

# Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s

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More than twenty-five years have passed since the publication of *Canadian Education: A History*, the most comprehensive scholarly overview of educational development in Canada.<sup>1</sup> Much has happened historiographically since the early 1970s, but a new grand synthesis of Canada's educational history has not been part of this intellectual harvest.<sup>2</sup> For more positive reasons than the lack of an alternative, the book has enduring value and is the place one still turns, at least initially, for lucid accounts of key events in the history of Canadian education.

The volume is significant in another way. The perspective of a quarter-century reveals its role as a bridge to the "new" educational historiography which has flourished in Canada since the mid-1970s. In the following discussion, I will briefly reassess *Canadian Education: A History* and then trace a number of the historiographical currents that have flowed in its wake. Although the work of Canada's educational historians may not be well known internationally, its emergence, diversity, and significance should be evident from this review.

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For its editors, J. D. Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, *Canadian Education: A History* was the product of an intellectual and political mission. They desired a text to replace the once serviceable but soon dated, and excessively whiggish, survey by C. E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*. Heeding the "revisionist" admonitions of historians Bernard Bailyn and Brian Simon, they planned to study the links between educational change and the social order, contending that "educational history should be regarded as social history." Written both for faculty of education students and the general reader, the book set out to

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<sup>1</sup>J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough, Ont., 1970). The book is an anthology. The editors wrote a total of nine of the volume's twenty-one chapters.

<sup>2</sup>George S. Tomkins's ambitious study of the curriculum, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Scarborough, Ont., 1986) is the closest anyone has come to producing such a volume.

elevate the level of scholarship and inspire more interest in the history of education. The editors also sought to promote national dialogue in a period of linguistic and cultural tensions by “represent[ing] in one book the viewpoints of both French and English Canadian historians on this country’s educational development.”<sup>3</sup>

These were lofty goals, and the results were palpably mixed. The book’s first section included three essays on the French, British, and American “foundations” of Canadian education by Louis-Philippe Audet, William B. Hamilton, and Alison Prentice, respectively. These straightforward, information-packed chapters are still useful introductions to the general philosophical and material foundations of education in the three “parent” nations. The authors confined their explicit comparisons of Canadian and non-Canadian education to brief, somewhat speculative sub-sections. Significantly, with the exceptions of work by intellectual historians who have explored religious and curricular aspects of higher education, and by those who have researched Irish influences on Ontario education, the study of the historical interplay between European, American, and Canadian schooling is, to this day, a lingering gap in the historiography.<sup>4</sup>

The second section of *Canadian Education* consisted of nine chapters on “colonial education,” organized by province, and covering the period up to the decade of the 1870s, by which time public, free, and compulsory elementary schooling had been established in central and eastern Canada (excluding Quebec). While the editors could have chosen a thematic as opposed to a territorial framework for presenting this important material, they undoubtedly concluded that the seven distinct provincial educational systems (by 1870) merited discrete treatment. Although this framework creates some repetition in accounting for the origins of compulsory schooling, the persistent reader is able to gain useful information about variations among provinces. Still, an integrative summary chapter

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<sup>3</sup>Wilson, Stamp, and Audet, eds., *Canadian Education: A History*, viii; C. E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto, 1957).

<sup>4</sup>See A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal, 1979); Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal, 1991); Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto, 1987). On the “myth” of the Scottish influence on higher education in Maritime Canada, see John G. Reid, “Beyond the Democratic Intellect: The Scottish Example and University Reform in Canada’s Maritime Provinces, 1870–1933,” in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*, ed. Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Montreal, 1989), 275–300. The Irish influence on educational development in Ontario has received some attention. See Donald H. Akenson, *Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America* (Port Credit, Ont. 1985); and Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto, 1992), ch. 2.

on this and other key themes in the nineteenth century might have offset the fragmented, and occasionally redundant, rendering of the history.

This section of the book best revealed the state of the historiography at the time. The editors' mission of demonstrating the links between educational development and the country's social history faced a fundamental obstacle: very little social history (history from the "bottom-up"), in education and other fields, had yet been published in Canada. Consequently, social history of this variety was not prominently featured anywhere in the book. Instead, William B. Hamilton's three chapters on the Atlantic region, J. Donald Wilson's two chapters on Upper Canada, and Manoly Lupul's single chapter on the prairies and British Columbia to 1873 provided a general "social" context for their detailed discussions of educational policy changes. The authors sketched the economic, demographic, and cultural milieux of educational change, which itself was a historiographical step forward. So too was Wilson's fresh and nuanced treatment of Egerton Ryerson, Ontario's chief superintendent of education for thirty years. The strength of Hamilton's account of the Maritimes and Newfoundland lay in its exploration of the critical links between education, politics, and religion. Politicians, clergymen, and bureaucrats were at center stage in this analysis. The place of other lower-order forces—teachers, parents, and students—remained largely undiscovered in the Maritimes and everywhere else, particularly in studies of the nineteenth century. Finally, in his three chapters on New France and Quebec, Louis-Philippe Audet, produced the most traditional narrative in the entire anthology. Within a historiographical framework best defined as "pre-revisionist," he described, with minimal analysis, Quebec's educational laws and the men who administered them.

The first half of the book, then, fell well short of fashioning a new social history of Canadian education. It succeeded better at demonstrating the general connections between educational and other historical changes, particularly between education and politics, the latter of which had dominated mainstream Canadian historical writing to that date.

The book's second half, covering the period from the 1870s to the 1960s, consisted of nine chapters divided into two sections: "Society and Education in the New Dominion," and "New Directions in Canadian Education." Limited by a thin and underdeveloped secondary literature, particularly on twentieth-century education, the contributors, where possible, drew from their own original research and made good use of commissioned government studies on Canadian education. Lupul traced the politics of the infamous "schools" question, through which linguistic and religious minorities fought to establish and then protect their educational "rights" between Confederation and World War I. Robert Stamp presented the results of his then innovative work on the impact of industrial

change on school development in Ontario. Within the framework of modernization theory, he described the growth of vocational and technical education, science studies, and the “New Education” movement at the turn of the century. Other highlights included Robert Patterson’s assessment of progressive education between the two world wars, where he first argued that there was less to the radicalism of school reform than met the eye. Hugh Stevenson followed the story of educational change into the 1960s, documenting (with a complementary chapter by Stamp) the massive expansion of public schooling, the early use of new technology, and the spread of a “child centred” educational philosophy, which with regional variations, influenced school policy nationwide. In a far blander manner, Edward Sheffield documented the expansion of higher education in postwar Canada, focusing on the quantitative indicators of growth.

