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REVIEW ESSAYS

The essay outlines the development of English-language historical writings about education in Canada over the past two decades, and then proceeds to an examination of some representative books in the field that have been published since 1970. It concludes with some observations on the areas of research and study that will likely attract the attention of historians of Canadian education during the next decade.

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Historiographical Perspectives on Canadian Educational History: A Review Essay**

Readers of this journal will of course know what is meant by the "new" history of American education, thanks to Patricia Rooke's stimulating article on this subject in a recent issue.[1] Since the appearance of Bernard Bailyn's *Education in the Forming of American Society* in 1960, a welter of material has appeared which takes into account in varying degrees Bailyn's critique of and prescriptions for the writing of American educational history. Numerous monographs have been published in the last decade leaving no doubt about the triumph of revisionism.[2] But perhaps this journal's readers are not so well acquainted with what has been going on in the writing of Canadian educational history since Bailyn. The purpose of this article is to outline in Part I the evolution of English-language historical writing about education in Canada over the past two decades, and to follow this with a discussion of some representative books in the field which have been published since 1970. Finally, what are some of the areas of research that will likely attract the attention of Canadian educational historians in the next five to ten years?

In the past two decades there have been three major books published in the history of Canadian education: Charles E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* in 1957, Wilson, Stamp and Audet (eds.), *Canadian Education: A History* in 1970, and Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change* in 1975. Each book represents a different phase in the writing of educational history, although basically the last two represent efforts to revise the earlier Phillips' approach. The work currently being done in Canadian educational history follows for the most part the example of these two books.

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**A section of this paper was presented at the annual AERA conference in San Francisco in April, 1976, during a session devoted to Canadian educational history. My thoughts since the conference have been influenced by the incisive comments and criticisms of Carl Berger, William Bruneau, Timothy Dunn, Robert Gidney, Harvey Graff, Robin Harris, David Jones, Alan Pomfret, Alison Prentice, Hugh Stevenson, Neil Sutherland, and George Tomkins. Naturally many of these people will still not be entirely pleased with this final version. Nonetheless, they all played a positive role in influencing my thoughts and I thank them for being so generous with their time.

[1]Patricia T. Rooke, "From Pollyanna to Jeremiah — Recent Interpretations of American Educational History," *Journal of Educaional Thought* 9 (April 1975): 15-28.

[2]For a summary till 1970, see Sol Cohen, "New Perspectives in the History of American Education, 1960-1970," *History of Education* 2 (January 1973), 79-98. For a sampling of the sort of work done since then, see Carl F. Kaestle, "Social Reform and the Urban School," *History of Education Quarterly* 12 (Summer 1972): 211-28.

Phillips' *The Development of Education in Canada*[3] was a pioneering effort, representing as it did the first complete history of Canadian education. In some respects this work was comparable to E. P. Cubberley's *Public Education in the United States* (Boston, 1919), the standard work on American educational history for many years. Like Cubberley, Phillips was not a professional historian.[4] His approach in *The Development of Education in Canada* was also similar to Cubberley's. The expansion of formal schooling was equated with progress. The growth of public schools and public school systems was unquestionably accepted as a "good" thing. Those who stood in the way of such progress were either villains or misguided individuals whose opinions could be safely ignored. In this realm of heroes and villains, the heroes tended to be labelled "reformers" and to be thought of as "liberals" in the Whig tradition. The villains were usually dubbed Tories or conservatives. Phillips and likeminded historians, such as John Chalmers, Robin Harris, F. Henry Johnson, and Frederick Rowe,[5] applauded the attainment of free, universal, and compulsory education, a nation-wide achievement by the end of the nineteenth century. Such questions as where and when the notion appeared and took hold, who promoted it, and at what rate the institution of public schooling spread, fascinated these historians. Conflicts and tensions over educational questions were minimized except in reference to church-state relations where the opposition of some churches, notably the Roman Catholic, to state involvement in schooling and the creation of a monolithic "common" public system, was invariably seen in a bad light. Thus the eventual appearance and spread in some provinces of separate school systems was frowned upon as disruptive to the attainment of a system of public schooling, as found, for example, in the United States. This view was also clearly conveyed in C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959). It should be noted that this entire view of public schooling included its history and public worth was generally accepted by the majority of Canadians in the late 'fifties.

In his Preface, Phillips clearly stated his bias: "The book is written from an uncompromisingly democratic and rather strongly equalitarian point of view. . . . [It] is an account of past developments as leading to the present and as judged by the values of the present" (xii). And further: "As such it [the book] should be agreeable to adults who need no convincing that life in Canada today is the best kind of life we know, who see better people than themselves in the younger generation, and who look to the future for a golden age" (xii).

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[3]Toronto: Gage, 1957.

[4]The title of Phillips' D. Paed. thesis was "The Teaching of English in Ontario, 1800-1900" (University of Toronto, 1935). From 1929 to 1939 he taught classes, ancient history and English in the University of Toronto Schools, and then joined the staff of the Ontario College of Education in Toronto. There he taught courses in History and Philosophy of Education and for a number of years was the Supervisor of Graduate Studies. In this capacity he was responsible for the organizing of the graduate programme and the overall supervision of courses and theses. Following his retirement in the early 1960s, Dr. Phillips remained active in various public capacities and is currently engaged in writing a history of the Ontario College of Education.

