leader in distance education, not only in Canada but internationally. The evolution of its policies and practices, its intellectual and social life, and its approaches to distance learning deserve better than Byrne has offered here.

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Paula S. Fass. *Outside In: Minorities and the Transformation of American Education.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989. Pp. vii, 308. $34.95.

Paula Fass's thesis is clear: she examines "in some detail the history of the education of outsiders in the society" (p. 3). By education, she means public high school and college levels, and by outsiders she intends early twentieth-century southern and eastern European immigrants and later "various racial, gender, and religious groups" (p. 4). Fass stresses a social history approach, particularly how those groups challenged or shaped (or "transformed," as the title indicates) the schools.

This emphasis on human agency is significant; historiographically, it represents a task long overdue. Too often, students from various ethnic, racial, sexual, and religious backgrounds have been treated as helpless victims. A case in point is immigrant educational history. On the one hand, conventional historians celebrated how the schools moulded foreign children into Anglo-American conformity, implying passive objects. Ellwood P. Cubberley, in his *Public Education in the United States* in 1919, minced few words about his feelings towards these inferior "racial" stocks: "Largely illiterate, docile, lacking in initiative, and almost wholly without Anglo-Saxon conceptions of righteousness, liberty, law, order, public decency, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock and to weaken and corrupt our political life." According to this simplistic interpretation, the public schools aided these immigrants in their gradual transition to American culture, and afforded their eventual economic success by facilitating social mobility. On the other hand, revisionist historians criticized schools for participating in such blatant socialization, again objectifying students. Colin Greer, the most extreme example of this genre, cynically confronted the traditional perspective in *The Great School Legend* in 1972: "In assumptions and practice, the urban schools remained essentially unchanged—and the poor continued to fail. Our official historians have mistaken the rhetoric of good intentions for historical reality." Greer saw blind faith in the redemptive powers of the schools as insidious, but his exaggerated version contributed little to how students and their families may have responded to this dilemma. However, studies like *Outside In* are beginning to examine the schooled.

Fass begins with a judicious reading of the elusive and complex Progressive experience by focusing on two characteristics: first, Progressives saw schooling as a "social good"; second, they believed "everyone" was educable. The school's mission, much in the Deweyan sense, served as a "protean force for democratic citizenship" (p. 21). This meant, as Fass capably argues, that Progressive reformers hoped to infuse the schools with sensitivity to immigrant needs, like irregular time schedules to accommodate the attendance of working children. Hence, many Progressives maintained a broad, humanistic position: they saw the "unifying power of the schools" as well as "vitality and hope" for "social diversity" (p. 32).

Efficiency-minded Progressives thought differently. "In the early twentieth century, education and science went hand-in-hand with the euphoria of reform" (p. 44). And psychology represented that science. Fass digresses into the all too well-known history of intelligence testing: "At a time when democracy seemed threatened by heterogeneity, counting, sifting, and ranking provided a form of order and containment" (p. 47). This all assumed ethnic and racial implications, to be sure. Educability now connoted limitations. The "vertical track" grew naturally from this process; for immigrant children this "required a serious modification, if not outright rejection of the cultural bases of their identity, whether the schools specifically or directly challenged the culture of their homes or not" (p. 61).

Therefore, in analysing Progressive reform, Fass stresses diversity. In so doing, she carefully builds her argument, but too often seems to cover old ground. She does point to serious Progressive misconceptions: vocational education did not increase student retention, and immigrant children remained in school longer than Progressives realized or admitted. Thus, for all of their ideals and rhetoric, Progressives did not appear to be shaping the public schools as profoundly as they thought or proclaimed; rather, their clients seemed to be "transforming" it more.

After exploring the philosophical bases of the Progressives, Fass moves to a specific case, the New York City high schools during the 1930s and 1940s. They became "ethnic enclaves," offering a complex picture of socialization. Although New York represented the "pre-eminent immigrant city," her selection of that location still undermines any generalizations about other major cities, like Chicago or Toronto, or smaller ones, such as Pittsburgh or Buffalo. Nevertheless, Fass's fine research methods come to the fore, with ample secondary sources and a variety of primary ones. Appendices appear replete with methodology explanations, particularly her creative use of yearbooks to analyse the relationship between participation in extracurricular activities and assimilation. In contrast to tracking, these non-academic efforts reveal clear ethnic, racial, and gender variations; that is, within the context of restrictive sorting, various groups carved out different niches, and this reflected choice. Her findings directly confront existing historical interpretations: "The

school, as it was envisaged by educators and imagined by historians, was never as powerful an integrator, equalizer, or socializer as it has been portrayed" (p. 109). Assimilation thus represented an extremely complex experience, not just a simple linear process.

