

**Blackness, Exclusion, and the Law in the History of Canada's Public Schools,
Ontario and Québec, 1850–Present**

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List of Key Terms

Anti-Black racism: I use this term to highlight the uniquely transnational persistence of racism that follows Black bodies across borders globally, as well as to signify the carceral relationship in North America since the end of slavery between state institutions, such as prisons and court systems, and Black communities (Blackmon, 2009). In the context of the history of public schooling in Canada, I use this term to describe the ways that the institution of schooling has also created a segregated, carceral relationship with Black children in Canada since the 19th century.

Black: I use this term throughout to refer both to the right to self-naming of those who have historically employed it, as well as to signify the political and cultural weight of this term—as in Black Power, Black is Beautiful, “Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair,” “Black Is, Black Ain’t,” and so on. The direct use of Black, employed in a Canadian context in a text about critical race theory is helpful as it identifies skin colour as a testament to the experience of Canadian racism directed against the racialized Black body and signifies the identity “Black Canadian.” In Québec, “Black” is distinguished from the racist employment of “ethnocultural minority” set forth in the Bouchard Taylor Report (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008), the Québec government’s formal statement on diversity and “reasonable accommodation,” drafted to affirm cultural, social, and political dominance in the hands of white Québécois. Black, herein, does not deny the cultural variations of Canadians who are of Caribbean, African, and American heritage, but rather is used as a signifier with which to engage a cohesive conversation about the history and reality of anti-Black racism throughout Canada. I capitalize B in Black following APA guidelines.

Canada West: Previously known as Upper Canada, this territory was governed jointly along with Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) from 1841 to 1867, when Canada West became the province of Ontario under Confederation. Throughout, I refer to both Upper Canada and Canada West depending on the relevant time period I am discussing.

De facto: A legal term used to describe what exists in fact and in practice, even when it is not legally authorized or prohibited.

De jure: A legal term describing what exists as a matter of law, made official as law in the context of case law, statutes, bills, and codes, as examples.

Literacy practices: In the body of scholarship pertaining to education amongst the enslaved, the formal and informal practices of learning to read and/or write are commonly referred to as literacy practices (Cornelius, 1983, 1991).

Lower Canada: Refers to the southern portion of present-day Québec, which existed as a separate British province from 1791 to 1840. In 1841, Lower Canada was united with Upper Canada into a single territory, known as the Province of Canada.

New France: Refers to the area colonized by France in 1534 and includes the province today known as Québec. In 1763, the territories of New France came under British and Spanish control. Québec, thus, came under British control, and in 1791, the area was finally divided into Upper and Lower Canada where the French-speaking population maintained French civil law and the Catholic religion.

Racism: “By racism, we mean the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group” (Hamilton & Ture, 1967, p. 3).

Refugees: Herein, describes the groups of Black people that migrated to Canada from the United States (US) during the 19th century, desiring freedom from bondage and anti-Black terror. A number of slave scholars have chosen this term to encapsulate the mobility of Black terror and continuous un-safety coexistent with the histories of movement of 19th-century Black populations out of the US to Canada (Berlin, 2010, 2015; Whitfield, 2006). Additionally, historian Harvey Whitfield (2006) described its use for the purpose of examining “the problems of nationality, locality, identity and historical memory” (p. xi) in the history of Black migration northward to Canada beginning in 19th century. I use this term within this tradition and also to mark the Canadian lands that Black peoples landed upon as continually unsafe lands. With the embodiment of this term, I acknowledge the terror that attached itself to Black mobility and continued even when Black people transgressed national borders and were no longer in physical bondage.

Slavery: In this dissertation, this term describes the capture and enslavement of Black peoples during the Transatlantic Slave Trade. In British Canada, the end of slavery is denoted by the Imperial Act in 1834 (Mackey, 2010). In Lower Canada, historian Frank Mackey (2010) has argued that a precise ending point of slavery is harder to classify. Mackey argued that slavery was “phased out” well before 1834 without a formal legal enactment and, by 1800, was not legally upheld in the area known today as Québec (Mackey, 2010; F. Mackey, personal communication, February 14, 2015). He contends that slavery ended gradually: (a) de jure in 1763, ending Raudot’s 1709 ordinance that permitted slavery in Lower Canada given the “formal cession of the colony to the British Crown” (p. 28); (b) through a series of legal challenges brought by enslaved Black people in Lower Canada prior to 1800 that failed to judicially sustain involuntary servitude (Mackey, 2010, pp. 28–33, 30, 78); and (c) through a series of legal silences, such as the failure of judges and legislators in Lower Canada to ever pass a law validating slavery (p. 32) and the repeated unwillingness by the Lower Canada Assembly to pass a bill affirming the legal existence of slavery in Lower Canada both in 1793 and 1803 (pp. 65–66).

Upper Canada: This area was the predecessor of modern Ontario and was created in 1791 by the division of the old French colony of Québec into Lower Canada in the east and Upper Canada in the west.

Abstract

With an eye towards current practices of anti-Black schooling discrimination, this project theorizes the ways that public schooling violence throughout Canada impacted the lives of Black families and their children for over 100 years beginning in the early 19th century. A number of scholars have documented the history of schooling violence in Ontario and Nova Scotia. This project builds upon such scholarship and locates Montréal within this history. Although this project does provide a historical landscape for the history of anti-Black violence within the institution of public schooling, this project also proposes a grammar for Canadian anti-Black racism, as well as characterizes a more robust critical race theory within a Canadian historical context than has been previously theorized by legal scholars and historians. Importantly, this project uses the backdrop of 19th-century Black migration to Canada, prompted at its apogee by the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, to narrate a more nuanced representation of the Underground Railroad and debunk its reputation as a terminus of safety and freedom for Black refugees. Rather, I propose that the history of public schooling discrimination, coinciding with Black migration, best illuminates Canada's tradition of anti-Black violence historically.

Résumé

À la vue des pratiques courantes de discrimination envers les Noirs à l'école, ce projet émet une théorie sur les façons dont la violence à l'école publique, partout au Canada, a eu un impact sur la vie des familles Noires et de leurs enfants depuis plus de 100 ans, soit depuis le début du 19^e siècle. Nombre de chercheurs ont d'ailleurs documenté l'histoire de la violence à l'école en Ontario et en Nouvelle-Écosse. Ce projet s'appuie sur de telles recherches et place Montréal au sein de cette histoire. Bien que ce projet fournisse une vision historique de l'histoire de la violence envers les Noirs au sein de l'institution qu'est le système scolaire public, il propose aussi un canevas du racisme anti-Noir canadien. Il définit également une théorie critique plus ferme sur la race, dans un contexte historique canadien, que les théories qui avaient été émises auparavant par les juristes et les historiens. Plus important encore, ce projet utilise en toile de fond la migration des Noirs au Canada au 19^e siècle – provoquée à son apogée par la Loi sur les esclaves fugitifs de 1850 – pour relater une interprétation plus nuancée du Chemin de fer clandestin et démystifier sa réputation de destination ultime pour les réfugiés Noirs qui aspiraient à la sécurité et à la liberté. Je propose plutôt que l'histoire de la discrimination à l'école publique, qui a coïncidé avec la migration des Noirs, porte un meilleur éclairage historique sur la tradition canadienne de violence envers les Noirs.

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Dedicated to my mother, Jo Cree, and my baby brother, Alexander:
You are with me. Always, always.

I must first thank my beloved children for their unyielding patience with me. Ade, Zora, and Sade, I want you to know that I began this work for me and in turn, also for you: If I am filled with work that brings me joy and curiosity, I am at my best. With joy, I am the most present mother I can be to you, and as your mother, I need this balance to be well in this world. Thank you for curling up next to me and staying close to my body through many years of 3 am – 6 am writing shifts. I hope that by witnessing these years of oft exhausting work, you may one day realize your own individual passion and a resilience to birth what you first imagine. Remember my fatigue and how I love you like no other.

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When I was working on my chapter on Montreal, I had the great opportunity to interview Mrs. Daphne Arnott, a retired educator and principal whose groundbreaking approach to education and teaching radically influenced her school environments and the pedagogical practices of other educators she worked with beginning in 1966 upon arriving from Trinidad. Her persistence, endless interventions on behalf of Black students, and frank advice about

actively supporting our children within a system never meant for them, will influence me for the rest of my life. Thank you, Mrs. Arnott, for trusting me with your story and allowing me to document it so that it will not be forgotten. Thank you beautiful Jae-Marie Ferdinand for inviting me into your home to listen and for being present.

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Prologue

My son is tall for his age. In fact, at 9 years old, he looked 12 or 13. Now at 11, he looks like a young man well into his adolescence. He is broad shouldered, skinny, but like so many other Black boys his age, muscular and six-packed. Gap toothed. Ade is so shy, still, that I often have to remind him to look adults in the eye who greet him in my presence. It is only in his silliness, that his real age is often revealed.

In our neighbourhood, within our school radius, he has been one of two or three other Black children in his school. In Montréal, elementary-school-aged children generally attend their neighbourhood schools—the schools that are within a six- to eight-block radius surrounding a family's home. Over the last 14 years, since purchasing our triplex in the heart of the Plateau, the school neighbourhood surrounding our home has become increasingly gentrified with white families as property values have risen sharply in Montréal's stable housing market. Our street in particular—a two-block stretch between Mount Royal Avenue and rue Rachel—has seen one of the sharpest price climbs on the Plateau. One-floor condos in triplexes that used to be relatively affordable at \$150,000 a few years ago are now listed for \$400,000—at times \$500,000. This has had an impact on rental prices, as well, and has created a neighbourhood environment that excludes many types of diverse families—specifically working class and single-parent homes and racially diverse families.

After my son's kindergarten year at our neighbourhood French school, Lanaudière, I moved him to a coveted alternative school, Élan, close by. I worked hard to get him into the school, showing my face in the secretary's office monthly for nearly a year in order to “inquire” about the status of our folder in the waiting-list queue and insisting, yet again, that we were still “very interested” in joining the school community. At Lanaudière, he had been one of a handful

of Black children amongst a population of 250. At Élan, the alternative school, he was the only Black child in his class the year he began as a first grader.

Our neighbourhood has a tiny community of biracial children with one Black parent. Some of the children are so light that they are able to pass as white. Since the early 20th century, Black men arriving in the city began marrying interracially with white women in large numbers. It has, for example, been documented that 40% to 45% of Black men in Montréal before 1930 partnered interracially with white women (Israel, 1928), and over the years, mixed-race families that have remained in the city have continued, at times, to intermarry to a near physical erasure of their Blackness. In our Plateau neighbourhood, there are generations of light, mixed-race parents who have married lighter and lighter over generations, such that their children are signified as “Black” only by a kind of centre-crown kink a Black mother recognizes in passing. Ade’s father, however, is a deep, bronze brown, and so my children—many hues darker than my complexion—are occasionally mistaken as not my own.

In Ade’s kindergarten year at Lanaudière, I did not think much about the absence of other children like him in his school. I am of mixed parentage myself and grew up for portions of my childhood with my white mother who, as a single parent, had moved home to her rural, overwhelmingly white hometown to find support from her family when I was just beginning school. My elementary school in central Pennsylvania was 99.9% white, rural, and deeply working class. One could count on a single hand the number of Black children in my entire elementary school. I was called “nigger” for the first time at 6 years old by a white boy while walking home from school one day. In response, I proceeded to beat his behind all the way up the hill on the footpath home from school, running in the side door of my grandmother’s house to boast about my deed. The name-caller turned out, as I learned much later in life, to be a first

cousin born out of wedlock when my uncle was a teenager in the town's small high school.

Although I can recall the incident clearly, it was not one that impeded my schooling experience, nor was it oft repeated during my time in this small, racially undiverse community.

At later periods in my life, I grew up in vibrant middle- and professional-class Black and interracial environments, where, at the very least, the left-of-centre politics that governed my learning spaces instilled in me early on that I was smart, valuable, and physically beautiful. Sometime between the first and fourth grade, I was identified as a bright child and tracked into advanced classes for the rest of my time in elementary school. This pattern continued throughout my middle school and high school years, regardless of where I lived in the US. I wrongly assumed the same kind of experience for my son, Ade, in Québec.

As an early childhood educator and his mother, I knew from a young age that my son was a bright child. I believed that his kindergarten teacher at Lanaudière, his first school, would also see this quality in him. Nevertheless, his teacher did not see him as exceptional or bright. By his third and final report card, she had assessed his French communication capability as mediocre, marking him with a "C" in the subject. When I inquired about his grade and noted that Ade had attended a French preschool for nearly 4 years, she responded that she gave the mark because he was not comfortable "speaking or presenting before the class." I reminded her of his painfully shy disposition and suggested that his assessment for communication could perhaps be reconsidered on the basis of a one-to-one interaction with him. I wrote her a letter as well, explaining the longer-term consequences of assessing his "mediocre" French performance as part of his permanent schooling record. His teacher insisted upon his linguistic delay, and in her final assessment, left the "C" mark in his final column for his kindergarten year.

It was during the first year of Ade's new alternative public school, *Élan*, that I began to worry deeply about his schooling experiences. All students at *Élan* were paired with the same teacher for 2 years in an attempt to create greater security and success in the relationship between students and educators. The rationale made sense to me. Nevertheless, I quickly noticed Ade's loss of love for books in his first year at *Élan*—a treasure of bonding that we had shared since he was a baby. He first began refusing to read aloud to me before bedtime. He also became tight-lipped about what happened in class, and so, I watched him closely in his interactions with his teacher. When he saw her each morning, he greeted her distantly, like most other adults he did not know well—with a bit of a slump in his shoulders and his forehead leaning into my chest. He was very shy after all, I reasoned silently.

In this second year at *Élan*, he took up the habit of self-denigration. His verbal self-denigrations—referring to himself as “stupid” and “dumb” and, most seriously, expressing desires to disappear and die—began one month into the start of his second school year with his same teacher. One Sunday morning in the fall, I reprimanded him for a normal multisibling transgression, no more or less harshly than before. He reached for a butcher knife, held it against his neck and, through thick, throaty tears, proclaimed that he wanted to kill himself. I was stunned at his display of desperation. He, who had witnessed the death of beloved family members, knew even at 7 years old, the final weight of death.

After this, I began to pay closer attention to his movements, his eyes, his habits, his communication, and I requested a meeting with his teacher. His first report card was sent home, and I took note of the wide array of negative comments contained in its pages. Could he really be this problematic to his teacher, I wondered? I pulled him aside and with my hubris, said something about tomorrow and beating his behind into it, if my parent-teacher conference

revealed a child who was living a dual life between home and school. In this, I was certainly wrong. I was wrong about my words. I was wrong that I did not first lean in with love and ask him to do what we now call “heart speech” in explanation.

In the 2 months following the knife incident, Ade's teacher and I had difficulty finding a time to meet. I emailed some dates and times, and she responded with impossibilities or with times that were impossible for me. Christmas vacation came and went. I was also overwhelmed with enormous business challenges as the sole financial provider for my three children, continual encounters with an ex-husband who was increasingly contentious, and the demands of writing my comprehensive exams as a full-time PhD student. In hindsight, I know now that the time and distance made Ade's days harder and longer and served only to increase the tension and distrust between myself and his teacher. When we finally met in late February, a morning meeting that she had suggested while the other students were engaged in self-directed learning in the classroom, my son entered his class and began to sob immediately. In the moments following, I faced down a child who I understood felt worthless and helpless in his classroom. Instead of meeting with his teacher, I quietly took Ade by the arm and led him out of class. I told his teacher that we would meet after the March break. During the week-long break, I made a decision to homeschool him until I could find a tenable solution to his well-being in his classroom.

I ended up homeschooling Ade for a few months following the meeting with his teacher that never happened. Shortly after I removed him, he was able to finally articulate what was wrong in his classroom. He expressed that he felt his teacher did not like him and did not want him in class, and he told me that he felt singled out—often harshly reprimanded in front of his peers. He repeated these things in unbroken French to the principal of his school one morning

shortly after I led him out of his class. Prior to this meeting, I had requested a change of educator in an email to the principal of Élan. As I sat listening to Ade speak to the principal, I thought that his words certainly would carry weight. I thought that my observations, coupled with his strong and clear feelings, would lead to his classroom change.

Nevertheless, the principal's follow-up response to both our meeting and my request, sent by email a few days later, was to demand Ade's full reintegration into the same classroom immediately. She assured me that a new educator was not possible so late in the school year and, most importantly, admonished that my failure to reintegrate my son would mean the loss of his place at the coveted alternative school the next fall. I requested another face-to-face meeting with her. There, she insisted upon the full competence and good judgment on the part of Ade's teacher. She also added that, as she understood from Ade's teacher, Ade was at fault for his inability to "find his place" in the classroom. Referring back to the day in February that I had arrived to have a meeting with Ade's teacher and found my son upset, the principal insisted that he was responsible for his own "misbehaviour." Ade's response when we had entered the class for a meeting, she said pointedly, was merely a response to his fear of rebuke and punishment from me. When I named the cruelty of her response in our meeting, she insisted that I had a "choice" to enroll him in my neighbourhood school. "By law," she punched at me in rapid French, "you have a choice to use the school that falls into your neighbourhood quadrant. Vous avez ce droit."

Ultimately, I met her demand for fear of losing our place at Élan and adjusted my life until the end of Ade's school year: I hired a tutor for his core subjects, and in May, I kept him home part time and "reintegrated" him by sitting in the corner of his classroom quietly for a few weeks. I moved my seat to the hallway outside his classroom door when I was finally asked to

leave the classroom. Then, when I was asked to move out of the hallway, I moved to the sofa in the school lobby. I remained on the couch with my work computer on my lap until the summer vacation arrived, homeschooling my son in the afternoons after lunch.

Over the last 3 years since I removed my son from Élan, I have reflected frequently about our meeting with his principal in which she interviewed Ade. I was born and raised in the heart of Black America, and so, I have imagined, on a number of occasions, a very different, gentle response that the principal at Élan would have tendered had a petite, long-haired, blue-eyed white girl faced the principal with her tears in her office.

Yet, any American living in Canada hears, in ardent repetition, its narrative of being a racism-free nation and of its racial history so distinct from the United States. In its admonishments—both formal and informal—to keep one's American race biases at bay, as well as in within its popular historical narratives, Canada has loosened itself free of structural anti-Black racism. With such race neutrality as part of its national project and social imaginary, how then, can this country's legacy of racism be felt so heavily—so existentially—in ways that are akin to its southern neighbour? This inquiry is my starting point for this dissertation.

Researcher Background

When my son, my eldest child, began kindergarten at our local public school in our Plateau neighbourhood in Montréal, I was hopeful. I was hopeful that he, both shy and intellectually advanced, would feel safe and comfortable in his big classroom. I was hopeful that he would continue to love books, words, and the images that made up the pages of his mind. As my first child, he had spent enormous amounts of time on my body and in my lap, handing me book after book to be read. I had obliged. In our home, from the time he was 3 years old, he

wandered around our kitchen, where he could continuously be close to my body each day, naming all the letters and small words in his path.

All of my hopes wasted away when he began school, as did his love for learning—particularly his love for books. The educational experience of my son during his first 3 years of school transformed my life in many ways. I am a skeptic, a volunteer, scholar activist, and an unshakeable believer in the importance of committed educators. Yet, my disappointment and rage, over time, has woven itself into my work, first as catharsis and then as a deep curiosity led by a set of questions that ultimately undergird my research questions here. I set forth these guiding inquires in detail in Chapter 1.

I have been thinking since beginning my doctoral studies about my identity as a Black North American mother in the face of continuous displays of police violence, both in Canada and the United States, bearing down upon the bodies of Black men, women, and children over the last few years. Over the few last years, the visibility of anti-Black state violence has become particularly pronounced, as the recently recorded and highly publicized execution of Walter Scott has demonstrated (Editorial Board, 2015, April 8). One of the heightened representations of visible violence may be seen through the murders of Black children and teens.¹ The visibility of state and civilian violence against Black children's bodies has been, at times, emotionally and mentally destabilizing for me.² Impossible to avoid with the inundation of media, an open Twitter newsfeed, Facebook page, or the front page of *The New York Times*, one is presented with a bevy of words and images often that assault the body with Black death and physical violence. I could possibly rationalize away these instances as unordinary if I did not also carry the histories of the treatment of enslaved children in my understanding of state violence and the history of modern policing (Blackmon, 2009; King, 2011); if I did not understand the longevity

and impact of Jim Crow on Black children (Glymph, 2003; King, 2011); and if I did not understand, in detail, the social and legal construction of Black male criminality in the context of rape, murder, and other violent crimes in Canada and the United States (Alexander, 2010; Lopez, 2015; Muhammad, 2010; B. Walker, 2010, p. 184). One of the most important markers of slavery in North America is the way it made childhood, as we now understand it, incompatible with Black enslaved life and denied Black children access to an embodied innocence of childhood (Bernstein, 2011; King, 2007; Nelson, 2010). In other words, it is impossible to view the continued transgressions against Black children in our social world as incidental or individual, specifically because history has constructed a representation of Blackness as deviance and criminality that begins in Black childhood (Bernstein, 2011).

I frequently share these thoughts with close friends who are also Black mothers. Janai Nelson is a longtime friend, mother, and now, assistant director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund, an important legal justice agency that serves as an advocate for racial justice for Black Americans before the United States Supreme Court and the Department of Justice. Janai's work with the Legal Defense Fund has put her on the frontline of legal involvement in the recent litigations pertaining to the police killings of Tamir Rice, Mike Brown, and Eric Garner among others. She believes that, in raising Black children, Black mothers must understand that violence and Black childhood share a history and logic that is beyond our physical control and that we must, in our parenting, translate it frankly for our children (J. Nelson, personal communication, July 20, 2014).

I am also a researcher who studies the historical relationship between schooling and segregation as violence against Black children. I view the practice of segregation itself and the legal and social justifications that maintained racial segregation as acts of violence. Over time, I

have also come to understand the interlocking relationship between the history of schooling and the history of violence against Black children in North America (Moss, 2009; Winks, 1969, 1971). Again, part of this understanding is attributable to simply reading historical texts. Yet, my understanding pertains to more fully grasping the transnational nature of white supremacy and anti-Black violence—that is, that white supremacy does not forego place or a particular institution due to geographical boundaries, varying provincial policies, or the associative belief that schools are a “safe haven” for all children. Dr. Horace Goddard (personal communication, March 25, 2015), current president of the Québec Board of Black Educators and long-time educator in Montréal, has stated that one of the common mistakes Black Caribbean immigrants made upon arrival to the city in the 1960s was to immediately entrust the care of their children to white educators without greater anticipation of the anti-Black racism their children would experience in their classrooms. In our interview, he explained, “This is just what we did at home. It was unthinkable to predict that an educator would, for a set of reasons based upon racial bias or anti-Black racism, not have the best interest of your child at heart” (H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015). He expressed these words as a preface to our conversation, which centred his experiences with anti-Black bias in the Montréal public schooling systems during his 30-year career as an educator and principal in Montréal.

In addition to the impact of history, my work as a critical race scholar and lawyer has helped me think through the ways that anti-Black racism works institutionally and systematically. In fact critical race theory, “an analysis of the historical centrality and complicity of the law in upholding white supremacy” within social and political institutions (Crenshaw, 1995, p. i), begins with the proposition that anti-Black racism in North America is pervasive, visceral, institutional and is supported by the most powerful institutions that shape North

American society: our policing, state care and foster systems, our courts, our prisons, and our schools (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Kendall, 1995; Solorzano & Yosso, 2004). Critical race theorists also insist that the present conditions that delimit Black life are necessarily related, in varying degrees of causality, to the histories of racial violence that precede them (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2009; Muhammad, 2010).

Our Homeschooling Year

My decision to homeschool was the outcome of my son's schooling experience at Élan and, specifically, the principal's refusal to believe that my son was being harmed in his classroom. In the end, I decided to homeschool all three of my children. At home, I was able to ensure the creation of a learning environment that reflected the bodies, curricular interests, emotional needs, aptitudes, and cultural traditions of my children who are Nigerian, Liberian, African-American, and African-Canadian.

In our year of full-time homeschooling together, I watched remarkable, ameliorative shifts take place in the disposition and academic engagement of my son, Ade. Most immediate, was a buoyancy and happiness that returned to my son within a few weeks. Ade is an independent child who engages in self-led learning practices and is able to also sit still, intently, when he is connected to what he is learning. We spent relatively little time engaged in academic work during the day—2 to 2.5 hours most days—and he advanced quickly through his math and literacy materials. Within a few months, we completed his grade and moved on to the next year's materials. We found an interactive website that combined gaming and math and that allowed me to set the level of problems for his learning. I stepped away and watched him take the lead with his own learning. I respected his rhythm and let him make curricular decisions often. In turn, it created a learning environment with very little conflict between us.

His love of reading returned quickly as well. Homeschooling during the coldest days of Montréal's winters often leaves large amounts of untended space during the day, and so, I bought Ade some novels for older children that I thought he would enjoy, including a box set of Judy Blume books—a set of five books. Within a few weeks, he had finished all of the books. During his reading moments on his bed, I would hear him laughing out loud at the main characters' antics. He spoke to me often, with joy, about what he was reading and began reading for hours on end without prompting. Comic books filled up his other reading periods. I kept his room stocked with reading materials and found comic books to fuel his love of reading even further. He was drawn to the incessant moral challenges and problem-solving decisions of his superheroes, and the non-linear, advanced language of comic book dialogue expanded his vocabulary significantly. We talked often about the representations of violence in his comic books, and I capitalized upon the moral narratives and shortcomings of his favourite characters by invoking them in my parenting. I also used his comic books for his daily dictées. By the end of his homeschooling year, he had advanced a full grade and a half and comfortably read a few grades beyond his level.

Importantly, Ade's schooling experience and his transformation during our homeschooling year allowed me to make clearer connections between the history of schooling violence against Black children in Canada and more contemporary experiences of schooling violence faced by many Black children throughout the country. As a mother, I realized painfully that I had, as Dr. Goddard had spoken, also invested too much "blind faith" in Ade's teachers and his schools. I had presumed the best intentions in my children's teachers. I did not approach his learning spaces with a presumptive eye towards the violence that lay idle in his all-white classroom, seemingly awaiting his arrival.

Research Lessons

Ade's experience also helped me "see" transparently what I did not before he began kindergarten—that is, that a particular history of anti-Blackness matters materially in the present. When I began asking questions and framing my thesis for my doctoral project, I was warned against discussing the French and English-language schooling systems in Montréal together for fear of "overgeneralizing" a discussion of anti-Black racism. Although my study is largely based upon English-language scholarship of dominantly English-instructed schooling practices and institutions, I have come to understand the important distinctions—and similarities—between the histories of anti-Black racism practiced in Montréal's French and English language schools. The similarities lie in the existence of anti-Black racism in both systems. The distinctions, as I have been able to see during my doctoral study, pertain to the kinds of steely silences that operate to ignore and "invisibilize" anti-Black violence against Black children in the French-language system and, as a result, render the pain of encountered racial violence "unrecognizable, unintelligible, and ungrievable" (Cornellier, 2015, p. 6). This tripartite racial violence is particular to French Québec's racial discourse, from which it borrows directly from France's republican engagement of race as "nontradition" within its borders. Critical scholar Bruno Cornellier (2015), writing about the 2015 attacks in Paris on the Charlie Hebdo office, described how French narratives of freedom treat as detractors those who dare assign racism to its public institutions or practices:

Of course, we know that people of color have never been silent, passive spectators concerning the way they have been represented by the white cultural (and colonial) mainstream—from blackface minstrelsy to Indian play to the Charlie Hebdo cartoons. These representations and performances are nevertheless predicated on the flawed

assumption that people of color were or could be silenced, that the represented “other” may not speak back. Or more accurately, those representations and performances can be correlated with the ease afforded to members of the dominant group not to hear or not to listen to these voices. Once confronted with the impossibility of not hearing, once the roar and the outrage from people of color get so loud that cultural deafness can no longer be feigned, defensive mechanisms are triggered—for instance, in expressions of white resentment, deflective discourses of postraciality and color blindness, accusations of reverse racism or *communautarisme*, and of course the duty to defend “our” freedom of expression against the threat of political correctness. (pp. 6–8)

Black French scholar activist Amandine Gay (2015) succinctly explained how the French government went so far in its intolerance of racial discourse that it banned the term “race” outright from the French Constitution on May 13, 2013, and thus hoped also to banish it from the nation’s conscience. She explained,

In France, what gets mislabeled or simply not mentioned easily escapes public scrutiny. For example, since race is not debatable, and since color blindness is the state-sanctioned norm, claims about racial discrimination are often rearticulated as expressions of one’s inability to adapt to French standards—read: White France’s standards. This absence of conceptualization of race as a social construct makes the argument for dismantling systemic racism inoperative. In France, racism is a personal issue, not a political one (Gay, 2015, p. 6).

In Québec, anti-Black racial violence works similarly within the French schooling system. In Ade’s experience, his teacher and school principal accused him repeatedly as being “at fault” for his inability to “fit in” in his classroom. Here, race was not even mentioned as a

personal issue, but rather made “inoperative” and reduced to a set of flawed behaviours attributable solely to my son. My suggestions of cruelty and racial violence were denied, refused most ardently as nonbeliefs and absurd claims, as Cornellier (2015) has explained. This pattern is illustrated most starkly in the context of French-language schooling in Montréal in the devastating case of Botsoe William Kafe, which I will detail in Chapter 7.