[5]John W. Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967). Robin S. Harris, *Quiet Evolution: A Study of the Education System of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1964), Frederick W. Rowe, *The Development of Education in Newfoundland* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964).
See also Rowe's new book *Education and Culture in Newfoundland* (Toronto McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976). A second general history in the Phillips' tradition appeared in 1968: F. Henry Johnson, *A Brief History of Canadian Education* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill). Also in a similar pattern was Louis-Philippe Audet, *Histoire de l'enseignement au Quebec, 1608-1971* (2 Vols. Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

Surely one needs no better example of the sort of "whiggism" which Bailyn likewise found in the writing of American educational history.

In his influential book Bailyn drew attention to the main weaknesses of the writings in history of education as being "their foreshortening, their wrenching of events from historical context, their persistent anachronism."[6] These shortcomings, he argued, had resulted in the detachment of educational history from the mainstream of historical reading, writing, and research. What Bailyn observed to be the case in the United States was also true of Canada. "Mainstream" Canadian historians in this period showed little interest in educational history. They were primarily interested in the political and economic history of Canada, in the "big" events and "big" names of Canadian history: the Conquest, the winning of responsible government, Confederation, westward expansion and nation building, the National Policy and economic development, and the biographies of leading political figures. Alongside such topics the history of public schooling seemed like pretty small potatoes for "proper" historians to be concerned about. In any event, virtually no social history of any sort was being written in Canada prior to the 1960's. One notable exception was the work of sociologist S. D. Clark.[7] A. R. M. Lower's *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, 1958) also deserves mention. With social history receiving so little attention, it is small wonder that educational history as an aspect of social history was given so little attention.

The second phase in the evolution of the writing of Canadian educational history is best represented by *Canadian Education: A History* edited in 1970 by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet. This multi-authored collection of essays was a conscious attempt, not always successfully realized, to apply to a Canadian educational history the historical precepts of Bailyn. The authors, nine in all, were mostly young professionally trained historians, although Audet was already a senior man with a well-established reputation. Significantly, the editors represented Canada's two founding ethnic groups and herein a sincere attempt was made to avoid the *monologues de deux solitudes* apparent in the education chapters of the multi-volumed classic *Canada and Its Provinces* published during World War I. The presentation was scholarly and based upon up-to-date research in primary and secondary sources. The book brought together in one volume the product of the most important research in the field up to that time. The goal was an ambitious one: to place the story of Canadian educational development "more centrally in the mainstream of Canadian social development."[8]

Although inspired by Bailyn, the authors were not unaware of two other significant influences, namely the exciting work going on during the sixties in Great Britain, and the commencement of a shift in the direction of Canadian historiography from an almost exclusive emphasis on political and economic history towards an acceptance of the validity and importance of social history. In the case of inspiration from Britain, the works of the following might be mentioned: Kenneth Charlton, W. P. McCann, Harold Silver, Brian Simon,

[6]Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (New York: Random House, 1960), p. 59.

[7]*The Social Development of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), *Movements of Political Protest in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), *The Developing Canadian Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

[8]Wilson, Stamp, Audet (eds.), *Canadian Education: A History* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. viii. This book is now out of print.

W. A. C. Stewart, Lawrence Stone, Mary Sturt, and Gillian Sutherland.[9] In respect to Canadian historiography, an article by Stanley Mealing in 1965 in the *Canadian Historical Review* served as a signpost and threw out a challenge to Canadian historians to turn their attention to a neglected area of the study of their past — social history.[10] Of course, the prelude to the celebration of the centennial of Confederation in 1967 tended to focus historians' attention on the same old "big" issues.[11] Nevertheless some of the early volumes of the so-called Centenary Series began to point, however weakly, in the direction of social history.[12]

Most of the authors of *Canadian Education: A History* might be labelled, to borrow Neil Sutherland's designation, as "moderate revisionists."[13] We were determined to break with the whiggish pattern of Phillips and Johnson and to follow Bailyn's lead. In that sense we formed a "network," an intriguing idea discussed by Sutherland in *Education and Social Change*.[14] We wanted to consider educational history as an aspect of social history in the same way that urban history and labour history were then being approached. We wanted to apply, where appropriate, some tools of the social sciences. In this respect we experienced our most serious shortfall mainly because none of us had had much (or any) training in the social sciences as undergraduate or graduate students.[15] We wanted to see educational history as more than simply "the history of schools and schooling," and certainly more than a history-of-schools-in-isolation. Here we met with mixed success, depending primarily on which author in the book one is considering.

Although reviewers were generally kind and welcomed the appearance of the book, some were quick to point out its weaknesses. "While the book does place schooling in a social perspective," one reviewer conceded, "it is nevertheless a

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[9]Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); Harold Silver, *The Concept of Popular Education* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965); Brian Simon, *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), and *Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1965); W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, 1750-1880* (London: MacMillan, 1967); Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," *Past and Present,* No. 28 (July 1964): 41-80, and "Literacy and Education in England, 1640-1900," *Past and Present,* no. 42 (February 1969): 61-139; Mary Sturt, *The Education of the People: A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan, Paul, 1967); Gillian Sutherland, "The Study of the History of Education," *History,* no. 54 (February 1969): 49-59.

[10]S. R. Mealing, "The Concept of Social Class and the Interpretation of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 46 (September 1965): 201-18.

