oral history. Combined, the four articles in this section nicely fulfil the editors' goals of providing an inclusive methodological framework for creating respectful, ethical, and legal historical sources.

The four articles in the Interpretation section, by Joan Sangster, Kristina Llewellyn, Alexander Freund, and Julie Cruikshank, delve into working-class, feminist, generational, and Indigenous narrative perspectives on history. Sangster's is valuable for detailing the evolution of her politics and praxis as a historian of the working-class. She asks how oral historians might move forward given such significant scholarly debates around materialist and post-structuralist analysis, ultimately offering three thoughtful recommendations. Llewellyn engages with similar debates, reflecting on how the informal knowledge of the women teachers she interviewed required her own respectful scepticism in order to "destabilize patriarchal tropes about schooling" (145). Freund's piece considers the "use and usefulness of the three generational interview" (160) with emphasis on families' foundational stories. Cruikshank, an ethnographer, writes about the collaborative nature of her oral history work in the Northwest Territories, providing fascinating analysis of two participants' stories. One links ancient narratives to historical events from several time periods. The other situates her own life in wider events that affected her community.

The Preservation and Presentation section is composed of articles by Elise Chenier (Preserving Lesbian History), Alexander Freund (Oral History as Process-Generated Data), Stacey Zembrzycki and Steven High (Bearing Witness in Holocaust Education), and Bronwen Low and Emmanuelle Sonntag (Listening and Learning with Life Stories of Human Rights Violations). Chenier reports that many of the lesbian and gay oral histories collected since the 1980s are in danger of being lost because they have not been deposited and preserved in archives. Based on questionnaire responses from thirteen practitioners of lesbian and gay oral history, Chenier makes nine recommendations to "ensure the future of the queer (and not so queer) past" (213). Freund's article suggests how we can use extant oral history interviews and collections, which requires understanding "oral histories not simply as sources to be mined for facts (data), but as complex social constructs that are inherently subjective and thus offer multiple layers of meaning" (218). The piece by Zembrzycki and

High is unique in that it considers the perspective of the participants telling their stories. In this case, they are Holocaust survivors who speak in Montreal schools and are museum interpreters as part of child survivor activism. Low and Sonntag's article, like Zembrzycki and High's, is connected to the large Montreal Life Stories Project, and emphasizes the pedagogy of listening. The article's authors argue that while listening "shapes the oral history interview process … it should also structure teaching and learning through oral histories" (278).

The final section of the collection, Advocacy, is an impressive culmination of the editors' representation of oral history as a democratizing force. Articles by Winona Wheeler, Pamela Sugiman, and Claudia Malacrida each offer reflections on the potential for using oral history in advocacy, with compelling examples related to their work with Indigenous peoples, Japanese-Canadian Internment survivors, and the intellectually disabled. Joy Parr considers the related issue of the primacy of the witness's account. Wheeler and Sugiman, who are both part of the communities they study, emphasize the sometimes difficult negotiations required to do oral history there, including those involved in gaining authority, managing conflict, and incorporating participants' views. Sugiman describes her research as "part of the liberation of memories and reconstruction of history" (297) related to Japanese Canadian internment. Her article deconstructs her fascinating relationship with one particular participant, Lois, who accused Sugiman of basing some of her previously published work on "false premises" (299). Over the next several years, email correspondence and two oral interviews with Lois taught Sugiman a great deal "about the relationship between the researcher and narrator, as well as the interview frame itself" (310). Malacrida's piece is about her interviews with residents and workers of Alberta's Michener Centre, a home founded for "mental defectives." Her oral history research offers a "counter-narrative" to the official history of the centre, which practiced eugenics until 1979. Among her many valuable observations is how much the former residents she interviewed wanted to tell their stories and have their real names used. Parr's article is a longer reflection, similar to Sangster's in section 2, about managing collaboration and conflicts spanning several research topics, from her early work on Home Children, to her recent work in the history of the senses. She concludes that "among those who come to us from vulnerable populations we are but witnesses to the 'essential solitude of the witness.' In this authority, we cannot and must not claim to share" (343).

This is a very strong and thoughtful collection. I highly recommend it as an undergraduate or graduate course text, as well as for any scholar who engages in oral history.

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Cecilia Morgan

Commemorating Canada: History, Heritage, and Memory, 1850s–1990s

Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016. x, 207 pp.