*Canadian Education: A History* was an impressive project, which simultaneously filled and exposed historiographical gaps. It built a mountain of information on the basis of old themes and some new questions. It demonstrated the importance of comparative national history and, given the vastness of the country and the diversity of its educational systems, the difficulty of conducting it. While promoting social history, the book had little to say about the experience of women, aboriginal peoples, the life of the classroom, or the theme of social class. In his own retrospective on the book, Wilson placed the volume in the “moderate” as opposed to “radical” revisionist historiographical school.<sup>5</sup> But even that general label imposed on the text a historiographical unity that was not consistently adhered to by the contributors. In Canadian education, and in the writing of its history, change was clearly in the air by 1970. What shape both would take was still in question.

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Previous assessments of historiographical developments since the 1970s have identified how social history has come to dominate the educational literature.<sup>6</sup> Reflecting intellectual developments elsewhere, historians in Cana-

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<sup>5</sup>J. Donald Wilson, “Introduction: The Historiography of British Columbia Educational History,” in *Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia*, ed. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary, 1980), 9. See also Wilson’s, “Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History,” in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver, 1984), 10–11, in which he acknowledges some of the book’s limitations; and J. Donald Wilson, “The New Diversity in Canadian Educational History,” *Acadiensis* 19 (Spring 1990): 148–68.

<sup>6</sup>In addition to Wilson’s articles, see Chad Gaffield, “Back to School: Towards a New Agenda for the History of Education,” *Acadiensis* 15 (Spring 1986): 169–90; Neil Sutherland and Jean Barman, “Out of the Shadows: Retrieving the History of Urban Education and Urban Childhood in Canada,” in *The City and Education in Four Nations*, ed. Ronald K. Goodenow and William E. Marsden (Cambridge, Eng., 1992), 87–108.

da engaged the challenge of social history in ways that distinguished their work from that in *Canadian Education: A History*. Like activists and intellectuals of the late 1960s who assailed contemporary education for its numerous imperfections, a number of historians looked critically at the past as well, and discovered something other than simple “progress” in the work of school reformers.

In *The School Promoters*, Alison Prentice found educators in nineteenth-century Ontario interested in regulating youth as much as educating them. Education officials hoped to manage social change without disrupting society’s hierarchical order. In taking this position, Prentice was subsequently described as an exponent of the “social control” model, as were a number of other historians, including Susan Houston and Michael Katz. These authors’ concern with “the structures of power” and how they shaped public education certainly comprised a part of the work they produced.<sup>7</sup> But the “social control” label tended to minimize the depth and range of their analyses. In *The School Promoters*, for example, Prentice explained how elite views on the nature of childhood, the meaning of progress, the role of schools as an instrument of class harmonization, and the virtue of middle-class “respectability” all lay behind the support of the privileged for the expansion of state education. Susan Houston linked this movement to concerns about delinquency and the need for new institutions, such as schools and reformatories, to address some perceived problems of emerging urban life. In their various publications, Michael Katz and his colleagues shifted the focus from the educators to the students and their families. Using innovative quantitative methods and eclectic forms of class analysis, these scholars examined the way schooling affected and, at times, intruded into the lives of ordinary people.<sup>8</sup>

The anthology, *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario’s Past*, edited by Katz and Paul Mattingly, employed a variety of approaches, themes, and interpretations, indicating how far the historiography had come in only half a decade. Robert Gidney discovered the existence of schooling in church basements and family parlors well before the “public” system came into being. Peter Ross studied the early oppo-

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<sup>7</sup>Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1977); Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek, “Introduction,” in *Exploring our Educational Past: Schooling in the North-west Territories and Alberta*, ed. N. Kach and K. Mazurek (Calgary, 1992), 6, citing J. Donald Wilson.

<sup>8</sup>Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, 1975); Harvey J. Graff, *The Literacy Myth: Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth-Century City* (New York, 1979); Susan E. Houston, “Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience,” in *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario’s Past*, ed. Michael Katz and Paul Mattingly (New York, 1975), 83–109.

sition in Toronto to free schooling, and Doug Lawr examined the origins of agricultural education in Ontario. Detailed discussions of the meaning of literacy by Harvey Graff, and of school attendance patterns by Katz and Ian Davey, provided particular insight into the relationship between public schooling and social inequality, a theme that had barely been acknowledged in earlier work.<sup>9</sup>

The “new” social history also recognized that children could be educated and socialized in institutions other than schools, an argument fully sustained in Neil Sutherland’s important monograph, *Children in English-Canadian Society*. Sutherland had published an article in *Education and Social Change* which traced the marriage of the public health movement to public schooling at the turn of century, and his book also included the subjects of child welfare and juvenile delinquency. The author’s sympathetic portrait of social reform advocates would later be questioned by historians skeptical of his “consensus” thesis, but his study had clearly tilled new terrain in the history of Canadian childhood.<sup>10</sup>

A preliminary anthology of work on western Canada, including articles by both “established . . . and new historians,” appeared in 1979 under the editorship of David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert Stamp. By taking the reader into the classroom through articles such as Sheehan’s “Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early School House,” and by probing the issues of ethnicity and First Nations education through the work of Jacqueline Gresko and Cornelius Jaenen, the book illustrated the growing importance of these themes. David Jones, Robert Stamp, and Timothy Dunn also broadened the scholarly agenda with their assessments of educational developments in rural and urban settings. As was the case with *Education and Social Change*, “the attitude of the authors toward their subjects, range[d] from deference to tempered disrespect,” as historians continued to probe and judge the degree of “progress” made by educational reformers.<sup>11</sup>

Nadia Eid’s exploration of the link between education and social class in the nineteenth century, and Alan Greer’s innovative study of literacy

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<sup>9</sup>Katz and Mattingly, eds., *Education and Social Change*.

<sup>10</sup>Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto, 1976); Kari Delhi, “Health Scouts for the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Canada,” *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Fall 1989): 247–64; John Bullen, “J. J. Kelso and the ‘New’ Child-Savers: The Genesis of the Children’s Aid Movement in Ontario,” in *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada*, ed. Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds, and Alvin Esau (Winnipeg, 1991), 135–58; Neil Sutherland, “‘To Create a Strong and Healthy Race’: School Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880–1914,” in *Education and Social Change*, ed. Katz and Mattingly, 133–66.