[11]An exception to this trend was the appearance of numerous local histories but most of these were not the work of professional historians and lacked both analysis and interpretation. Another pleasing exception was *The Canadians, 1867-1967* edited by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan, 1967), especially some of the chapters in Part Two.

[12]In particular, Gerald M. Craig, *Upper Canada: The Formative Years* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963; W. S. MacNutt, *The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857* (1965); J. M. S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions* (1967). Significantly, the best volume to date in the series from the standpoint of social history did not appear until 1974: R. Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed.*

[13]Neil Sutherland, "Introduction: Towards a History of English-Canadian Youngsters," in Paul H. Mattingly and Michael B. Katz (eds.), *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* (New York University Press, 1975), pp. xi-xxxi.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]S. D. Clark reminds us that in 1958 there were fewer than twenty sociology teachers in the various universities across Canada. Fifteen years later every moderate-sized Canadian university had at least that many sociologists on its own staff. Clark, "The American Takeover of Canadian Sociology: Myth or Reality," in S. D. Clark, *Canadian Society in Historical Perspective* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), p. 120.

history of schooling rather than of education. A history of Canadian education which considers such institutions as the family has yet to be written."[16] Schooling" was still uppermost in our consideration, according to another critic, despite the disclaimers in our Preface.[17] The same reviewer also noted that we did not press "the degree of 'sociological' vigor that the introductory remarks appear to urge." In attempting to be both comprehensive and innovative, another argued, we had apparently succeeded with the former to the detriment of the latter goal. This commentator suggested that what was more desirable was "a looser set of essays . . . to accomplish the historiographical breakthrough we need."[18] Of course, like Phillips's this book was intended primarily to be used as a textbook which explains its comprehensive nature. The reviewer in the *Canadian Historical Review* praised our book for its professional competence and its useful and accurate text, but concluded there was not enough analysis and interpretation to suit him.[19]

The third phase in the evolution of the writing of Canadian educational history was marked by the publication in 1975 of *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. This book consisted of a loose set of essays which taken together attempted to be innovative rather than comprehensive. Most of these essays appeared in a special issue of the *History of Education Quarterly* in the fall of 1972. Once again, as with *Canadian Education: A History,* most of the authors were young scholars fresh out of graduate school in the late sixties or early seventies. But this time most of them were writing under the dominant influence of one of the editors, Michael Katz. In fact, all but two of the authors were former students of Katz during his tenure at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto. (He is currently a member of the Department of History at York University, Toronto.) For the most part, the authors sought to be innovative, both as to topic and to methodological approach, and deliberately revisionist. Neil Sutherland in his well-written Introduction speaks of the essays as being a response to a "popular concern for a more systematic study of Canadian social and intellectual history" (p. xiii).

Some of the authors also revealed themselves as products of the late 'sixties in their highly critical approach to the matter of schooling. A great deal is made about social class and social control in these essays. For example, Susan Houston concludes one of her articles by saying, "the development and internal elaboration of the public school system would provide the middle class with their main strategy for meeting the problems of their changing society" (p. 51), but nowhere does she precisely define what she means by Upper Canada's middle class in the 1840's. Likewise, Alison Prentice concludes her chapter with "The new ideology of the family on the other hand, like the common school system itself, was designed to serve different people, in particular the urban middle class of an emerging mass society" (p. 129), but she does not define middle class either. Nonetheless there is perhaps a more important point to make. In Britain today the likes of Asa Briggs, J. F. C. Harrison, E. J. Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson accept the historical reality of class and its importance to understanding the nineteenth century, but they are not labelled "radical revisionists." In North America, on the other hand, as one of my colleagues puts it: "we deny it, ignore it, or fall upon it with glee as though we had

[16]Allan Child, "The History of Canadian Education: A Bibliographical Note," *Histoirie sociale/Social History,* no. 8 (November 1971): 109.

[17]Review by John Calam in *Journal of Educational Thought* 5 (1971): 59.

[18]Personal Letter from Professor Trevor Wigney, O.I.S.E., Toronto, August 6, 1970.

[19]Review by Paul Rutherford in *Canadian Historical Review* 52 (September 1971): 310-311.

discovered sin in the manse." There is a large dose of this last mood in many of these articles where the middle class, often vaguely defined, is seen to impose its wishes upon the lower orders through the schools and other surrogate institutions. As with the earlier Whig view, this interpretation of history also has its practical use for the present generation. As Katz has said elsewhere: "History can serve reform partly by emancipating it from dependency upon an idealized past."[20] In this sense then Katz and his network are very much products of their times. They number themselves, as Sutherland points out, among those critics who "have attacked modern Canadian child-rearing and educational practices" (p. xiii).