My son's story frames the primary questions that guide this research project. To begin, how does his experience communicate a larger story about the history of anti-Black schooling violence in Montréal and other parts of Canada? How does a critical analysis of his experience, and the schooling experiences of Black children more broadly, serve researchers who study the history of racial violence throughout the nation? What were the public schooling experiences of Canada's first large-scale communities of Black families and their children, and importantly, what accounted for the white racial violence that befell these Black refugees as they fled racial terror in the United States and settled in Upper Canada in the mid-1800s? Finally, what does this history mean in the present, and what, pragmatically, should be done about this legacy?

Chapter 1 sets out these questions in greater detail.

¹ Recently, the deaths of Mike Brown, Tamir Rice, and Aiyana Jones and the exoneration of the police officers that killed them have exemplified the disposability of Black children's lives in the context of state violence and other institutions, such as school (Ramey, 2015). Their deaths have served as catalysts for the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement and for direct calls from the United States Department of Justice and individual political figures to enact nationwide policy, accountability, and training changes through police departments in the US.

² The exoneration of George Zimmerman in the killing of Trayvon Martin signified, for many activists including myself, that Black children may be executed by nonstate actors, yet criminalized and unprotected even in death.

Chapter 1: Introduction

History is not about the past. Or, it's only incidentally about the past. History is about arguments *we* have about the past. Because it is about arguments *we* have about the past, it is really about us, and our times, and our problems. (Berlin, 2015, p. 1)

Why this subject?

I begin with a story of a Black boy, my son, who experienced violence in two separate schools, a few blocks apart, in one of the wealthiest areas of the city in Montréal. The violence was not the quotidian bullying of our elementary school spaces, nor was it the fisticuffs with which prepubescent boys find themselves experimenting when hot words erupt on playground asphalt over simple possessions such as a turn, a ball, a seat, or a toy. The violence was existential, and the results of this violence were emotional, physical, and intellectual trauma. My son was never referred to as a “nigger,” and yet, his experiences as the only dark brown boy in his entire elementary school felt, to me, akin to all that I already knew about the experiences of Black boys in schools well documented in so many other places throughout the United States (US) and Canada (Howard, 2014; James, 2012; Ramey, 2015; Ruglis, 2009; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Torczyner, 2010). I knew that his deeply shy, unaggressive disposition was the distinction between him and his friend, a slightly older, robust, energetic Black boy who had been called “nigger” by boys in his classroom. His teacher had ignored the confrontation as one of “boys being boys” in their French alternative school. My son's experience also helped me to see what I initially could not—that is, the insidious work of anti-Black racism in a province that practices interculturalism at the expense of abundant, well-honed anti-racist practices within its classrooms (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008) and treats anti-Black

racism often as a historical abstraction, rather than historical tradition (Lagacé, 2015; Nelson, 2013; Zellars, 2015c).

I write, however, only in part about my son. His story has served as an anchor, an ever-present forenarrative prodding me to ask more and more questions, to dig deeper, and to harness words that describe this country's historical relationship with Black children given its history of slavery, 19th-century Black migration from the US, and history of systemic anti-Black schooling discrimination (McLaren, 2004; Shepard, 1986; Silverman, 1985; Stanley, 2011; Winks, 1969, 1997).

In part, my inquiry is historical because I interrogate the past as a way of understanding the present. As a Black American woman who grew up in the US and has spent many years studying the history of anti-Black racism in the context of American history, my son's schooling experiences left me deeply curious about Canada's public schooling history and its history with Black children throughout the nation—particularly in Québec, where history curricula are replete with bias and whiteness (Blondin, 1990; Livingstone, Celemencki, & Calixte, 2014; MacAndrew, 1986; Ugolini, 2015). As a Black immigrant to Canada, I explore the discourse of the “Underground Railroad” that is laid as a welcome mat for newly arrived Black immigrants and as a reminder of Canada's “distinct” racial history from the US (Bakan, 2008).

Although a number of scholars have written about the history of Canada's public schooling systems and the presence of anti-Black legal discrimination and social prejudice in its foundation, these histories have focused primarily on Upper Canada/Canada West¹ and Nova Scotia (Hamilton, 2011; Silverman, 1985; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1969, 1997). These sources entail scholarly articles, two dissertations, chapters of books, and a film, and these resources remain an important comparative marker for this project. Historically, no primary or secondary

texts directly addressed the history of 19th- and 20th-century discriminatory schooling practices faced by Black children in Montréal or Québec. As such, I consider the history of anti-Black discrimination in public schooling in Montréal in a number of ways: by providing a brief demographic study of Black Montreal in the 20th century, by analyzing secondary information pertaining to Black youth and schooling in Montréal from 1960 to the present, and by incorporating a number of primary testimonies concerning schooling and racism from within Montréal's first group of highly trained Black educators who arrived from the Anglophone Caribbean in the 1960s (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). I aim to bring Montréal more fully into the historiography of anti-Black public schooling discrimination in Canada. By this, I mean to document Montréal's history as part of the larger story—that is, a history about Canada's history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination. As such, I incorporate available secondary material and limited primary source material for the island of Montreal, the site of Quebec's largest Black community historically, as a comparative case study in the history of anti-Black schooling discrimination and to narrate a history of public schooling discrimination in Quebec. While I do not explore the history of Black presence throughout Quebec, I use Montreal as an exemplary site to narrate a history of anti-Black schooling discrimination in this province.

Within the body of work on the history of schooling and Black children, there exists no text or book that examines the relationship between 19th-century Black migration from the US and the legal and de facto racism that was practiced, intentionally and widely, as a response to the influx of Black families settling around the country in the mid-19th century (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1969). I use the term *de facto* to refer to the reality of racism experienced by Black people not inscribed within the framework of the law. I also employ this

term because it is commonly used as a clarifying term by scholars who study the history of anti-Black schooling discrimination in Canada (Hamilton, 2012; Howard & Smith, 2011). A number of U.S. scholars have written about the histories of anti-Black racism impacting the education of Black children (Bernstein, 2011; Cornelius, 1991; King, 2011; Moss, 2009; H. A. Williams, 2009). Yet, Canadian scholars have devoted little space to the impact of Canada's histories of anti-Black racism on Black Canadian children. Thus, in my work, I aim to both centre Black children's bodies in the histories of Canadian anti-Black racist practices more fully and to use this textual space to illuminate a historical fallacy about Black history that Canada has historically sustained upon the bodies of its most vulnerable migrant population. This fallacy concerns Black migrant children who fled slavery and Jim Crow practices in the US in the mid-19th and early 20th centuries.

Part of what is remarkable to the history of public schooling throughout the nation is that it encapsulates a broad and definable portrait of Canadian anti-Black racism that is transferable to other histories and institutions within Canada and provides a working syntax—codes, language, and symbols—that grounds a Canadian anti-Black “racial discourse.” Racial discourses in the US are undergirded by the history of chattel slavery, Jim Crow, and mass incarceration—a historical arc that is both indispensable to the history of American nationhood and inseparable from the history of US capitalism. Canada's anti-Black racial discourse relies on distinct historical markers, and I argue that the histories of Black migration and Canadian public schooling provide essential foundations for understanding anti-Blackness in a Canadian context. The history of Canadian anti-Black racism in public schooling offers a lucid racial “map” for making Canada's history of anti-Black racism visible, tenable, and speakable. This history is also part of a Canadian historiography that has misused the histories of Black peoples, enslaved

and free, to erect its own superlative metanarratives of history and nationhood, as well as to mask its historical shortcomings (Silverman, 1985; Thobani, 2007). I also offer this research as a form of resistance that tosses off the old half-truths about Canada's historical relationship with its Black population and offers a more truthful retelling of Canadian history in the context of Black migration and the Underground Railroad.

Through a historical analysis of early schooling experiences of Black children in Canada, I explore what scholars and educators have missed in our characterizations of Canada's anti-Black racism. In Québec, my inquiries are more exact: Why is the subject of race reduced to a nonsubject in Québec when it is invoked by Black Québeckers and others (Howard, 2014; Mills, 2010; Nelson, 2013)? And how does this denial land on my son's body, a Black child's body, as a form of violence that is experienced, felt, made material? Chapter 6, which frames the story of Mrs. Daphne Arnott, a former educator, principal, and school founder in Montréal, provides insight into these above questions. In my work, I also attempt to answer these sets of questions by invoking the transnational character of anti-Black racism in Canada and the US through the use of the phrase "bleeding borders," a metaphor for transnational anti-Blackness that I introduce briefly in Chapter 5. There, I propose why the concept of transnational anti-Black racism matters to Canada in light of its history of 19th-century Black migration and particularly to Québec, which has historically treated anti-Black racism as "nontradition" (Lagacé, 2015; Vallières, 1971).

I also consider the ways in which Canadian discourses of racism have historically relied upon invocations of "distinction from" and "superiority to" the US (Bakan, 2008; McKittrick & Woods, 2007). In Québec, charges of anti-Black racism have been both historically denied and, more recently, also acknowledged as individual acts attributable to "Americans" specifically or

“Anglos,” more generally (Lagacé, 2015; Nelson, 2010, 2013; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; D. Williams, 1999). Montréal historian Dorothy Williams (1999) described the myth of equality invoked about the treatment of Blacks in Montréal through her designation, the “Jackie Robinson Myth.” This myth, she described, casts a false belief that Jackie Robinson’s exceptional treatment by whites in Montréal before he broke into Major League baseball was extended widely throughout Montréal’s Black communities (D. Williams, 1999).

The documented experiences of Black children in public schools in Canada in the 21st century are important to this study because I use this information to draw a relationship among the history of public schooling, the histories of anti-Black discrimination throughout Canada, and the present. I have not collected oral histories of Black students. Rather, I focus on and examine demographic information that reports the national and provincial outcomes for Black students in the 21st century within public schools in Canada (Codjoe, 2001; Dei, 1995, 1996; Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014; James, 2012; James & Taylor, 2010; Rambally, 1995; Torczykner, 2010). A few large demographic studies on Black Canadians have been undertaken in the last decade (Torczykner, 2010). Although not focused exclusively on schooling, these studies reveal important information about Black children, educational attainment and income, and the personal experiences of Black Canadian children within our public schools (Lashley, 2000; Livingstone et al., 2014; Torczykner, 2010). The work of George Sefa Dei, long-time educator, researcher, and professor of education in Toronto, Carl James (2012), and Awad Ibrahim (Ibrahim & Abdi, 2016) also reveals the schooling experiences and outcomes of Black students, as does the scholarship of Black educational researchers in Québec (Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014; Livingstone et al., 2014). Through Dei’s work and the demographic information available on Black Canadian youth and schooling experiences and outcomes, one views a picture of the

varied ways Canadian public schools continually fail to fully support the educational and self-actualization processes of its Black students.

In sum, one may view a schooling picture that reflects the absence of self-representation that Black students widely face in their classrooms and the psychic impact of this absence. What does it mean to spend a childhood and an entire adolescence in classrooms where one does not see oneself self-represented in the teaching faculty or the curriculum? Importantly, what does it mean to be taught by educators who harbour anti-Black implicit biases and are trained and work in spaces where anti-racist discourse is so sophomoric that these implicit biases remain unchallenged during a career? Although I do not address teacher education directly, through the inclusion of a critical analysis of the histories of public schooling practices towards Black Canadian children and the inclusion of a critical discussion of the literature on the demographics of Black students, I hope to illuminate this key issue: Our teacher education programs, both for preservice and in-service educators, must radically change so as to educate teaching professionals about Black Canadian history and to offer pedagogical practices that allow Black children to experience their classrooms in a culturally connected fashion. I conclude with a proposal for mandatory implicit bias training as an immediate intervention for Canadian educators (Zellars, 2016).

The Pragmatism of Critical Race Theory

I argue that critical race theory (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), “an analysis of the historical centrality and complicity of the law in upholding white supremacy” within social institutions (Crenshaw, 1995, p. i), provides a useful lens for illuminating the history of anti-Blackness in Canada, highlighting the ways that the history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination is related to the protracted relationship between public schools in

Canada and anti-Black racism in practice (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015; H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015; Michaud, 2015), and for illuminating the current status of Black Canadian students (Dei, 1997; Hampton, 2010; Skiba et al., 2002; Ramey, 2015). I argue that critical race theory provides a lens into his story that places his narrative squarely within a history of quotidian anti-Black violence and threats encountered by Black children in Ontario's public schools beginning in the mid-19th century (McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1969). I argue, as well, that the provincial sovereignty of public schooling matters little regarding the prevalence of anti-Black schooling violence throughout the nation historically.

Critical race theory (CRT), a well-developed theoretical tool for understanding the reach of institutional racism in the US, is less developed in Canada (Aylward, 1999). I begin by capturing CRT within a Canadian historical context, where a history of Canadian slavery alone fails to account for the large presence of Blacks in Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries, as within the US (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Silverman, 1985).

I then address the usefulness of CRT within a Canadian educational context. As a theoretical lens initially developed for explaining institutional racism at work within the law, CRT has also been extended and well-developed within educational scholarship to examine and state the impact of institutional anti-Black racism within schools (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Vaughn, 2011). In the context of my work, I use a critical race theoretical lens for theorizing the links between the historical practices of institutional racism within public schooling systems nationally and the current disparities and experiences of Black students within public schools in Canada more broadly. I focus on the scholarship that documents the histories and schooling experiences of Black students primarily in Ontario and Québec. I examine the ways that CRT has been utilized in educational contexts in the US and

suggest interventions for Canadian educators in light of the long history of anti-Black discrimination within public schools in Canada. Given the absence of scholarship on CRT and education and the historical absence of Black-focused curricula, particularly in Québec (Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014; Livingstone et al., 2014; Michaud, 2015), I propose how CRT may be useful for educators in Montréal.

In addition to discussing the significance of history in the present and the presumption of structural inequality within the institution of public schooling in light of a history of anti-Black discrimination in schooling in Canada, CRT also presents a strong argument for the dismissal of “formal equality” discourses in public schooling. This is important because Québec practices a social and educational policy of “interculturalism” (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, “A. Mandate,” para. 3; see also Howard, 2014), which is undergirded by a belief in a fair social and economic exchange between “ethnocultural minorities” (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 121) and the “host society” (p. 121) and thus, presumes a practice of formal equality in Québec’s social institutions.

Although originally critiqued in the context of the judicial system, the legal concept of formal equality—or the presumption in schooling literature that all children are treated blindly and fairly by educators—has a strong allure within educational scholarship and discourse. Formal equality is a presumption that is also dangerous. As a number of critical race theorists and CRT education scholars have pointed out, an adherence to formal equality relies heavily on colourblindness (Crenshaw, 1998, 2011; Delpit, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998), which offers a worldview that ignores racial and cultural difference and that harms the existential wellness of Black children (Delpit, 2012). CRT is also integral to the work of challenging formal equality discourses in public schooling because of its specific focus on institutional, rather than individual, culpability for racist practices. I argue that CRT is particularly useful in Québec,

where race narratives are ahistoricized and supplanted with invocations of the Québécois white minority oppression and “les nègres blancs” (Vallières, 1971, p. 9). During the late 1960s, white Québécois students and activists popularized this term in an attempt to build solidarity with the global anti-colonial movement (Mills, 2010). Before the historic 1968 Congress of Black Writers conference, Elder Thébaud made a point to criticize the invocation of this term by white Québécois by stating,

Québeckers like to call themselves the nègres of Canada, but we would like to highlight the fact that of all races, the Black race has been the most humiliated. We therefore need to first organize among Blacks who have been divided by the colonizer. (as cited in Mills, 2010, p. 114)

These invocations of “le nègres blancs” that lead to situating French Québeckers as an “oppressed race” continue to dominate Québec political and nationalist discourses and, in turn, minimize the struggles of Black Québeckers (Affan, 2013; Mills, 2010). They also sustain denials about anti-Black racism in Québec within social and cultural spaces, as well as within media discourses.²

Another educational consideration that arises out of CRT scholarship pertains to the issue of corrective justice. Corrective justice theory holds that “to the extent that [a] society’s wrongful participation in racial discrimination continues to have effects today, corrective justice suggests a moral obligation on society’s part to remedy such effects” (Forde-Mazuri, 2004, p. 707). It is well documented that in places where segregation and anti-Black schooling practices were widely maintained for over a century, Black parents protested and paid schooling taxes, yet received no fair return on their public investment (Hamilton, 2011; Howe, 1864; McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1969). What does an argument for

corrective justice look like in the context of the long-term failures of the provincial and federal governments to provide Black families with schools equal to white Canadian children? What could a “case for reparations” (Coates, 2014) for Black Canadians in the context of the history of Canada's wide-spread anti-Black schooling practices look like? I propose some possibilities in light of the recent scholarship on corrective justice theory.

Overview of the Chapters

Critical race theory.

Chapter 2 introduces my theoretical underpinnings, CRT, and the implications for its use for critiquing public schooling and anti-Black racism in Canada. There are some important starting questions for thinking through the usefulness of CRT within Canada. One of the most significant questions asks what impact the arrival of the majority Black population via migration, rather than through enslavement, had on the anti-Black racial terrain of this country. In other words, if American CRT began in chattel slavery (Alexander, 2010; Crenshaw et al., 1995), and by extension within the architecture of the legal and criminal justice systems designed to control enslaved and newly freed Black bodies, where does Canadian CRT begin? What are the ways that the law sustained anti-Black racism in Canada? I address these related questions and propose historical locating points for Canadian CRT. This chapter frames the primary thesis interwoven throughout this dissertation: Past histories of institutional anti-Black racism are still persistent today, and the failure to understand this cardinal aspect of history, as well as critically acknowledge anti-Black practices in the present, both harms Black Canadian students and protracts practices of institutional anti-Black racism within our public schools.

Here, I also trace a historically nuanced characterization of CRT that refuses American historical and theoretical underpinnings. I create a definition that is useful, broadly, for

Canadian scholars who do work in the area of CRT. I aim to use this chapter to present a larger contention that I harbour with scholarship regarding anti-Black racism in Canada—that is, the tendency to lean on race theory, history, or current events in the US and assert their applicability, uncritically, within Canada. Education scholar Awad Ibrahim (2017) has recently written of this, as well. All theory is situated within history, and a CRT that is useful in Canada must acknowledge the specific Canadian historical realities of anti-Black racism (Zellars, 2016). Thus, I argue that one of the important distinguishing characteristics of doing race work in Canada is the persistent counternarrative of “nice Canada” and its supporting historical icons such as the Underground Railroad and Canadian “open border” immigration narratives, both described in detail by education historian Timothy Stanley (2011) and Canadian critical theorist Sunera Thobani (2007).

Finally, I take time in this chapter to address the contention that, despite the distinct historical presence of Black people in Canada and the provincial prerogative of public education within Canada (Backhouse, 1999), both CRT and the experiences of anti-Black racism in public schools may be cohesively characterized as “Canadian.” In other words, CRT is a theory and method that does not rely on the historical minutiae and political sovereignty of each province so as to render it nebulous and invisible. This section introduces, in some detail, the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (2011; Crenshaw et al., 1995), Daniel Solórzano and Tara Yosso (2002), Carol Aylward (1999), and Constance Backhouse (1999). In the final section of Chapter 2, I introduce the foundational work of CRT in the context of education (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998) and make theoretical connections to Canadian education in light of its specific history of anti-Black racism.

Methodology.

In Chapter 3, I describe my methodology, methods, and data sources. I use Arthur Frank's (2010) narrative analysis methodology, which he described as a "practice of criticism" (p. 73), that is as "a refusal to accept immediate, commonsense understanding, while at the same time having the most profound respect for and curiosity about commonsense understandings" (p. 73).

I also relate this methodology--narrative analysis--to counterstorytelling, an important epistemological tool within CRT and within critical race ethnographic research (Vaughn, 2011). Counterstorytelling, I describe, helps Black students name their own realities and disrupt the discourse of the dominant society in transformative ways (Ladson-Billings, 1998). My son's story, for example, serves as a counternarrative to both his principal and teacher's insistence that his difficulties in his classroom were solely attributable to his own poor behaviour. His story, I insist, is reflective of the large body of scholarly literature that documents the ways that Black children are commonly stigmatized in their classrooms as troublemakers and less capable, less intelligent students than their white classmates—particularly in instances where mental health challenges and disabilities surface that demand support and treatment (Agyepong, 2010; Crenshaw, Ocen, & Nanda, 2015; Delpit, 1988, 2006; Ibrahim & Abdi, 2016; James, 2012; James & Taylor, 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Morris, 2007; Ramey, 2015; Skiba et al., 2002; Van den Bergh, Denessen, Hornstra, Voeten, & Holland, 2010). Recently, educational scholar David Ramey (2015) collected data on race and discipline on 60,000 schools in the US and gathered overwhelming evidence that proved how Black children were criminalized for the same transgressions in schools for which white children rudimentarily receive medical attention.³ Although the unwillingness of Canadian institutions, such as public schools, to widely collect race-based data impedes the ability of researchers to comparatively study race and schooling

throughout the country (Chan & Chunn, 2014), I argue that studies pertaining to Canada, race, and schooling do highlight parallel findings to the US (Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014; Tocyner, 2010).

Finally, I also use a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology theorized by Fairclough (2013) to both identify and critically analyze primary and secondary historical materials pertaining to the history and experiences of Black Canadian children in public schooling in Canada. Fairclough (2013) described CDA as “a form of critical social science geared to better understanding of the nature and sources of social wrongs, the obstacles to addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming those obstacles” (p. 235). Thus, critical discourse analysis is useful for analyzing the ways that dominant historical and popular narratives of Black Canadian history focused on the Underground Railroad and centred on the Black American historical experience have obscured the histories of anti-Black schooling discrimination throughout Canada.

Learning and resistance in 19th-century Black communities.

Chapter 4 introduces the reader to the tradition of education resistance in the context of the history of slavery in the US and its relationship to Black migration to Canada from the US. In this chapter, I address the following major question: Was the right to read restricted, as within the US, against the Black enslaved in Canadian history? Scholarly works centring the theme of transgressive learning practices during enslavement are significant because they present a powerful counternarrative to slavery studies scholarship focusing on Black oppression and bodily suffering and thus, decentralizing the theme of human agency from the histories of enslaved Blacks (Glymph, 2003; Hartman, 1997). As such, the history of informal and formal education practices—referred to commonly as “literacy practices”—within U.S. slave

communities has received a considerable amount of attention (Belt-Bayan, 2004; Bly, 2008; Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Fort, 1999; Gundaker, 2007; Moss, 2009; Span & Anderson, 2005; H. A. Williams, 2009). Additionally, the history of Black migration to Canada, I argue, emphasizes the right to free and equal education that enslaved Blacks held as a primary rationale for undertaking the tremendous risks of migration to Canada. In this chapter, I locate the history of Black education in the context of slavery and migration in North America.

Chapter 4 also apprises the reader of the upcoming comparative history in the proceeding chapter that analyzes what is known about Canada's discriminatory educational practices against Black migratory populations in Upper Canada from the US in the mid-19th century, a period coinciding with the creation of the first public school system under Egerton Ryerson's well-documented tenure (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Spencer, 1970; Winks, 1969). I also explore the important differences between the rights of Black people in slavery and freedom to learn in the US and Canada prior to the end of slavery in 1834.

Histories of public schooling in Canada.

In Chapters 5 and 6, I introduce the histories and practices of anti-Black racism in public schooling in Upper Canada/Canada West and Montréal, respectively. In Chapter 5, I describe the relationship between public schooling practices and violence against Black children historically and provide an analysis of practices in Ontario, most well-documented, and briefly discuss Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan. I also critically analyze all available secondary sources on anti-Black practices in early schooling in other parts of the country, such as Saskatchewan (Hamilton & Maroon Films, 2007; Hamilton, 2011; Shepard, 1986; Winks, 1969). I am concerned with the following questions in this chapter: What were the early experiences of Black migrants in Upper Canada/Canada West from the US from the mid-19th century until 1965, the

height of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement, in public schools in Canada? What are some of the challenges with researching early schooling experiences for Black families in Canada, and why is this research important?

In Chapter 6, I focus on Montréal—an area that has been left out almost completely from the scholarly documented histories of anti-Black racism in schooling in other parts of the country, despite currently containing Canada's second largest and most diverse Black community in the country. The primary questions addressed in this chapter are as follows: What is the historical landscape of anti-Black racial discrimination in Montréal? Finally, what were the experiences that Black children and Black educators commonly faced in Montréal's public schools with the arrival of the city's first large populations of Black immigrants in the 1960s? I consider the shifting cultural demographics in the city, particularly between 1960 and 1970, when the first large communities of Caribbean Anglophones and Haitians arrived in the city. I draw on interviews with former Black educators and principals, as well as former administrators, who provide invaluable information about the province's history of teacher recruitment from the Caribbean beginning in the 1960s, the challenges with racism that Black educators encountered as they advanced in their careers, and the "glass ceiling" employment limitations of tenured Black educators (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015; H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015).

Finally, I place in context, the history of the religious and linguistic divisions of the school boards until the 1990s, the implications for this division on Black schooling populations, and briefly, the impact of the eventual linguistic change in school boards in Montréal on Black student and teaching populations. This history is important for a number of reasons—numerically, experientially, and epistemologically. For example, Dr. Dorothy Williams,

Montréal historian and former director of the Black Community Resource Centre, has noted the small number of Black students who attended Catholic elementary schools prior to 1960 and also distinguished the racist treatment and learning practices that Black children encountered when they were enrolled in very small numbers in schools in Montréal versus composing larger demographics within schooling populations (D. Williams, 1999; D. Williams, personal communication, October 29, 2014). I also identify and pay homage to the profound impact that Black Caribbean educators had, educationally and pedagogically, on the school boards in Montréal beginning in the 1960s.

Implicit bias and teacher education.

Building on my call for corrective justice at the end of Chapter 5, in Chapter 7 I propose long-term, systemic interventions in public schools in Canada to reckon with the history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination and address, practically, the impact of this history for Black school children. Specifically, I issue a clarion call for the need for mandatory implicit bias training for all educators and staff in public schools throughout Canada (Zellars, 2016).

¹ Upper Canada, the predecessor of modern Ontario, was created in 1791 by the division of the old French colony of Québec into Lower Canada in the east and Upper Canada in the west. Upper Canada existed from 1791 to 1841 and generally comprised present-day Southern Ontario. Canada West, previously known as Upper Canada was governed jointly along with Canada East (formerly Lower Canada) from 1841 to 1867, when Canada West became the province of Ontario under Confederation. Throughout, I refer to both Upper Canada and Canada West depending on the relevant time period I am discussing.

² To see examples of this, see Lagacé, 2015 and Ugolini, 2015.

³ Notably, Ramey (2015) discovered that schools with larger populations of Black students organized their disciplinary policies based on the criminal justice system rather than on the mental health system.

Chapter 2: Canadian Critical Race Theory and Education

In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate how CRT is useful for characterizing and better understanding Canada's history of anti-Black racism and the ways in which its historicity informs the present.¹ As an educator, mother, and researcher, I am particularly interested in the ways that the historicity of anti-Black discrimination in Canadian public schooling informs current educational practices, policies and curricula, and impacts the ongoing educational experiences of Black students. The thesis herein is that all provinces evidence historical practices of racial discrimination against Black children, and the effects of this discrimination are seen, currently, in public schooling systems nationwide. As such, I use the expression "Canadian public schooling" to signify the ways that Canadian schooling systems nationally have been complicit in both historical and continuing practices of anti-Black racism. I also acknowledge the reality of provincial responsibility for curriculum, pedagogy, and educational standards. I am clear that these standards are an individual provincial affair. Yet, akin to other forms of institutional discrimination, I describe anti-Black racism as a consistent and coherent set of schooling practices throughout the country. I argue that Canadian CRT is helpful, as well, for illuminating the historical realities of anti-Black racism for Black Canadians and also for sharpening the relationship between the history of anti-Black discrimination and the contemporary schooling experiences of Black children throughout Canada.

I have divided this chapter into four primary sections. In the first, I provide a brief overview of the history of CRT as it was developed in the mid-1980s in the US. I address its radical break from critical legal theory (Crenshaw et al., 1995) and its critique of the limitations of legal retribution for the racial grievances of Black people in North America. In the second section, I discuss CRT and its relation to history. In the third section, I make the case for a

Canadian CRT in light of Canada's distinct history from the US. Although I interweave relevant varying historical traditions of anti-Black racism between Québec and the rest of Canada throughout my dissertation, given Québec's historical struggle for sovereignty (Leroux, 2010a, 2015; Mills, 2010) and my focus on the history of Montréal's anti-Black schooling practices, this chapter is not concerned with an in-depth analysis of each province's distinct historical practices of anti-Black racism against its Black populations. Rather, in the tradition of the extensive, pre-existing body of CRT scholarship, I pay attention to patterns of racial discrimination throughout the nation historically and note the ongoing dual settler tensions within Québec. What is unique and important to Québec, as I discuss below, is its existence as a white settler colony, established under two empires, that has historically engaged equally in colonial violence against Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Francophone cultural resistance positions the British conquest of 1760 as a form of colonialism and yet, continues to cling to a robust narrative of French-nativism and Anglo-oppression at the expense of the province's deeply marginalized and Othered populations (Leroux, 2010a, 2015; Letourneau, 2006; Mills, 2010). Québec, as a result, has uniquely preserved a denial of its own history of anti-Black racism (Lagacé, 2015; Nelson, 2013, 2014). These particularities in Québec, thus, have implications for the ways that CRT should name the troubled nature of anti-Blackness in Québec and, as one of its theoretical premises, advocate for greater historical literacy in popular and academic learning spaces within the province. In the fourth section of this chapter, I consider the value of CRT in the context of public education—that is, in understanding the history of anti-Black discrimination, its relationship to present practices of schooling discrimination, and what usefulness it offers to Canadian educators.