<sup>11</sup>“Introduction,” in *Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West*, ed. David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp (Calgary, 1979), v.

levels in that era, highlighted early revisionist work on the province of Quebec. With respect to Atlantic Canada, Ian Ross Robertson assessed the ever significant impact of religion and politics on school reform in Prince Edward Island, while Judith Fingard questioned the motives of church authorities and other philanthropists who undertook the “education of the poor” in colonial Halifax.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, while some historians were implicitly more critical than others of the school’s tendency to reproduce social and class inequities, for reviewers to draw sharp distinctions between so-called “radical” and “moderate” approaches was to distort the real significance of this early “revisionist” work. Whatever the ideological underpinnings or implications of the new history, the scholarship was more complementary than competitive, significantly expanding an emerging field, and bringing into focus educational players who had never been in the picture.<sup>13</sup> Also questionable, at least in my view, was J. D. Wilson’s surprising claim (in 1984) that the social control/radical revisionist approach to educational history in Canada was virtually dead by 1978, having “succumbed” to the “onslaught of new findings and interpretations in related subfields of social history, such as urban, working class, ethnic, women’s and family history.” He submitted that historians of the 1980s were interested less in the structures of education than in the “human responses” to these structures, which he defined as a “family strategies” approach to the study of educational change.<sup>14</sup>

Wilson, a major facilitator and practitioner of the new educational history, had clearly identified emerging and imminent themes in the literature of the 1980s, but surely, the task of exploring the links between educational transitions and family life was already well under way. Alison Prentice had looked at how a mid-nineteenth-century version of “family values” was used by educators and middle-class families to rationalize the rules of boarding schools. And Ian Davey had explored how the income requirements of poor families determined their children’s enrollment pat-

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<sup>12</sup>Nadia Eid, “Éducation et classes sociales au milieu de 19e siècle,” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française* 32 (Sep. 1978): 159–79; Allan Greer, “The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec, 1745–1899,” *Histoire Sociale* 11 (Nov. 1978): 293–335; Judith Fingard, “Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax,” *Acadiensis* 2 (Spring 1973): 15–42; Ian Ross Robertson, “The Bible Question in Prince Edward Island from 1856–1860,” *Acadiensis* 5 (Spring 1976): 3–25.

<sup>13</sup>For a personal reflection on the intellectual dynamics of this period by one of the participants, see Harvey J. Graff, “Towards 2000: Poverty and Progress in the History of Education,” *Historical Studies in Education* 3 (Fall 1991): 191–210.

<sup>14</sup>J. Donald Wilson, “From Social Control to Family Strategies: Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History,” *History of Education Review* 13 (1984): 5.

terns in Hamilton schools from the 1850s through the 1870s.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, as we shall see, concerns about the structure of educational authority, the socialization of students, and the problem of inequality would by no means disappear from the historians' agenda. Refinement and continuity characterized the evolving literature.

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Researchers in the mid-1970s had reinvented the historiography of Canadian education, but they had scarcely covered the intellectual spectrum either thematically or regionally. More comprehensive treatment would await the publication of work that appeared throughout the 1980s and continue unabated to the present. Still writing mostly within the context of provincial history, using the vehicle of case studies, historians of education generated a bountiful literature, primarily in the form of journal articles and anthologies rather than monographs. New questions were asked, and old themes were revisited. Throughout the period, regular conferences were sponsored by the Canadian History of Education Association, which also founded the journal *Historical Studies in Education* in 1989.

As in other fields of social history, the experience of women came to occupy a prominent place in the educational literature. The pioneer teaching role played by Ursuline nuns in New France and by Anglo-Saxon widows in early Upper Canada, the state's (sometimes reluctant and sometimes vigorous) recruitment of women into elementary school classrooms in the last half of the nineteenth century, the particular resilience of female teachers working in isolated rural communities, the academic and extracurricular restrictions imposed on university women, and the modernization of the gendered division of labor in the mid-twentieth century have absorbed the attention of historians.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," in *Education and Social Change*, ed. Katz and Mattingly, 110–32; Ian E. Davey, "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School," in *Egerton Ryerson and His Times*, ed. Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton (Toronto, 1978), 221–53.

<sup>16</sup>Nadia Fahmy-Eid, "L'éducation des filles chez les Ursulines de Québec sous le Régime français," in *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec*, ed. Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Micheline Dumont (Montreal, 1983), 49–76; Micheline Dumont-Johnson, *Girls' Schooling in Quebec, 1639–1960* (Ottawa, 1990); Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto, 1988), ch. 2; Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in Early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 6 (1994): 71–96; Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845–1875," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 8 (May 1975): 5–20; Alison Prentice, "From Household to School House: The Emergence of the Teacher as Servant of the State," in *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader*, ed. Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap (Toronto, 1991), 25–48; Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender, and Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century Montreal and Toronto," *History of Education Quarterly* 24 (Spring 1984): 75–100; Robert S. Patterson "Voices from



Such research leaves no doubt about the discrimination endured by female teachers and students nor about the largely successful attempts to confine them to restricted occupational and social roles, both inside and outside the classrooms. In this sense, the new work confirms a fundamental tenet of the “social control” thesis—equality of treatment and opportunity largely eluded marginalized groups, however lofty their aspirations and skills. But in a number of respects, the analysis has moved beyond these observations. Historians are interested in the ways women coped with their situations; why, despite being patronized, they often found rewards in studying and teaching; and how they achieved at least some autonomy and control over their environments.