Nevertheless, not all authors in this collection — even some who were students of Katz — fit this mould. Sutherland prefers to divide them into two camps, moderate and radical revisionists. By far the majority are designated radicals, although Robert Gidney is surely misplaced here as is Peter Ross. Sutherland offers some guidelines for distinguishing radical revisionists. For one thing, they deliberately set themselves apart from others in the field. They ask different sorts of questions about the past than do traditional historians and moderate revisionists. Some, but by no means all, of them utilize the tools of modern social scientists, such as quantification techniques. Their interests centre on different themes from the moderates; broadly speaking their studies concern social class, schooling as an instrument of social control, the use of school to deter or delay social reform and similar overriding themes. The tone of some of the authors is characterized by pessimism although without the shrillness of American revisionist writing. "Since radical revisionists tend to be pessimistic about the possibility of . . . fundamental social change," Sutherland reminds us (p. xviii), "they are also pessimistic about the chances of effecting any real changes in the school system." This pessimism is combined with an omnipresent indignation at the injustice of the past. One might ask, however, whether this concern for justice is not an anachronistic worry. Did people always worry about justice when undertaking the reform or institution of schooling in the first place? As Sol Cohen has recently put it: "There is the danger that past ideas and actions may be combined with the moral or social prejudices of the historian to produce a work that distorts the past in an attempt to castigate the past and to lecture the present.[21]

While it is true that *Canadian Education: A History* did not match the expectations of its Introduction, it is equally true that many of the articles of *Education and Social Change* do not rise above the level of the much-despised narrative history.[22] Many do not employ the techniques of the social sciences and some of those that do do not employ them well. Nonetheless, this is an important volume, and on the whole the essays are both "probing and suggestive" as the editor promised (p. v).[23]

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Since the appearance of *Canadian Education: A History,* in 1970, the output of books and articles in Canadian educational history has been quite remarkable

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[20]M. B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. xxvi.

[21]Cohen, "New Perspectives in the History of American Education," p. 89.

[22]Narrative history, uninformed by social or behavioral science, is pleasant and sometimes even interesting, but as a way of either advancing knowledge or contributing to substantive intellectual problems it is virtually useless." Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools,* pp. xxv-xxvi.

[23]For a more detailed critique of *Education and Social Change,* see J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, "The 'New' History of Canadian Education," *History of Educational Quarterly* 16 (Fall 1976): 367-375.

compared to the previous decade. The books may be considered to fall into four different categories: the survey or textbook variety, documentary collections, monographs, and local histories. In this section I propose to examine two representative titles in each of these categories. Although the journal literature in the field has been extensive and important, I do not propose to treat it in this article.[24]

In the area of survey texts, the editors of *Profiles of Canadian Educators*[25] which appeared in 1974 proposed to challenge the market held till then by Johnson's *A Brief History of Canadian Education* and *Canadian Education: A History*. The book is a collection of biographical studies of great Canadian educators or "exemplars" of Canadian education, as the editors had originally proposed to title it. The object was to "minimize the chronology and detailed description of events generally found in history sources" — presumably a reference to *Canadian Education: A History* — and instead to cater to the students' preferences "to read about people and their ideas." The editors concluded there was a need for "a sourcebook dealing with significant people, their ideas on and their contributions to educational development" in Canada.

The merit of such an approach encompassing twenty biographical essays seems questionable in view of the current interest among historians, and students too, to shift from the Great Man approach to the study of the collective, of *mentalités,* of social groups in time — in short, history from the bottom up. The rationale for this book smacks too much of the *modus operandi* of Charles E. Phillips and phase one discussed above. The result is a series of *Reader's Digest* essays that for the most part serve to perpetuate the myth that educational change was effected by far-sighted, humanitarian individuals who with Herculean effort and against great odds succeeded in establishing the basis of our present provincial school systems: a convenient mixture of Carlyle and the whig interpretation in about equal measure. Absent is the sort of focus to be found in *Education and Social Change,* the bulk of whose articles appeared in 1972. In fact several authors in *Profiles* appear to have been completely unaware of the *History of Education Quarterly* issue in which these essays first appeared. In the circumstances there is no attention paid to the purposes and processes of schooling, namely the enculturation of youth, the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, as Bernard Bailyn put it — the use of schools as an agent of social control, as a mechanism to mould an efficient, pliable work force in the period of industrialization, and as an agent for the assimilation of immigrants. Such issues and the questions that underlie them are missing from these pages. Clearly this volume is an example of the persistence of Phillips' approach in the historiography of Canadian educational history.

Another survey type of text is *Studies in Educational Change*[26] which appeared in 1972. This is indeed a most bizarre collection of essays; one struggles in vain to ascertain the rationale behind its publication. The book consists of three parts, the first on early twentieth century Ontario, the second on East Africa before and after independence, and the third on Berlin. A more unlikely combination one would be hard pressed to find, and one is at a loss to imagine

[24]The most significant articles since 1970 have appeared in *Ontario History, Histoire sociale/Social History, Journal of Canadian Studies,* and *Acadiensis.* Also worthy of mention here are articles by J. D. Purdy, Allan Smith, and J. Donald Wilson which appeared in F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson (eds.), *Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

[25]Robert S. Patterson, John W. Chalmers, and John W. Friesen (eds.), *Profiles of Canadian Educators* (Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1974).

[26]Richard D. Heyman, Robert F. Lawson, Robert M. Stamp, *Studies in Educational Change* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).

what textbook market the publisher had in mind. In any case, only Part One on Ontario authored by Robert M. Stamp is relevant to this discussion.