Section 1: Overview

The history of critical race theory.

CRT is a body of thought that emerges from history—that is, the lived and visceral experiences of anti-Black racism in the US and Canada and, specifically, the consistent disparities of survival of Black life that appear in the present and arise from patterns of history. CRT arose from the historical and social legacies of chattel slavery in the US (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Crenshaw, 2011), and as utilitarian theory, makes legible the relationship between the history of American anti-Black racism and its modern constitution (Crenshaw et al., 1995). The history of American chattel slavery is uniquely foundational to CRT in the US because its 400-year practice was the bedrock for American capitalism, industrialization, and prosperity (Baptist, 2014); gave birth to modern policing, the prison industrial complex, and an unparalleled system of mass incarceration (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2009; Coates, 2014; Muhammad, 2010); and crystalized ideas about “Black criminality” that are as hardened in the present as in the past (Alexander, 2010; Blackmon, 2009; Hartman, 1997; Muhammad, 2010). CRT reveals both the limitations of integration theory propelled by the U.S. Civil Rights Movement as a panacea to institutional racism and the stark limitations of legal liberalism and formal equality that arose out of the critical legal studies movement in the early and mid-1980s (Crenshaw et al., 1995, p. xxii).

CRT is a theoretical approach founded by Latino and African-American attorneys, scholars, and law professors in the US and Canada who first aimed to centre race and anti-Black racism squarely within a growing critique of legal liberalism lead primarily by white, male scholars in the discipline of critical legal studies in the 1980s (Aylward, 1999; Crenshaw et al., 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). One of the underpinnings of CRT, theoretically, is a supposition of anti-Black racism in the US and Canada given the long histories of chattel slavery

practiced by both the French and British empires in Canada and within the US (Nelson, 2010; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). At its inception,

CRT was not . . . simply a product of a philosophical critique of the dominant frames on racial power. It was also a product of activists' engagement with the material manifestations of liberal reform. Indeed, one might say that CRT was the offspring of a post-civil rights institutional activism that was generated and informed by an oppositionalist orientation toward racial power. (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 1260)

Kimberlé Crenshaw et al. (1995) argued that for scholars of colour whose work was devoted to the history of institutional racism, critical legal studies' primary "contention that law was neither apolitical, neutral, nor determinate hardly seemed controversial" (p. xxii). The early critique of the fallacy of "rights" theory within the legal system by critical legal studies scholars was also at great variance with the historical experiences and traditions of many generations of Black Americans, for whom the personal, legal, and physical struggles for equality after Reconstruction had necessarily broadened an understanding of social and legal rights (Foner, 2011a). Crenshaw et al. (1995) explained, for example, that the transformative power of rights discourse given the rigid, long-standing history of slavery and racial oppression transcended a mere "means to ends" analysis for most Black people. She explained that the notion of a historically oppressed group of people exercising long-denied, fundamental human rights—albeit within a flawed legal system—signified a transformative dimension for African Americans who were able to finally "re-imagine themselves as full, rights bearing citizens within the American political imagination" (Crenshaw et al., 1995, pp. xxiii–xxiv).

Section 2: Critical Race Theory and History

Canadian CRT arises from Canada's history of anti-Black racism—a history that has produced less visible scholarship than the US due, in no small part, to the failure within Canadian academic institutions to yet invest in advanced degree-bearing programs committed to the study of Black life and history in the nation (Nelson, 2010; Zellars, 2015a). There are also a number of important distinctions that undergird the historical underpinnings of CRT between the US and Canada.

Slavery.

Like the US, the territories in North America that became Canada were slave-holding colonies whose conception of Blackness, as with the rest of the modern world, was based upon the construction of whiteness and white superiority (Coates, 2015), as well as the condition of racialized servitude exacted upon the Black body (Cooper, 2006; Nelson, 2010; Winks, 1971). New France² was the site of the greatest concentration of enslaved peoples within Canada (Cooper, 2006; Mackey, 2010; Winks, 1971). Although the first recorded person of African descent in Canada is recorded as a Benin linguist and freeman, Mathieu da Costa (Hill, 1981), slavery was formally sanctioned by the French and British crowns in 1701 and 1790, respectively, although both colonialists permitted slavery informally by tangentially related agreements much earlier (Winks, 1971). The existence of slavery in Canada and Québec created a relationship of hierarchical racialized servitude between white slave owners and enslaved peoples of African descent.³ This history is one point of entry for characterizing CRT within a Canadian context.

Historian and activist Angela Davis (1983) has alluded to the US as the most adept nation at engaging a robust and dialectical discourse of anti-Black racism given its history of plantation

slavery and uniquely, its subsequent construction of nationhood. The U.S. Constitution was based, as a number of slave studies scholars have pointed out, squarely upon practices and values of white supremacy (Coates, 2011; Foner, 2011b). As a young college student, I once heard Davis speak of Mississippi, with seeming irony, as the best state within the US to discuss race frankly. What other nation, she pondered, has a history of anti-Black brutality so grave that the co-existence of Blacks and white southerners demands continuous dialogue about and reckoning with the state-sanctioned, historically recorded torturing of Black bodies?

Davis' sentiment also illuminates the importance of comparative analysis between practices of anti-Blackness in the US and Canada—a country so sophomoric in its historical racial analysis that it does not, as a matter of provincial education policy, proscribe the topics of slavery and Canadian anti-Black racism as foundational subjects in high school history curricula (Blondin, 1990; Lebrun et al., 2002). Legal scholar Constance Backhouse (1999), citing African-Canadian novelist and historian Dionne Brand, argued that this absence has created a pervasive “mythology of racelessness” (p. 14) that supports Canadians’ “stupefying innocence” (p. 14) regarding practices of historical racism throughout Canada. Québec’s history of the enslavement of Black peoples is, in fact, a subject so widely avoided in both social and educational spaces that when raised, it is often abated by a nationalist narrative that shifts away from the fact of its own foundational white supremacy in the province (Leroux, 2013; Mills, 2010). This tendency is a reflection of Canada’s practice of “polite racism”—a decorum-based set of racialized codes, microaggressions, and speech that governs the movement and treatment of Black people within the nation (Backhouse, 1999; Bakan, 2008; Razack, 2007). Yet, as Backhouse (1999) explained, “Canadian history is rooted in racial distinctions, assumptions, laws, and activities, however fictional the concept of ‘race’ may be” (p. 7). Thus, the analysis of

historical comparison is for the purpose of illuminating the racial codes and attitudes that slavery has left behind in its own “afterlife” in Canada (Hartman, 2008). Although the climate, topography, and the exorbitant cost of clothing slaves sufficiently within Canada impeded the desire of French and British settlers to exploit Black people on a similar scale as tropical and semi-tropical regions where the enslaved often came to comprise the majority of the population, a comparative examination of the “afterlife of slavery” (Hartman, 2008, p. 6) in the US provides a tangible entry point for framing Canada's history of white supremacy.

In the US, CRT arose to directly confront institutional racism within the legal system and other institutions of power (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1995). In Canada, however, a narrative of systemic anti-Black racism has not been as well articulated within the historical literature or developed by legal scholars as in the mid-1980s by critical race theorists in the US (Crenshaw et al., 1995). This historical absence may be attributable to three primary reasons. First, the general absence of structural, race-specific legal discrimination within Canada led instead to an undelineated, de facto racism that operated throughout the country historically (Aylward, 1999; Backhouse, 1999; Bannerji, 2000). Second, the dominance of a white race has propelled a popular narrative of the French and English in Québec as founding fathers and “founding races,” engaged in the country's most important historical “racial” conflict (Leroux, 2010a; Mills, 2010). Critical theorists, such as Darryl Leroux (Leroux, 2010a), have argued that this myth of Québec's founding fathers has rendered invisible anti-Black racism directed toward Black Canadians as a result of the nationalistic, white supremacist racial binary that sustains it. Finally, CRT developed from the work of Black scholars and scholars of colour in the US and these populations were largely absent from academia in Canada at the time CRT was being theorized in universities throughout the US (Aylward, 1999).

De facto racism. De facto racism throughout Canada operated generally outside of the rule of legal codification, but was supported tacitly by the law (Backhouse, 1999). I invoke the term de facto frequently throughout my work because it is commonly invoked by those who theorize race in Canada and is used as a clarifying term by scholars who study the history of anti-Black schooling discrimination in Canada (Aylward, 1999; Backhouse, 1999; Hamilton, 2012; Howard & Smith, 2011). As Canadian legal scholar, Constance Backhouse (1999) has written, historically, “racist whites spearheaded campaigns within several provinces to restrict the entry of Black immigrants” (p. 175), and these activities were supported locally by police forces, sheriffs, and other state-sanctioned actors. These forms of anti-Black racism entail “de facto racism.”

Occasionally, anti-Black racism was also codified within Canadian law. Backhouse (1999) explained,

An Order-in-Council was drafted in 1911, to prohibit the landing in Canada of “any immigrant belonging to the Negro race,” but it was never declared in force. Concerned about the potential diplomatic problems this overtly exclusionary policy might create between Canada and the United States, the authorities opted to utilize unwritten, informal rules to accomplish the same end by more indirect means. Similar legislation was enacted and enforced in Newfoundland in 1926. (p. 176)

Additionally, public petitions and municipal council resolutions were at times used in Canada to discourage the settlement of Black migrants and protect owners of racially segregated taverns, restaurants, theatres, cinemas, and cemeteries (Mathieu, 2010; Thornhill, 2008). These public actions were also used to defend or protect perpetrators of racially motivated state violence and police shootings of Blacks (Backhouse, 1999). These legal petitions and resolutions were

drafted in race-neutral language (Backhouse, 1999). The example, below, of Viola Desmond will provide a clarifying case study of how race neutral legislation specifically targeted Black Canadians in the context of Canada's historical practices of de facto racism.

De facto anti-Black racism occurred in a variety of ways within Canada as acts of violence enacted and supported both by the state and white communities (Backhouse, 1999). In 1930, a group of 75 hooded Klansmen marched through Oakville, Ontario, to threaten a man perceived to be a Black male resident, Ira Johnson, from living with a white female resident (Backhouse, 1999). Oakville Police Chief Kerr met with a number of the Klansmen after they threatened Johnson and removed him from his home, only to set it ablaze. Chief Kerr recognized a number of the white men in Klan uniform and shook their hands openly in public (Backhouse, 1999, p. 174). Backhouse (1999) described that Kerr "assured himself personally that 'no damage to property or person warranting his interference' had occurred" (p. 174), and he "made no arrests, offered no warnings or further complaint, and the Klansmen continued on their way" (p. 174). Toronto newspaper, the *Daily Star*, quoted Oakville's mayor, J. B. Moat, whose response was that the Klu Klux Klan (KKK) "acted quite properly in the matter" (as cited in Backhouse, 1999, p. 175). Major news publications, Oakville's *The Star and Independent*, London's *Free Press*, Milton's *Canadian Champion*, and Toronto's *Daily Star* all reported the event as one that had occurred in a tasteful, civilized manner by the KKK (as cited in Backhouse, 1999).

The Viola Desmond story further illustrates how race neutral legislation has been strategically used to support community and business practices of racial discrimination in Canada and to simultaneously conceal historical practices of anti-Black racism by upholding a prima facie standard for anti-Black racism that is established beyond a reasonable doubt. In

1946 in Glasgow, Nova Scotia, Viola Desmond, a successful Black Canadian entrepreneur, was assaulted and tossed out of a movie theatre when she refused to sit in the upstairs balcony section reserved, per theatre policy, for Black moviegoers (Backhouse, 1999). She was convicted under a local statute that contained “no explicit provisions relating to racial segregation” (Backhouse, 1999, p. 239), but rather stipulated that patrons were to pay an amusement tax for each ticket purchased, with the tax varying depending on the location of the seat within the theatre. She was convicted and assigned a fine of \$26 for her failure to pay a one cent tax.

Constance Backhouse (1999) surmised the case in a way that crystallizes the difficulty of historicizing Canada's history of “raceless racism.” She explained,

In the best tradition of Canadian racelessness, the prosecution witnesses never explained that Viola Desmond had been denied the more expensive downstairs ticket on the basis of her race. No one admitted that the theatre patrons were assigned seats on the basis of race. In an interview with the Toronto *Daily Star* several weeks later, [the theatre owner] would insist that neither he nor the Odeon Theatres management had ever issued instructions that main floor tickets were not to be sold to Blacks. It was simply a matter of seating preferences: “It was customary for [colored persons] to sit together in the balcony, [the owner would assert].” (pp. 231–232)

Thus, the subject of Desmond's Blackness was not specifically mentioned during the trial and, as Backhouse (1999) added, “If Viola Desmond had not taken any further action in this matter, the surviving trial records would have left no clue as to the real significance of the case” (p. 232). Esmeralda Thornhill (2008) has referred to this tradition of race neutral legal subversion as one that effectively “facilitates and sustains an animus of hostility against African descended peoples” (p. 332).

Duelling narratives of oppression in Québec.

In understanding the development and efficacy of CRT in a Canadian context, it is essential to locate the history of colonialism in Québec and consider how this history continues to inform the national political order within the country. One lens helpful in conceptualizing the white supremacist narratives between the French and English colonial traditions of Québec, is the history of the Civil War, particularly with its divergent historical positions of the North and South touted as justification for the War itself. This comparative framework, evoked briefly herein, provides insights into the nature and significance of Québec's history of dual colonization. Historical comparisons between the British and French colonial struggles in Canada and the Civil War in the US help elucidate how French Québec has (a) shaped a dominant, popular historical narrative of Québec consumed by its historical memory; (b) obscured its history of white settler colonialism and institutional racism by prioritizing Québec's nationalist struggles; and (c) finally, in its fallacious construction of history, has minimized the histories and contributions of Black peoples within the province.

As theorist Himani Bannerji (2000) has alluded, this 'fight between brothers' has been produced as a racialized narrative that classifies the French and British as the founding fathers of Canada, as well as the most visible, significant races in a diverse nation at the expense of all others (Bannerji, 2000). This narrative is used to classify the unique relationship of two European empires who first arrived in Canada intent on colonizing both the land and Indigenous populations, empires locked in an intra-European colonial conflict over land acquisition, sovereignty, and ultimately, political, cultural, and linguistic dominance within the nation (Bannerji, 2000; Leroux, 2010a, 2010b). An insistence upon a unique culture and experience as French Québeckers living in a province founded through white settler colonialism is akin to the

popular assertions of cultural distinction made by white southerners in the US in the mid-1800s who rejected abolition. Cultural theorist Ta-Nehisi Coates (2011) has noted that white Southerners rejected abolition because their economy was tethered to the bodies of enslaved Blacks, because their economic plan was undergirded by an expansionist agenda and, importantly, because Southerners asserted that their way of life was culturally distinct from the North.

Darryl Leroux (2010b), in his analysis of the commemoration of the 400th anniversary of the founding of Québec, has explained how this spectacle further contributed to the mythmaking of Québec as native French territory through rituals designed to create a false sense of “collective belonging” (p. 11). He explained how the ceremony's pivotal event, a performance entitled “Recontres,” portrayed a monolithic history of Québec's founding with the arrival of Champlain in 1608. He detailed how Champlain was portrayed with outstretched arms alongside a parallel narration about Indigenous people “coming to meet [the French]” (Leroux, 2010b, p. 16) at the shoreline, and how the performance thus cast a story of colonial “goodwill,” masking completely the subjects of colonial violence and land theft. Leroux wrote,

Champlain then makes the next logical step: the result of this encounter is the making of a new people. No longer indigenous, no longer French, the new people are Québécois. This encounter logic presents subjects with a narrative where everyone seems to gain. This is a move towards incorporation. Champlain's grand gestures towards how “we must celebrate our presence in New France” points to the universality of this subject position. Having incorporated the indigenous Other as Québécois only moments before, Champlain is free to speak for all the subjects in the “contact zone,” since, after all, there is now only *one subject* [emphasis added]. (p. 16)

In fact, Leroux (2010b) added, the erasure of violence in the colonial encounter, is complete within the commemorative display. He explained,

It is also important to consider how the liberal discourse of cultural pluralism on display in *Rencontres* through the encounter logic prevents the discussion of violence on the part of the French in any explicit form. Instead, this discourse authorizes a historical narrative narrowly related to Québécois nationalism, in which Champlain and his forebears create a new people, the Québécois, a seemingly benign and perhaps even mutually beneficial relationship between the French and Indigenous peoples. While this discourse might seem more “inclusive” or perhaps even more “just,” in following the liberal discourse of cultural pluralism, it also ignores particular forms of violence, a key in constituting normative Québécois subjects. (Leroux, 2010b, p. 16)

Leroux noted how this commonly repeated, popular presentation of French Québeckers as normative subjects has obscured the histories of white settler colonialism and institutional racism within the province (p. 18).

In the context of developing a Canadian-specific CRT, I am concerned with the existential repercussions of this “master narrative” that, as Leroux argued, has dominated French Québec. The work of Michel Rolph Trouillot is instructive here. Trouillot (1995) has written extensively about the ways that political subjects in power construct historical narratives that favour and affirm their version of history, as well as the ways these groups fortify these narratives over time. Such historical narratives then become inscribed in historical memory and contribute to the development and maintenance of powerful national imaginaries (Trouillot, 1995). In the context of the Civil War, for example, Coates (2011) explained how “the titans of American history minimized the role of slavery in the war. Some blamed the violence on

irreconcilable economic differences between a romantic pastoral South and a capitalistic manufacturing North, or on the hot rhetoric of radical abolitionists” (pp. 1–2).

This commemoration of the Civil War through popular “American design” (Coates, 2011) has also occurred in the context of Québec history, where provincial high school history curricula propagate a white settler-centred narrative of Québec and Canadian histories, but fail to detail the history of French colonization and the history of Trans Atlantic Slavery within the nation (Blondin, 1990; Lebrun et al., 2002; Leroux, 2010b).

In what historian David Blight has referred to as a “mourning without politics” (as cited in Coates, 2011, para. 14),⁴ a similar French Québécois nationalism centring an Acadian narrative of historical suffering (Leroux, 2010b, pp. 18–20), I suggest, has maintained French Québécois history and culture at the expense of reckoning with its own history of colonial and racial violence. Returning to his analysis of the commemoration of Québec’s 400th anniversary, Leroux (2010b) described how the ceremony’s dramatic performance explaining “the deportation and ethnic cleansing of the Acadians by the English in the eighteenth century” (pp. 19–20) was used to silence regarding French settler colonial violence. He explained,

I do not want to suggest that the normative Québécois subject cannot grasp the visceral nature of colonial violence, for instance, as we can see in the example of Scene 2 of *Rencontres*, where Acadian suffering is made understandable. On the contrary, the scene works to bring the Québécois and Acadian subjects together through a shared understanding of violence at the hands of British settlers. Instead, it is to question how certain discourses call subjects into being, while others simply do not. (Leroux, 2010b, pp. 19–20)

Leroux (2010b) concluded, “Remembering the Acadian deportation gives the Québécois subject a reason for the ongoing displacement of Indigenous people” (p. 20), while simultaneously erasing a representation of the history of French colonialism against Indigenous and other racialized populations in Québec. This poetic “mourning without politics” reinforces the narrative of Québécois suffering while erasing the history of white settler colonialism in the province.

Finally, I want to briefly consider how a narrative of Québécois oppression has both minimized and eclipsed the histories of Black Canadians and Black peoples living in Québec. Coates (2011) described how after the Civil War, the fallen Confederacy's scholarly chroniclers were aware of the need to preserve a history in their light. As such, they “grasped this historiographic challenge and, immediately after the war, began erasing all evidence of the crime—that is to say, they began erasing Black people—from the written record” (Coates, 2011, para. 9).

In Québec, the location of Nigger Rock⁵ in St. Armand has been a historic burial site contested for its name, as well as symbolically used to conceal Québec's history of slavery and anti-Blackness. For decades, this location on a private plot owned by the Benoit family has been known as a burial site for enslaved Blacks who arrived to Québec from the United States with a previous land owner, Loyalist Philip Luke, in the late 1700s (Yeoman, 2006, p. 11). Researcher Elizabeth Yeoman explained that an ongoing campaign “to document and place a monument at the site in St. Armand seeks to bring the story of slavery in the Eastern townships into the public collective consciousness” (Yeoman, 2006, p. 12). In addition to the persistent refusal of the Benoit family to allow any archeological exploration on their land, additional refusals were expressed by local whites in St. Armand and public officials, such as the Minister of Citizen

Relations and Immigration, André Boulerice (Yeoman, 2006, p. 14). Boulerice minimized the significance of slavery in Québec and the site by arguing that most slaves in Québec originated from “the West Indies and English colonies” and drawing stark distinctions between the conditions of slavery in Québec and the US (Yeoman, 2006, p. 14). The Benoit family has repeatedly advised Hank Avery, the local Black resident who has sought to memorialize the site since 1996, to abandon his memorialization efforts and to instead “concentrate his energies on little black children who could benefit a lot more from his services than long deceased slaves” (Yeoman, 2006, p. 18). In my conversation with Hank Avery in 2015, he explained that hostility from the Benoit family has increased towards him over the years. He stated that although he has lived in the area for many decades, “I will not go to St. Armand—to Nigger Rock-- without someone with me. The hostility is great and has not decreased over the years” (H. Avery, personal communication, October 13, 2015). When I asked him to describe the site on the Benoit property further, he explained,

A former family dug the graves on the land up, and this was reported in old news reports because it was family property. The original landowners had grave dug up. This happened before I got involved with efforts to memorialize the site. So, the desecration was already complete when I got involved. The missing headstones? Well, they were buried and broken up, is the rumor: They were broken and buried under the ground. (H. Avery, personal communication, October 13, 2015)

The efforts of the Benoit family, Minister Boulerice, and previous efforts to destroy the grave markers all highlight an effort to erase the history of Black slavery in St. Armand.

In other parts of Canada, two of the starkest examples of the erasure of Black Canadians from history are seen in the histories of Priceville and Africville—histories that involved, quite

literally, the physical and material erasure of these two Black Canadian communities from existence (Backhouse, 1999; National Film Board [NFB], Holness, & Sutherland, 2000). For example, in *Speakers for the Dead*, the documentary about a 19th-century Black community in Priceville, Ontario, the directors detail the surrounding white community's attempt to conceal the existence of the once thriving Black community (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000).

Disassembled by a white terror motivated by the desire to disavow the history of interracial familial relationships, local whites smashed, scattered, and obliterated pieces of tombstones denoting the Black community's existence (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000). This history of concealment may be seen, similarly, in St. Armand, Québec where Nigger Rock, the country's only known slave graveyard, is located (Farfan, 2003; Zellars, 2015a). Here, the family who owns the property on which the storied graveyard is located has, since the 1980s, ardently resisted attempts by scholars, archeologists, and historians to study the site and has also desecrated the graveyard by uprooting and smashing headstones, burrowing over the graves, and mixing the earth and remains together (H. Avery, personal communication, October 13, 2015).

Racial hierarchies and the law.

Finally, the practice of slavery throughout North America produced and enforced a racial hierarchy against those who were historically enslaved (Hartman, 1997, 2008; Wynter, 2003). In Canada, the institution of slavery as racialized ownership meant both the creation of an institutionalized racial distinction between white and Black bodies, as well as a hierarchical racialization in which whites were established as legally, socially, morally, culturally, spiritually, and intellectually superior (Backhouse, 1999). In her review of the every legal decision published in a Canadian law report between 1900 and 1950, as well as unreported decisions and every federal and provincial statute enacted during the same period, Backhouse asserted that

Canadian jurisprudence evidences the creation and maintenance of a systemic white racial hierarchy throughout Canada. She wrote,

The research that supports the narratives that follow proves, beyond debate, that the Canadian legal system played a principal and dominant role in creating and preserving racial discrimination. Racism is a deeply embedded, archly defining characteristic of Canadian history. This is a legacy that has contributed in tenaciously rooted and fundamental ways to the current shape of Canadian society. (Backhouse, 1999, p. 17)

Bouchard and Taylor's (2008) distinguishing language in their terms ethnocultural majority and ethnocultural minority is a modern example of the ways that hierarchical, racialized language is cloaked within a race-neutral framework, yet sustains a preferential treatment for white Québeckers in social policies and institutions, as well as the law. This hierarchy is illustrated by the repetitive examples of deference to the needs and fears of the white ethnocultural majority within their study, *Building the future: A time for reconciliation* (the "Bouchard Taylor Report"), while the authors simultaneously craft recommendations regarding diversity, accommodation, and cultural inclusion for the provincial government in this pivotal policy statement on diversity in Québec (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008).

This ethnocultural majority and minority distinction, cloaked in race neutral terminology, is disingenuous and raises the issue of the rule of hypodescent—namely, a question of who, racially, may be considered part of Québec's "ethnocultural majority." By referring repeatedly to the unique culture of the "ethnocultural majority" and a desire to preserve this category as exclusive, white French Québeckers become constitutive of this majority. In their report, Bouchard and Taylor (2008) embody an essentialist racial politics —albeit, with colourblind language to mark local racial distinctions. The danger with these categories is the same as for

those who would name race overtly as a category marking human difference. As Gotanda (1991) wrote, "Subordination occurs in the very act of a white person recognizing a black person's race" (p. 259), or in this case, by marking cultural difference via colourblind symbols and assigning epistemological, social, and cultural priority to the "ethnocultural majority" in Québec—that is, the white French-speaking majority (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008).

Section 3: Characterizing Canadian Critical Race Theory

Post-racial defined in terms of the Obama campaign cannot be taken to mean "beyond race" or even colourblind, but instead, to symbolize a particular kind of approach toward dominant racial sensibilities. (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 1320)

Beyond the academy, the opportunity to present a counter-narrative to the premature societal settlement that marches under the banner of post-racialism is ripe. In short, the next turn in CRT should be decidedly interdisciplinary, intersectional, and cross-institutional. (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 1262)

The discourse of un-racism.

Canada's terrain of racial discourses can, perhaps, best be described as steeped in a post-racial unracism, or mythical racelessness (Backhouse, 1999; Brand, 1994; Dei, 1998). Canada has histories of racism in general and, specifically, of anti-Black racism. Yet, such historical examples are commonly regarded in popular media as random sets of individual actions within an otherwise well-intentioned population, rather than institutionalized practices of racism (Backhouse, 1999; Brand, 1994; Legacé, 2014). A number of scholars have written extensively about the popular perception that there exists an absence of institutional racism within Canada (Backhouse, 1999; Cooper, 2007; Mackey, 2010; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; Schick, 2000).

Montréal activist-scholar, Delice Mugabo, has spoken about this perception in Québec

(Jahangeer, 2014). For instance, Mugabo's (personal communication, October 10, 2014) former organizing work as one of the few Black female members within the Federation des Femmes de Québec, the oldest feminist organization in the province, often focused on interventions with white Federation des Femmes de Québec members regarding their denials or minimalization of anti-Black racism in Québec (Jahangeer, 2014). Academic and political discourses pertaining to the history of slavery in Canada consistently minimize its existence by comparing it to the US (Mackey, 2010; Silverman, 1985; Trudel & d'Allaire, 2013; Winks, 1997). This acts to strengthen a narrative of "unracism" both in Québec and throughout Canada.

Significant to a Canadian narrative of racelessness, as well, is the way that First Nations peoples are oft excluded from racial categorization within Canada. The Bouchard Taylor report provides a salient contemporary example (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008). Within the 300-page report, the authors detail a history of Québécois nationalism and the importance of "reasonable accommodation" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 19) in a society where the "ethnocultural minority" shares competing social interests with Québec's "ethnocultural majority." These interests, deemed intrusions of nonnative Québeckers, are discussed as acting against the norms and values of white Québeckers born in Québec. In the opening pages of the report, the authors clarified that Native Americans are excluded from their critique of reasonable accommodation and discrimination, as they are not "stakeholders in [Québec] society" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 34) and, thus, are not stakeholders in a conversation about racial discrimination and reasonable accommodation in the province (p. 122). Rather, they explained, Indigenous peoples "have a status of a nation and not of an ethnic minority" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 122). This white declassification of First Nations Peoples as an "un-raced" monolithic group, despite the intersecting experiences of both colonialism and racial discrimination among racially

marginalized and First Nations communities throughout the nation, effectively bolsters Canada's self-designation as unracist. In this instance, this signifier also delegates the question of Indigeneity to the jurisdiction of the law—a forum that has historically failed First Nations peoples' attempts at land reclamation and sovereignty within Canada (Chartrand, 2001; Fraser, 2002; Freidland, 2009; Grammond, 2009; LaForme, 2005; Roberts & Doob, 1997, p. 505).

Post-race.

Kimberle Crenshaw's (2011) conception of post-racialism is helpful for understanding the ways that post-racism works within policy, theory, and general attitudes within Canadian society. Crenshaw (2011) described post-racism as “a compelling ideological frame that is poised to exile racial justice discourse to the hinterlands of contemporary political thought” (p. 1313). She added that post-racism signifies a general attitude and politic that race is simply no longer a worthy point of discussion in conversations about equality because it no longer meaningfully matters, given a legal system that is premised on true formal equality (Crenshaw, 2011).