A sterling example of this approach can be found in the late Marta Danylewycz’s study of convent education in Quebec, *Taking the Veil*. For the most part, the Catholic church, which dominated cultural and religious life in nineteenth-century Quebec, served as a force of social conservatism. Nuns, logically, have been portrayed as instruments of these values—spiritual supplicants idealizing poverty, and in their teaching, reinforcing women’s inferior social status. Danylewycz does not entirely contest this image, but at the very least she balances it with an alternative interpretation. She explains how educated women, for lack of other professional outlets, entered convents which offered them occupational prestige and even the possibility of advancement. They learned administrative skills, played a critical role in delivering social services to their communities, and even aided feminists in their campaign for women’s higher education in the province.<sup>17</sup> The role of religious institutions in the education of women has been reconsidered elsewhere, notably by Johanna Selles-Roney and Elizabeth Smyth in Ontario, and their conclusions lend support to those of Danylewycz.<sup>18</sup>

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the Past: The Personal and Professional Struggle of Rural School Teachers,” in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary, 1986), 99–111; J. Donald Wilson, “‘I am Ready to be of assistance when I can’: Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia,” in *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching*, ed. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald (Toronto, 1991), 202–29; Susan Gelman, “The ‘Feminization’ of the High Schools? Women Secondary School Teachers in Toronto, 1871–1930,” *Historical Studies in Education* 2 (Spring 1990): 119–48; Cecilia Reynolds, “Hegemony and Hierarchy: Becoming a Teacher in Toronto, 1930–1980,” *Historical Studies in Education* 2 (Spring 1990): 85–109. On higher education see the essays by Chad Gaffield, Lynn Marks, and Susan Laskin, Judith Fingard, Diana Pedersen, and Nancy Kieffer and Ruth Pierson, in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*, ed. Axelrod and Reid.

<sup>17</sup>Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840–1920* (Toronto, 1987). The debate is also engaged in *Les Couventines: L’éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes, 1840–1960*, ed. Micheline Dumont-Johnson and Nadia F. Eid (Montreal, 1986).

<sup>18</sup>Johanna Selles-Roney, “Manners or Morals? Or ‘Men in Petticoats’? Education at Alma College, 1871–1898,” and Elizabeth Smyth, “‘A Noble Proof of Excellence’: The Culture and Curriculum of a Nineteenth-Century Ontario Convent Academy,” both in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, ed. Prentice and Heap, 247–68 and 269–90.

Similarly, whether women who sought and participated in commercial, domestic, and female-oriented professional education, advanced or obstructed the cause of gender equality is now open to assessment. Increasingly, feminist historians are less inclined to pass judgment on women educators than to explore the complexity of their motives and of the conditions under which educational changes were introduced.<sup>19</sup> Whether women's education should continue to be interpreted through the "separate sphere" paradigm is also being debated. Gail Cuthbert Brandt sees this perspective as imposing artificial distinctions between the supposedly "public" role of men and the "private" domain of women. However, Janet Guildford and Susanne Morton continue to believe that the separate sphere concept persuasively captures the reality of how women's lives were perceived and lived, particularly in the realm of schooling.<sup>20</sup>

There can now be little uncertainty about the distinctive, discriminatory, and frequently devastating conditions under which Canada's aboriginal people were "educated." From the seventeenth century to the 1960s, Christian missionaries, government "agents," and committed teachers, whose attitudes ranged from racist to paternalistic to self-sacrificing, participated in a system designed to erase all manifestations of aboriginal culture. The "fiasco" of industrial and residential schooling through the early twentieth century has been well documented, primarily by historians of western Canada such as Brian Titley and Jean Barman. Efforts to assimilate natives to the dominant Canadian culture virtually always failed, but not before the self-esteem of many native stu-

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<sup>19</sup>Marie-Paule Moulin, *Ma Soeur, à Quelle École Allez-Vous? Deux écoles de filles à la fin du XIX siècle* (Montreal, 1985); Lee Jean Stewart, *It's Up to You: Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver, 1990); Nancy S. Jackson and Jane S. Gaskell, "White Collar Vocationalism: The Rise of Commercial Education in Ontario and British Columbia, 1870–1920," and Ruby Heap, "Schooling Women for Home or for Work? Vocational Education for Women in Ontario in the Early Twentieth Century: The Case of the Toronto Technical School, 1892–1920," both in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, ed. Prentice and Heap, 165–94 and 195–243; Donald Soucy, "More than a Polite Pursuit: Art College Education for Women in Nova Scotia, 1887–1930s," *Art Education* 42 (Mar. 1989): 23, 24, 37–40; Ruby Heap, "Training Women for a New Women's Profession: Physiotherapy Education at the University of Toronto, 1917–1940," *History of Education Quarterly* 35 (Summer 1995): 135–58; Johanne Collin, "La Dynamique des rapports de sexes à l'université, 1940–1980: une étude de cas," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 19 (Nov. 1986): 365–85.

<sup>20</sup>Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 72 (Dec. 1991): 453; Janet Guildford and Susanne Morton, "Introduction," in *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1994), 10. See Guildford's article in this collection. On higher education, see Jo LaPierre, "The Academic Life of Canadian Coeds, 1880–1920," *Historical Studies in Education* 2 (Fall 1990): 225–46; Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's during the 1920s," *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Spring 1989): 53–72; Mona Gleason, "A Separate and 'Different' Education: Women and Coeducation at the University of Windsor's Assumption College, 1950–1957," *Ontario History* 84 (June 1992): 119–32.

dents was irreversibly undermined. Recent exposés of physical and sexual abuse in these institutions have rendered a woeful tale even grimmer.<sup>21</sup>

This work on native educational history leaves open certain questions. Brutal as it frequently was, how did the teaching of native children compare to that of non-natives? Was the pedagogy practiced similar to that applied in public schools, or was it designed especially for native youth? Knowing this would refine our understanding of the distance between native schooling and the educational mainstream. Furthermore, is it the case that every single educator associated with native schooling was tainted, or were there some who, despite the structural inequities of the system, performed courageously, usefully, and free of racist behavior? The current historiographical orientation—and perhaps the political culture—makes pursuing such a question difficult, but for the sake of a more complete historical account, it is surely merited. In their discussion of the complex role played by Indian agents in residential schools after the Second World War, Vic Satzewich and Linda Mahood have shed some initial light on this matter.<sup>22</sup>

Through a number of case studies, historians have also exposed the politicians' and educators' expressed desire to control the behavior of and assimilate other minority groups into the dominant culture.<sup>23</sup> While this "regulatory" paradigm predominates, it has been complemented by investigations of the attitudes and responses of "new" Canadians themselves to the demands of the "host" society. Some groups, including Jews and

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<sup>21</sup>J. R. Miller, "Native History," in *Canadian History: A Reader's Guide*, ed. Doug Owsram (Toronto, 1994), 2: 197. See the essays in *Indian Education in Canada*, vol. 1, *The Legacy*, ed. Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver, 1986). E. Brian Titley has published a number of significant articles on industrial and residential schooling, including "Indian Industrial Schools in Western Canada," in *Schools in the West*, ed. Sheehan, Jones, and Wilson, 133–54. See also Jean Barman, "Schooling for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary, 1995), 57–80; Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver 1988); and Paul Bennett, "'Knocking the Indian Out of them': Indian Industrial Schools in Ontario, 1850–1930" (paper presented to the conference of the Canadian History of Education Association, Lethbridge, Alberta, 1992).