Three of these four chapters treat the period from 1890 to 1914, the focus of Stamp's doctoral thesis. The fourth on the succeeding half century is so superficial as to be of little concern to us here. The first three chapters, however, form a useful survey of Ontario education at the turn of the century. The story is laid out clearly and sensibly. Stamp succeeds in setting educational developments into the larger socio-economic framework. Unlike the Katzians, he remains essentially impressed with the educational progress he charts. He seems most at home in recounting the achievements of the likes of reformers (or what Alison Prentice calls "school promoters") such as James L. Hughes, Adelaide Hoodless, John Seath and Minister of Education Richard Harcourt. It is not surprising, therefore, that Stamp is the most prominent single author in *Profiles of Canadian Educators* where he wrote the chapters on Hughes, Hoodless and Seath. The distinction between Stamp and the Katzians is further apparent if one contrasts his Chapter 3 here ("Industrialization and Secondary School Curriculum Reform") with T. R. Morrison's "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario, 1870-1900" which appeared in 1974.[27] Stamp shows his strength as an historian in linking the introduction of industrial education to Canada's national economic development and as a natural extension of universal, state-supported, compulsory public schooling. By contrast, Morrison, operating within the radical revisionist framework of his former mentor Michael Katz, views the emergence of Ontario's industrial education programmes as "one facet of an urban-based, conservative social reform movement which held as its twin concerns the creation of controls over potential sources of social disorder and the regulation of the relationship between labour and the economy."[28]

The marked contrast between Stamp, the moderate revisionist, and Morrison, the radical revisionist, is instructive. That is not to say that one view is superior to the other, not at least in my opinion, but rather that the historical approach the questions asked, and the critical stance assumed with respect to schooling and society are distinctly different. It will be most interesting to observe to what extent Stamp is influenced by the radical school in the preparation of his manuscript for the Ontario History Series on education in Ontario from 1876 to the present. This is particularly true considering that two former Katz students, Susan Houston and Alison Prentice, are now preparing the first volume on the first hundred years of education in Ontario.

Two documentary collections have appeared since 1970: *Educating Canadians* edited by Douglas Lawr and Robert Gidney in 1973, and *Family School and Society* edited by Alison Prentice and Susan Houston in 1975.[29] Both books are now commonly found in use in courses dealing with Canadian educational history. They are often used in conjunction with *Canadian Education: A History* or *A Brief History of Canadian Education,* either of which provide the necessary narrative filler which is absent in the documentary collections. In some ways the Prentice-Houston volume is a broader, in some ways a narrower book. Their operating credo appears to be that "education and schooling are not the same thing" (p. 4). Thus the authors have included material on families and on "surrogate schools and families as these were devised for groups excluded for

[27]*Journal of Educational Thought* 8 (1974): 87-110.

[28]*Ibid.*, p. 87.

[29]Douglas Lawr and Robert Gidney (eds.), *Educating Canadians: A Documentary History of Public Education* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973); Alison Prentice and Susan Houston (eds.), *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975).

one reason or another from what was gradually becoming the majority experience" (p. 2). Their selection of documents, therefore, is derived from more varied sources than Lawr and Gidney. But it is narrower in that it is confined to the nineteenth century and deliberately seeks to eschew the traditional topics of Canadian history, such as the winning of responsible government, church-state relations, nation-building and the national economy.

Lawr and Gidney, by contrast, are still fundamentally concerned with institutional history, the type which viewed the growth of institutions and which allowed for a separate and apparently unrelated development of educational history as opposed to the mainstream of history. Compared to Prentice and Houston they are much more interested in education in the traditional sense of schooling. They see pedagogy and curriculum as highly significant features of the process of schooling. Prentice and Houston, on the other hand, are impatient with such topics which they associate with such standard sources of traditional educational history as Charles E. Phillips' *The Development of Education in Canada* and J. G. Althouse's *The Ontario Teachers A Historical Account of Progress* (p. 4). When these authors do consider curriculum, it is always in the context of regularizing and systematizing — seen then as an aspect of the late nineteenth century process of bureaucratization. Moreover, in Lawr and Gidney there is more of the detached history of ideas, though this is not to say they do not try hard in their section introductions to relate ideas to social reality. It is just that at times they do not succeed very well and their documentation, particularly the barren statutes type, never quite becomes the part of the social matrix that Prentice and Houston seek, in most cases with success.

The second respect in which the Prentice-Houston book is narrower than the Lawr-Gidney volume relates to their decision to confine themselves to documents from the nineteenth century. Both women are nineteenth century historians, and so their decision makes sense from that standpoint. But in the Introduction (pp. 1 and 2), they offer another rationale for their decision based on the contention that "in the history of childhood, the nineteenth century was the century of schooling." This was the century, to borrow Ivan Illich's meaningful phrase, in which Alma mater came to replace Mother Church in western society. But the inherent problem in limiting a history to any one period is in linking what went before to what occurred after. Despite their propensity for discovering linkages between various aspects of social reality, Prentice and Houston are notably unsuccessful in linking the nineteenth century with the eighteenth and twentieth. They can get away without linking their work to the eighteenth century Enlightenment because that phenomenon had little direct impact on Canada, and because the precursors to universal schooling in this century can be documented with reference to the first half of the nineteenth century, a task they tend to in Chapter I. However, the principal linkage between their period and the twentieth century, namely the origins of progressive education, cannot be so easily omitted from the volume so as to do justice to educational developments in the nineteenth century. It is likely that the authors believe, along with their mentor Michael Katz, that progressivism was a pseudo-revolution and that it failed to change the fundamental structure of education.[30] According to this interpretation, the major period of educational reform at the turn of the twentieth century was marked only by a tinkering with the already established school system and was not a period of fundamental reform. Schools went on keeping the lower order orderly and regulating social mobility. There seems, however, in Canada at any rate, to have been more than rhetoric to progressivism,

[30]Elsewhere, Katz has contended that the American educational system has remained essentially unchanged since about 1885. Michael B. Katz, *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools* (rev. ed., New York: Praeger, 1974).

and by treating the period after the 1880's in the same manner as the period before, Prentice and Houston have underestimated the impact of curricular expansion into manual training, domestic science, technical and vocational education.