Commemorating Canada is the fourteenth title in the University of Toronto Press's Themes in Canadian History series. Edited by Colin Coates, books in this series are aimed at undergraduate audiences and intended to serve as course texts, occupying a space between the specialized monograph and the general textbook. Moreover, retailing at $26.95 (paper), Morgan's book makes an affordable text for undergraduate students. It has many other strengths to recommend it as well. Anyone interested in teaching students about how history education can reveal prevailing contemporary attitudes would do well to assign this book. What follows in this review is intended as a suggestion for getting students to engage with the text.

Cecilia Morgan is well positioned to write such a book. A historian at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, she has been working on issues of commemoration and memory since the start of the millennium, when she and Coates co-authored *Heroines and History*, a study of the images of two women that remains among the classics in the Canadian literature on historical memory. In recent years she has turned her hand to writing Indigenous peoples into Canada's commemorative history in a series of journal articles and book chapters. This approach to writing perspectives sometimes "hidden from history" (181–83) can be seen woven through *Commemorating Canada*. In the brief epilogue, Morgan praises the expansion of the range of individuals and communities setting out to express their own histories through public venues that characterized the last decades of the twentieth century.

The work is a synthesis of Canadian research into memory and commemoration since the 1990s. It is not historiographical, as Morgan does not name the authors whose work she draws on (including her own work) and gives no sense of the dialogue between authors that has kept this field of historical inquiry lively. While the paucity of footnotes — a feature of the series — is no doubt intended to make the text more approachable for novices, it has the unfortunate effect of obscuring the historiographical debate that occurs among scholars of memory and historical consciousness. Instead, commemorative events are presented in a straightforward narrative that ironically mirrors the tactics of commemoration itself. There is a useful bibliography for each chapter that highlights the sources of Morgan's synthesis, but one needs to be already versed in the field to identify which arguments and which insights are drawn from which publications. This diminishes the book's value as a teaching tool, especially if used in a course exploring the contested and ideological nature of the uses of history.

After a brief theoretical introduction outlining the contested nature of historical commemoration, the book follows a roughly chronological order, beginning with nineteenth century efforts to shape historical knowledge through literature and public celebrations. Chapter Three then focusses on the zenith of public commemoration, the period from the 1880s to the 1920s that saw a sudden rush to

erect public statuary to honour the greats of Canada's past. Morgan astutely points out, without actually using these words, the patriarchal and colonialist narrative of Canada's history that this boom in constructing monuments placed on the nation's landscape. It is a legacy that continues to affect Canada, as suggested by recent vandalism of statues of Queen Victoria and John A. Macdonald, for instance. Chapter four backtracks a little to discuss the commemoration of war and military service, a discussion that naturally settles onto the commemoration of the First World War. Having reached the twentieth century, the book shifts its organizational structure and becomes more thematic. Chapter five looks at the role of the Canadian state, especially through the Historic Sites and Monuments Board's activities in the interwar years. The sixth chapter looks at tourism's effect on historical knowledge, and the final chapter discusses the role of schoolbooks in constructing historical consciousness in children and young adults. This last chapter demonstrates the challenges of developing a national history for Canadian school curricula. However, although standardized provincial tests are mentioned, Morgan shies away from discussing the challenges of writing national history for a country that vests control over education in its provinces. With its substantially larger market, central Canada has dominated the production of school texts. Yet the regional nature of Canadian historiography, something I would argue also works its way into Canadian commemoration, receives no sustained discussion in the chapter. The gendered nature of Canadian university history departments is noted, but the "limited identities" (177) approach of the 1960s and 1970s makes no appearance, even though it led, some claim, to a greater inclusiveness in Canadian historiography.

The epilogue brings the story to a conclusion by commenting on First Nations, women's, and gay and lesbian histories, suggesting that future historians of commemoration might find rich stories to explore by embracing the commemorations of those "hidden from history" (183). The chapter steers away from discussions of the Harper government's commemorative agenda, now largely defunct. This is the third issue I see in an otherwise fine text for teaching Canadian students about Canadian uses of history. The book's periodization from the 1850s to the 1990s means that the Harper-endorsed initiatives of the past decade, as well as controversies over interpretations of Sir John A. Macdonald and his legacy for Indigenous people, are removed from the conversation. Arguably, the controversy over the Monument to the Victims of Communism, or the so-called Mother Canada on the Cabot Trail helped thrust issues of historical commemoration into the public eye more than any other instances in recent times. Commemorating the First World War or Second World War has never been controversial with the vast majority of Canadians, past and present. But the Harper years aroused deeply felt ideas that underpinned competitions to craft historical narratives and revealed debates about the explicit use of historical knowledge for ideological purposes. It is a shame to leave this discussion out.

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