<sup>22</sup>Vic Satzewich and Linda Mahood, "Indian Agents and the Residential School System in Canada, 1946–1970," *Historical Studies in Education* 7 (Spring 1995): 45–69.

<sup>23</sup>Marilyn J. Barber, "Canadianization through the Schools of the Prairie Provinces before World War I: The Attitudes and Aims of the English-Speaking Majority," in *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, ed. Martin L. Kovacs (Regina, 1978), 281–94; Neil McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884–1905," in *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*, ed. E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller (Calgary, 1982), 121–50; Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling, and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Students' Strike, 1922–23," *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Fall 1989): 287–306; Patricia E. Roy, "Due to Their Keeness Regarding Education, They Will Get the Utmost out of the Whole Plan: The Education of Japanese Children in British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements during World War Two," *Historical Studies in Education* 4 (Autumn 1992): 211–32.

Scandinavians, craved access to public schools, notwithstanding the patronizing attitudes they invariably faced. Doukhobors, on the other hand, ferociously fought public authorities on schooling and most other issues, while Ukrainians and Mennonites in Manitoba secured, for some two decades, state funding for “bilingual” schools.<sup>24</sup>

Debate has erupted in Canada about the virtue of assimilationist versus multicultural educational policies. Have the latter been necessary instruments for preserving the cultural integrity of minority groups, or sources of social division and ethnic ghettoization? Historians clearly lean toward the former interpretation, though the historical record itself is the subject of a rare and vigorous exchange between David C. Jones, who paints a relatively sympathetic portrait of assimilationist reformers in western Canada, and Bill Maciejko who accuses Jones of propagating myths about the character of Ruthenian settlers in the West.<sup>25</sup> Unusual as well for its stimulating use of postmodern discourse is Maciejko’s article on the contest between Ukrainian and Anglo-Saxon conceptions of “identity” aggravated, he contends, by the immensity of social and economic change at the turn of the century.<sup>26</sup>

The themes of socialization, adaptation, and resistance with respect to language use, religion, and traditional cultural practices thus inform the historical treatment of minority experiences in Canada. One major study steps outside this framework and propels the historiography in a different direction. Chad Gaffield’s monograph, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict*, returns to an old question: why did English-speaking Ontarians grow increasingly intolerant of French-language schools in the

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<sup>24</sup>Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, “The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896–1916,” in *Schools in the West*, ed. Sheehan, Jones, and Wilson, 155–73; Gerhard J. Ens, “Mennonites and Modernism: The Changing Impact of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute on Mennonite Education and Society in Manitoba, 1888–1948,” in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba: From the Construction of the Common School to the Politics of Voices*, ed. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofré (Lewiston, N.Y., 1993), 137–56; John P. S. McLaren, “‘New Canadians’ or ‘Slaves of Satan’? The Law and the Education of Doukhobor Children, 1911–1935,” in *Children, Teachers, and Schools*, ed. Barman, Sutherland, and Wilson, 147–60; Luigi G. Pennacchio, “Toronto’s Public Schools and the Assimilation of Foreign Students, 1900–1920,” *Journal of Educational Thought* 20 (Apr. 1986): 37–48; Lynne Marks, “Kaye Meydelach or Shulamith Girls: Cultural Change and Continuity among Jewish Parents and Daughters: A Case Study of Toronto’s Harbord Collegiate Institute in the 1920s,” in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, ed. Prentice and Heap, 291–302.

<sup>25</sup>David C. Jones, “So Petty, so ‘Middle Europe,’ So Foreign —Ruthenians and Canadianization,” *History of Education Review* 16 (1987): 13–30; Bill Maciejko, “Ethnicity, Myth, and History in Western Canada: The Case of David C. Jones and the ‘Ruthenians,’” *History of Education Review* 18 (1989): 57–65; additional response and rejoinder in *History of Education Review* 19 (1990): 54–6, 56–9.

<sup>26</sup>Bill Maciejko, “Ukrainians and Prairie School Reform, 1896–1921: Ethnic and Domestic Ideologies in Modern State Formation,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 22 (1990): 19–40.

last half of the nineteenth century? Was racism, particularly of politicians and community leaders, at the root of this conflict? The issue was certainly not unimportant, but Gaffield documents the relevance of demographic factors, including chain migration from Quebec to eastern Ontario, the insecurity arising from economic crises in the 1870s, the impact on school attendance of growing class divisions in both English and French-speaking communities, and in general, the fueling of cultural conflict by locally distinct material circumstances. While some of his evidence is circumstantial—residents themselves did not always articulate a connection between economic and cultural life—and while the quantitative data can be difficult to penetrate, the author delivers an important message to other educational historians: they should explore more fully than is customary the social terrain on which educational policy is fashioned.<sup>27</sup>

As Gaffield's book signals, nowhere has this challenge been more fully engaged than in the study of nineteenth-century Ontario. Egerton Ryerson's preoccupation, the development of state schooling, is also that of some distinguished historians. Alison Prentice and Susan Houston, Robert Gidney and Wyn Millar, and Bruce Curtis have produced substantial monographs which explore, among numerous other themes, the relationship of the governors and the governed—those who administered school laws and regulations, and those who complied with, reshaped, or periodically, repudiated them.<sup>28</sup>

The degree to which state authorities either directed educational policy from the center, or responded to the demands of parents, teachers, and local school boards, is answered somewhat differently by each of these studies. In the sense that *Schooling and Scholars* and *Inventing Secondary Education* explore with exceeding meticulousness the private and community initiatives which led to pioneer schooling before the 1840s, their accounts are similar. But they part company in their assessment of the "Ryerson" period which follows. Houston and Prentice stress the significance of state regulation of teachers and of curriculum directives flowing from Ryerson's office. Gidney and Millar emphasize the ways in which ratepayers themselves, for reasons of pragmatism and self-interest, determined the form and shape of local schooling, particularly with respect to secondary education. As often as it wielded its authority, Ryerson's office

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<sup>27</sup>Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origin of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Montreal, 1987).