They have also missed another dimension of Canada at the turn of the century, namely the school as an agent of assimilation or, as it was seen then, the school's role in the education of the "newcomer." Of course this topic smacks too much of "nation-building," a theme the authors are determined to avoid. But surely in all objectivity the topic of immigration and assimilation in the west deserves more attention than two brief selections from the Report of the Superintendent of Education for the Northwest Territories (p. 214).

This is a good book, but the mood of the collection, which closely resembles that of many articles in *Education and Social Change,* bears some attention. The section introductions reveal a barely repressed anger reminiscent of the New Left of the late 'sixties. Prentice and Houston despise the "tyranny of the common school," the "creeping institutionalism," the discipline, the regimentation, the deleterious effects of the bureaucracy. They seem to revel in documents which expose the malignant aspects of rigid state control. Their choice of documents accentuates their belief that the real role of the school was to subdue, civilize, and impose the virtues of cleanliness, obedience, industry, discipline and control. They stress what they take to be reality as opposed to myth or schoolmen's rhetoric. They seem to be seeking to answer the question, "What were the nineteenth century schools really like and what did they really do?" It is, however, the reality of disharmony, of social conflict and class domination which they choose almost exclusively to depict. In that sense this collection must be used with care in full recognition of the authors' particular perspective. That done, however, this book is a valuable addition to a growing list of useful titles for classroom use.

Among monographs published since 1970, there are two titles worth mentioning. The first is Monoly R. Lupul's *magnum opus The Roman Catholic Church and the Northwest School Question* published in 1974.[31] The schools questions are not generally receiving the attention today they once did. One thinks of G. M. Weir's *The Separate School Question,* C. B. Sissons' *Church and State in Canadian Education,* and John Moir's *Church and State in Canada West* as representative of the earlier interest in church-state disputes over schooling.[32] In a sense Lupul's study is reminiscent of Moir's volume: esoteric topic, extreme detail, and rather turgid prose. Yet, for the scholar of late nineteenth century Canada or of Canadian educational history, it is essential reading. Working from a mass of published and unpublished sources, in particular the archives of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Canada, Lupul has produced a definitive treatment of church-state relations with respect to the school question in the North-West Territories between 1875 and 1905. In tracing the ascendancy and decline of Church influence in the North-West in this period, Lupul not only adds to our knowledge of church-state relations but also elucidates what it meant to be a Canadian then. The book underlines the significance for present-day Canada of the shattering of Cartier's dream for a bilingual and bicultural society in the West, the curbing of separate schools in what was to become the provinces

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[31]Manoly R. Lupul. *The Roman Catholic Church and the Northwest School Question: A Study in Church State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). A related title which will not be reviewed here appeared the same year: Paul Crunican, *Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

[32]G. M. Weir, *The Separate School Question* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1934); C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1959); John S. Moir, *Church and State in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

of Saskatchewan and Alberta, and the abolition of French-language instruction in the public schools of the Prairie provinces. The role of the school in all this is made abundantly clear, namely, to enculturate youth in the "proper" way. Basically Lupul is unconcerned with the issues that arouse the radical revisionists, and there is no question that his book would have been infinitely better if he had Lawrence Cremin or Timothy Smith's sense of the social dimension of religion.

The other title I would like to examine in this category is Robin S. Harris' *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960.*[33] In many ways this is a disappointing book. When one picks it up, the first thing one notices is the crowded, unattractive format. Not only are there no illustrations for a topic that lends itself to a photographic essay, but one's eye encounters 715 pages jammed with single-spaced typescript. As one reads further, it becomes apparent the book is actually a catalogue of what was going on in Canadian universities in five different years: 1860, 1890, 1920, 1940 and 1960. Thus the title is a misnomer: this is not a history but a chronicle centred around five different years. As the publicity handout for the University of Toronto Press discretely asserts: "It is to this book that future historians will refer when exploring the many facets of Canadian higher education and intellectual history." This they may well do, for the "history" of higher education in Canada with full consideration of the social matrix has certainly not been written.

When one considers the effort and the resources of author, funding agencies and publisher which have been expended on this venture over a period of almost twenty years, one is doubly distressed, for this book in no way approaches the exciting developments in the history of higher education apparent in Britain and the United States over the last decade. It is remarkable that Harris seems to have been completely untouched by the work of Laurence Veysey, Fritz Ringer, Douglas Sloan and Lawrence Cremin in the United States, and W. A. Pantin, Michael Sanderson and John Sparrow in Britain.[34] And, of course, the more recent essays compiled by Lawrence Stone entitled *The University in Society* stand quite apart from Harris' approach to his subject.[35]

One awaits with some trepidation the appearance in 1977 of the two-volume history of the University of Toronto co-authored by Harris and Gerald Craig. This work will be published to mark the sesquicentennial of Canada's largest university. It is a pity that the untimely death of Hilda Neatby interrupted her projected volume on the history of Queen's University, a volume which might well have provided us with the breakthrough we need in the writing of the history of higher education in Canada. Not since 1957 when W. L. Morton wrote *One University: A History of the University of Manitoba, 1877-1952*[36] has a Canadian university been well served by a history. Neither of the recent histories of the University of Winnipeg and McMaster University have improved

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[33](Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

[34]Lawrence Cremin, *American Education, The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970; W. A. Pantin, *Oxford Life in Oxford Archives* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins: The German Academic Community, 1890-1933* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); Michael Sanderson, *The Universities and British Industry, 1850-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1971); John Sparrow, *Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Laurence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).