From the vantage of history, post-racial discourse is used to signify a racial struggle that has already been fought and that has successfully overcome past historical inequities. Most importantly, it serves as a call to remain steadfast in an ever optimistic “now” through its use of symbolic truth-telling icons that are projected as determinate. The most significant of these icons, Crenshaw (2011) asserted, is President Barack Obama. She described,

Post-racial discourse today operates not only to de-historicize race in American society, but also to reframe the contours of this contemporary moment as constituting the opposite of what preceded it. By these lights, a post-racial America is a racially egalitarian

America, no longer measured by sober assessments of how far we have come, but by congratulatory declarations that we have arrived. (p. 1314)

While Crenshaw focuses specifically on the contemporary US context, one can think of how Canada's post-racial narrative blames the US for the horror of slavery in North America (effectively letting both Canada and Mexico off the hook), acknowledges indeterminate and scattered anomalies of racial discrimination rather than systemic anti-Black racism, and disavows claims of institutional racism by promoting a belief in open borders and shared citizenship (Aylward, 1999; Champagne, 2015; Schick, 2000; Thobani, 2007). Whereas a post-racial discourse in the context of the US is steeped in "the past," post-racial discourse in Canada, as Thobani and others have argued, is steeped in the "never had been" (Backhouse, 1999; Leroux, 2010b; Mackey, 2010; Nelson, 2013; Thobani, 2007).

Critical race theory and citizenship.

Canada's immigration and citizenship policies are an important entry point into understanding Canada's history of anti-Black racism because of the seductive, historically obscured realities attached to national and social discourses regarding these policies (Razack, 2007; Thobani, 2007), as well as the history of anti-Black racism undergirding Canada's citizenship history in the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries (Hawkins, 1989; Jakubowski, 1997; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; Sifton, 1975; Thobani, 2007; Troper, 1975; B. Walker, 2008). I argue, also, that the reliance of citizenship policy on the law makes the historical site of citizenship important for characterizing Canadian CRT.

The argument proceeds as follows. Canada is a proud, diverse nation that is composed of uniquely liberal immigration laws and an opportunity for citizenship, distinct from the US and the rest of the West. Thus, claims about institutional racism within Canada must be both

irrational and untrue. Sunera Thobani (2007) has written that Canadians popularly describe their citizenship and immigration policies as the most liberal in the world, and this belief fosters a sense of collective pride and national identity, as well as sustains false collective beliefs about a tolerant, liberal national citizenship process. Sherene Razack (2007) has also developed this point about the formation of a collective national pride within her analysis of Canada's peacekeeping missions and the ways that these missions allow Canadians to experience themselves as privileged, tolerant global citizens through the suffering of racialized, subaltern Others. In her essay, "Stealing the Pain of Others," Razack described the ways that a Canadian national identity and pride as a "compassionate middle power" (p. 376) is both cultivated and maintained through its humanitarian missions abroad. In her critique of popular Canadian depictions of the Rwandan genocide and its local hero-making of General Dallaires, she wrote,

We have engaged in a peculiar process of consumption, one that is the antithesis to genuine outrage and what amounts to what I call "stealing the pain of others." I see this process as a national one. Believing ourselves to be citizens of a compassionate middle power who is largely uninvolved in the brutalities of the world, we have relied on images and stories of suffering to confirm our own humanitarian character. (Razack, 2007, pp. 375–376)

Critical theorist Thobani (2007) has also pointed out that Canada has used its much touted immigration and citizenship policies to create a normative construction of citizenship that continuously excludes racialized and Indigenous peoples within its borders. She wrote,

Citizenship emerged as integral to the very processes that transformed insiders (Aboriginals) into aliens in their own territories, while simultaneously transforming outsiders (colonizers, settlers, migrants) into exalted insiders (Canadian citizens). The

category citizen, born from the genocidal violence of colonization, exists in a dialectical relation with the Other, the Indian, for whom the emergence of this citizenship was deadly, not emancipatory. (p. 74)

She added,

Settlement, access to land, mobility, and the development of the market economy all relied upon this extension of civil and political rights to settlers. With these rights invested in the institution of citizenship, the institution itself became inseparable from the forced migrations of Aboriginal peoples onto reserves and the destruction of their communities as sovereign entities. (p. 74)

For Black peoples in Canada, a normative construction of citizenship treats Black immigrants as threatening to the “nation”—even in the instance that multigenerational ties to Canada exist. As an example, Thobani (2007) explained that although

non-preferred races were no longer overtly designated as such after the 1960s . . . their de facto unequal rights have been maintained through their ideological designation as immigrants, newcomers, new Canadians, and visible minorities, even after they acquire de jure status as citizens. (p. 76)

A critical race analysis of Canada's narrative of immigration and citizenship entails both debunking Canada as an “open, tolerant” immigrant society and a legal analysis of the changes within immigration policies that, although purportedly race neutral, problematize Canada's narrative of colourblindness by evidencing disparate impacts on racialized minorities. A good example can be seen with Bill C-43, The Faster Removal of Foreign Criminals Act (2013). This Bill was passed quietly by the Conservative government of Stephen Harper in the spring of 2013. The most significant change to the law was the right to deport any non-Canadian-born person

with a conviction that garnered a sentence of 6 months—radically condensing the previous 2-year requirement (Bill C-43, Chapter 16, Section 24). Section 24:2 of Bill C-43 denotes, in stark colourblind language, the sentencing change permitting a right to deportation:

For the purpose of subsection (1), serious criminality must be with respect to a crime that was punished in Canada by a term of imprisonment of at least six months or that is described in paragraph 36(1)(b) or (c).

Certainly, the Bill contains no race-specifying language. Yet, a critical race analysis of C-43 allows a number of things to be “unpacked” that otherwise remain invisible *prima facie*. The first step of analysis begins with history. Canada has a history of slavery whose conception of Blackness, as with the rest of the colonial world, was based upon a belief in white racial superiority and a social acceptance of Black people as worthy of enslavement (Cooper, 2007). Canada also has documented histories of discrimination towards people of colour, most notably immigrants from the Black diaspora (Hawkins, 1989; Jakubowski, 1997; Mathieu, 2010; Sifton, 1975; Thobani, 2007). As an example, Canada instituted its first race-based exclusionary clause in the context of 1911 immigration legislation that prevented Black immigrants from entering the country (Mathieu, 2010). Anti-Black immigration policies have also, importantly, been sustained through *de facto* actions, such as anti-Black violence (both by the state and white citizens) against Black men and threats of lynching invoked to specifically deter Black migration to Canada. In one example, also from 1911, in Edmonton, a white female named Hazel Huff (as cited in Mathieu, 2010) falsely reported that she had been raped by, quote, “a big, black, burly nigger” (p. 53) in order to assist the “cause of preventing further Black migration to Canada” (p. 53) with her lie. An examination of historical statistics of deportation reveals a disproportionate impact on Blacks and racial and ethnic minorities in Canada (Cohen, 1994;

Mills, 2013), given the histories of hyper-surveillance and prosecutorial over-charging that Black communities have historically faced (Alexander, 2010; Chan & Chun, 2014). As a final point of analysis for characterizing Canadian CRT in the context of immigration, it is important to note the popular perception that Black Canadians are from “somewhere else” and lack the same native relationship to Canada as those of French or British descent (D. Mugabo, personal communication, October 10, 2014). These biases inform both the law and social policies that influence anti-Black immigration policies, overtly and blindly, such as those created in 1911 and with Bill C-43 (Lawrence, 2008; McConnell & Leibold, 2001).

Section 4: Critical Race Theory and Education

In the last section of this chapter, I frame a discussion of CRT within the context of education to characterize some of the relevant talking points in the context of education, as well as explain its significance. In particular, I discuss the distinctions between formal equality and inequality in education.

The myth of formal equality.

Strict or formal equality is a legal presumption of the equal distribution of fairness within an institution that ignores actual social diversity—such as class, racial, and cultural diversity--contained within the institution. Formal equality is powerful because it overshadows institutions with a premise of fairness and equality that is essential to the function of an institution. It is also dangerous for this same reason. For example, in the context of the law, the presumption of formal equality operates as a principle that reduces legal outcomes to fair proceedings bolstered by a colourblind legal rubric.

The presumption of strict equality also operates within the institution of public schooling, with its normative language focused on “all children,” “no child left behind,” and within official

policies of multiculturalism (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Formal equality, as I will detail, is well illustrated in the classic language of the 1896 U.S. *Plessy v. Ferguson* case, which Crenshaw (1998) has argued, bolstered and has sustained racial violence despite the eventual reversal of the separate but equal doctrine established in the 1896 case. Additionally, the presumption of fairness that operates in the public schooling system is a divisive force that has, as one example, both harnessed and polarized the debate in contemporary schooling politics regarding charter schools and public schools (Noguera, 2011). This presumption has created rigid educational adages regarding the success and failure of each child based on “personal effort” and has rendered the term “drop-out” a signifier pertaining to a lack of personal responsibility rather than, as both George Dei (1997) and Jessica Ruglis (2009) have argued, a tool of social resistance and self-preservation for many poor Black teens who experience persistent schooling violence from teachers and staff. Significantly, legal historian Barrington Walker (2010) has pointed out the deep historical biases embedded into the history of Canada's public schooling system and has asked, “Why were the attendance figures [for Black students in the 1800s] so dismally low” (p. 35) if the law—prima facie colourblind—allowed equal access to Canadian public schools? The answer is simple, he has argued: an entrenched and widespread “prejudice by whites” (p. 36) throughout Canada.

CRT has been helpful in deconstructing the myth of formal equality within the framework of the law and most importantly, has shown how the belief in formal equality underlies other institutions, such as public schooling (Crenshaw, 1998). In the US, the abandonment of the idea and practice of “separate but equal” occurred when the Supreme Court officially overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 (Crenshaw, 1998). This case established that where formal equality exists on the face of the law and

separate, yet “symmetrical treatment” (Crenshaw, 1998, p. 282) governs spaces or regulations regarding Blacks and whites, racial inequality does not exist. Where symmetrical treatment may be determined, the court held, inequalities are rendered knowable only within the private sphere, rather than within the jurisdiction of the highest court of the land (Crenshaw, 1998). In other words, the Supreme Court dictated that where inequities between Blacks and whites exist in this context, these private matters may be resolved between individuals or through changes in social policy. It has been widely understood that *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) overturned both the logic and holding of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (Crenshaw, 1998).

Yet, Crenshaw (1998) has used a CRT analysis to show how the concept of symmetrical treatment, as well as the analytic of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, are reified within colourblind jurisprudence where courts are most likely to regard formal equality abstracted from contemporary social realities. The attention that critical race theorists pay to institutions, such as public schooling, also provide tools with which to unpack the false notion of formal equality. Although public schools provide symmetrical treatment for all children—such as access, mixed classes, shared use of facilities within schools—disparate statistics within scholarly educational literature pertaining to drop-out, tracking, remediation, suspension and expulsion rates, the impact of zero tolerance policies, and the use of police intervention in schools⁶ reflect a failure of an embodiment of formal equality within our schools and also a failure to reckon with the widespread history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination.

The Baldus study provides an example of how CRT may be used for interpretative purposes when institutions fail to align disproportionate statistical data with evidentiary standards for racial discrimination (Davis, 1989). The Baldus study was used in the well-known U.S. Supreme Court Case of *McCleskey v. Kemp* (1987) where, on appeal, a defendant argued

that the death penalty had been administered in a racially discriminatory manner, in violation of the 14th amendment (Davis, 1989). He supported his argument by using findings from the Baldus study, which looked at 2,500 murder cases in Georgia and found that Black defendants who murdered whites were 4.3 times more likely to receive the death penalty than if they had murdered a Black person (Davis, 1989). The U.S. Supreme Court ultimately held that the findings were not significant enough to overturn the lower court's holding of the death penalty (Davis, 1989).

Peggy Davis (1989) has written about racial *cognitive drifts*—internalized discriminatory beliefs about Black people—that function in material ways within our legal system and other institutions, regardless of the institutional presumption of formal equality or the symmetrical treatment standard set forth in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In her discussion of *McCleskey v. Kemp*, Davis (1989) concluded,

The *McCleskey* decision wronged blacks as potential crime victims to the extent that it reflects a heightened social reaction to unlawful killing when victims happen to be white. [One] knows that when decision-makers in the court system are empathetic or indifferent in racially determined ways, they express attitudes that leave blacks vulnerable, within and without the court system, to judgments based upon cognitive drifts that favor their denigration. [One] therefore understands that the *McCleskey* sentence, and its appellate affirmations, also wronged blacks *as a people*. (p. 1576)

The results of *McCleskey v. Kemp* and its rejection of the Baldus study provide great insight into the unwillingness of institutions to consider statistical disparities in favour of racially marginalized populations where issues of race matter, even as *McCleskey v. Kemp* highlighted, in the context of a death row conviction.

Davis's (1989) analysis of *McCleskey v. Kemp* provides two important analytical tools for thinking through the relevance of CRT with the institution of public schooling within Canada. First, Davis named a series of common racial biases that support the conviction of Black defendants. Davis argued that when "decision-makers in the court system are empathetic or indifferent in racially determined ways, they express attitudes that leave Blacks vulnerable" (pp. 1576–1578). Second, cognitive drifts, or internalized biases, may be similarly weighed in the context of public schooling with principals, teachers, and administrators and considered for their material impacts where clear examples of disparate racial disproportions exist, those well documented within education scholarship (Howard, 2014; James, 2012; Ramey, 2015; Ruglis, 2009; Skiba et al., 2002; Torczynner, 2010).

Teaching history in the present.

In the context of Canadian history, CRT presents a framework for examining the history of anti-Black racism in public schooling and proposing a link to the present. In all areas of the law, legal historian Constance Backhouse (1999) has stated that the thousands of legal decisions, statutes, and legislative histories she reviewed for her study *Colour-Coded* "illustrate that the legal system has been profoundly implicated in Canada's racist history" (p. 15). Backhouse explained, "Legislative and judicial sources provide substantial evidence to document the central role of the Canadian legal system in the establishment and enforcement of racial inequality" (p. 15). Canadian historian, James Walker (1997), has also detailed the history of anti-Black racism and educational legislation in Nova Scotia and Ontario in his book, *"Race," Rights and the Law in the Supreme Court of Canada*. In a chapter comparing Jim Crow in the US to Canada in the late 19th century, he wrote that the most significant area of racial segregation, "at least in legislative terms, was in education" (p. 128). In Nova Scotia, Walker wrote, the Education Act

of 1836 permitted local commissioners to establish separate schools for “Blacks or people of colour” (p. 128). Additionally, The Common School Act of 1850 (the School Act) of Canada West permitted any 12 families or more to request a separate school for Black students (J. Walker, 1997). Although this 1850 legislation was crafted in race-neutral language, “in practice, 12 white family heads could request separate schools for Black children. Under this legislation, segregated education was imposed in most Ontario districts with a sizeable African-Canadian population” (J. Walker, 1997, p. 128). These separate facilities, importantly, were not funded by the city or province, but by special legislative grants and private donations. Thus, the possibility of public education for Black students existed only by the legislative and judiciary whims of local, white politicians and as a result of wealthy, largely white patrons (J. Walker, 1997). As historian Kristen McLaren (2004) explained, “Public schools for Black children were sorely lacking in public funding” because, although the School Act permitted the creation of separate publicly funded schools, “local trustees were not always forthcoming with their share of government grants” (p. 43). Additionally, private funding was sorely unreliable and, when provided, short lived (McLaren, 2004, p. 37; see also Winks, 1997, pp. 364–372).

In spite of the “formal equality” expressed in early Canadian educational legislation, critical race theorists also raise the presumption of inequality where separate schools were legally permissible given the history of slavery and racial inequality in Canada, and noted the colourblind legal provisions that permitted whites to establish separate, inferior schools for Blacks (Aylward, 1999; Backhouse, 1999; J. Walker, 1997). As educational historian Kristin McLaren (2004) noted in her important article on the forced segregation of Black students in Canada West, white families rather than Black families overwhelmingly advocated for the creation of separate schools for Black children.

CRT is also helpful for connecting clear statutory discrimination to the history of public schooling in Canada (Aylward, 1999; J. Walker, 1997). In 1884, as an example, a revision to the School Act of Nova Scotia permitted Black children to attend public schools in the areas in which they lived, but continued to allow school commissioners to nonetheless establish segregated schools (J. Walker, 1997). The School Act also ensured that schools that received provincial aid—that is, all Black schools—could only hire teachers with the lowest classed teaching certificates (J. Walker, 1997). This move ensured that the most highly qualified teachers were reserved for white children. The Nova Scotia law, thus, in its requirement of a low teaching qualification in exchange for provincial school funding, established “separate and inferior” facilities for Black students as an acceptable principle under the law (J. Walker, 1997, pp. 128–129). Chapter 5 further details the relationship between statutory discrimination and the history of public schooling in Canada.

Historicizing violence against Black children.

A CRT theoretical framework in the context of education offers a critique of violence by describing the historical treatment of Black children in slavery and analyzing the concepts of innocence and white claims of the supposed nonsentience of Black children's bodies. This is useful for understanding the disproportionate contemporary experiences of violence enacted upon Black children in public schooling (Hing, 2012; Ibrahim, 2016; Morris, 2012; Ramey, 2015; Ruglis, 2009; Williams, 1999).

Cultural historian Robin Bernstein (2011) has written about the ways that Black enslaved children were denied an association with childhood innocence—for Bernstein, a descriptive framework for detailing the violence she refers to as “racial innocence” (p. 4) in her work. Throughout her writing, Bernstein described how Black children were represented in popular

literature and media, consistently, as lacking physical and emotional sentience. In her book, *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*, Bernstein argued that “pickaninnies,” a popular representation of Black children that dominated children’s literature and popular media in the 19th century, were constructed as darkly coloured, docile insensates who were shown expressing pleasure while being harmed—or, in some representations, mutilated. This kind of representation was first popularly dispersed through the persona of Topsy in the abolitionist-centred novel by Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Stowe, 1852). Bernstein explained that “Topsy responds to violence not by becoming physically and emotionally damaged, but by laughing and singing about her invulnerability” (p. 49).

Bernstein (2011) also described the violent portrayals of Black children’s bodies in popular children’s books, such as *A Coon Alphabet*, published in 1898, and best selling novels, such as *Penrod* in 1914. Both books, she argued, reinforced common visual representations of Black children who are mutilated by white adults or children, or who inflict self-harm, and simultaneously portray enjoyment in response to violence. Disney, Bernstein noted, was also complicit in reinforcing this representation of Black children in their early animation. As one early example, Disney’s 1933 popular cartoon *Mickey’s Mellerdrammer* uses stereotypical, racialized Black syntax, as well as images of the character in children’s dress lighting a stick of dynamite in his mouth, then exploding into a blackface pickaninny (Walt Disney Productions & Jackson, 1933). Bernstein argued that the resulting image of a pickaninny promoted a message of the “dumb Black child” and powerfully reinforced the popular representation of Black children as insensates through a widely distributed and viewed cartoon.

In her book, Bernstein (2011) challenged the effectiveness of early abolition campaigns in North America that were premised on touting the capacity of the enslaved to feel pain and, thus, demonstrated “African-Americans’ fitness for freedom” (Bernstein, 2011, p. 50). Referring to the popularization of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* on the theatrical stage, she wrote,

When the Howard-Aiken version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* configured Topsy, a young Black girl, as invulnerable to pain and invited audiences to laugh at the sight of Topsy’s tears, the show not only reversed Stowe’s individual politics [as an abolitionist], but also counteracted one of abolitionism’s most organized, long-standing, and successful arguments [that Black people were sensate]. (Bernstein, 2011, p. 50)

Bernstein asserted that despite the use of Black sentience as part of abolitionist discourse, “the libel of insensateness did not disappear, but instead took up new residence in the juvenile form of the pickaninny” (p. 51). The popular representation of the pickaninny depicting Black children as dumb insensates—unable to experience both emotional and physical pain—provides a powerful historical starting point for analyzing the disproportionate kinds of physical violence (Michaud, 2015; Ramey, 2015) and symbolic violence (Ibrahim, 2016) that Black children regularly experience in the context of public schooling.

Re-envisioning pedagogy and curricula.

Perhaps the most obvious contribution of CRT to education is its focus on curricula, educational scholarship, and educational canons more broadly. Curricular challenges are not a new phenomenon. Carter G. Woodson (1933) famously challenged the American system of European “cultural indoctrination” pervasive in the public schooling system for Black children in *The Mis-Education of the Negro* and argued, specifically, for the need for African-American history and culture as part of public schooling curricula in the US. Woodson’s book is

significant, as well, for the ways that it can be used to challenge the canon of progressive educational scholarship. The preservation of Dewey as the “father of progressive education” has served to silence the work of Woodson, who was writing during the same historical period as Dewey, and arguably, made the earliest proposal for culturally relevant curricula as a progressive educator. The canonization of Dewey, as but one example, created both an historical silencing, and supported the continued reification of an exclusive legacy of progressive education devoid of the contributions of Black writers writing culturally relevant critiques of progressive education (Trouillot, 1996).

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998) and others (Dei, 1995, 2014) have long argued that the process of educational assessment is a nonneutral process that CRT is helpful in critiquing. She wrote, “CRT suggests that current instructional strategies presume that African-American students are deficient” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 19; see also Delpit, 2012). As a result of the dominance of the “deficiency model” in which the performance of Black students is compared to white students as a valid rubric of competency, teachers focus on developing pedagogical instructional methods concerned with controlling the behaviour of perceived “high risk” Black and brown children (Delpit, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 19). Presumptions of remediation or a “special need” population influence teacher instruction, as well as shape presumptions about the capabilities of Black students (Davis, 1989; Delpit, 2012; Kunjufu, 2005). For Black children in the classroom, Ladson-Billings (1998) added,

A dysfunctional curriculum coupled with a lack of instructional innovation (or persistence) adds up to poor performance on traditional assessment measures. These assessment measures are crude by most analyses and may tell us that students do not

know what is on the test, but fail to tell us what students actually know and are able to do.
(pp. 19–20)

A critical race analysis of assessment for Black children, as Ladson-Billings and Dei have suggested, must entail more than core competency standards, but rather, must first advocate for curricular and instructional changes to accommodate the needs of Black children.

Conclusion

CRT centres a critique of institutional racism within the law and centres the history of anti-Black racism in its analysis for theorizing the relationship between the past and present. Although CRT originally developed in response to the failures of critical legal theory to provide a nuanced analysis of formal rights theory in the context of the African-American struggle for equality (Crenshaw et al., 1995), CRT has provided a pragmatic critique of institutional anti-Black racism that is transferable to other disciplines of study and other national contexts. CRT is particularly useful in understanding and analyzing the history of public schooling in Canada; its history of legal segregation (McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1997) and de facto anti-Black racism (Backhouse, 1999); and the relationship of these histories to current struggles facing Black students in public education throughout Canada (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Dei, 2014; Haan, 2007; Mosher, 1998; Polanyi, Johnston, Khanna, Dirie, & Kerr, 2014; Rambally, 1995; Silverman, 1985; B. Walker, 2010). In addition, CRT proposes pragmatic interventions for Canadian educators, such as more robust, truthful history curricula in light of the history of anti-Black racism in schooling. CRT also provides educators with a lens through which to understand the myth of formal equality in public education and the histories of violence that have specifically attached to the lives of Black children historically in North America. CRT provides educators, thus, with a way to “see” race and anti-Black racism through the history of public education in

Canada and to understand how this long history shares a relationship with the educational experiences and outcomes of Black students.

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- ¹ I capitalize this term, Black, throughout to refer both to the right to self-naming of those who have historically employed it, as well as to signify its political and cultural weight—as in: Black Power, Black is Beautiful, “Black is the Color of My True Love’s Hair,” *Black Is, Black Ain’t*, etc. The direct use of Black, employed in a Canadian context in a text about CRT as well, is helpful as it identifies skin colour as a testament to the experience of Canadian racism directed specifically against the racialized Black body and signifies the identity “Black Canadian.” Additionally, in Québec, “Black” is distinguished from the racist employment of “ethnocultural minority” set forth in the Bouchard Taylor Report (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008), the Québec government’s formal statement on diversity and “reasonable accommodation,” drafted to affirm cultural, social, and political dominance in the hands of white Québécois. Black, herein, does not deny the great cultural variations of Canadians who are of Caribbean, African, and American heritage, but rather is used as a signifier with which to engage a cohesive conversation about historical anti-Black racism in Canada.
- ² New France refers to the area colonized by France in 1534 and included the province today known as Québec. In 1763, the territories of New France came under British and Spanish control. The province known today as Québec came under British control in 1763 and in 1791, and the area was divided into Upper and Lower Canada—where the French-speaking population of Lower Canada maintained its familiar French civil law and the Catholic religion.
- ³ Importantly, Indigenous peoples were enslaved in New France, and the British adopted the French practice of Black and Indigenous enslavement beginning in 1760. See Rushforth (2013) and Nelson (2016).
- ⁴ David Blight refers to ongoing attempts by some southern historians in the US to cast the defeat of the Confederacy by the Union in a compassionate light—that is, as an unfortunate event, rather than as an opportunity to centre the reality of chattel slavery and plans for its expansion in any historical discussion of the Civil War.
- ⁵ In September 2015, this site name became deofficialized by the Quebec Toponymy Commission. It has not yet been renamed.
- ⁶ For detailed information on these issues in both the US and Canada, see Crenshaw et al., 2015; Dei, 1996; Dei & McDermott, 2014; Delpit, 2012; Fine & Ruglis, 2009; Ruglis, 2009; Skiba et al., 2002; and Skiba et al., 2011.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

This study of the history of anti-Blackness in the Canadian public schooling systems is a qualitative, rather than quantitative study. I am interested in the relationship between the past and the present—namely, the relationship between white supremacy and Black life in the US and Canada. A close lifelong friendship with historian and journalist, Ta-Nehisi Coates, has transformed the way I value history in the context of education research. His long-form journalism has offered me a new way of thinking about research methodology as an education researcher studying race and public schooling. In his political essays for *The Atlantic* magazine, Coates (2014, 2015b) integrated personal narrative and counterstorytelling, critical race methodology, and a critical historical analysis of primary and secondary sources that ground his work. His body of work has also shown me, importantly, how historical analysis can also be a powerful form of activism.

In the late summer of 2014, Coates (2014a) released his monumental “Case for Reparations,” a multi-year researched piece of long-form journalism on the history of white supremacy, housing discrimination, and its causal relationship to the systemic impoverishment of Black life in the US. The impact of his article in North America and in other parts of the world, more broadly, was enormous, bringing a record number of readers to the *The Atlantic's* website on the day of its release.¹ Yet, the article was also unique in one other important way: His use of narrative storytelling and counterstorytelling, historiography, and critical discourse analysis wove together a powerful and salient picture of the impact of white supremacy in the context of systematic housing discrimination and state and federal policies that prevented Black Americans from owning homes and accumulating wealth through housing equity for 100 years. His innovative methodology for relating the past to the present and, thus, establishing his case for

reparations affected me profoundly and shifted my ideas about how institutional anti-Black racism can most effectively be captured, understood, and mirrored back out into the world. His work insisted upon the importance of narrative storytelling when writing about the bodily experience and the impact of anti-Black racism (Coates, 2015), and the subjectivity in his writing granted me a kind of permission for doing the same.

A few years before his article, Michelle Alexander's (2010) *The New Jim Crow* had similarly transformed how I thought about conveying both the reality and impact of anti-Black racism in my family, personal conversations, and also within my scholarship. Alexander's work, as both lawyer and historian, narrates between the past and the present and insists upon the causality of anti-Black racism in the present—in her case, in the context of mass incarceration and the history of American policing. Her work is also grounded in narrative storytelling, personal narrative, historiography, and critical discourse analysis. Thus, Alexander's work has similarly shifted my ideas about characterizing and writing about institutional anti-Black racism. Both Coates (2014, 2015a, 2015b) and Alexander (2010) have impacted my work, thinking, and my methodology.

A Note on Race-Based Data Collection in Canada

Throughout Canada, there is also a need for quantitative research that documents the outcomes, tracking rates, drop-out rates, special needs, and poverty rates of Black youth in Canada's public schooling systems, particularly in Québec (Rambally, 1995). According to Dr. Horace Goddard (personal communication, March 25, 2015), a 30-year educator with the English School Board of Montréal, now retired, and president of the Québec Board of Black Educators, when he worked as a secondary school principal, he began each school year "hand counting" his Black students on his enrolment roster by identifying their family names. Trained

in education, Dr. Goddard taught elementary and high school in Montréal (1977–1987), was vice-principal of LaSalle High School (1987–1990), and principal of Parkdale School (1990–1993) (H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015). He had a good working knowledge, he explained, of many common Anglophone Black Caribbean family names in the surrounding school community, and he could easily identify names of Black students from Haiti and other parts of the Black diaspora after working as a principal for so many years. In many instances, he explained, he had personal relationships with his students' parents, and so, identifying their family names was not difficult. The practice, he said, was an important way for him to monitor the progress and shortcomings of his Black students and intervene, in a timely manner, where academic or disciplinary support was needed (H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015).