<sup>28</sup>Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto, 1988); R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal, 1990); Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836–1871* (London, Ont., 1988); and idem, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto, 1992).

retreated in the face of community defiance. Had he had his way, for example, high school females would not, ultimately, have been educated in the same classrooms as males.

However much they differ on such questions, the authors, in these monographs, and in their other abundant writings, recreate the life of the nineteenth-century school vividly and with profound scholarly sophistication. In considering the relevance of gender and social class—Gidney and Millar employ quantitative techniques to identify the middle-class supporters of secondary education—they are firmly within the post-1970s revisionist mode. But in describing the social structure, they eschew caricature and cliché. The characters are human, the events are dynamic, the outcomes are unpredictable.

Bruce Curtis, a historical sociologist, brings yet another acute perspective to the Ryerson years. Drawing from the insights of Gramsci and Foucault, he explains how Ontario's elites enlisted the consent of the population in the project of mid-century state-building. Commercial progress, capitalist property relations, and administrative efficiency, in a society riven by social inequity, required the active collaboration of the governed, and schools were critical tools in this complex exercise. Teacher training and inspection, pedagogical practices, and classroom discipline cultivated the active loyalty of schools and communities to the state. Students, teachers, and parents were thus, as Gidney and Millar imply, agents of change, but not always in their own interests. In an unprecedented and painstaking manner, *True Government by Choice Men?* explains the important mediating role played by district school inspectors in this process.

Did Ontarians and other Canadians require manipulation, direct or indirect, to support state-run education? In an approach that is closer to the perspective of Gidney and Millar than that of Houston and Prentice or Curtis, the recent work of Chad Gaffield and Gérard Bouchard suggests not. Using a “family reproduction” model, and comparing rural communities in Ontario and Quebec, the authors argue that decisions about the education of children were taken as part of strategies to secure “economic competency” and must be examined in light of “the plethora of choices about everyday life.”<sup>29</sup> Where literacy and schooling were believed to enhance the child's life chances, then they would be pursued, even addressed in family wills. Parents, in other words acted rationally in the context of their private resources and anticipated occupational prospects.

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<sup>29</sup>Chad Gaffield, “Labouring and Learning in Nineteenth Century Canada: Children in the Changing Process of Family Reproduction,” in *Dimensions of Childhood*, ed. Smandych, Dodds, and Esau, 22, 27. See also Chad Gaffield and Gérard Bouchard, “Literacy, Schooling, and Family Reproduction in Rural Ontario and Quebec,” *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Fall 1989): 201–18.

Ian Robertson supports this hypothesis in his examination of the “Free Education Act of 1852” in Prince Edward Island, the first jurisdiction in the British Empire to implement such a law. Tenant farmers, who constituted the bulk of the province’s population, were vulnerable to the authority and machinations of absentee landlords. Only if they were literate could the farmers negotiate workable contracts with the landowners. Otherwise they and their offspring risked deep and continuing exploitation. Public schooling thus arose from attempts by citizens to ensure their security and plan their futures.<sup>30</sup>

In urban areas, too, at the turn of the twentieth century, working-class communities were far from passive in their responses to school reform. Initiatives for the introduction of vocational education and higher school-leaving ages were mostly urged by political, business, and middle-class elites, but new school programs tended to attract the children of laborers only in the absence of more useful alternatives, such as worthwhile employment. Several penetrating case studies demonstrate *both* the continuing role of schools in reproducing social-class distinctions *and* the assertive ways in which working-class families frequently represented their interests.<sup>31</sup>

Additional pioneering research on educational life in the early twentieth century has been conducted by historians of western Canada. Using quantitative research and interviews, Jean Barman’s engaging study of sixty boys’ private schools in British Columbia reveals the ways in which a small upper-class community with deep ties to Britain perpetuated an island of colonial elitism from 1900 to 1950.<sup>32</sup> Neil Sutherland’s work, culminating in a forthcoming book, explores the experiences and values of “ordinary” children primarily in British Columbia from the 1920s to the 1960s. His portraits of children’s games, peer relations, part-time work, and school experiences are poignant and vivid. His contention that social class “was not particularly important in forming childhood culture,” and

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<sup>30</sup>Ian Ross Robertson, “Reform, Literacy, and the Lease: The Prince Edward Island Free Education Act of 1852,” *Acadiensis* 20 (Autumn 1990): 52–71.

<sup>31</sup>Jean Barman, “Knowledge is Essential for Universal Progress But Fatal to Class Privilege,” *Labour/Le Travail* 22 (Fall 1988): 9–66; Ivor Goodson and Ian R. Dowbiggin, “Vocational Education and School Reform: The Case of the London (Canada) Technical School, 1900–1930,” *History of Education Review* 20 (1991): 39–60; Craig Heron, “The High School and the Household Economy in Working Class Hamilton, 1890–1940,” *Historical Studies in Education* 7 (Fall 1995): 217–59; and several essays in *Rethinking Vocationalism: Whose Work/Life Is It?*, ed. Rebecca Priegert Coulter and Ivor Goodson (Montreal, 1993). See also Wendy Johnston, “Keeping Children in School: The Response of the Montreal Catholic School Commission to the Depression of the 1930s,” Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1985), 193–217.

<sup>32</sup>Jean Barman, *Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private Schools* (Vancouver, 1984).

his treatment of the four decades he covers as a single historical era will undoubtedly elicit questions and challenges. But his work shows the continuing value of biography and story-telling in exploring children's lives.<sup>33</sup>

One of Sutherland's articles<sup>34</sup> speaks to the question of school reform and progressive education in twentieth-century Canada, a subject that has produced some research and requires much more. As in the United States, a small number of progressive educators in Canada had a significant impact on public schooling particularly between the two world wars. Or did they? Intellectual prescriptions and government policy aside, were teachers teaching the "new" curriculum? Since the publication of *Canadian Education: A History*, Robert Patterson has published a series of articles on progressivism which attempt to assess its influence on Canada. His work provides evidence that can be interpreted in contradictory ways—change was both promoted and resisted by Canadian schools. His ultimate verdict seems to be that specific curricular and pedagogical innovations were introduced in the 1930s, particularly in Saskatchewan and Alberta, but Canada's experiment with progressive education was "short-lived." Trained traditionally, teachers were uninterested in remaking the system, and periodically even subverted the reform agendas.<sup>35</sup> Sutherland, too, finds continuity and "formalism," not innovation, in Vancouver classrooms from the 1920s to the 1960s.