[35]Lawrence Stone (ed.), *The University in Society. I: Oxford and Cambridge from the 14th to the Early 19th Century; II: Europe, Scotland; and the United States from the 16th to the 20th Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974).

[36]Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1957.

on the traditional sort of university history to which we have become accustomed. But perhaps one can be optimistic.[37] "Samuel Shortt's doctoral thesis has recently appeared in print as *The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and their Convictions in an Age of Transition, 1890-1930* (University of Toronto Press, 1976). Although it is primarily a study of late nineteenth century academic intellectuals, it does reveal a great deal about the Canadian university in the period. There seems no good reason why the attention of the "new" social history should not be extended to the tertiary level of public education, and one sincerely hopes for this development soon.

With respect to local studies, I should like to single out two titles: one at the urban and one at the county level. Robert Stamp's study of Calgary schools, *School Days: A Century of Memories,*[38] is probably the best book to date on a Canadian urban school system. Stamp's training as a historian and his already long list of publications in Canadian educational history have helped to ensure that this book is not your usual hagiography so often found in local school board histories. Despite the fact the publication of this book was underwritten by the Calgary Board of Education, Stamp has maintained his independence and written a good academic history for a largely non-academic audience. His undergraduate experience as a student reporter and editor have served him well in this venture. There is a bite and liveliness about his text and captions which few academic historians could duplicate. He knows his subject well and links it to the broader provincial and national scene. Being essentially an expert in Ontario history, Stamp is able to draw upon his knowledge of eastern Canada in order to give a more knowledgeable and complete picture of a western Canadian city. The social matrix so often absent or inadequately treated in local studies is very much evident in this work. The theoretical work of University of Toronto historians Maurice Careless and Paul Rutherford is subtly but significantly integrated into Stamp's text. He has also benefitted from the recent work on the social history of Calgary done by Henry Klassen and his students at the University of Calgary. This book is a model of good local history.

Another superior local study are the education sections in Leo Johnson's *History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1875.*[39] Johnson would have to be termed a radical revisionist in Neil Sutherland's categories. Unlike the Katzians, however, Johnson writes within a framework — some might call it Marxist. His basic approach to education approximates more closely than any other Canadian author the "capitalist accumulation" theory of the origins of the school reform movement postulated by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in the United States.[40] Like Ian Davey in a forthcoming collection of essays on the Ryerson years,[41] Johnson stresses the relationship between work and schooling, between the workplace and the school. Now that the Katzians have firmly focussed our attention on social class and education and stressed the value of literacy and school attendance studies, it may well be that the new thrust in Canadian educational history could centre around studies on the relationship between work

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[37]A. G. Bedford, *The University of Winnipeg: A History of the Founding Colleges* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Charles M. Johnston, *McMaster University: volume 1/The Toronto Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

[38]Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975. See also Stamp's important article, "The Response to Urban Growth: The Bureaucratization of Public Education in Calgary, 1884-1914," in A. W. Rasporich and Henry Classe (eds.), *Frontier Calgary* (Calgary: McClelland and Stewart West, 1975).

[39]Whitby: Corporation of the County of Whitby, 1973, pp. 150-163; 263-281.

[40]*Schooling in Capitalistic America* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

[41]Ian E. Davey, "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School," in Neil McDonald (ed.), *Egerton Ryerson and his Times* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977).

and schooling. Such an approach would appear to be valid for all periods of Canadian history. Moreover, a new breed of Canadian labour historian is emerging as evidenced in the pages of *Essays in Working Class History* edited by Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian.[42] Inspired by the work of E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, these scholars are trying to look at the working class and its consciousness apart from a simple focus on labour unions and labour political parties.

Another strength of Johnson's work is the way in which he stresses Ontario County opposition to Ryerson's determined efforts at centralization and overall systematization of schooling in Ontario. This grassroots perspective is most instructive since most revisionist history, and all the work of Katz's students to date, stress the urban-dominated influence of the school promoters. Thus almost all studies to date originate in an urban centre, either the capital or a comparable city like Hamilton. Johnson on the other hand, helps us to understand the depth of the opposition to Ryerson in rural Ontario. More local rural studies like this would serve to test how widespread was the rural-based reluctance to accept free, universal and compulsory education. Moreover with Johnson, we get a sense of what was really at stake in the argument over free schools. As he puts it: "The aspirations and views of the independent commodity producers [the old agrarian society] who did so much to build the province would gradually be pushed aside as "old-fashioned" and 'reactionary.' Mackenzie's old vision of a society of equal producers of wealth had begun to crumble before the rise of the 'new man' — wealthy merchants, industrialists and financiers whose goals would dominate the future" (p. 163).