Canada widely practices policies of noncollection and/or nondistribution of data pertaining to race (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Owusu-Bempah & Millar, 2010; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007; Wortley, 1999, 2003). In the context of schooling and schooling research, this absence is particularly salient (Krahn & Taylor, 2005). Although there has been a long, ongoing debate about race-based data collection in Canada for the last 20 years (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Roberts, 1994), scholars such as Coates and Alexander would not have been able to produce their research without the enormous body of social and racial demographic studies focused on race-based data collection in the US. Coates, for example, has noted his reliance on the detailed race-based data collection of Richard Rothstein, long-time race and poverty-focused demographer and educator, in his renowned “Case for Reparations” article. As another example, the mass antipolice violence movement channelled through the #Blacklivesmatter campaign, which has galvanized youth activists throughout the US and Canada (as well as Europe and South Africa), hinges on

the large volume of race-based statistics pertaining to police murders, Black overincarceration, and state violence directed at Black youth (Kang, 2015). The case for the utility and transformative use of race-based data, I want to insist, has been made clear in the US. The practice of denying the collection of race-based data in Canada is destructive and indicative of the false narrative of race neutrality and colourblindness that undergirds white supremacy (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Owusu-Bempah & Millar, 2010), as well as an ongoing Canadian-specific historical denial of its own anti-Black racism (Mackey, 2002; Mathieu, 2010; Nelson & Nelson, 2004; B. Walker, 2010).

In the traditions of both Coates and Alexander, my dissertation is an intersectional and multidisciplinary project that attempts to establish a relationship among the past histories of institutional anti-Black schooling violence throughout Canada, the systemic absence of programs and curricula that teach Black Canadian history, and the ever-growing body of contemporary schooling literature that details disproportionate violence experienced by Black children. This dissertation attempts to document a fuller, more robust version of Black Canadian history by placing in context, the historical practice of anti-Black racism in Canadian public schooling.

In this chapter, I detail my methodologies and the methods I used in the collection of my data. This chapter details my use of narrative analysis and counterstorytelling, critical race methodology, and critical discourse analysis. I rely primarily on data from primary and secondary source documents. My data sources include extensive secondary historical texts and relevant book chapters, scholarly articles on anti-Blackness and the histories of anti-Black schooling practices in Canada, dissertations and theses on Black children and the history of schooling in Canada and Montréal, Canadian slave narratives and early testimonies of the experiences of Black migrants arriving in Upper Canada in the 19th century, cases and case law

between 1850 and 1900 concerning anti-Black discrimination and access to schools, demographic studies on Black children and the Black community in Montréal, reports from the Freedman Commission on the status of Black migrants in Canada, and formal interviews with Black educators, researchers, and former teachers and principals in Montréal.

Methodologies

Narrative analysis.

Narrative, as characterized by Arthur Frank (2010), “includes multiple stories featuring characters who share some problem or developmental trajectory” (p. 199). A narrative “encompasses any number of times, places, persons in its sphere of reference. [It] generates stories and it marks a similarity between certain stories” (p. 199). Stories on the other hand, wrote Frank, denote sequentiality: “One thing happening in consequence of another” (p. 26). Stories are “about particular people living lives animated by some principle of causality” (Frank, 2010, p. 200). Frank added that the words narrative and story overlap so frequently that sustaining distinctions “in consistent usage proves impossible” (p. 201). For him, the important distinguishing point is that “stories can be collected into types of narratives.” Thus, narrative analysis, Frank wrote, is an examination

between at least two and most often three elements: a story, a storyteller, and a listener. None of these could be what it is without the others. What is analyzed is how each allows the other to be: the story animates some individual or collective entity or process, and something tells the story, thereby reanimating it. (pp. 16–17)

Rather than using the term “methodology” to describe narrative analysis, Frank (2010) prefers the phrase “movement of thought” (pp. 73–74) to avoid the confined, rules-based approach of many methodologies. Frank’s narrative analysis is a “practice of criticism” (p. 73),

that is, “a refusal to accept immediate, commonsense understanding, while at the same time having the most profound respect for and curiosity about commonsense understandings” (p. 73).

Although I rely on Frank's (2010) description and method of narrative analysis in my dissertation, I also find Clandinin's (2006) work on narrative inquiry helpful for the way she invokes narrative analysis as critical analysis that treats the experience of narrative as “phenomena”—that is, observable, relatable, and larger than the singular experience or story itself. This point resonates deeply with my intention in positioning my son's narrative of depression and contemplation of suicide in my dissertation. Without signalling both the trend of history—that is, my argument that Canada's schooling history reveals a long, broad-reaching practice of anti-Black discrimination that continues today—and my belief in the transformative impact of narrative storytelling, I would have privately guarded this difficult, painful story.

I begin my dissertation by positioning my son's experiences and his voice in the prologue and methodology chapters of this dissertation, as well as revisiting his experiences within a chapter focusing on Black children and schooling discrimination in Montréal. I seek to reflect and express, in part, my challenges with my son's educational experiences throughout my dissertation. Through the study of our experiences in his transition out of school, I “seek ways of enriching and transforming” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2006, p. 46) the experiences for ourselves and for others more broadly. In the context of public schooling in Canada, it is my hope that the use of narrative analysis highlighting my son's personal narrative calls attention to the similar stories of many other Black parents and Black children who have experienced schooling trauma in Canada and, also, as Clandinin (2006) wrote, “creates conditions that allow children to compose other stories of themselves, to change the stories they live by” (p. 52).

At times in my dissertation, my voice emphasizes my personal experiences. Other times, my son's voice is dominant as I share things he has expressed to me. At times, I note my observations of him and his interactions within his learning spaces. At times, I document his emotions. When possible, I share what he has said directly to me or spoken to other adults. As his mother and primary caretaker since birth, as well as his primary educator for the first 5 years of his life, I am best situated to reflect upon my observations of him and attest to his emotional well-being. I am also the only parent who has been actively involved in his schooling experiences. I have attended all report card meetings and taken numerous other meetings to inquire about his presence and wellbeing in his classrooms. Since he began school, my son, Ade, has spoken with others and me in an overlapping fashion about his feelings and experiences in his classroom.

The relationship between my son's narrative and my narrative experience, both personal and *of him*, has been the circuit—the transmitter—for the process of finding and believing my own truth about what he was experiencing in his classroom before he was unable to articulate it. As Ade was better able to express his fears and discomforts in his classroom, I too, increasingly believed my internal perceptions about the violence that he was experiencing in his classroom, even though his teacher never referred to his race in her interactions with him or in her complaints about his behaviour. Rather, she referred expressly to his “poor behaviour” and performance in class, as well as his inability to conform to social norms within his classroom. At times, my truth about his classroom experience was validated through witnessing his interactions with others, such as during his interview with his school director. During the interview, my son stated, unhesitatingly, that he was fearful of his teacher and that she screamed at him in front of his peers, and most forcefully, he stated that he felt his teacher did not want him in her

classroom. He also shared that he felt his teacher yelled at him more than other students in his class. In this moment, I understood the capacity of his story “to report truths that had been enacted elsewhere” (Frank, 2010, p. 40)—that is, to report his experiences of fear and unease in his classroom during his year and a half tenure with the same educator. Frank (2010) described the ways that stories have a number of important capacities—one of which is their truth-telling quality. The truths contained in stories are, he wrote, “enactments in which something original comes to be, as if for the first time, in the full significance that the story gives it” (p. 40).

Frank (2010) also described the symbiotic relationship of stories to other people, places, and things (pp. 38–39). Stories, Frank described, “always work with something: with storytellers, with antecedent stories, with places, and with material objects” (p. 39). After Ade met with his school director, I told him that I was proud of his voice and willingness to respond to his director so honestly. In his story, he confirmed for me that the physical space of his classroom felt unsafe for his body. Although previously unexpressed, he also confirmed what I had felt in his melancholic disposition at home, but previously held as a silent truth without words from him to confirm his own sense of fear and lack of safety in his classroom.

As Ade's mother, I also witnessed profound, ameliorative changes in his disposition and behaviour when he was finally removed from his classroom space. As Clandinin (2006) also reminded, researchers “cannot bracket themselves out” (p. 47) of their inquiry, but rather must inquire into “co-constructed experiences” (p. 47) developed through a relational inquiry. This inability to “bracket myself out” of my son's schooling experience and inquire into the coconstructed experiences between us best encapsulates my use of narrative analysis where my child's educational experiences were both observed and self-reported.

Frank (2010) also provides a number of guiding questions for researchers utilizing a narrative analysis. Two are particularly relevant for Ade's story and my translation of it. In the first, Frank asked, "Who is holding their own in the story, but also, is the story making it more difficult for other people to hold their own?" (p. 77). Although Ade's story ultimately served as a form of truth telling and resistance to the shared counter-position of his teacher and director, Ade's prior silence often conflicted with the truth that I had internalized about his experience. In other words, before my son spoke openly to his director, it was important that I not "put words in his mouth" or vocalize what I believed to be true. I felt that vocalizing my sentiments and beliefs would be both overpowering and unfair to Ade because I believed it would be an assertion of my power and beliefs onto him—a usurpation of his own feelings and agency.

Yet, I harboured a truth about his schooling experience as though I had personally witnessed something terrible transpire in his classroom. Maintaining and acting upon that strong belief without Ade's verbal affirmation, however, came at a high cost. Ade's father, for example, became enraged with me when I openly insisted something was wrong with him, accusing me of importing my "American race obsession" into Ade's life and insisting that I was the "real problem" that was interfering with and hindering Ade's schooling experience. At a time when we were newly separated and I was emotionally raw, his words and lack of support were doubly painful. Additionally, when I swiftly removed Ade from his classroom and decided to homeschool him for the rest of his school year, both his educator and school director accused me of acting radically and irrationally. Without the other two individuals who knew my son most intimately—his father and teacher—willing to consider that Ade was experiencing something deeply troublesome in his classroom, I was forced to hold onto my belief about his

suffering alone. It was both isolating and painful. Ade's story, once spoken, conflicted with the stories of his father, as well as his teacher and director.

In the second, Frank (2010) also asked what is the effect of people "being caught up in their own stories, while living with people caught up in other stories?" (p. 78). My son's narrative is an example of how this question can lead to competing stories that silence or harm one of the speakers. For example, Ade's father and his teacher were unable to perceive or ultimately accept Ade's story after he expressed it. What constituted this inability to perceive and "hear" Ade's story once disclosed? What kind of suffering was prolonged due to his father's narrative that "nothing was wrong" and his teacher's insistence that Ade alone was responsible for his inability to find his place in his classroom? Frank explained that sometimes "those who are caught up in one [separate] story, a story that does not fit the same narrative parameters [as theirs], may be 'recorded' but still unheard" (p. 79). In the prologue, I discuss the graver consequences of competing narratives in the context of Ade's story with the intent for considering these consequences for Black children and schooling experiences more broadly.

Counterstorytelling.

My son's story also provided an important counternarrative to his teacher and principal, who both insisted my son was not being harmed and must return to his class immediately. What could account for their disregard of my son's words, I wondered, where he had named classroom violence and his fear in clear language? In this moment, my son's story became an opportunity to see and to theorize how race and anti-Black racism is employed in a classroom where my son was the only Black child and is employed within a schooling system that has a history of anti-Black violence undergirding it. In the entire school population, my son was, in fact, the only Black child. Despite a handful of mixed race children who were enrolled at Élan, my son was

the only dark-hued, visibly Black child in the entire 250-child population in a neighbourhood that, nonetheless, contains a visible minority population of nearly 20% (Centraide, 2015).

Counternarratives (or counterstorytelling) are an important epistemological tool within critical race ethnographic research (Vaughn, 2011). Counterstorytelling is an important critical method that helps Black educators and students name their own realities and disrupt the discourse of the dominant society in transformative ways (Ladson-Billings, 1998). It is a method that “privileges the voices of those who bear the brunt of inequality in society and relies heavily on storytelling, as opposed to analytic means, as the methodology to represent them” (Duncan, 2005, p. 101). Although educational counternarratives often respond, both directly and indirectly, to the negative dominant narratives characterizing Black children as “deficient” learners, they also signify the power that Black children hold in oft violent learning spaces by functioning as truth-telling forms of resistance (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Solorzano and Yosso (2002), citing the work of Lisa Ikemoto (1991), agreed that in using counternarratives merely defensively, we are “responding only to the standard story; we let it dominate the discourse” (p. 32).

In the context of my son's story, Ade's counternarrative is significant for two reasons. First, his words about feeling unsafe and unwanted in his classroom both serve as a story that opposes the institutional narrative, as well as an embodied form of resistance in a classroom and schooling environment where teachers and administrators refused to believe him and viewed him, instead, as a culpable actor in his own treatment within his classroom. Ade's teacher, the school principal had shared with me, believed Ade to be responsible for his inability to function well in class and insisted that any “crisis” at hand was precipitated by my son's “clowning

behaviour" in class. My son spoke oppositionally and verified his own truth in his meeting with his principal.

Secondly, Ade's counternarrative is also affirmed by and affirms a large body of research that describes the ways that anti-Black racism in schools and classrooms commonly stigmatizes Black boys and girls and also prepares classrooms as precriminalization spaces for Black children. Simply, Ade's story "matches up" to the literature: Black children, both boys and girls, are commonly stigmatized as troublemakers and less capable, less intelligent students than other students (Agyepong, 2010; Crenshaw et al., 2015; Delpit, 1988, 2006; Ibrahim & Abdi, 2016; James & Taylor, 2010; Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Morris, 2007; Skiba et al., 2002; Van den Bergh et al., 2010). Black children are also often punished at rates so greatly disproportionate to those of their white classmates in North American schools (Crenshaw et al., 2015; James, 2012; McFadden, Marsh, Price, & Hwang, 1992; Skiba et al., 2002) that longtime education researcher Garrett Duncan (2002) described the enactment of punitive schooling practices against Black boys as branding them "beyond love" (p. 140) in their learning environments. He wrote,

I have argued that black male students in schools suffer a condition characteristic of a population that is "beyond love," a condition of those who are excluded from society's economy and networks of care and thus expelled from useful participation in social life. Further, because black males are constructed as a strange population, that is, as a group with values and attitudes that are fundamentally different from other students, their marginalization and oppression are understood as natural and primarily of their own doing. (Duncan, 2002, p. 140)

Counterstorytelling serves, as well, as an important social determinant of health.

Education researcher Jessica Ruglis, whose work focuses on the social determinants of health in

the context of public schooling, has drawn a correlation between negative schooling experiences and their profound visceral and emotional impacts on Black children and youth (Fine & Ruglis, 2009; Ruglis, 2009). In her dissertation research, Ruglis asked Black students in her research focus group to identify places of pain or discomfort on self-body maps by marking affected areas on the map with drawings, marks, and colours. This activity was designed to gather data about “that which cannot be seen” or lacks a verbal “precedent” for students (Ruglis, 2009, p. 96), and to gather information about the kinds of difficulties the students experienced regularly during the day at school (Ruglis, 2009). After completing the body maps, the students then took turns in a circle articulating the meaning of their body maps. The maps became counternarratives for the students, who in turn described the relationship between the pains and discomforts they indicated on the body maps and the schooling conditions that caused these pains and discomforts.

Although Ade's depression was never identified or acknowledged by his teacher or principal, I argue that the labelling of my son as a “problem” in his classroom created an inability for his educator to consider assessing his depression as present or serious, even after I mentioned the melancholic behavioural changes that I recognized in my son at home. Her inability to hear or respond to my concerns about the serious matter of Ade's increased depression also communicated her beliefs about my incompetence as a mother (Contenta, Monsenbraaten, & Rankin, 2015; Rambally, 1995). My son's ability to express his depression to me eventually created a counternarrative to these assumptions and, ultimately, to the conclusions that Ade's teacher and director articulated and documented in his school file regarding his classroom behaviour and classroom disposition. In their documentation of my son's in-class “behavioural problems,” Ade's teacher and principal attempted to control the narrative about who he was—namely, through the creation of a permanent schooling record detailing his challenges. This use

of white educator testimony to attest to “bad behaviour” in Black children or to denote Black criminality is part of a long, well-documented history that has traceable roots in 19th-century legal systems in the US and Canada, and education researchers have detailed their replications in the context of public schooling (Mackey, 2010; Ramey, 2015; Rankin & Winsa, 2012; B. Walker, 2010).

Critical race methodology.

Solorzano and Yosso (2002) defined critical race methodology in their groundbreaking article, “Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research,” where they wrote that critical race methodology (CRM)

is a theoretically grounded approach to research that (a) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research project . . . (b) challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color, (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination, and (d) focuses on racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color (p. 24).

CRM uses these prongs as “sources of strength” (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 24), they added, and relies on “interdisciplinary knowledge” (p. 24) such as women’s studies, history, the law, and ethnic studies to better understand the experiences of students of colour.

Most importantly, the use of CRM must begin by defining both race and racism. Any nonabstract characterization of racism, I argue, must include a history, albeit brief, of the patterns of anti-Black violence and institutional racism that have operated historically against Black Canadians since they began arriving en masse to this country in the 17th century and consistently since the early 19th century (Nelson, 2010). CRM must take care to draw distinctions from the US, as CRT originally evolved out of an American historical context.

These distinctions are important for obvious historical reasons, but also for two other epistemological reasons. First, naming the history of Canadian anti-Black racism erodes a construction of Canadian history that is tethered to American history as “opposite” (Mathieu, 2010; Razack, 2007). In one canonical example, the minimalist construction of the history of slavery in Canada relies heavily on a narrative of benevolence that is justified through the absence of plantation slavery and relative absence of lynching in Canadian history (Mackey, 2010; Mathieu, 2010; Silverman, 1984; Winks, 1997). This persistent rendering of Canadian history has obscured the fact of Trans Atlantic Slavery in Upper and Lower Canada, as well as foregone the ways that a prolynching discourse was often invoked as a way to deter migration and to discipline Black men who were viewed historically as a threat to white Canadian womanhood (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Secondly, naming historical practices that created patterns of anti-Black racism in Canada serves as an arching historical counternarrative, as well as a more truthful rendering of Canadian history that centralizes the experiences, stories, and bodies of Black Canadians (Morgan, 2015).

My dissertation begins with a chapter on CRT as a theoretical construct that provides a history of Canadian practices of anti-Black racism and the tenets that must ground any productive discourse of anti-Black racism in Canada. I also include three chapters that provide specific historical context to the institutional practice of anti-Black racism in Canadian public schools in various parts of the country. CRM is an important methodology for critiquing the history of anti-Black racism in public schooling in Montréal, as well, given the popular social discourse that racism was “imported” into the province, rather than integral to Québec’s history (Dunlevy, 2014; Nelson, 2013).

Critical discourse analysis.

Finally, at times, I also use a critical discourse analysis (CDA) methodology (Fairclough, 2013) to both identify and critically analyze primary and secondary historical and legal materials pertaining to the histories of discriminatory practices against Black Canadian children in public schooling in Canada. Part of my intention for this dissertation is to analyze the histories of anti-Black racism and public schooling practices that have been researched in various parts of the country, analyze the patterns that are present in these histories, and reposition these histories alongside the history of Black migration to Canada from the US in the 19th century and the Underground Railroad narrative within Canada.

Fairclough (2013) described CDA as “a form of critical social science geared to better understand the nature and sources of social wrongs, the obstacles to addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming those obstacles” (p. 235). In my research, I identify two primary “social wrongs”—the history of discriminatory practices against Black children in early public schools throughout Canada and the continued practice of anti-Black discrimination in Canada’s public schools today. I explore the relationship between these two and argue both for the existence of the latter and for a correlative relationship between the past and present. I am concerned, particularly, with the reasons that the history of racism in Canada’s public schools has been ignored and largely undocumented in Montréal and Québec, and with the impact the erasure of this tradition has on current schooling practices against Black students. I am especially curious about how the erasure of this history invisibilizes current practices of anti-Black racism in schools and within Québec, casts complaints that demand a recognition of systemic schooling practices of anti-Black racism as irrational. This is a process that Fairclough (1989) characterized as “naturalization” (p. 235).

I aim to bring language and voice to the experiences of Black children with anti-Black racism within Canada's public schools and begin, finally, to situate these experiences in the context of Canada's shameful public schooling history. To be clear, I do not believe that all Black children in Canada's public schools are "suffering." Rather, I am interested in interrogating the ways that Black children are systematically erased within their learning spaces—in curricula, in textbooks, picture books and other didactic materials, in social and cultural practices, and art—and what impact this lack of self-representation has on Black children within our schooling systems (Nelson, 2010).

Finally, I describe and analyze as a social wrong (Fairclough, 2013, p. 235), the persistence of the Underground Railroad as popular history curricula that has been used to erroneously encapsulate Canada's historical relationship to its Black population. Again, Fairclough's (1989) conception of naturalization is helpful in unpacking this history: according to Fairclough, "A key concept is that of the 'naturalization' of particular representations as 'common sense'" (p. 235). When a discourse becomes so dominant that alternative interpretations are suppressed or ignored, then it ceases to be arbitrary. As a naturalized position, popular representations, such as the Underground Railroad, are viewed as natural and legitimate simply because that is "the way things are." The notion of naturalization within CDA is useful for analyzing the ways that a dominant narrative of Black Canadian history and the Underground Railroad obscures earlier histories of Trans Atlantic Slavery under British and French colonialism and the lineage of anti-Black schooling discrimination throughout Canada.

Fairclough (2003) delineated four steps or stages within a CDA methodology: (a) identifying a social or historical wrong, (b) naming obstacles to addressing the wrong, (c) analyzing the relationship between the wrong and the social order, and (d) describing

resolutions to the social wrong itself (pp. 234–235). The steps are provided, he wrote, “on the condition that these are not interpreted in a mechanical way” (Fairclough, 2013, p. 234). Their relationship, rather than their sequentiality, is most important to the methodology.

Fairclough (1989) in Step 2, addressed “the social wrong in a rather indirect way by asking what it is about the way in which social life is structured and organized that prevents it from being addressed” (p. 237). My dissertation, in part, responds to the problem of anti-Black racism in contemporary schooling practices and argues that the obscured history, as well as the persistence of anti-Black racism in schools, is attributable to its continuation and continued historical denial. Canadian public schools—pedagogical practices, curricula, didactic materials—are ordered with an ahistorical focus on Black Canadian life and history (Blondin, 1990; Lebrun et al., 2002). Higher institutions of learning in Canada are often similarly ordered (Nelson, 2010). The maintenance of white supremacy and anti-Black racism in Canada relies, in part, on the preservation of this ahistoricity and historical denial. In Québec, I argue that the erasure of Black life and its continued degradation relies on the preservation of a narrative of French oppression and as such, a continuous denial of historical traditions of racial discrimination (Mills, 2010).

In Step 3, Fairclough (2013) asked “whether the social wrong in focus is inherent to the social order, whether it can be addressed within it, or only by changing it” (p. 238–239). CRT identifies the persistence and centrality of anti-Black racism and the preservation of white supremacy as dialectical and dependent (Crenshaw et al., 1995; Crenshaw, 2011). The two, as renowned historian Barbara Fields and Karen Fields (2012) argued in *Racecraft*, are wholly interdependent. Racism, they theorized, is the father of race, and the preservation of white supremacy relies on unshifting racial hierarchies (Fields & Fields, 2012). In my analysis of

sources and through my use of CRT, which views racism as central to the social order of life in the US and Canada, I argue that the only way to address the problem of anti-Black racism in Canada's public schools is through a critical race analysis of the history of public schooling and to the implementation of institution-wide solutions that confront anti-Black racism throughout Canada. My conclusion addresses the final stage of Fairclough's CDA analysis and centres a solution-based discussion of corrective justice, as well as a proposal for mandatory implicit bias training for educators in light of Canada's century-and-a-half-long history of anti-Black schooling practices.

Methods

In my dissertation, I analyze the creation and lineage of anti-Black racism within Canada and Québec beginning in the mid-19th century. My data sources include extensive secondary historical texts and relevant chapters of texts, scholarly articles on anti-Blackness and the histories of anti-Black schooling practices in Canada, dissertations and theses on Black children and the history of schooling in Canada and Montréal, Canadian slave narratives and early testimonies of the experiences of Black migrants arriving in Upper Canada in the 19th century, cases and case law between 1850 and 1900 concerning anti-Black discrimination and access to schools, demographic studies on Black children and the Black community in Montréal, reports from the Freedman Commission on the status of Black migrants in Canada, and interviews with Black educators, researchers, and former teachers and principals in Montréal.

My historical analysis focuses on Ontario and Québec primarily, although there is valuable information on anti-Black schooling practices in British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and the Prairies, as well, that merits discussion. Although some literature exists on Ontario regarding the history of anti-Black education practices in the foundation of Canadian common schools in the

mid-1800s in Upper Canada, little has been written about Québec (McLaren, 2004, 2005; Winks, 1969, 1971). I critically analyze and discuss the existing scholarly literature on Ontario and Saskatchewan and consider the significance of Black migration from the US to Canada in relation to the early development of common schools—provinces that have been documented in chapters, scholarly articles, and dissertations. I analyze the relationship between Black migration in the mid-1800s and anti-Black discriminatory schooling practices, a relationship that has not, to date, been explored in the secondary literature.

Part of this work, as aforementioned, entails a critical discourse analysis of secondary texts and other media materials that produce and reinforce narrow, dishonest historical references about Canada's relationship with its Black population, such as migration and the Underground Railroad as beneficial historical moments for mid-19th-century Black migrants. This first part of my research also relies on the collection of Black migrant ex-slave narratives published in 1856 by Benjamin Drew (1856/2008). This is a collection of fugitive and ex-slave narratives collected and recorded by Drew, a white American abolitionist commissioned by the Canadian Anti-Slavery Society and his Boston publisher to document the conditions and experiences of escaping slaves from the US. Canadian literary scholar and historian, George Elliot Clarke, contentiously refers to the narratives as "settler narratives" (as cited in Drew, 1856/2008, p. 11). When read against other historical texts, scholarly articles, and dissertations that, in some capacity, document both the desires and disappointments of Black migrants arriving from the US, the narratives highlight powerful stories of hope compelling migration, as well as the disappointments that many migrants faced upon arrival in encountering a virulent Canadian anti-Black racism in the context of employment, education, and other aspects of social life throughout the nation (Nelson & Nelson, 2004).

In Chapter 5, I discuss the history of Black families' schooling experiences in the Protestant and Catholic systems from the early 20th century in Montréal beginning in 1960, as well as ways that members of the Black community in Montréal historically resisted oppressive schooling experiences by creating alternative educational spaces and practices within the Black community in the city (Bertley, 1982; D. Williams, 1999). Chapter 5 entails critically analyzing the relevant portions of text, theses, and dissertations that have been written on Montréal, as well as integrating my interviews with elder, retired Black Montréaler educators, field supervisors, and researchers on schooling in Montréal.

Given the near total absence of detailed information about Black children and schooling in Québec, I have conducted semi-structured, open-ended interviews with Dr. Dorothy Williams on a number of occasions and Dr. Horace Goddard, president of the Québec Board of Black Educators. I have also conducted an interview with retired educator, principal, and school founder, Daphne Arnott, using a structured approach with prepared questions. Arnott is a veteran, retired educator who arrived from Trinidad in the 1960s to teach in Montréal. As founder and principal of Children's World in Lasalle, Arnott introduced one of the first international baccalaureate (IB) programs into Québec's schools. The anti-Black racism that she experienced personally and professionally during her tenure in Québec was devastating. The historical erasure of her story is nearly complete, and her unprecedented educational contributions in Montréal have not been before documented. Her story is also an entry point into a much larger, yet untold story about the tremendous influence that dozens of highly trained and educated Caribbean educators had on the Québec public schooling system upon arriving in Montréal in the 1960s (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015).

In addition, I critically analyze information from a number of demographic studies on Black Montréal that include information on the schooling experiences of Black children in Montréal in the last decade and compare this information both to similar studies nationally and within the US. Although the absence of race-based data in Canada and the institutional unwillingness to widely collect and/or report discourages demographic studies on race, I begin to analyze comparatively the experiences and outcomes of Black students in Canada against those of American students where similar studies exist between the two nations. My intent is to show a consistent pattern in Ontario and Québec's histories of racial discrimination in public schooling, as well as to analyze, comparatively, the anti-Black biases expressed and practiced similarly against Black Canadian children as documented in the large body of American scholarly literature on schooling and institutional racism.

In my concluding chapter, I analyze two interventions in light of the history of anti-Black practices in public schools throughout Canada and the history of discriminatory practices experienced by Black Canadian children—namely, reparations theory based upon the history of Black tax payers excluded systemically from public schools and a demand for mandatory implicit bias training for all Canadian educators and school administrators.

¹ See <http://www.theatlantic.com/personal/archive/2015/02/ta-nehisi-coates-honored-with-2014-george-polk-award/385536/>. The article brought more visitors in a single day to *The Atlantic's* site than any previous magazine story, and the June issue sold 60% more copies on newsstand than its 2013 counterpart.