A significant contribution to this discussion is Anne Wood's study of J. H. Putnam, a leading educational reformer in Ontario, and co-author of the famous Putnam-Weir survey of education in British Columbia (1925).<sup>36</sup> Wood sees Putnam, and progressives in general, as proponents of an educational program designed to marry schools to the emerging industrial order. Though once steeped in philosophic idealism, in practice, Putnam adapted his views to an urban/capitalist order, stressing the virtues of vocationalism, testing, and bureaucratic efficiency.

Wood's thesis is vigorously presented, and yet one is still left with the sense that in the context of his time, Putnam's thinking was more

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<sup>33</sup>Neil Sutherland, "'Everyone seemed happy in those days': The Culture of Childhood in Vancouver between the 1920s and 1960s," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools*, ed. Barman, Sutherland, and Wilson, 83. The anthology includes three other articles by Sutherland on this theme.

<sup>34</sup>Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver between the 1920s and 1960s," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools*, ed. Barman, Sutherland, and Wilson, 125–46.

<sup>35</sup>R. S. Patterson, "The Canadian Experience with Progressive Education," in *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, ed. E. Brian Titley (Calgary, 1990), 95–110. See also R. S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930–1945," in *Essays in Canadian Education*, ed. N. Kach et al. (Calgary, 1986), 78–96.

<sup>36</sup>B. Anne Wood, *Idealism Transformed: The Making of a Progressive Educator* (Kingston, 1985).



unconventional than the author implies. While those promoting vocational training could well be accused of merely seeking to manage the lives of the working class, Putnam at least acknowledged that “ordinary” Canadians *had* educational interests which the community was obliged to address. The entire history of progressive education in Canada, including the tumultuous period of the late 1960s, merits the additional attention of historians.<sup>37</sup>

One of the virtues of Wood’s study is its attempt to bridge intellectual and social history. She explores the late Victorian philosophical milieu from which Putnam emerged, and then assesses the policy manifestations of his educational plans. This type of approach is too rarely engaged by Canadian educational historians. For the most part, intellectual and social historians occupy separate spheres, the former engaged in specialized aspects of religious or university history, the latter focused on the material realities of primary and secondary schooling. Indeed, the general links—social as well as intellectual—between secondary and post-secondary education are largely unexamined historically, the work of Gidney and Millar being a notable exception.<sup>38</sup>

That being said, recent work on the history of higher education in Canada has broken new ground, conceptually and empirically. While the genre of the single university history thrives in Canada as elsewhere,<sup>39</sup> a number of exceptional studies transcend institutional boundaries, exploring curricular and cultural change from the mid-nineteenth through the early twentieth century. The writings of Brian McKillop, Michael Gauvreau, Marguerite Van Die, Marlene Shore, and Barry Ferguson highlight such scholarship, enhancing our understanding of the university’s role in the process of secularization.<sup>40</sup> This work addresses the arts and social science fields. Apart from Yves Gingras’s research on the history of physics in Canada,

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<sup>37</sup>For general overviews of the subject, see George Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, chs. 10, 14, 15; Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876–1976* (Toronto, 1982), esp. ch. 10; and J. Donald Wilson, “From the Swinging Sixties to the Sobering Seventies,” in *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*, ed. Titley and Miller, 197–208.

<sup>38</sup>Gidney and Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education*, chs. 12 and 13.

<sup>39</sup>Notable institutional histories include John G. Reid, *Mount Allison University*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1984); Frederick G. Gibson, “*To Serve and Yet Be Free*”: *Queen’s University, 1917–1961* (Montreal, 1983); Charles M. Johnston, *McMaster University*, 2 vols. (Toronto, 1976, 1981); Peter Waite, *The Lives of Dalhousie University*, vol. 1 (Montreal, 1994).

<sup>40</sup>A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era* (Montreal, 1979); Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century*; Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839–1918* (Kingston, 1989); Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption*; Barry Ferguson, *Remaking Liberalism: The Intellectual Legacy of Adam Shortt, O. D. Skelton, W. C. Clark, and W. A. Mackintosh, 1890–1925* (Montreal, 1993).

the pure and applied sciences remain largely undiscovered by educational historians.<sup>41</sup>

On the social history side of higher education, student life, including the experience of women referred to earlier, has drawn increasing interest. The study of initiation rituals, campus life in the depression and wartime, middle-class culture, and the history of student activism are some of the key themes.<sup>42</sup> Work on university faculty is less abundant, with the exception of Michiel Horn's important research on the history of academic freedom. Alison Prentice and Mary Kinnear have initiated studies of the female professoriate.<sup>43</sup> A new book by the prolific team of Gidney and Millar makes a major contribution to the history of professionalism in nineteenth-century Ontario, and deserves an international audience.<sup>44</sup> In remarkable detail, the authors explore the intellectual and material circumstances in which professional status for elite occupations was created, challenged, and modified. The most significant publishing event in the historiography of higher education is Brian McKillop's *Matters of Mind*. As no other survey has, it brings together the worlds of ideas and experience and deliberately links the history of the university to the world around it.<sup>45</sup> It ends prior to the major expansion of higher education in the postwar period, a subject that will surely challenge future historians.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Yves Gingras, *Physics and the Rise of Scientific Research in Canada*, trans. Peter Keating (Montreal, 1991).

<sup>42</sup>See essays by A. B. McKillop, Keith Walden, Barry Moody, Nancy Kiefer and Ruth Roach Pierson, Paul Axelrod, and Patricia Jasen, in *Youth, University, and Canadian Society*, ed. Axelrod and Reid; C. M. Johnston and J. C. Weaver, *Student Days: An Illustrated History of Student Life at McMaster University from the 1890s to the 1980s* (Hamilton, Ont. 1986). Paul Axelrod, *Making a Middle Class: Student Life in English Canada during the Thirties* (Montreal, 1990); Nicole Neatby, "Student Leaders at the University of Montreal from 1950 to 1958: 'Beyond the Carabin Persona,'" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29 (Fall 1994): 26–44.