Fass devotes subsequent chapters to the concepts of race, gender, and religion. She reviews New Deal and U.S. Army education programmes which marked progress for African-Americans during the 1930s and 1940s, but outside of public school classrooms. Although pragmatically driven, these ventures "once more linked education to social reform and inaugurated a tradition of federal responsibility for black education that encouraged blacks to look for federal redress" (p. 155). Fass points to this as the precedent for the Great Society's initiatives in African-American education. Fass then turns to gender, focusing on higher education. She makes a compelling argument. While reinforcing women's domestic roles through utilitarian curricula, colleges during the post-war years established the basis for the feminist movement. Finally, Fass traces the twentieth-century history of parochial education. As an "alternative," autonomous educational experience, this school system appeared "more closely related to the specific concerns of parents and the Catholic community" (p. 190). This represented a major institutional undertaking, enrolling fourteen percent of all school-aged children by 1962. Fass also addresses the Progressive impact on Catholic education. The finely detailed, comprehensive chapters on race and religion contrast with the narrower ones on ethnic groups and women. Further, the chapter on Catholic education, with the intersection of ethnicity, gender, race, and religion, serves as a nice synthesis.

Fass reaches two conclusions. First, and an explicit point of this book, she recapitulates the impact of human agency: "Outsiders both defined the cultural landscape within which schools operated and forced the schools to develop and to define themselves in that context" (p. 230). In this regard, Fass is to be praised for offering a complex and vital history of the relationship between "minorities" and education. Second, and a more implicit but certainly not surprising goal, this author hails the cause and influence of liberalism:

> Despite its many infelicities and clumsiness—sometimes even stupidity—the American liberal tradition of education, which in the twentieth-century is inseparable from the progressive tradition, has allowed American schools to open their doors wide at all levels to the population as a whole and at its best to admit that talent comes in many shapes. It has also proclaimed that the individual's goals are quite as important as those of society (p. 235).

On the one hand, this position sharply contrasts with the narrow and insensitive conservative attacks on the public schools throughout the 1980s. Fass is to be commended for her strong and eloquent refutation of

conservatism, especially when liberalism appears to be on the defensive in the United States. On the other hand, Fass's study represents a consensus approach to history, which accounts for resistance but somewhat diminishes it, and discounts struggle, ignoring conflict altogether. With the yet unresolved problems of inequality plaguing African-Americans and women, and the reactionary responses to the ever-increasing numbers of Latino immigrants, does liberalism work? Does consensus history truly reflect the experiences of these groups in our political economy?

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Kathleen E. McCrone. *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988. Pp. 310.

As Kathleen McCrone points out, the great eighteenth-century feminist Mary Wollstonecraft knew that the "liberation of women's bodies" was essential to the wider emancipation of women. That there is a connection between that emancipation and the emergence of women's right to participate in sport is the thesis of her meticulously researched study.

Playing the Game provides a full account of the development of women's sport at the Oxbridge women's colleges and at secondary schools for middle-class girls. While it covers some of the same ground as the work of other scholars (for example, that of Sheila Fletcher), McCrone provides a new dimension because her study goes beyond an examination of the influence of sport on the education of girls and young women to include the involvement of adult women in individual and team sports, and the discussion of the connection between the rise of women's sport and dress reform. In all of these areas, *Playing the Game* provides the reader with a wealth of information.

McCrone's discussion of the development of physical education in girls' schools and of the rise of training schools for physical-training mistresses is of special importance from the point of view of the history of education. On this subject, she offers some interesting and unexpected conclusions. She points out that whereas in boys' schools sport was not usually perceived as part of what she calls "a wider system of physical education" (p. 101), in progressive girls' schools it was. Thus, the rise of physical education as a profession devoted to the training and development of the body owes more to educators of girls than of boys. The history of the physical training institutes is also important to the story of the development of professions for women. Being a physical-training mistress was one such new occupation. As McCrone puts it: "The rise of the physical education mistress and institutions to train her represented the concession to women of a right to a degree of body