Chapter 4: Refugees in Canada: Blacks, Literacy, and Migration in the 19th Century

This chapter centres on the literacy and learning practices of the enslaved in the US and Canada prior to the U.S. Civil War and compares these practices to those of Black populations, enslaved and free, within Canada in the 19th century. It is an attempt to localize a historical narrative about one of the most dominant themes of Black enslaved life—that is, the deep desire to learn at all costs (Belt-Bayan, 2004; Bly, 2008; Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Fort, 1999; Gundaker, 2007; Moss, 2009; Span & Anderson, 2005; H. A. Williams, 2009). Of primary interest in this chapter, are the distinctions and restrictions, both *de jure* and *de facto*, in literacy and learning practices that existed between Canada and the US in slavery and throughout the period of 1834 through 1865. These overlapping temporal periods and geographies are significant because the desire to learn, to provide education to one's kin, was a primary desire undergirding Black migration north to Canada (Berlin, 2010; Drew, 1856/2008; Wilkerson, 2010), and the history of widespread, anti-Black schooling discrimination in the 19th century is well documented (McLaren, 2004; Shepard, 1986; Winks, 1969, 1997). The *de jure* and *de facto* distinctions are important, as the US instituted well-documented legal restrictions against literacy practices, as well as brutal punishments—including death—in many jurisdictions between the mid-18th century through 1865 (Cornelius, 1983). Still, whites continued to hinder literacy practices in both enslaved and newly free communities by numerous means, including burning down school houses and employing threats of death to deter learning after the end of the Civil War (Moss, 2009).

Did Canada institute restrictions on slave literacy in ways distinct from the US? If so, what restrictions existed within Canada, either in law or *de facto*? What were the consequences of learning to read and write in both places? This chapter is, most importantly, an attempt to

centre the desires for freedom and learning within an intellectual history of Black migration to Canada.

This chapter not only explores distinct literacy and learning practices in slavery between the US and Canada, but also aims to connect this history to a larger story about Black life in Canada—migration in the 19th century (Berlin, 2010). In this chapter, I refer to migration as the process by which Black people in the United States, both enslaved and legally free, undertook the life-threatening journey north to Canada with the expectation of freedom from bondage and anti-Black terror. The migration northward of Black people from the US seeking freedom is essential to the story of Black education in Canada in the 19th century because it accounts, overwhelmingly, for the large Black presence in Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries (Landon, 1920; McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985). As such, I aim to intertwine a comparative history of literacy practices between the US and Canada with a larger story about Black migration and the expectation of freedom housed in the bodies of Black people migrating to Canada in the years prior to and after 1850. The year 1850 is a significant temporal marker because it was the year that the Fugitive Slave Act was enacted in the US (Foner, 1990). The Act served as a powerful legal action of white supremacy instituted to increase the reach of enslavement through “extraterritoriality” in the US, as venerated slave historian Eric Foner (1990) has so described. It is the primary legal action in the US that propelled a significant increase in Black migration to Canada (Landon, 1920).

Throughout this chapter, I also utilize the term “Black refugee/s” to describe the groups of Black people that migrated to Canada from the US during the 19th century, desiring freedom from bondage and anti-Black terror. A number of slave scholars have chosen this term to encapsulate the mobility of Black terror and continuous un-safety coexistent with the histories of

movement of 19th-century Black populations out of the US to Canada (Berlin, 2010, 2015; Whitfield, 2006). Additionally, historian Harvey Whitfield (2006) described its use for the purpose of examining “the problems of nationality, locality, identity and historical memory” (p. xi) in the history of Black migration northward to Canada beginning in 19th century. I use this term within this tradition and also to mark the Canadian lands that Black peoples landed upon as continually unsafe lands. With the embodiment of this term, I acknowledge the terror that attached itself to Black mobility and continued even when Black people transgressed national borders, even when they were no longer in physical bondage.

In the context of this dissertation, I also aim to connect this chapter to the other chapters in a number of ways. As aforementioned, the story of Black migration in the 19th century highlights the violence that attached to Black bodies and continued across borders. This violence was encountered, specifically, in the attempts of Black people throughout the 19th century to educate their children in Canada wherever large groups of Black refugees had settled (Hamilton & Maroon Films, 2007; Winks, 1969). This violence was not exclusive to one or two places within Canada; it stretched from coast to coast (Shepard, 1986; Winks, 1997). This violence worked both against the desires that Black people expressed in the context of migration and against the historical narrative of the Underground Railroad as a welcoming pathway for Blacks from the US into Canada. The subversion of this historical narrative, I believe, is important in two pragmatic reasons: first, to allow for more nuanced, truthful historical curricula within our schools and, second, to lend lineage and agency to the anti-Black discrimination that Black children continue to encounter in Canada's public schools today (Codjoe, 2001; Dei, 1997; Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014).

Section 1: Literacy

Literary practices and enslaved communities in the United States.

One of the most extensively documented, well-invoked themes in the literature about Black life in fugitivity and after 1865 is the insistence carried by Black people regarding their right to learn—specifically, to read and write (Anderson, 1988; Bullock, 1967; Butchart, 2010; Cornelius, 1991; Douglass, 2000; Gundaker, 2007; Webber, 1987; H. A. Williams, 2009; Woodson, 1919). In the body of scholarship pertaining to education amongst the enslaved, the practices of learning to read and/or write are commonly referred to as “literacy practices” (Cornelius, 1983, 1991). Perhaps the most beloved icon in the genre of slavery studies and education is Frederick Douglass (2000) who, in his *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, documents both his own bold, self-directed efforts at becoming literate, and an insistence on reading and writing as a pathway to what he has described as the most sacred freedoms—mental and intellectual freedom for enslaved Black people. Douglass’s narrative also serves as a common example of the ways in which those who obtained literacy utilized similar reserves of tools—mistresses, childhood games, playful interactions with white children, bribery—to self-learn how to read and write. Douglass explained how he kept fresh loaves of bread on hand to feed poor white children in Baltimore in exchange for his reading and writing lessons. He wrote, “This bread, I used to bestow upon the hungry little urchins, who, in return, would give me that more valuable bread of knowledge” (Douglass, 2000, p. 35).

The scholarship created since 1900 on the subject of the enslaved and learning practices in the US is too great to list. One of the starting inquiries pertaining to the breadth of this scholarship, is *why* researchers interested in slavery have devoted so much time and energy towards documenting the experiences and struggles of the enslaved to learn. There are a number

of reasons worth thinking through, still undocumented, that relate to the history of Black children and education within Canada.

Literacy restrictions and slave uprisings.

Much has been written in the US regarding the restrictions on the right of the enslaved, de jure and de facto, to read and write (Bullock, 1967; Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Webber, 1978). Within the scholarship, it is revealed that the overwhelming majority of slaves prior to 1865 lacked literacy—that is, an ability to read or write (Cornelius, 1983; Hill, 1981; Mackey, 2010). Historian Janet Cornelius (1983), who has extensively documented the learning experiences of the enslaved in the US prior to the end of the Civil War, estimates that “5% or less” (p. 172) of the enslaved population in the US learned to read or write during their lifetimes. Contrary to the popularly held belief that women more readily obtained literacy due to the visibility of early Black female educators and school founders in the historical literature about slavery and education, Cornelius argued that “more men than women” (pp. 172-74) likely obtained literacy in slavery because enslaved men had greater opportunity for mobility and, thus, greater access to literacy materials and teachers. In this mobility, men also gained greater distance from the master's gaze than enslaved women (H. A. Williams, 2009, p. 20).

A number of states created restrictions on learning—reading, writing, or both—prior to 1865, fearing that literate enslaved Blacks could facilitate their escape by writing their own passes (Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Moss, 2009; Vaughn, 2015). Additionally, as literacy amongst the enslaved could yield deeper understandings of the nature of their economic disenfranchisement and disclose regional practices of resistance, such as the Haitian Revolution (Buck-Morss, 2000), the ability to read and write amongst the enslaved was deeply feared by whites (Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1991; Patterson, 1982). South Carolina passed the first

restrictions against reading in 1740 after the 1739 Stono uprising, led by a literate strategist named Jemmy, that took the lives of over 40 whites (Rasmussen, 2010). South Carolina's Negro Act of 1740 set forth that,

Whereas, the having slaves taught to write, or suffering them to be employed in writing, may be attended with great inconveniences; be it enacted, that all and every person and persons whatsoever, who shall hereafter teach or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use or employ any slave as a scribe, in any manner of writing whatsoever, hereafter taught to write, every such person or persons shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money. (Washington, n.d.)

In addition to restrictions on reading, the South Carolina legislature enacted a 10-year moratorium on the importation of enslaved Africans into the state, believing that the ability to both control the learning and dispositions of native-born Black slaves was much more possible than with newly enslaved Africans (Washington, n.d.). In 1800, as was the case with a number of initial laws restricting the right of the enslaved to read, South Carolina widened its restrictions to include learning, more broadly, and the right to assemble freely (H. A. Williams, 2009).

Insurrections in other southern states followed, and legislatures responded. In Georgia in 1758, the legislature restricted the enslaved learning how to write, but did not restrict reading, given the emphasis on Christian conversion (Monaghan, 2005). Georgia eventually, however, enacted increasingly strict legislation restricting both writing and reading for the enslaved in 1829 and 1833 (H. A. Williams, 2009). Louisiana enacted restrictions on literacy in 1830, following the publication and distribution of David Walker's 1829 *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (H. A. Williams, 2009). Walker's manifesto is important, historically, for a number of reasons. Walker, a free Black man, who left the South for Boston, published the

Appeal and openly linked slave literacy with the demise of slavery (Cornelius, 1991, pp. 31–32). In part, he noted that the testimonies of literate slaves who were able to document and distribute their conditions under slavery would expose white peoples' "infernal deeds of cruelty" (D. Walker, 1829, p. 34) to the world. As mentioned, the publication prompted Louisiana to criminalize both the instruction of reading and writing. The state also criminalized the act of carrying any "paper, pamphlet, or book" (H. A. Williams, 2009, p. 15) that caused insubordination or discontent among any African-American, free or enslaved. North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, and Washington, DC, all enacted or extended in law, restrictions on instructing the enslaved (H. A. Williams, 2009). Education historian, Heather Williams (2009) noted that North Carolina, in 1830, drafted the first statute clearly expressing "the perceived kinship between slave literacy and slave control" (p. 15). The statute also included a provision prohibiting provocative literature from the North that could potentially excite insurrection, conspiracy, or resistance in enslaved or free communities (North Carolina, 1831). Although punishment was often extended to culpable whites under the statutes, the severity of punishment was exacted based upon race, and thus, severe punishment was reserved for Black people (Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1991).

Another important historical turning point that legally restricted reading and writing amongst the enslaved occurred after the insurrection of Nat Turner in Virginia 1831—one of the most well-planned and well-executed uprisings in U.S. history (Oates, 1975). The uprising caused the deaths of between 55 and 65 whites (Albanese, 1976; Aptheker, 1943; Oates, 1975). Turner's well-formed skills of literacy and writing were known and widely publicized, and his defiant disposition, as well as the success of his uprising, were popularly attributed to his reputation as "self-learned" (Oates, 1975). Shortly after the rebellion, news of its success

instilled great fear in white slaveholding populations in the South, and a number of additional states for the first time enacted strict restrictions against reading and writing (Lewis, 2007; H. A. Williams, 2009). Restrictions were also placed on religious meetings for the enslaved in a number of states (H. A. Williams, 2009).

Punishment.

Education historian Janet Cornelius (1983) has explained that the restrictions against literacy and learning were inconsistently enacted and practiced throughout the US, but noted that the severity of punishment that the enslaved faced served as a powerful deterrent (p. 173).¹ Most enslaved people were not literate prior to 1865 (Cornelius, 1983; H. A. Williams, 2009), and historian Heather Williams (2009) has written that restrictions against reading existed so widely that most enslaved people had to steal away in secrecy to engage in any educational practice.

The Federal Writers Project was the archive created to amass the oral narratives of surviving former slaves in the 1930s through formal and informal interviews. In their narratives with the Federal Writers Project, former slaves from Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, and Mississippi regularly recalled the harsh corporal punishment for enslaved children and adults who were caught repeatedly engaging in literacy practices (Cornelius, 1983, 1991). Prior to losing a finger or an arm, children and adults caught reading were at times beaten—sometimes to death—burned, and threatened commonly with dismemberment or death (Cornelius, 1983). The punishments, as a number of scholars have detailed, were not reserved for Blacks. Rather, whites caught aiding the learning of the enslaved could be fined and publicly shamed (Cornelius, 1983, 1993; H. A. Williams, 2009). Cornelius (1983) stated that, although the traditions of punishment varied from state to state, the severity of a threat and a singular memory of witnessing grotesque dismemberment served as an adequate deterrent for most enslaved from

pursuing education. She explained that one or two demonstrations of extreme punishment were enough to “establish a mythology about the dangers of reading and writing” (Cornelius, 1983, p. 174) permanently across wide geographies in the minds of those who bore witness and carried the memory.

Resistance and de facto deterrence.

In addition to the quotidian brutality of everyday enslaved life, the risk of dismemberment or death for attempting to learn or handling a book was too much to bear for many (Hartman, 1997). The fact of overwhelming illiteracy among the slaves, as well as their narratives documenting their trauma of witnessing loved ones tortured for exercising a right to learn, attests to the determinant, quotidian terror that governed everyday lives of the enslaved through 1865. From the literature on the educational practices of the enslaved, we gather a story of resistance and will, the disciplining of one's body, and the cost—at times, the steepest of costs—of punishment for exercising the will to be “self-taught” (H. A. Williams, 2009).

Although every state prior to 1865 did not have a recorded legal statute prohibiting the rights of the enslaved to read and write,² as evidenced by the narratives of the formerly enslaved interviewed by the Federal Writer's Project, terror extended beyond geographic borders in the southern US and also disciplined slaves in contiguous southern states (H. A. Williams, 2009).

Importantly, those southern states that did not have explicit antiliteracy legislation for the enslaved practiced other forms of de facto restrictions. Although most of the literature on slavery and education focuses on the southern US, Heather Williams (2009) also documented the ways in which the North was complicit in deterring the educational obtainment of free Blacks. Although reading and writing were not prohibited by law for free Blacks, white northerners worked in a matrix of other ways to resist the establishment of schools for free Black students.

Prior to the Civil War, white northerners regularly deterred the efforts of free Blacks to build schoolhouses (H. A. Williams, 2009). As an example, in 1831, Yale College physically resisted the establishment of a school for free Blacks in New Haven (Moss, 2009). Two years later, in 1833, whites also attacked, burned, and forced the closure of the Canterbury school in Connecticut for African-American girls established by Prudence Crandall just one year earlier (Moss, 2009; H. A. Williams, 2009). In a number of states, enslaved Blacks established midnight schools or spaces where formal learning occurred after work or on Sundays—that is, after an arduous, full day of tasks were performed (Douglass, 2000; H. A. Williams, 2009). Black people who were willing to risk their lives to achieve literacy in midnight schools were also willing to forgo precious family time or mental and physical respite to become “self-taught” (H. A. Williams, 2009).

In addition to will and discipline, the enslaved also affirmed a self-articulated humanity that was *the goal* of learning to read and write, as Fredrick Douglass (2000) has testified. Sarah Fitzpatrick, an interviewee for the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s, explained that literacy during her enslavement was a risk worth taking for the sake of being able to exercise her most valued privacy—the privacy of romantic exchange in her courtship with her beloved (as cited in Cornelius, 1983). On plantations where formal courtship procedures dictated by slaveholders ordered the sexual and romantic lives of the enslaved, those who could not write or read were forced to ask their masters or mistresses to draft romantic letters to exchange with love interests on the same or neighbouring plantations. Fitzpatrick explained, “Anytime you write a note white folks had to know whut [sic] it said” (as cited in Cornelius, 1983, p. 182). Thus, the ability to read and write permitted a preservation of a rare interiority during slavery. To fully gather the significance of this act, the preservation of a seemingly simple display of inner sanctity—

romantic correspondence—must be juxtaposed against the treatment of the physical body, which was, in all instances, the expendable, exploitable, penetrable, and knowable property of one's master or mistress (Glymph, 2003; Hartman, 1997). For Black women, such as Sarah Fitzpatrick, the connection to literacy had particular import because it allowed her to guard privately her exchanges in letters to her beloved without her words being known or read by her master (Hartman, 1997).

Section 2: Migration

They're leaving while there is still time to make a life for themselves someplace else.

—Wilkerson, 2010

Movement north.

In 2010, the Pulitzer Prize winning journalist, Isabelle Wilkerson, released her metanarrative of Black migration in the 20th century in the US entitled *The Warmth of Other Suns*. The book is a wandering narrative-based history of 20th-century migration out of the South that focuses on three family histories of migration to Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles. It weaves together over 1, 200 interviews that Isabelle Wilkerson (2010) collected over a 15-year period with Black families who were willing to share their family histories of migration. It is, more than anything, a narrative of freedom and a portrait of the very thing that encapsulates historic Black life in North America—the continual movement of Black bodies, Black families, and their children in search of something free (Berlin, 2010; Wilkerson, 2010). Similarly, in the scholarship of early Black settlements in Canada West such as Wilberforce and Dawn (Silverman, 1985), the hopes, dreams, and immediate aspirations of Black parents and their kin bleed through the text. Black people throughout North America migrating north in the 19th and early 20th centuries were fleeing spectacular violence—both immediate and quotidian—and so, were in their most mundane expectations, seeking safety for their bodies and

the bodies of their sons and daughters (Silverman, 1985). Black people fleeing the US were overwhelmingly illiterate (Cornelius, 1981; Silverman, p. 127; H. A. Williams, 2009), and so, it is not surprising that the historical record lists schools among the first institutions that were established in Black settlements on Canadian soil (Hill, 1981; Silverman, 1985). The voices of migrating Black families as documented in their narratives and other recorded interviews frequently expressed the themes of physical safety and education, and their educational desires are expressed as a primary cause of their decision to flee—at an incredible risk of loss—to Canadian soil (Drew, 1856/2008). Cornelius (1991) has noted that all slave narratives, in some capacity, express the learning desires and strategies of their author.

In her book, Isabelle Wilkerson (2010) described the conditions of “superior migrants” (p. 261) driven, by their personal dispositions, away from the spectacular violence of the South. Those who journeyed north, she explained, tended to be more educated and more aspirational than those they left behind (Wilkerson, 2010, pp. 241, 261). When they settled in northern U.S. cities, Black migrants and their children were met with hostility by neighbours and teachers who diagnosed their southern drawls as marks of inferiority, perceived a decreased mental capacity, and placed Black children in remedial classes accordingly (Wilkerson, 2010). Black parents settling into big cities such as Chicago also found themselves in cramped and competitive spaces—both within the job market and within overcrowded, overpriced, dilapidated tenements (Coates, 2014; Wilkerson, 2010).

Fleeing the South, Wilkerson (2010) wrote, always entailed facing the immediate terror of losing one's body or of having a child or wife stolen away in the moments before a train car could be mounted. There is a story relayed in *The Warmth of Other Suns*, the title, a line from Richard Wright, where a young southern boy recalls his father's deep embarrassment and

uncontrollably shaking palms, placed firmly on his shoulders, as the father explained the need to hurry and run for the next train north (Wilkerson, 2010). So much that is unspoken in the histories of Black migration entails these kinds of overlooked, private glimpses of hope and desperation—in Wilkerson's example, a Black parent willing the safety of his son's body where his own has betrayed him. Mat Johnson and Warren Pleece (2008) similarly encapsulated this bodily terror in *Incognegro*, their semifictional graphic novel about the life of Walter White and his anti-lynching work in the US south during Jim Crow. In the novel, a young man attempts a façade of calmness as white locals inch closer towards him on a train platform (Johnson & Pleece, 2008). His attaché case, too akin to luggage, and his head, nervously turning left to right, signal white passersby who are intent on restraining him during the height of migratory flight out of the deep south (Johnson & Pleece, 2008).

Black migration in North America is a movement of the bones—that is, the movement away from something trying to kill the Black body. It is a movement guided also with the blessing of old bones, of ancestors, elders, those too old, too set, and too fragile to journey. There was something sacred then and something still living in the old histories of Black people moving north intentionally and leaning towards a belief in freedom. Black migrants chose cities and settlements, most often, where they had kin—a relative, a neighbour, a congregation member—or imagined kin (Berlin, 2010; Wilkerson, 2010). In one instance, Wilkerson (2010) wrote about the establishment of Newark, New Jersey—an announced stop along a north-south coastal train line—mistakenly understood as “New York” by a family from the deep South (Wilkerson, 2010). They disembarked, and without enough money to mount the next train into New York City, the family decided Newark was close enough and free enough to make a home.

Black migration, most importantly, expressed a hope for something better than home. In their movements away from the unimaginable, Black parents sought the mundane: A right to one's body, to the protection of a daughter's body, to a protection of the law, and to a place to finally and safely educate their children. Clyde Ross, whose family grew up as sharecroppers in Clarksdale, Mississippi, in the early 20th century, migrated to Chicago in 1947 as a way to discontinue his never-ending "losses" coterminous with Jim Crow and southern life (Coates, 2014). However, his losses did not end upon his arrival to Chicago, but rather continued in other varying forms throughout the course of his life—specifically, in the form of red-lining and contract-buying schemes that deprived him of equity, financial stability, and home ownership (Coates, 2014).

Canada and disappointment.

These continuing "losses" were well captured here on Canadian soil with the arrival of Black families settling across the border—most visibly, in the few decades before and after the American Civil War (Landon, 1920; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997). Early Black settlements, such as Wilberforce, held the hopes of the portion of the nearly thousand Black migrants who had fled white mob violence during the Cincinnati riots of 1829 (Silverman, 1985). During this period between 1830 and the early 20th century, Canadian papers such as the *Niagara Falls Reporter* and *Montréal Witness* published articles denouncing American plantation slavery and, simultaneously, molding their own narratives of freedom and inclusion—such as, inscribing Canada's moral superiority over the US regarding Black migration (Bakan, 2008; McLaren, 2005; Silverman, 1985).

Yet, as the arrival of Black refugees increased, so too did white Canadian violence, and by the 1850s, Jim Crow practices akin to those in the US were practiced in nearly every

Canadian institution after the end of slavery (Backhouse, 1999; J. Walker, 1997). Horace Hawkins, a slave from Kentucky who sought freedom in Canada, travelled widely through Canada West during the 1840s (Silverman, 1985). He reported that he found a prejudice far greater in Canada than he had encountered in the US (as cited in Silverman, 1985, p. 73).

Similarly, William Wells Brown, a Black abolitionist from the US who toured dozens of Canadian towns in Canada West in 1861, stated that, "The more I see of Canada, the more I am convinced of the deep rooted hatred of the negro here" (as cited in Yee, 1997, p. 11).

Black families migrating further west and settling along the Pacific and Northern railways in cities such as Edmonton, Regina, and Winnipeg—departing initially from states such as Kansas and Oklahoma—also held within them desires of promised land ownership, fair compensation for their labour, education, and safety for their children and kin (Mathieu, 2010). The Reverend Will Hurt wrote to the Canadian Department of Immigration in the early 1900s, explaining his reasons for desiring to leave his community in Oklahoma (as cited in Mathieu, 2010). Hurt wrote, "I am deprive[d] of life liberty. Our women is not treated rite [sic] at all. We have no schools, and I am tyired [sic] of raising cotton and the other man get it" (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 30). For Hurt, the safety of the Black women in his community and family, education for his kin, and equitable pay for his labour were the key factors motivating his migration to Canada.

Shirley Yee (1997) has argued that Canada served as a problematic site of identity and community formation for Black peoples migrating north in the 19th century. Despite this, those migrating north to Canada at times asserted their migration for a broader social and political good, as exemplified by Mary Shadd Cary who arrived in Windsor from the US in 1851 (Yee, 1997). Migrating after the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, Shadd Cary was deeply

critical of the slavery-expanding Act; she expressed her decision to migrate north in light of the Act and developed a rhetoric that situated herself as a Canadian intellectual, educator, and activist until 1861 when she returned to the US (as cited in Yee, 1997). For Shadd Cary, Canada served as a site to develop a platform for her social activism that encouraged and supported the migration of Blacks out of the US. Canada also served as a political site in which she engaged in vigorous critiques of Black male leadership (Yee, 1997). For example, she regularly asserted herself as an equal in Black male-centred leadership circles (Yee, 1997). In her early years in Canada, and in her writings, Shadd Cary distinguished Canada from the US as a more just society for Blacks, asserted Canada's superior moral and political positions, and insisted on the superiority of a British education to an American one (as cited in Yee, 1997).

Despite these assertions, Black migrants in the 19th century were met openly with white Canadian violence, segregation, and importantly, faced a discourse of lynching directed towards Black men (Mathieu, 2010; Silverman, 1985). Though technically British citizens, Black West Indians were met with a hostility akin to the kind faced by African Americans (Mathieu, 2010). For instance, in 1908, the mayor of Virden, Manitoba, George Clingan, wrote to the Canadian Department of Immigration angrily expressing that 46 Barbadian farmworkers who arrived in his community were "certainly not asked for nor wanted" (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 31). He added that their physical presence was especially offensive to the town's residents, and he employed a sexual stereotype about Black men as sexual predators in his letter by insisting that the Black farmworkers could never find proper work because "the farmer's wives are afraid of them" (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 31). These displays of anti-Black racism and violence supported the threats of burning and bodily dismemberment as a rational white Canadian response to the influx of Black men crossing the border and, thus, by 1911, served to deny Black

immigration into Canada (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Canadian citizens regularly petitioned the Ministers of Interior and Immigration to close the border to Black migrants, projecting in their correspondences, the inherent criminality of Black men as rapists and murderers of white women (Mathieu, 2010). Fritz Freidrichs, an Alberta citizen, wrote to the Minister of Interior in 1911 in his petition to halt Black immigration to Canada (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 25). Freidrichs wrote that Black men “have misused young girls and women and killed them. They will do the same in our country too” (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 25).

The myth of Black criminality and lynching.

Black men migrating to Canada in the 19th century were often described as criminals who had a natural propensity to commit rape against white Canadian women (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). In the early 20th century, Black migration was regarded as a threat to the stability of Canada based on this myth of Black criminality (Mathieu, 2010). In 1868, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald wrote to Chief Justice William Johnson Ritchie and described his rationale for protecting the death penalty for rape in Canada (B. Walker, 2010, p. 117). Macdonald wrote, “We have thought it well to continue it on account of the frequency of rape committed by negroes of whom we have too many in Upper Canada” (B. Walker, 2010, p. 117). When a young white woman, Hazel Huff of Edmonton, named “a big, black, burly nigger” (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 52) as her rapist, local papers flooded the news each day with stories of Black criminality, the need to defend white women's chastity, and most notably, a logic for vigilante justice—that is, lynching as a rational emotional response to the rape of a white woman by a Black man. Nine days after naming her “nigger” attacker, Hazel Huff publicly admitted that there was no Black rapist and that she, in fact, had merely hoped to help the cause of preventing Black migration into Canada.

The threat of lynching also served as a white rationale for the restriction of Black immigrants, outright, from entering the country (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Lynching, an extralegal violence reserved for Black men who lacked legal standing in the postslavery years, became a commonly invoked Canadian response to the white imagined threat of Black criminality in Canada (B. Walker, 2010, pp. 124, 148, 151, 154, 184–185). Historian Sarah-Jane Mathieu (2010) asserted that in the years before World War II, “white Canadians repeatedly presented lynching as an inevitable way of policing Blacks in Canada, as though homicidal mob rule was a natural course of race relations” (p. 53). Her statement is deeply significant because it highlighted the ways that Canadians threatened Black men with the most familiar kind of anti-Black bodily terror in North America and, in so doing, reinforced a terror that remained entrenched on Canadian soil. Threats of lynching, buttressed by popular media and cartoon depictions of pickininnies and blackface (Mathieu, 2010), also affirmed grotesque representations of anti-Blackness as acceptable descriptors for Black life within Canada in the 20th century. Although Black lynchings are not widely known to date within Canada,³ a suspension of terror in the lives of Black migrants occurred between the borders and was upheld by (a) a white Canadian citizenry who helped make lynching discourses normative; (b) newspapers that inflamed racial hysteria by publishing cartoons and stories of Black criminality attributable to migration and rape (Mathieu, 2010, pp. 24–25); and (c) finally, Prime Minister Macdonald, who justified the preservation of capital punishment on the basis of an imagined Black male propensity towards rape (B. Walker, 2010).

In the 1980s, longtime Black Priceville resident, Helen Miller, elaborated on the kind of anti-Black terror that historically constrained Black families living in a small Ontario community that maintained a “sun down” policy that Black families knew about widely (NFB, Holness, &

Sutherland, 2000). She explained that as children, “We were warned to be careful out there. This was by white people. We went to their house, and they told us to be very careful, very careful” (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000, 25:00). De facto sun down laws were also exercised against Black families in other parts of Ontario, such as Leamington and Kingsville, in the 19th and 20th centuries, historian Elise Harding Davis explained (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000). Sun down laws, Harding Davis noted, were understood by Black residents as laws “no longer on the books” (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000, 24:00), where Black people were expected to be “off the streets of the town or out of the boundaries of the town by sun down” (24:00). These invisible laws reinforced an extension of terror in the lives of Black residents in the early 20th century in Ontario, as they spoke “to the fear that there would be something terrible that would happen if Black people were in that town after the sun went down” (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000, 24:00). Sun down laws traditionally served as an extrajudicial justification for lynching Black people who dared to transgress geographic and temporal boundaries set by white citizens (Loewen, 2005; B. Walker, 2010). The extension of terror in the context of sun down rules that governed Black life in and around the Priceville community, as well as other more distant communities in Ontario in the 19th and 20th centuries, exemplifies the ways that the threat of being assaulted or killed after dark was compounded with the commonplace fragilities of poverty, migration, and white supremacy constantly labouring upon Black lives in Canada (NFB, Holness, & Sutherland, 2000).