<sup>43</sup>Among several of his articles is "'Free Speech Within the Law': The Letter of the Sixty-Eight Toronto Professors, 1931," *Ontario History* 72 (Mar. 1980): 27–48. See also Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie University: Faculty Women before 1950," *Dalhousie Review* 64 (Winter 1984–85): 687–703; Alison Prentice, "Blue Stockings, Feminists, or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* (1991), 231–62; Mary Kinnear, "Disappointment in Discourse: Women University Professors at the University of Manitoba before 1970," *Historical Studies in Education* 3 (Autumn 1992): 269–88.

<sup>44</sup>R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Professional Gentlemen: The Professions in Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto, 1994). See also Janet Scarfe, "Letters and Affection: The Recruitment and Responsibilities of Academics in English-speaking Universities in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1981).

<sup>45</sup>A. B. McKillop, *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791–1951* (Toronto, 1994). I have written an extensive review of this book: "Keepers of the Mind," *The Literary Review of Canada* (June 1994), 18–19.

<sup>46</sup>On this theme, see Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945–1980* (Toronto, 1982).

Additional scholarly work on teacher training and inspection;<sup>47</sup> the roots of teacher organizations and collective bargaining;<sup>48</sup> child rearing, child saving, adolescence, and youth groups;<sup>49</sup> adult and continuing education;<sup>50</sup> classical and community colleges;<sup>51</sup> educational policy;<sup>52</sup> and the interplay of religion, education, and community life<sup>53</sup> all merit more con-

<sup>47</sup>Alison Prentice, "‘Friendly Atoms in Chemistry’: Women and Men at Normal School in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Toronto," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J. M. S. Careless*, ed. David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto, 1990), 285–317; John Calam, "Teaching the Teachers: Establishment and Early Years of the B.C. Provincial Normal Schools," in *Schools in the West*, ed. Sheehan, Wilson, and Jones, 75–98; Alexander D. Gregor, "Teacher Education in Manitoba, 1945–1982," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba*, ed. Bruno-Jofré, 227–92; Thérèse Hamel, *Le déracinement des écoles normales: le transfert de la formation des maîtres à l’université* (Québec, 1991). On inspection, see Thomas Fleming, "‘Our Boys in the Field’: School Inspection, Superintendents, and the Changing Character of School Leadership in British Columbia," in *Schools in the West*, ed. Sheehan, Wilson, and Jones, 285–304; John R. Abbott, "‘Accomplishing ‘a Man’s Task’: Rural Women Teachers, Male Culture, and the School Inspectorate in Turn of the Century Ontario," in *Gender and Education in Ontario*, ed. Prentice and Heap, 49–70.

<sup>48</sup>Harry Smaller, "Gender and Status: The Founding Meeting of the Teachers’ Association of Canada West, January 25, 1861," *Historical Studies in Education* 6 (Fall 1994): 201–18; Tom Mitchell, "‘We Must Stand Fast for the Sake of Our Profession’: Teachers, Collective Bargaining, and the Brandon Schools Crisis of 1922," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba*, ed. Bruno-Jofré, 295–324.

<sup>49</sup>Norah Lewis, "Creating the Little Machine: Child Rearing in British Columbia," *B.C. Studies* 56 (Winter 1982/83): 44–60; Katherine Arnup, *Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto, 1994); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada, 1800–1950* (Lanham, Md., 1983); Susan Houston, "The Role of the Criminal Law in Redefining ‘Youth’ in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada," in *Historical Studies in Education* 6 and *History of Education Review* 23 (special combined issue 1994): 39–55; Paul W. Bennett, "Taming ‘Bad Boys’ of the ‘Dangerous Class’: Child Rescue and Restraint at the Victoria Industrial School, 1887–1935," *Histoire Sociale* 21 (May 1988): 71–96; Theresa R. Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany, N.Y., 1989); David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870–1920," *Histoire Sociale* 11 (May 1978): 5–25; Sharon Anne Cook, "Education for Temperance: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and Ontario Children, 1880–1916," *Historical Studies in Education* 5 (Fall 1993): 251–77; Margaret Prang, "‘The Girl God Would Have Me Be’: The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915–1939," *Canadian Historical Review* 66 (June 1985): 154–84; Linda M. Ambrose, "Collecting Youth Opinion: The Research of the Canadian Youth Commission, 1943–1945," in *Dimensions of Childhood*, ed. Smandych, Dodds, and Esau, 63–83.

<sup>50</sup>Michael R. Welton, ed., *Knowledge for the People: The Struggle for Adult Learning in English-speaking Canada, 1828–1973* (Toronto, 1987).

<sup>51</sup>Claude Galarneau, *Les Collèges classiques au Canada français, 1620–1970* (Montreal, 1978).

<sup>52</sup>Ronald Manzer, *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective* (Toronto, 1994); Eric W. Ricker and B. Anne Wood, ed., *Historical Perspectives on Educational Policy in Canada: Issues, Debates, and Case Studies* (Toronto, 1995).

<sup>53</sup>Phillip McCann, "The Politics of Denominational Education in the Nineteenth Century in Newfoundland," in *The Vexed Question: Denominational Education in a Secular Age*, ed. William A. McKim (St. John’s, 1988), 30–59; B. Anne Wood, "The Significance of Evangelical Presbyterian Politics in the Construction of State Schooling: A Case Study of Pictou District, 1817–1866," *Acadiensis* 20 (Spring 1991): 62–85; George Rawlyk, ed., *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education* (Montreal, 1989).

sideration than is possible in this review, and all underline the range and depth of historical research in recent years.

Much of this literature, as is the case with the work discussed in this article, builds upon the revisionist foundations of the early 1970s by probing the links between schooling and the social order, and by illustrating how varied, and frequently uneven, were educational experiences by region, gender, ethnicity, race, and social class. We also now know, from some of the most innovative work, that one's gender or social origin was not always a clear predictor of behavior. That Canadians of all varieties could favor and fear educational change, admire and admonish educational authorities was as true in the past as in the present. That school officials and teachers could be both insightful and incompetent—and everything in between—was, and is, equally evident. Historians who are able to paint *both* the broad canvas (social structure) *and* the individual portraits (human experience and responses) will especially advance the historiographical art, as will those scholars who are best able to hear their subjects in their own voices and in their own times. These too are challenges for the next grand synthesis of Canadian educational history, whenever it appears.