III

Where do we go from here? What are some areas of research which will and should attract the attention of Canadian educational historians in the next five to ten years? Chronologically, I would expect attention to shift from the early and mid-nineteenth century[43] to the turn of the twentieth century or the Canadian equivalent of the "Progressive Era" in the United States. Books such as Neil Sutherland's *Children in English-Canadian Society, 1880-1920*[44] can be expected to examine this time period from various perspectives. T. R. Morrison, a student of both Sutherland and Katz, has published two interesting articles on child-centred reform in *Ontario History*.[45] The interwar period, especially the depression years, is bound to receive close attention with respect to public schooling just as this era is currently being scrutinized by urban and labour historians. Topics of interest covering approximately the last century include the professionalization of teaching and the relationship of the profession to the expanding educational bureaucracy; the feminization of teaching and the general topic of the education of women, which is an important aspect of the current widespread interest in women's history;[46] and vocationalism especially in respect

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[42]Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

[43]The publication of Alison Prentice's and Susan Houston's doctoral theses are eagerly awaited. Prentice's will appear early in 1977 as *The School Promoters* in the Social History of Canada series published by McClelland and Stewart. Houston's plans for publication are not known at the time of writing. Her thesis was entitled "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-1875" (Unpublished Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1974).

[44]Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

[45]T. R. Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, The Family and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1950, Part I," *Ontario History* 68 (March 1976): 45-64; Part II, forthcoming in June, 1976 issue.

[46]See, for example, Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (eds.), *Essays in Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

to the relationship between work and schooling as opposed to technical education *per se*. Studies focussing on the history-of-the-family in Canada are long overdue. It is admittedly a difficult subject, but the groundwork has been laid by American and British historians. Sutherland's pioneering study, Katz's provocative questions about adolescence in Hamilton,[47] and Susan Houston's work on deviant children are all important beginnings. Joy Parr is giving particular attention to British pauper and street children in Canada in her doctoral dissertation.[48] Such work on the deviant child and youth will help lay bare the often unstated norms by which Canadian society operated.

Another approach which deserves attention is to study what was actually taught in schools, and, by inference, the sort of results expected from such teaching: in short, to look at the process of schooling from the standpoint of the institution's clients. Here virtually nothing has been done in any way comparable to Ruth Miller Elson's *Guardians of Tradition*.[49] Did the texts used in Canadian schools conform to the attitudes of the school reformers? In this connection the role of teachers is equally important in the formation of proper student attitudes and modes of behaviour. Unfortunately, as John Calam pointed out in his presidential address before the History of Education Society, the teacher as a researchable being has suffered in the face of the current interests of revisionist historians. "Either he/she was present almost apologetically despite brave introductory statements about bigger fish for frying; or else he/she has got nudged out of the story altogether in favour of attention to the efficacy or not of 19th century public schooling."[50] A few articles have appeared on the nineteenth century teacher,[51] but none of the social class origins of teachers and the nature of their training and instruction. If teachers most often came, as we might suppose, from the very class whose children they were later to instruct, were they, as Richard Johnson suggests regarding early Victorian teachers in England, schooled and conditioned to stand aloof from their former class — somewhere mid-point between their patrons and their clients — and thus not to act as subversives among their own former class? In Johnson's view, teachers in England were to form "an army of highly trained, highly motivated mercenaries."[52] Was this true of teachers in Canada too? Finally, new and better studies of centralization are needed. In this connection Robert Gidney and Douglas Lawr are preparing a history of the administration of education in Ontario from the founding of a public system up to 1914.

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[47]Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), chapter 5.

[48]G. J. Parr, "British Pauper and Street Children in Canada, Their Reception, Life and Labour" (Ph.D. thesis, Yale University, in progress).

[49]On school texts, see my "Common School Texts in Use in Upper Canada Prior to 1845," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada* (1970) 36-53 and Allan Smith, "Old Ontario and the Emergence of a National Frame of Mind," in F. H. Armstrong, H. A. Stevenson and J. D. Wilson, *Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 194-217.

[50]John Calam, "A Letter from Quesnel: The Teacher in History, and Other Fables," *History of Education Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1975): 131-145.

[51]J. Donald Wilson, "The Teacher in Early Ontario," in Armstrong, Stevenson and Wilson (eds.), *Aspects . . .* pp. 218-36; Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845-1875," *Histoirie sociale/Social History* 8 [No. 15] (May 1975): 5-20. W. E. Bryans, *"Virtuous Women at Half the Price: The Feminization of the Teaching Force and Early Women Teacher Organizations in Ontario"* (M.A. thesis, Toronto, 1975).

[52]Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," *Past and Present*, No. 49 (November 1970): 96-119.

It is evident, therefore, that there are many areas of research for both graduate students and established scholars. The presence of a number of active scholars in the field, the calibre of their work, and the emergence of debate over approaches to the past are indicative of the fact that educational history in Canada has come of age. The outlook for the future is indeed promising.

RESUME

L'article donne un résumé du développement des écrits historiques dans la langue anglaise au sujet de l'éducation canadienne pendant les deux dernières décennies, et, ensuite, une critique de quelques livres représentatifs sur ce sujet qui ont paru depuis 1970. Il se termine avec quelques remarques sur les sujets de recherche et d'étude qui vont probablement attirer l'attention des historiens de l'éducation canadienne pendant la décennie à venir.