W. E. B. Du Bois, who was in contact with the Department of Immigration in the early 20th century due to stories of white Canadian violence relayed between Black migrants that he received at *The Crisis* newspaper, spoke openly about the myth of Canada as a site of greater tolerance for Black people migrating north from the US (as cited in Mathieu, 2010). He defined

Canada as another laboratory “in which the necessary experiments” (as cited in Mathieu, 2010, p. 40) of anti-Blackness and Jim Crow violence “may be tried” (p. 40).

Shifting Canadian historical narratives.

Black families migrated north to Canada in large numbers in the years just before and after the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act (Foner, 1990; Landon, 1920). After 1850, thousands of Black migrants crossed the border and settled in Upper Canada—in Chatham, Amherstburg, London, and Windsor (Silverman, 1985). In their migrations, they expressed their highest hopes of freedom and appealed to the Canadian legal system to provide them with protections that they were not afforded in the northern states or other parts of the US (Drew, 1856/2008). Black women desired sexual ownership of their bodies (Drew, 1856/2008). Black parents sought the protection of their children's bodies and asserted their right, finally, to educate their kin (Drew, 1856/2008). During this period of migration just before and after the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, the largest migration of Black people to Canada occurred.

In the process of crafting a sacred national ideal—the right of free public schooling for its citizens (H. A. Williams, 2009)—white Canadians, local politicians, community leaders, lawyers and judges, and Egerton Ryerson, superintendent of schools for Upper Canada, all worked to deny Black families and their children the right to equal education through legal and de facto schooling segregation practices. With this practice of widespread segregation, Canada best expressed its historical relationship with Black people. These restrictive practices were also enacted throughout the country as a response to the influx of Black migrants entering Canada between 1830 and 1900, peaking in the periods before and after the American Civil War (Hill, 1981; Mathieu, 2010). The rationale for this denial was based upon the same racial logic that white Americans held and expressed towards Black people and particularly, Black children.

Black children in Canada were also not extended the quality of innocence as a signifier for childhood as were white children (Bernstein, 2011; Winks, 1969). Rather, as detailed in Chapter 5, Black children arriving in Canada were regarded as morally corrupt, unclean, and lacking sentience—quite literally lacking any ability to express and feel pain, learn, and reason (Bernstein, 2011; McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1969). This discrimination, widespread and practiced for over a century, was waged primarily upon the bodies of Black children.

Within the story of hope for an imagined freedom and a yearning to gain control of one's Black body lie two important, underscored subnarratives about Canada: one, the power and persistence of historical fallacies and, two, the violence at the heart of a newly formed federation. First, in their search for mundane freedoms, both material and existential, Black migrants streaming across the border were met with rage, segregation, and anti-Black racism from white Canadians that they did not expect to find (Drew, 1856/2008; Mackey, 2010; Mathieu, 2010). This is a history concealed, still, from the nation's students. It is a story that, in its erasure, has pilfered the ancestral memory of aunties, grandmothers, and newly arrived Black people who quickly felt the certainty of the lie. It is a history held in silence that has shuttered the nation's conversations about race, anti-Blackness, and white violence and reduced them to pleasantries, nonconversations, and reinforced imaginary Canadian identities wholly detached from the history of anti-Black violence in the nation. Secondly, the history of Black migration in the 19th century, if a nation is willing to face it, fundamentally destroys the affability that Canada claims regarding its historical relationship with its Black population.

Section 3: Literacy, Restrictions, and Canada

The last section of this chapter begins a conversation about literacy practices and restrictions upon learning within the first enslaved and free Black communities in Canada. This

section also serves as a precursor to the long history of schooling violence faced by Black families beginning in the 1830s that is detailed in the next chapter. This section, most importantly, is an effort to locate a history of Canadian violence alongside the hopes and desires of the Black migrants who risked everything to journey north expecting to find physical and mental freedoms on the other side of the border. How does one weave the story of Black migration into a history of formal and informal educational practices within slave communities in light of the tremendous desire for education that migratory Black populations from the US brought into Upper Canada in the early 1800s?

Throughout the Americas, it became customary for white slave owners to prohibit enslaved Blacks from learning to read and write through force and/or law (Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1991; Miller, 2007; Moss, 2009; Vaughn, 2015). These denials, as well as the extended history of public schooling segregation and schooling violence in the US and Canada, created gaping chasms in the social, political, educational, and cultural lives between white and Black Canadians that continue in the present (Chan & Chunn, 2014). Notably absent from the historiography of slave practices in North America are sources devoted to the ways that migratory Black populations in colonial Canada engaged in educational practices in Upper Canada and the Maritimes, and the nature of white-imposed restrictions that impacted their learning. Although scholarship on slavery in colonial Canada has provided a significant amount of qualitative and quantitative information about the historical practices of slavery in Upper Canada and the Maritimes (Bell, 1982; Cahill, 1994; Donovan, 1995, 2014; Nelson, 2015; Riddell, 1919, 1927; Rushforth, 2013; Trudel & d'Allaire, 2013; Whitfield, 2006, 2012), detailed studies about the formal and informal education practices and restrictions upon learning in enslaved and free (and comingled) Black migratory communities in colonial Canada in the 18th

and 19th centuries are notable absences within the body of Canadian slavery studies scholarship. How did the Black enslaved and Black refugees within Canada engage in educational practices? What kinds of restrictions and violence hindered their attempts at learning?

The interrelated themes of education practices among the enslaved and of white resistance to Black learning are essential subtopics within the historiography of American and Canadian slavery, as they highlight the survival and humanity of Black peoples living under plantation slavery and in migration (Aptheker, 1983; Douglass, 2000; Genovese, 1976; Oates, 1975; Stuckey, 1987). Scholarship centring these themes is significant, in great part because it presents a powerful counternarrative to slavery studies scholarship that focuses on Black oppression and bodily suffering and, thus, decentres the theme of human agency within the histories of the Black enslaved (Hartman, 1997; Glymph, 2003). As such, the history of informal and formal education practices—again, commonly referred to as “literacy practices”—within U.S. slave communities has received a considerable amount of attention (Belt-Bayan, 2004; Bly, 2008; Butchart, 1988; Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Fort, 1999; Gundaker, 2007; Moss, 2009; Span & Anderson, 2005; H. A. Williams, 2009). The themes of Black persistence and white resistance to Black learning have been central to the historiography of slavery in the Americas due to (a) the perceived threat of insurrection that owners associated with slave literacy (Cornelius, 1991; Rasmussen, 2010; H. A. Williams, 2009); (b) the widespread legal restrictions on learning that existed in nearly every state before the Civil War (Cornelius, 1983); and (c) the notorious punishments of maiming and death for transgressing antiliteracy laws in certain parts of the South (Cornelius, 1991).

Importantly, within the history of educational practices among the enslaved, one also confronts the nefarious roots of the history of public schooling in the Americas (Cornelius, 1983,

1991; Moss, 2009; H. A. Williams, 2009), and the erection of a public school system that privileged an exclusionary citizenship and reinforced efforts to deny Black children access to public schooling (Moss, 2009). Although the history of schooling deterrence and discrimination against Black children post slavery has been documented in various parts of Canada (McLaren, 2004; Shadd, Cooper, & Frost, 2005; Shepard, 1986; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997), there has been a curious absence of scholarship devoted to documenting the histories of formal and informal educational practices within the communities of Black migrants that settled in Upper Canada and the Maritimes prior to the end of slavery. Between 1783 and the formal end of slavery in 1834 through the British Slavery Abolition Act, four distinct Black migratory populations—known as Black Loyalists, slaves of the Loyal Americans, the Black Refugees, and fugitive slaves—arrived from various regions of the US, settled in the Maritimes and Upper Canada, and brought along with them distinct cultural traditions (Silverman, 1985; D. States, personal communication, December 17, 2015; Whitfield, 2006, 2012). Additionally, between 1830 and 1834, a number of sizeable Black settlements, including Wilberforce, Oro, Sandwich, and Hamilton, were formed in Upper Canada by Black fugitives fleeing the US (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997).

Currently, very little is known about which educational traditions these migrant groups practiced in the US prior to arrival in Canada, how their patterns of migration shaped their education practices, and how their prior learning traditions, if any, impacted their formal and informal education practices upon arrival. Missing, importantly, is a scholarly inquiry into the kinds of de facto and legal impediments to learning that white Canadians, as slaveholders and nonslaveholders, may have enacted against these migrants who arrived in Canada as both enslaved and free Black peoples. To date, the history of formal and informal education practices

within enslaved and free communities in colonial Canada has not yet been similarly documented as within the US. How many Black migrants and their families established literacy practices across the border or arrived with the ability to read and write, given the assertions from historians that those who were both self-learned and willing to migrate shared an affinity for a particular kind of freedom that came with the most significant risk—that of death (Berlin, 2010; Wilkerson, 2010; H. A. Williams, 2009)? Simply, were those who migrated more literate than those who stayed behind?

Estimates of literacy and migration.

Historians who have devoted their study to literacy practices in slave communities have described the connections between literacy and agency (Cornelius, 1983; H. A. Williams, 2009; Woodson, 1919). That is, historians have long asserted that those who were literate were more likely to undertake risks in asserting their freedom—leading uprisings, migrating north, and sharing literacy practices (in midnight schools, as an example)—with other members of their communities formally or informally (Cornelius, 1983; Douglass, 2000; H. A. Williams, 2009; Wilkerson, 2010; Woodson, 1919). Relying on these assertions, it is likely, thus, that those who fled to Canada had higher levels of literacy than those who stayed behind.

Although an accurate count of the enslaved prior to 1865 who were able to obtain some degree of literacy has not been reliably documented or estimated, a number of scholars have reviewed both primary and secondary source estimates that suggest similar conclusions (Cornelius, 1983; Silverman, 1985; H. A. Williams, 2009). Historian Jason Silverman (1985), relying on the work of Eugene Genovese (1976) and Carter G. Woodson (1919), estimated that 2% of those enslaved in the US south in 1840 were literate. Silverman estimated the number at 5% by 1860. This is similar to the percentage gleaned from Cornelius's (1983) estimates of

slave literacy based upon her analysis of 3,428 interviews with the formerly enslaved from the Federal Writers' Project. Silverman and other historians argued, notably, that Black fugitives were "overwhelmingly illiterate" (Silverman, 1985, p. 127; see also Brown-Kubisch, 2004; Winks, 1969, 1997). Historian Linda Brown-Kubisch (2004) wrote, for example, that the "majority of fugitive slaves who arrived in Canada, especially before 1850, were illiterate, having been deprived of opportunities for schooling" (p. 20).

Although Black migrants began settling in Upper Canada in the 1830s, reliable figures that account for the total Black population are not easily found. George Elliot Clarke noted that the First Report of the Anti-Slavery Society in Canada in 1852 estimated the Black population in Upper Canada at 30,000 (as cited in Drew, 1856/2008, p. 29). Historian Fred Landon (1920) noted the steady influx of Blacks from the North and the South into Upper Canada after the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. In 1859, when the Black population was at its "peak," Silverman (1985) wrote, estimates of 40,000 had been recorded (p. 159). By 1871, he argued, the Black population in Upper Canada fell to 15,000 as Black families migrated home at the end of the Civil War to assist in Reconstruction efforts both in the North and South, to find their family members, and often—as documented in their writings—to avoid the crushing racism of white Canadians (Silverman, 1985).

These counts have been challenged by historian Michael Wayne (1995) who argued that the 1861 census, rather than the estimates and testimonies documented by travellers to Canada West, provides the most reliable figure of Blacks in Canada West prior to the Civil War. A close review of the census numbers reveals, he argued, gross migratory overestimates by slavery studies scholars in Canada since the early 20th century (Wayne, 1995). For instance, he stated, in 1861, the census reported 17,053 Blacks in Canada West—nearly 25,000 short of previous

high estimates (Wayne, 2005). The figure of 17,053, he added, is also more reliable than larger figures given the method of the hand count by census takers and the directive that enumerators were under “to secure an accurate count of Blacks” (Wayne, 1995, p. 468). Additionally, the 1871 census reported 13,500 living in Canada West at the time. Given the relationship between the 1861 and 1871 censuses, he added, one can—at the very least—reasonably conclude that there was not a mass exodus of Blacks returning to the US after the Civil War, but rather that the Black population of “Canada West decreased by about 20 percent during the period of 1861 to 1871” (Wayne, 1995, p. 471).

Challenges of quantitative data.

A number of challenges still exist to exploring the history of literacy practices within Canadian slave communities. These challenges are both temporal and spatial. They also pertain to a scarcity of secondary material and to biases that arise in secondary materials by white slave scholars who have repeatedly documented the existence of slavery in Canada as one “more humane and generous” than slavery within the US (Brown-Kubisch, 2004; Mackey, 2010; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997). As with most comparative analyses between the US and Canada regarding the study of Black life, there exists a basic challenge of finding numerous varied secondary source materials such as books, scholarly articles, and dissertations that explore the subject of literacy practices in slave communities and early Black settlements within Canada.

In addition to the scarcity of existing literature, there are also a number of important temporal and spatial considerations for this undertaking. The distinct temporal periods that characterized the end of slavery in Canada are important for understanding the ways literacy practices may have been supported or restricted by whites during and after slavery in the British and French empires. For example, a detailed study of literacy practices in colonial Canada

would rely on temporal markers that signify the status of Black peoples as enslaved or free. Although slavery under the British empire is understood by slave studies scholars to have formally ended in 1834, debate continues regarding both the conditions of enslavement and the starting and ending points of slavery in Lower Canada under the French empire (Mackey, 2010; Rushforth, 2013; Nelson, 2015).

In British Canada, the end of slavery is denoted by the Imperial Act in 1834 (Mackey, 2010). In Lower Canada, historian Frank Mackey (2010) has argued that a precise ending point of slavery is harder to classify. Mackey argued that slavery was “phased out” well before 1834 without a formal legal enactment and, by 1800, was not legally upheld in the area known today as Québec (Mackey, 2010; F. Mackey, personal communication, February 14, 2015). He devoted the first 80 pages of his book, *Done with Slavery*, to argue against the existence of slavery in Lower Canada, both in practice and in law, until 1834 asserting that “to extend slavery’s life by thirty years to 1834 is to misread a capital chapter in the history of Québec” (p. 77). Instead, he contended that slavery ended gradually: (a) de jure in 1763, ending Raudot’s 1709 ordinance that permitted slavery in Lower Canada given the “formal cession of the colony to the British Crown” (p. 28); (b) through a series of legal challenges brought by enslaved Black people in Lower Canada prior to 1800 that failed to judicially sustain involuntary servitude (Mackey, 2010, pp. 28–33, 30, 78); and (c) through a series of legal silences, such as the failure of judges and legislators in Lower Canada to ever pass a law validating slavery (p. 32) and the repeated unwillingness by the Lower Canada Assembly to pass a bill affirming the legal existence of slavery in Lower Canada in 1793 and 1803 (pp. 65–66). Additionally, Mackey has pointed out that “the last sale of a slave took place in 1799” (p. 71). Although he included all printed notices “concerning the sales of Black slaves and the flights of black prisoners, ship

deserters, servants, and slaves” (Mackey, 2010, p. 307) in Appendix I of his book, the three notices he included after 1800 were for deserters or indentured servants rather than fugitive slaves (p. 339–340). “Slave” as a nominal term, he contended, “fell into disuse in the records, last appearing in the Montréal registers of civil status” (p. 72) in 1798.

As historian Jason Silverman (1985) has noted, Black migrants, both free and enslaved, began arriving in Upper Canada in large numbers in the 1830s when chattel slavery was still acknowledged under the British crown. Although the trade of slaves ceased in 1807, those held in bondage during the passage of the Slave Trade Act remained enslaved.

Marking distinctions.

One of the clearest distinctions regarding literacy and slavery between the US and Canada is the absence of de jure legal restrictions on reading and writing within Canada. The enslaved could also read and write, legally, without the fear of severe corporal punishment, dismemberment, death, or sale as often occurred in the US (Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Mackey, 2010). The status of slaves in New France “was regulated by the Code Noir, which though never proclaimed in the colony, appears to have been used as customary law” (Winks, 1997, pp. 6–7). Mackey (2010) argued, however, that the Code Noir had little legal authority in the area currently known as Québec after its enactment in France’s colonies in 1685 and also in 1724, when it was modified for the French colony of Louisiana (p. 24). “No such ‘Black Code’ or fundamental law on slavery,” Mackey (2010) detailed, “was ever drafted for, or registered in, New France” (p. 24). The Code Noir, on its face, did not limit literacy practices of the enslaved or hinder formal education (Riddell, 1925; Rushforth, 2003). In his descriptions of the treatment of the Black enslaved in New France, historian Robin Winks (1997) did not provide details about the education that slaves received or practiced (pp. 10–12).

Yet, regarding customary practices under the Code Noir, the French Atlantic scholar Christopher Miller (2007) has insisted that “slave plantations of the Caribbean [governed by the Code Noir] were hardly writerly places” (p. 35). He explained,

Although the Code Noir mandated that slaves be instructed in religion, *hardly any education happened, slave literacy was scarce, and no slave narratives were apparently written* [emphasis added]. It seems clear that under the regime of slavery from the time of the Code Noir until abolition, “instruction” was seen as instruction in religion only, as catechism; that it was oral, with no attempt to impart literacy; and that very little of it took place. Instruction required both free time for the slaves and their ability to assemble; it was therefore perceived as a risk of insurrection. Fénelon, the governor of Martinique in 1764, wrote, “Education . . . is a duty for the principles of holy religion, but wise policy [la saine politique] and human considerations are against it. . . . The safety of the Whites demands that we keep the Negroes in the profoundest ignorance” (Miller, 2007, p. 35).⁴

Although the Code Noir established no formal restrictions on literacy, Miller's (2007) words remind us of the lack of reliability of the written law (or the absence of law) for insight into the conditions of the enslaved in both the French Atlantic and within Canada, specifically, under French colonialism. The Haitian historian Jean Fouchard, Miller added, explored the subject of literacy in the French Caribbean and documented what he named “the miraculous escapes into literacy on part of the slaves” (p. 63). Fouchard (1953) wrote, for example, that the common spelling book (“syllabaire”) was strictly forbidden for use by the enslaved (pp. 63, 67, 72).

Regardless of the attempts of slave masters during the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade to hinder the learning desires of the enslaved, literacy practices were nonetheless engaged discreetly. As an example, runaway advertisements often warned about the likelihood of a pass falsely inscribed by the hand of the runaway slave (Miller, 2007, p. 36). Fouchard (1953) concluded that given the near absence of recorded narratives from the enslaved within the French Atlantic, as well as a lack of reliable secondary material documenting the subject, one does not know how the enslaved “acquired the ability to read and write. But they did manage,” Fouchard added, “and that is remarkable” (pp. 98–99; see also Miller, 2007, pp. 36–37).

What can one gather, relevant to Canada, from Miller's reading of literacy practices and primary and secondary sources documenting their existence in the French Atlantic? Marcel Trudel (1960) and Trudel and d'Allaire (2013) have determined that the overwhelming majority of slaveholders in New France—over 1,300 out of 1,500—were French. Prior to 1763 and the Treaty of Paris, the Code Noir was officially instituted in New France in 1685 by Raudot, the official intendant to New France from France (Rushforth, 2013). Yet, as historian Maureen Elgersman (1999) has noted, the Code Noir was instituted only as a “formality” in New France. Both Miller (2007) and Fouchard (1953) additionally illustrated the ways that the Code Noir deviated widely in practice from the text of its law against the enslaved. Fouchard and Miller also concurred that, although the Code Noir provided for religious “instruction,” most of the slaves in France's colonies remained illiterate and obtained literacy only under the most remarkable circumstances. In his Appendix I with all of the notices for fugitive slaves in Lower Canada between 1765 and 1810, Mackey (2010) documented only two advertisements that characterize the ability to read and write within the text of the notice (Mackey, 2010, p. 331).⁵ A

longer, separate study is needed that explores the literacy practices amongst the enslaved in New France, later known as Lower Canada.

Narratives and literacy practices.

As historian and poet George Elliot Clarke (2005) has noted of the more than 6,000 known slave narratives, “most of them [are] African-American and many of them [are] brief transcriptions from interviews, and despite their publication in the hundreds in American and British journals, they are marginalized in mainstream Canadian literary scholarship” (p. 13). Benjamin Drew's (1856/2008) collection, *The Refugee: Narratives of Fugitive Slaves in Canada*, provides one of the best sources for assessing the levels of literacy Black refugees obtained in the US, capturing desires for educational attainment refugees expressed, and understanding the impediments to learning that Black refugees faced upon arrival to Canada prior to 1850. Focusing on modern-day Ontario, the collection documented short narratives of 115 Black refugees who arrived in Canada prior to or around 1850. Many of the narratives also mentioned the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act as an impetus for migration, as well as expectations of education that had been prior denied in the US (Drew, 1856/2008, p. 152). The narratives provided varied information about the levels of literacy attainment prior to arrival, and not all narrators directly mentioned their levels of literacy. A number of narrators, however, made detailed mention of the kinds of educational deterrents that they encountered immediately upon arrival to Canada.

The narratives of Black refugees living in Hamilton and London well detailed the ways their desire to learn and to educate their kin was deterred upon arrival (Drew, 1856/2008). In Hamilton in 1854, there were 274 Black families in the town, yet fewer than one dozen Black students who were able to regularly attend public school in a total population of 1700 students (Drew, 1856/2008, p. 123). This figure, Drew (1856/2008) explained, “was scarcely to be

wondered at, when we consider that prejudice against [Black children] prevails to too great an extent in Hamilton” (p. 123). As the Reverend R. S. W. Sorrick, enslaved in Maryland, added, the exclusion of Black children from Hamilton's schools was attributable to a “main obstacle . . . a prejudice existing between coloured and white” (as cited in Drew, 1997, p. 125). Although Hamilton resident Henry Williamson, also enslaved in Maryland, documented that his “learning to write” was not impeded by white violence, the chapter detailed the ways that Black children were systematically denied education in Hamilton (Drew, 1856/2008, p. 137).

Similarly in London, the narratives of newly settled Black refugees documented the literacy restrictions immediately encountered by new families. In 1854, 350 Black people lived among 12,000 Londoners (Drew, 1856/2008, p. 147). Yet, Drew (1856/2008) documented fewer than a dozen Black students attending the local public schools in 1855 (p. 147). He explained,

The principal reason for this neglect of common school advantages by the coloured people is the prejudice of the whites. Many of the whites object to having their children sit in the same forms with the coloured pupils; and some lower classes will not send their children to schools where Blacks are admitted. (Drew, 1856/2008, p. 147)

White teachers, Drew added, supported the exclusion of Black children from London's public schools as well. Together, the narratives from Hamilton and London evidenced pre-existing white biases that created impediments to learning and education for Black refugees in the mid-19th century.

Conclusion

This chapter is a starting conversation regarding the kinds of restrictions on literacy that were practiced against the Black enslaved and free in Canada prior to 1850. In the context of the history of literacy resistance within enslaved communities in the US and the history of Black

migration to Canada, quashed desires for learning—desires that compelled Black migration—are illuminated in early settlement communities in Upper Canada. These disappointments bespeak a story of white supremacy and anti-Black violence in Canada—a history that also diminishes the Underground Railroad as a terminus of safety and self-actualization for Black refugees. In fact, the early character of anti-Black racism is best encapsulated alongside the articulated desires for learning that Black migrants expressed in their narratives. Although literacy restrictions are not historically documented in Canada *de jure* prior to the end of slavery in the British and French colonies, a much larger study is nonetheless needed that details the *de facto* restrictions against literacy practices engaged in enslaved and newly settled Black communities in Canada prior 1850.

The following chapter details these practices as a network of legal and *de facto* practices that created the conditions for schooling segregation for Black Canadian students for the next 100 years throughout Canada.

¹ This note (7) is very important, as it provides great nuance to the commonly held argument that the enslaved, widely, were (a) restricted from learning and (b) punished severely as a result. What Cornelius noted (1983), through an extensive inclusion of the codes prohibiting forms of literacy, is that a few States had laws on the books that restricted literacy, and those that did, distinguished between writing and reading. The right to read was preserved because it was viewed as an essential part of the proselytization process—the ability to read and interpret the “word of God”—of Christianizing slaves. Importantly, Cornelius noted that despite the law, white slaveholders held their slaves as chattel property and insisted on their plantations as sovereign territories and so, she argued, were keen to disregard any restrictions that encumbered their rights as property owners. Thus, the law is not a exclusively reliable gauge in determining, at the very least, the frequency in practice of punishment or the existence of practices and punishment that may not have been inscribed within the law. More important, she insisted, are the memories and recorded narratives of formerly enslaved people who testified to the trauma of witnessing loved ones tortured for exercising a right to learn and the fear of deterrence they clung to while enslaved.

² Historian Janet Cornelius (1991) has argued that “the sweeping extent of [anti-literacy] laws has been exaggerated” and wrote that “laws banning the teaching of slaves were only in effect in four states for the entire period from the 1830s to 1865: Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia” (p. 33). However, she wrote that a number of other states enacted restrictive legislation that greatly deterred literacy and education for the enslaved (pp. 33-36). Additionally, historian Heather Williams (2009) wrote that Louisiana had restrictive legislation, and that both northern and southern states and individuals created widespread *de facto* methods deterring education amongst the enslaved between 1800 and 1865.

³ With the exception of Debra Komar’s *Lynching of Peter Wheeler*.

⁴ See Miller’s (2007) note 143 and 144, especially. Quoted in Peytraud, *L’Esclavage aux Antilles françaises*, 192; see his chapter “Religion des Esclaves,” (pp. 165–192). The priest Du Tertre wrote that he and his fellow

missionaries in the Antilles taught their “Nègres” to read and to serve at mass but that the habitans (planters) preferred to keep them “dans une crasse ignorance de toutes choses” (*Histoire Générale des Antilles*, 2, 511).

⁵ Of 51 fugitives documented between 1760 and 1800, Mackey (2010) lists two enslaved Black men, Pascal Puro and Ishmael, who are identified as being able to both “read and write” in their fugitive slave notices. Ishmael, notably, ran away repeatedly—on at least three occasions between 1779 and 1788. Additionally, Mackey lists three other fugitives who may have possessed some literacy: Andrew, who possessed forged papers upon his departure (p. 315); Joe, who repeatedly ran away from his master, Gazette owner William Brown and worked as a “pressman” (p. 328); and Noah Drew, convicted of possessing and passing counterfeit money (p. 338).

Chapter 5: The Pattern of Anti-Black Racism in Early Schooling Practices in Canada West 1830–1900

This chapter introduces the idea of “bleeding geography” in the context of Black migration and Canada’s public schooling. This term serves as a metaphor to describe the fluidity and transnationality of anti-Black racism between the US and Canada in the context of the history of public schooling and Black life in Canada more broadly. Black migration to Canada, despite the popular narrative of the Underground Railroad as a terminus of freedom for Black peoples, illuminated the fact of structural, white Canadian racism in the 19th century. This metaphor also helps disassemble the notion of the border as an absolute location and barrier: Not only has the border between the US and Canada been rearranged and remade over time, but racial discourses within Canada seldom account for the historical cross-exchange of practices of anti-Black racism between the US and Canada (Mathieu, 2010). Although 19th century migration from the US to Canada illuminates the experiences of anti-Black racism that befell Black families upon arrival, the condition of anti-Blackness “bled” South as well. A salient example of this may be seen with Canada’s Department of Immigration’s direct campaign of propaganda in Oklahoma and Kansas in the early 20th century to directly deter Black migration to Canada through public lectures touting the “science” of frigid climate incompatibility with Blackness (Mathieu, 2010). In 1911, the Canadian Department of Immigration contracted Black American doctors to give public speeches and also commissioned articles and advertisements from African-American journalists in Oklahoma and Kansas to promote its “special propaganda” (Mathieu, 2010, p. 44). Scripted speeches claiming the presence of dead Black corpses littered throughout Canada, “frozen along the roadside like fence posts,” terrorized

Black audiences in the US, as the Canadian Department of Immigration attempted to halt all Black migration to Canada (Mathieu, 2010, p. 45).

Scholars such as Paul Gilroy (1993) and Black Canadian scholar Richard Iton (2010) have long characterized the transnational dimensions of anti-Blackness. Gilroy, for example, set out to develop the following thesis:

Cultural historians could take the Atlantic as one single, complex unit of analysis in their discussions of the modern world and use it to produce an explicitly transnational and intercultural perspective. (p. 15)

Still, there are other important reasons why the notion of transnational anti-Blackness helps explain the impact of American racism as an undergirding factor in certain expressions of Canadian anti-Blackness. As one example, the popular perception from the early 1800s—rooted in American plantation slavery and perpetuated in early children's literature as well as in the representation of the pickaninny—that Black children lack innocence and are contaminating factors in public schooling spaces can also be seen in the Canadian historical record from the mid-1800s as rationales for denying Black refugee children the right to attend public schools with white Canadian children (Bernstein, 2011; Skiba et al., 2002; Winks, 1969). I discuss this further below.

