

Navigation School in Moscow by Aleksei A. Kurbatov in 1701, the Naval Academy in St. Petersburg by Baron Joseph de Saint-Hilaire in 1715, or the Noble Cadet Corps in St. Petersburg by Field Marshal B. C. von Münnich in 1731, in the wake of the constitutional crisis of 1730 that triggered clashes of ambition and factional battles. Once the schools were founded, these enterprisers used them as platforms and tools for self-assertion and self-promotion. Indeed, in all three cases, stakeholders of all stripes founded schools in order to further their agendas and ambitions, thus demonstrating that administrative entrepreneurship in education played a crucial role in eighteenth-century Russia. Interestingly, Fedyukin notes in his very first chapter that the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy, established in Moscow by the brothers Leichoudes in 1685, “owed its existence to private funds” (39). Such a general conclusion is very much in line with a recent trend in the literature that minimizes the extent to which monarchies had fully developed centralized administrations in early modern Europe. In other words, state building was far from being complete—a reality that gave resourceful and inventive individuals the opportunity to launch educational projects.

Scholars with a particular interest in institutional and organizational history will enjoy this well-written monograph, one that began its life as a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; those who do not share that enthusiasm may struggle to finish reading it.

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Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney and Donald Wright, eds.

Symbols of Canada

Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018. 249 pp.

It is a common Canadian conceit that Canadians lack patriotism. Compared to our American neighbours, the conceit goes, Canadians callously disregard our own history, culture, accomplishments, and emblems. Individual Canadians ashamedly confess this purported fault, and politicians routinely cite it to justify new programs to remedy our apparent deficiency of national pride.

The contributors to *Symbols of Canada* disagree. Over twenty-two chapters, this book demonstrates that Canadians have enthusiastically selected, invented, promoted, denigrated, and reinvented a wide variety of national symbols. Accessibly written, well-illustrated, and attractively designed, the collection is a valuable primer on Canada's emblematic heritage. Most of these symbols are familiar. The national animal, the beaver, gnaws his way to the front of the collection. The national anthem and two—count ‘em!—national sports are well documented. The national tree, the majestic maple, deserves two chapters, the first unfurling the story of the national flag and the second steeped in our national sweetener. Joining these official emblems are symbols such as the canoe, totem poles, and Anne of Green Gables; these may not

have the benefit of formal recognition, but they enjoy official promotion and popular devotion notwithstanding. Finally, there are the barely noticed and rarely questioned markers of Canadianness, which psychologist Michael Billig would classify as “flaggings” of “banal nationalism.” These include Tim Horton’s coffee and donuts, universal health care, and the verbal interjection “eh?”

Yet, as much as Canadians might think we know these symbols, each has a complicated and often forgotten story. Each chapter examines one Canadian symbol, recounting its history, interpreting its meaning, and assessing its appeal. Although the stories, sources, and approaches vary from chapter to chapter, several themes recur. Differing French- and English-Canadian symbolic traditions loom large, with the fleur-de-lis, poutine, and Dollard des Ormeaux warranting their own chapters. So, too, does commodification: as in other countries, profits and marketing have shaped our national emblems. Examples of commodified Canadian kitsch illustrate many of the chapters.

The most significant unifying theme is the pattern of cultural appropriation and the elision of the Indigenous origins and significance of many “Canadian” emblems. John Lutz’s account of the transformation of northwest coast monumental poles into Canadian “totem poles” beautifully encapsulates the contradictory convergence of colonialism and commercialization. Jessica Dunkin’s thoughtful examination of the de- and re-Indigenization of canoeing tells a similar story, as does Gillian Poulter’s chapter on lacrosse. The discussions of “Les Castors du Roi” by Kent Monkman and Emma Hassencahl-Perley’s “White Flag” in Colin Coates and Donald Wright’s chapters respectively illustrate Indigenous artists’ ongoing rethinking and reclaiming of national symbols.

Symbols enthusiasts may quibble about some small errors or oversights. For instance, contrary to the caption on page 88, the Red Ensign was indeed an official Canadian flag for specific purposes after 1924 and the recognized national flag, albeit as a temporary placeholder, between 1946 and 1965. These are, to invoke a famous Prince Edward Island symbol, small potatoes. More surprising is how infrequently the contributors engage with two broad themes in the history of Canadian nationalism. The first concerns the influence of external models on the development of Canadian national symbols. Several contributors do acknowledge the inheritance of ritual display from Great Britain, but consideration of similar borrowings from the United States is largely absent. This in spite of the striking similarities between Canada’s patriotic rituals and those practiced south of the border. Why, for example, did Canadian theatres once play *God Save the King* before productions, and why do Canadians sing *O Canada* before hockey games if not in emulation of American practice? Colin Coates’ observation that Canadian officials only acted to recognize the beaver as Canada’s national animal after New York proposed it as its state animal is another case in point. Canadians have adopted certain symbols to distinguish the country from the United States, but we have done so in ways that underline our cultural similarity.

The role of schools in naturalizing and promoting national symbols is a second theme that the editors and contributors could have developed further. In Canada

and the United States alike, public education has served as an important tool for promoting national symbols. When Canadians debated a new flag design in 1964, they did so with sixty years' experience of flag display in public schools; this included American-style pledges of allegiance to the Red Ensign in New Brunswick in the 1910s and to the Fleurdelisé in Quebec in the 1950s. Canadians may have disagreed about the design for a Canadian flag, but they agreed that having and displaying a flag was a normal feature of nationhood. They had public schooling to thank for this, and for a similarly unanimous acceptance of the necessity of a national anthem, a national sport, a national military (or peacekeeping force), and a national literature. Textbooks do figure in Cecilia Morgan's chapter on Laura Secord, but otherwise consideration of the role of public schools in symbol making is sparse.

As a collection, perhaps *Symbols of Canada's* greatest value is as a distillation of almost twenty years of scholarship on Canadian symbols and social memory. The list of contributors is a who's who of experts in these fields, and chapters by Michael Dawson on Mounties, Karen Dubinsky on Niagara Falls, and Steven High on Canadian English, to name a few, are concise summaries of arguments they have made more extensively elsewhere. This makes the book especially valuable as an introduction for general readers and students. I would especially recommend it as an assigned reading for Social Studies education classes to inoculate pre-service teachers against the misconception that symbols are timeless or unproblematic. Think of it as universal health care for the historically conscious; how Canadian is that, eh?

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Library and Archives Canada

Robert Cowin

Postsecondary Education in British Columbia: Public Policy and Structural Development, 1960–2015

Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018. 244 pp.

Robert Cowin's book presents a history of postsecondary education (PSE) in British Columbia beginning in 1960 and extending through to 2015. It offers an overview of the development of the whole postsecondary system across sectors in British Columbia including universities, public colleges, vocational colleges, apprenticeship training, continuing education, and private institutions. The descriptive, historical narrative of the development of BC's postsecondary system is combined with theoretical analyses of policy trends that emerged during the growth of the system. Methodologically the focus of the analysis is systemic and broadly structural. It takes up "interactions and relationships among institutions" (4) over this time period providing an analysis of the establishment and modification of postsecondary institutions. Following