In this chapter, I aim to make sense of Canada's description as a location that welcomed Black migrants from the US, yet practiced widespread legal and de facto racism in its early public schooling systems towards Blacks who arrived from the US. This chapter describes the history of early public schooling discrimination encountered by Black migrants from the US in Upper Canada/Canada West from 1830 to 1900, analyzes this history in relation to more

contemporary practices of anti-Black schooling discrimination in Canada, and proposes reparations as a corrective justice model to address this historical wrongdoing.

This chapter also introduces, more fully, the distinctions between de facto and legal practices of anti-Black schooling discrimination. Again, I use the term de facto because it is commonly used as a clarifying term by scholars who study the history of anti-Black schooling discrimination in Canada (Hamilton, 2012; Howard & Smith, 2011). It is also a crucial term for illuminating Canada's history of anti-Black racism as one that functioned primarily through de facto practices rather than with the support of legislation, as in the US. It is helpful, as well, for characterizing the oft-slippery tenor of Canada's anti-Black racism as primarily "outside of the law" (Backhouse, 1999). In other words, describing patterns of de facto anti-Black racism is essential for grounding Canadian racial discourse and also painting a full picture of institutional anti-Black racism in Canada's public schooling practices.

I develop two primary points in this chapter. First, I assert that Canada's provinces share a history of anti-Black racial discrimination and segregation in public schooling both in law and via various social practices that typify "Canadian anti-Black racism." This chapter presents the claim that all of Canada's provinces practiced discrimination historically against Black children and that the effects of this discrimination are seen, currently, in the public schooling systems nationwide. As such, I use the expression "Canadian public schooling" to signify the ways that Canada's schooling systems nationally have been complicit in both historical and ongoing practices of anti-Black racism rather than to ignore individual provincial responsibility for curriculum, pedagogy, and educational standards. I am clear that these standards are an individual provincial affair. Yet, discussing institutional racism demands a way to describe the coherence of anti-Black schooling practices throughout the country. As such, I invoke the term

“Canadian public schooling” as a syllogism: All of Canada’s provinces have public schools with documented histories of systemic anti-Black schooling discrimination; ergo, the nationwide practices of anti-Black schooling discrimination can be described as “Canadian public schooling discrimination.” Second, I also argue that this history of anti-Black racism has created public schooling systems throughout the country that bear the legacy of this history in practice.

Finally, I hope that this chapter will generate a wider conversation that responds to the following related question. Where the past comes to bear on the present, what are the responsibilities of those of us standing in the present? Regarding this last question, Sunera Thobani has argued that all citizens bear a current social responsibility in the context of the histories of white supremacy and white settler colonialism by a mere acceptance of citizenship (Thobani, 2007). This is similar to Ta-Nehisi Coates’s (2014) recent assertions that citizenship binds our obligations to the histories of state- and government-sanctioned repression, regardless of the proximity of our immigration. In the context of institutional anti-Black racism in public schooling, what are the costs, currently, of failing to act? This question aims to introduce the ideas of collective responsibility and corrective justice into the history of Canadian anti-Black public schooling discrimination and to begin a discussion about ways to consider righting historical wrongs. These questions are ones that the US, with its well-documented history of 400 years of slavery and Jim Crow and, more recently, its history of racism and mass incarceration, has been grappling with for decades (Richie, 2012). For example, Critical Resistance was founded in 1997 to address the prison industrial complex, so named by both Angela Davis and Ruthie Gilmore and to capture the relationship between plantation slavery and the gross expansion of the US prison industry in the 150 years after the end of slavery (Richie, 2012). These histories have also produced a narrative of reckoning amongst many critical scholars and

legal historians (Coates, 2014; Forde-Mazuri, 2004)—a “facing inward”—that is arguably as quintessential to Black historiographies in the US and Canada as are its civil rights critiques (Darity, 2008).

Literature Review

Much has been written regarding schooling and anti-Black segregation in Canada West/Upper Canada and in provinces such as Nova Scotia. Robin Winks (1969, 1997) is credited for much of the initial scholarship documenting the separate school provisions of the 1850 Common School Act. He is cited often by scholars who have written about public schooling and discrimination (Burke & Milewski, 2012; McLaren, 2004, 2005; Spencer, 1970; D. Williams, 1999). More recently, Timothy Stanley published a history of provincial segregation of racially marginalized students in British Columbia beginning in the early 1900s (Stanley, 2011).

Winks, however, must be noted as a scholar of Black Canadian history with significant skepticism for a number of reasons. First, his voice weighs heavily within Canadian studies as an authority on Black Canada primarily given his position as one of the first scholars to extensively collate and utilize primary resources and archives concerning schooling and segregation in Canada. This position is further ingrained given the absence of extensive similar scholarship or works challenging his writings since the original publication of *The Blacks in Canada* (1997). An exception may be seen in Karen McLaren's (2004) article, “We Had No Desire to Be Set Apart: Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism,” where she validates numerous instances of Black parents bringing suit and voicing dissent about separate schooling provisions for their children (p. 27). Secondly, Winks's work has often revealed a paternalism regarding Black Canadians, specifically in their experiences with racism in Canada. As one example, at the beginning of his

chapter on education in *The Blacks in Canada*, Winks (1997) asserted that “the Blacks in Nova Scotia were less progressive, less ardent, less ambitious than their Ontario counterparts . . . and could not be liberated in any case” (p. 191), thereby ranking the activism of Blacks in both geographic locations and placing an onus on Black residents of Nova Scotia for the systemic failure of equality in public schooling. Winks’s derogatory statement is problematic for its blatant bias. Additionally, labelling Nova Scotian Blacks as “less ambitious” naturalizes anti-Black attitudes in Nova Scotia and forgoes an analysis of the history of white supremacy and structural racism within the Maritimes (Whitfield, 2006).

Perhaps most famously, Winks has characterized slavery in New France as distinct from the brutality of plantation style slavery in the US and, thus, as humane and kindly in comparison (Winks, 1997). For him, this difference is attributable to what he perceives as humanizing aspects of slavery documented within the Code Noir (Winks, 1997). Similarly, Montréal-based slave scholar Frank Mackey, whose work has been heavily informed by Winks’s scholarship, has also historically asserted that the history of slavery in New France contained a benevolent quality given the influence of Catholicism and slave domesticity (Zellars, 2015b). Scholars have since diminished Winks’s descriptions and treatment of slavery in New France by evidencing its inhumane treatment of Black slaves, retheorizing the notion of “civilized slavery,” and by documenting the widespread and unjust treatment of Black fugitives arriving in Canada in the mid-18th century (Cooper, 2007; McLaren, 2004; Rushforth, 2013). Most glaring is Afua Cooper’s (2006) *Hanging of Angelique*, in which Cooper described the torture and burning of a Montréal enslaved woman for an alleged act of arson, despite her denial.

Frank Mackey (2010) also wrote, in seemingly contradictory detail, about the treatment of Blacks by white Montréalers after the end of slavery as one of subjugation. For example, he

wrote that Blacks were identified by their skin colour at the whim of white Québeckers and, significantly, were classified as subhuman socially and scientifically (Mackey, 2010). Blacks travelling in New France detailed the open discrimination that they encountered en route. Samuel Ringgold Ward, for example, expressed in a letter to Henry Bibb that he was unable to secure passage on a St. Lawrence steamer due to the racial biases of the white captain: "The boast of Englishmen, on their freedom from social negrophobia, is about as empty as the Yankee boast of democracy" (as cited in Mackey, 2010, p. 281). Blacks, as Mackey (2010) detailed in a number of chapters, were also wholly excluded from positions of decision making and power and were instead relegated to menial labour positions in Montréal. Most recently, Brett Rushforth's (2013) work has shed light both on the brutality of slavery in New France and also on the heavy reliance of New France's colonialists on France for implementation of slave laws and practices in line with the practices of slavery in the Caribbean.

A few legal scholars have written briefly about racism and schooling in the context of legal histories of race-specific legislation and case law in Canada (B. Walker, 2010; J. Walker, 1997). For example, as mentioned earlier James Walker (1997), in *Race, Rights, and the Law*, although not explicitly about education, asserted that the most significant area of anti-Black racial segregation, "at least in legislative terms, was in education" (p. 128). He also added brief information about New Brunswick and the Prairies that described the absence of race-specific legislation, and the widespread practice of de facto anti-Black segregation (J. Walker, 1997, p. 129). His text also confirmed the practice of segregation throughout Canada and asserted that these practices were akin to the U.S. system of Jim Crow that Canada has historically attempted to distinguish itself from. In every area of Jim Crow practices in the US, James Walker argued, Canada similarly had its own racially discriminatory practices and laws.

Both Constance Backhouse (1999) and Carol Aylward (1999) have also detailed the histories of Canadian institutional racism as practiced within and outside of the law. Although both scholars fail to detail the history of anti-Black legal discrimination in the context of public schooling, Aylward's argument that institutional anti-Black racism is endemic throughout Canada is helpful for thinking through the relationship between Black children and practices of anti-Black racism in public schools throughout the country. Most recently, legal historian Barrington Walker (2010) has brought attention to the tension between the national discourse of "legal freedom" for Blacks in Canada in the 1800s and the widespread practice of legally sanctioned segregation in public schooling in Upper Canada. In his book, Walker (2010) asserted that historically "in every province the law was taken up in different ways . . . to deny Blacks the access to education" (p. 35).

A number of dissertations and theses have been devoted to Black children and public schooling in Canada. Hildreth Spencer's 1970 dissertation, "To Nestle in the Mane of the British Lion: A History of Canadian Black Education, 1820–1870," on the history of Black education in Canada provides an early, detailed history of the experiences of Black children in both public and private schooling between 1820 and 1870. Importantly, she includes a chapter of analysis on early Black-owned newspapers reporting on education, the influx of Blacks crossing the border after the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, and the positions of Henry Bibb and Mary Ann Shadd Cary, who rejected the policy of separate schools and asserted that it reduced the humanity of newly settled Blacks in Canada by constituting "a form of begging" (as cited in Spencer, 1970, p. 186). Afua Cooper's (1991) master's thesis, *Black Teachers in Canada West, 1850–1870*, described the segregation encountered by Black students in Canada West before the passage of the 1850 Common School Act. Her scholarship also details the difficulty of Mary Bibb's first effort to

create a school to serve Black children without contributions from the provincial government and the tone of de facto racism towards Black children that existed before 1850 that eventually influenced the 1850 Common School Act. Cooper argued that the 1850 Common School Act was a reflection of widespread anti-Black attitudes and practices, formalized in law, that provided the façade of choice to Black families who wanted to form their own separate schools. Although she mentioned that the timing of the School Act coincided with the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, she did not state the likelihood that the separate schooling provision of the School Act may have been influenced by the Fugitive Slave Act as an effort to further deny integration between an increased population of Black migrants and their children arriving from the US and local white residents (Cooper, 1991). Further research is needed to explore the relationship between the separate school provision in the 1850 Common School Act and the passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act.

A number of scholarly articles have detailed educational practices and discrimination against Black children outside of Upper Canada. One of the earliest detailed articles on Black children and schooling discrimination in Canada is Robin Winks's "Negro Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia" (1969), an article later revised and included as a chapter in his book *The Blacks in Canada* (1997). Educational scholar Kristin McLaren (2003, 2004) has published two scholarly articles that detail segregation in public schooling in Upper Canada and challenge the historical claim that Black migrants accepted schooling segregation for their children. McLaren's (2004) aptly named article, "We Had No Desire to Be Set Apart," rejects Wink's position that Black migrants often desired separate schools and internalized a sense of inferiority, thus failing to challenge schooling segregation. McLaren (2003) also described the relationship

between British nationalism, religion, and the myth of white British purity in the context of anti-Black attitudes and schooling segregation in Upper Canada, arguing,

The very myths that allowed the British in Canada to assert their moral superiority and egalitarian tendencies also allowed for the exclusion of those who were not considered to be of the white British race from full participation in British-Canadian society. (p. 74)

Jason Silverman's 1982 article, "In Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties: Education and the Fugitive Slave in Canada," offers a succinct look at the influence of entrenched racism in Upper Canada that ensured public school segregation for Black children before and after 1850. This article is a chapter from his dissertation entitled *Unwelcome Guests: Fugitive Slaves in Canada, 1830–1860* (1985). His article and dissertation must be read with a critical lens, however, as he also refers to "the benign form of slavery that characterized New France" (Silverman, 1985, pp. 3–6) a number of times in his work.

Finally, the work of Sylvia Hamilton has been foundational in documenting the history of anti-Black schooling discrimination in Canada. In 2011, Hamilton published a historical essay about anti-Black racism in public schools in Ontario and Nova Scotia, arguing that the staunch segregation that existed in public schools from the mid-19th century throughout the 1950s was representative of widespread social anti-Black attitudes and social practices of segregation in the 19th and 20th centuries. Her film *The Little Black Schoolhouse* incorporates interviews from Black families, elders, and former educators who attested to the practice of racial segregation throughout public schools in Ontario and Nova Scotia beginning in the mid-19th century, as well as detailed their personal experiences with discriminatory schooling practices in the 21st century (Hamilton, 2007).

Discussion

America, race, and Canadian exceptionalism.

A national reckoning regarding Canada's history of anti-Black racism has not yet happened in Canada as it has begun in the US, where reparations debates are long standing and ongoing (Coates, 2014; Darity, 2008; Forde-Mazuri, 2004). For example, as a starting point for this debate, the history of the American Civil War, a quintessential U.S. historiographic icon, has been revised by a number of civil war scholars to centralize slavery as the primary reason for the War (Berlin, 2009; Coates, 2014; Glymph, 2003). Why has Canada remained so silent on the issue of corrective justice and, specifically, on the issue of reparations to Black Canadians, given this country's discriminatory relationship with Black Canadians?

I propose that this silence results from a number of primary sources. First, it stems from the absence of extensive, scholarly histories on slavery and historical Black migration to Canada. Second, it stems from the absence of secondary school textbooks, curricula, and the creation of popular histories documenting the lives of Black Canadians (Blondin, 1990; Stanley, 2000). Finally and most insidiously, it stems from the history of Canada's popular national campaign, expressed both in media histories and media practices, to distinguish itself from America regarding its relationship with its Black populations (Bakan, 2008; Landon, 1920; Mathieu, 2010).

As a scholar researching Black Canadian history, it quickly became clear how little scholarship exists, compared to the US, on the same subjects within a Canadian context. One often thinks of the wide and varied bibliography on American slavery—its inclusion of capitalist analyses (Baptist, 2014); of Black women, rape, and the law (Hartman, 1997); and the histories of complicity and violence of white Southern mistresses in maintaining the brutality of plantation

slavery (Glymph, 2003). This absence is important given the distinct character of Canadian slave practices. Slavery in Canada was devoid of large-scale plantations due to its geographic and climactic distinctions, need, and harsh winters; lacked the sheer volume of enslavement of the US; and has a distinct history of corporal violence, with very few recorded narratives of maimings or lynchings of Black bodies (Cooper, 2006; Winks, 1997; Whitfield, 2006).

A similar, if not more extreme, problem exists in the case of history curricula in Canada. Very few secondary school curricula centre the history of slavery within courses about Canadian history (B. Walker, 2008). As such, most Canadian students arriving to university have no knowledge of Canada's history of slavery or its history of legal and de facto segregation (Nelson, 2013). Courses in Black Canadian history are not widely offered at the primary or secondary levels, and textbooks do not offer a history of slavery in Canada. This absence is not new. Robin Winks (1997) explained,

Indeed, most white Canadians would not have learned that there was a Negro problem in Canada at all had they relied upon their own formal schooling. As in the United States, textbooks simply forgot that Black men existed after 1865, except in humorous and menial contexts, and only a few Canadian schoolbooks gave even passing reference to the influx of fugitive slaves in the 1850s. Most did not mention that Canadians themselves had allowed slavery until 1834, and no Canadian text had occasion to refer to Negroes or to separate schools after describing the American Civil War. Until recently most of those few books which purported to analyze social problems for a school-age audience were imported from the United States, and readers not unnaturally assumed that the racial problems they discussed were unique to the republic. (p. 166)

The silence regarding corrective justice must, most importantly, be considered in light of Canada's long-standing historical campaign to distinguish itself from America regarding its relationship with Blacks and in light of its own insistence of exceptionalism regarding histories of anti-Black racism in North America (Bakan, 2008; Frost, 2007; Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Historian Robin Winks articulated this point succinctly. Detailing the period between 1930–1960 and the ways that Canada's image was closely manipulated, he wrote,

No longer was it good Christianity, good politics, good international affairs, good image-building, good human relations, or even good sense to discriminate openly against Negroes, especially in a nation which so prided itself on its moral superiority to the United States. As Canadian newspapers increasingly focused upon the Negro problem across the border, editorials began to sing the praises of nondiscriminatory Canadians. (Winks, 1997, p. 188)

Historian Karen McLaren (2003), who also documented the history of schooling segregation in Upper Canada and the belief in British moral superiority, wrote,

British settlers believed that Canada, as part of the British Empire, was a moral example to all nations on earth. The abolition of slavery was seen as a moral victory for the empire over the United States, and the fact that thousands of fugitive slaves fled to Canada to live in freedom reinforced this notion of moral superiority. (p. 75)

As aforementioned, Montréal historian Dorothy Williams (1999) has coined this practice of moral superiority the “Jackie Robinson Myth”—a popular projection of Montréal as a continually open and just society for Black people in North America given the welcomed presence of Black baseball hero, Jackie Robinson, in Montréal for one year in 1946.

Yet, in tandem with this belief in its own moral superiority over slavery and Americans symbolically, Canadians openly expressed their belief in white intellectual and racial superiority and violently resisted the integration of Black students into common schools in Upper Canada and social integration into the country more widely (McLaren, 2003; Shepard, 1986; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997). Sarah-Jane Mathieu's (2010) work has illustrated the ways that Canadian law, media, and popular opinion functioned collectively to hinder the immigration of Blacks to Canada beginning in the late 19th century. The efforts of Upper Canada to distinguish itself from the US in periodicals and within political discourse, yet nonetheless practice anti-Black segregation based upon the belief in white racial superiority, is emblematic of the history of racism in Canada and Québec.

History of public schooling discrimination in Ontario and Nova Scotia.

White Canadian prejudice made the educational opportunities for the fugitive slaves nearly as limited as those in the northern United States. (Silverman, 1980, p. 170)

The history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination in the areas historically known as Upper Canada and Canada West is well documented (Cooper, 1991; Hamilton, 2007; McLaren, 2004; Rhodes & Cary, 1998; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1969). This section explores the ways in which the law both instituted anti-Black public schooling discrimination and considers the relationship between mandated discrimination and legal and de facto social policies that upheld racial discrimination within public schools. These policies are important because they were created in response to wide swaths of public opinion and legal rationale that insisted, as within the US, that the presence of Black children would harm the inherent goodness of white children, encourage an anti-Christian miscegenation between races and, thus, should be excluded from public schools (Knight, 2011; McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1997). This

rationale was commonplace as a justification for schooling segregation in other parts of Canada, including British Columbia (Stanley, 2011) and Saskatchewan (Shepard, 1986).

I dismiss histories about public schooling in Canada that insist separate schooling systems were created due to a widespread demand from Black parents. Robin Winks's (1969) deeply problematic position that Black parents in Nova Scotia were "less progressive, less ardent, less ambitious" (p. 191) than other Black Canadian parents is significant, I argue, because it serves as the lineage of contemporary rhetoric regarding the "curative powers" of accessible, quality education for Black North American populations (McAdoo, 2002) and because it places onus on Black protest while forgoing an analysis of long-term and systemic racism.

Winks's (1969, 1997) thesis has also been contested by an extensive review of the historical record by numerous scholars who have shown that Black parents frequently asserted their legal right to schooling access as taxpayers and protested schooling segregation for their children (McLaren, 2003, 2004; Silverman, 1981, 1985; Silverman & Gillie, 1982; Slaney, 2003). I propose that the creation of the Common School Act of 1850 in Upper Canada, which produced legislation expanding the right of whites to create mandatory, separate schools was a responsive measure to Canada's swelling Black population and was most simply intended to further enforce anti-Black schooling segregation throughout Canada. The creation of the Common School Act and its race-specific impact, in tandem with the restrictive 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, serves as an iconic display of the anti-Black attitudes that dominated Canada widely in the 19th century. This kind of anti-Black legal piggybacking confined within colourblind legislation is an important trend in the history of anti-Black racism in Canada. It also encapsulates the term "bleeding geographies," which symbolizes the notion that wherever Black

bodies migrated during the 19th century, anti-Blackness remained and, thus, undergirded the social practices within the communities where Black migrants ultimately settled.

This section proposes that history and the patterns of history matter deeply when flush with anti-Black racism. Where a history of anti-Black racism nationally exists in law and in practice, as well as with tacit or direct support from the state—such as its police forces, its mayors, its bankers, and politicians—anti-Black racism embeds itself institutionally in ways that allow it to directly influence the present. Although a small and growing body of literature exists documenting the history of anti-Black racism in public schooling practices throughout Canada, little has been written that (a) proposes the pragmatic implications of systemic anti-Black racism in Canada's schooling systems, (b) examines the ways that Canada's public schooling systems maintained an anti-Black racism after legal and state-sanctioned policies of segregation ended, and (c) interrogates the current racial disparities in public education.

I assert that Canada's racism and its de facto policies of exclusion and theft adequately describe this country's historical relationship with Black peoples broadly and Black children specifically. Trans Atlantic Slavery, a relationship of designated humans and subhumans, formed the first relationships between large populations of Blacks and white Canadians until 1800 in modern day Québec (Mackey, 2010) and 1834 in the British territories (Winks, 1997). After 1834 and well throughout the 1960s, this relationship marked by inferiority was transformed into domestic and blue collar labour restrictions for Black Canadians (Cohen, 1987, 1991, 1994; Mackey, 2010). The history of slavery and the relegation of Blacks, postslavery, to menial labour, domestic work, and the exclusion from positions of power bespeak the manner in which Canada historically perceived its Black population. It also accounts for the great racial disparities that still exist economically and socially throughout Canada. As a Statistics Canada

(2007) report revealed, Black Canadians are significantly under-represented in managerial, professional and skilled occupations despite, in many cases, having obtained higher levels of advanced education than whites. On the other hand, the Black Canadian workforce was over-represented in semi-skilled (39%) and low-skilled (18%) occupations compared to the non-Black workforce whose rates were 31% and 13% respectively (Statistics Canada, 2007). In this same study, Statistics Canada also reported an earning gap of 23% between Black and white Canadians.

Exploring the network of legal and de facto policies that permitted segregation and discrimination historically in public schooling highlights schooling as one of the great sites of racial intimacy. In other words, by reviewing the historical record regarding legal and de facto anti-Black discrimination in Canadian public schooling, one faces the violence to which white Canadians subjected Black children, the erasure of innocence from Black children's bodies, and the perception that white children's psychic purity was damaged in their interactions with Black children. This white fear of Black contamination has also been expressed in the Canadian legal record, where Black children are noted as unclean or disease-ridden as reasons for maintaining racial segregation in public schooling (Winks, 1969, 1997). For example, in the 1884 case of *Dunn v. Windsor* (1884), discussed in greater detail below, the Windsor school superintendent provided an affidavit supporting schooling segregation on the basis that a Black child petitioning for integration in the community was unsanitary and smelled badly (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985).

Most pronounced is a tradition of physical and psychic violence against Black residents asserting their rights to schooling in Canada (Winks, 1969). Schooling is thus an exemplary site to view both the vigour and specificity of Canadian anti-Black racism. Importantly, within the

history of informal and formal education practices among the enslaved, one also finds the nefarious roots of the history of public schooling in the Americas (Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Moss, 2009; H. A. Williams, 2009). Common schools were premised not upon equality and access, but rather upon the sustenance of a privileged, exclusionary citizenship that became the bedrock of democracy in Canada and the US (Moss, 2009). Thus, mapping out the common workings of Canadian anti-Black racism in the context of its history of schooling discrimination reveals a site where examples of anti-Black racism and overt segregation practices abound.

Although the historical record shows variances in numbers of Blacks and practices of exclusion within Canada before the enactment of the Common School Act, Winks and other scholars have argued that the practice of segregation operated as the norm in Upper Canada prior to 1850, although the 1843 School Act explicitly established schooling segregation as illegal (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1981, 1982, 1985; Winks, 1969). Other scholars have confirmed the use of gerrymandering, privatization, underfunding, and the removal of white students from common schools Black students attempted to attend as common *de facto* practices of schooling segregation (Burke & Milewski, 2012, p. 228; Knight, 2012; Shepard, 1986). In 1822, Nova Scotia had an African School with 131 Black pupils that had been created in response to racial segregation and was habitually financially deficient (Winks, 1969). By 1824, the school was unable to secure sufficient funding to provide a teacher salary and was abandoned. These practices continued even after the widespread integration of schools in Canada.

When Black residents were able to either pool or secure funds to begin a separate school in the 19th century, most often these schools remained financially viable only for a few years before closing (Silverman, 1985). The closure of separate schools for Black students was attributable to the low priority separate schools held in financially depressed jurisdictions and

inconsistent funding (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985). When separate schools were erected with public funds--government grants that were invested for proper use inconsistently and unevenly by local trustees--, they were desperately inferior to common schools for white children, even in the poorest of communities (McLaren, 2004). As one exception, Silverman (1985) noted that in Brantford, Ontario, in 1837, the quality of instruction in the separate school for Black students was superior to that of surrounding white schools, and white families began to petition for admission. Black families graciously received their requests for integration and permitted white children to attend the school. Yet, this was an anomaly, and after 1840, with the exception of Toronto, it was common practice in Canada West to deny Black children admission to schools that white children attended (Silverman, 1985).

The documentation of the histories of violence used to maintain segregation in public schooling challenges a popular construction of history regarding Blacks during this time period that emphasized Canada's social and racial distinctions from the US. Although slavery was finally abolished in 1834 in British Canada, the continuing histories of physical, psychic, and political violence are similar to the well-documented vestiges of U.S. slavery. In 1843, the Black residents of Hamilton, as an example, petitioned Governor-General Lord Elgin to assert their rights as taxpayers to attend common schools. Winks (1969) stated, "Reminding the Crown that they had left the US to escape just such prejudice, the petitioners added, 'We are called nigger when we go out in the street, and bricks are thrown at [us]'" (p. 173).

Although the Hamilton Board of Police acknowledged the wide-spread racial animosity by "the lower order" (as cited in Winks, 1969, p. 173) of white residents, its president, George Tiffany, stated that it would "not be advisable to yield to it" (p. 172). Tiffany added that the school should remain unsegregated and that the attitudes would "soon give way" (as cited in

Winks, 1969, p. 172). Yet, he was wrong. In Amherstburg, local school trustees resisted integration vehemently (Winks, 1969). Black residents paid school taxes and petitioned the school superintendent, Egerton Ryerson, for their right to place their children in common schools (McLaren, 2004). Writing on their behalf, Issac Rice, a local white missionary, detailed the larger social cause of the community's de facto segregation practices (Winks, 1969). School trustees, he wrote famously, would rather "cut their children's head off and throw them into a road side ditch" (as cited in Winks, 1969, p. 172) than send their children to school with "niggers" (p. 172; see also McLaren, 2004). The town superintendent, Robert Peden, wrote in a letter to Ryerson, "The prejudice in this part of the Country is exceedingly strong against the Coloured people" (as cited in Winks, 1969, p. 172). Despite the letters that Black parents sent to Ryerson insisting upon the right of their children to attend unsegregated schools, local Black residents remained barred from Amherstburg schools and were forced to found a private school of their own (Winks, 1969).

Ryerson's response was typical of political responses to anti-Black racism in Canada: He responded to Robert Peden's letter with acknowledgement and inactivity, and the schools remained segregated (McLaren, 2004). Silverman (1985) wrote that throughout his tenure, Ryerson asserted his inability to remediate the widespread de facto practices of segregation within his districts (see also Campbell & Freyer, 2011). Historian Lyndsay Campbell classified Ryerson's disposition as intentionally tolerant of the widespread racism and segregation in public schooling, as it allowed him to nonetheless "advance his plan for public schooling as a whole" (as cited in Campbell & Freyer 2011, p. 212). As the responses of George Tiffany and Superintendent Ryerson show, the effect of the 1843 schooling decision did little to affect political opinion regarding the ethical shortcomings of public schooling segregation, nor

contributed to any swelling social movement to end anti-Black schooling segregation. Rather, in 1850, the Common School Act was passed, permitting the creation of separate schools for Black and white students in most of Ontario.

Most difficult to quantify historically has been the extent to which pre-existing policies of racial exclusion informed the Common School Act of 1850 and histories of schooling segregation throughout the 19th century. Grasping this slippery, yet steadfast relationship between individual and community acts committed with the silent approval of local councils, administrators, or governors and the law itself, is important to develop an understanding of Canada's historical discourses of race and racism. The existence of social and community practices of anti-Black discrimination has been well documented, for example, in the histories of the KKK and race based exclusionary immigration policies throughout Canada (Backhouse, 1999; Mathieu, 2010). In Ontario, Saskatchewan, and Québec, as with the history of the KKK in the US, anti-Black terror reigned in distinction to the kinds of racist violence committed in the US (an absence of lynching, as the most glaring example), but nonetheless with the complicity of state actors such as police chiefs, mayors, and newspaper editors responsible for public opinion (Backhouse, 1999; Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Historian Sarah-Jane Mathieu (2010) wrote, "White Canadians repeatedly presented lynching as an inevitable way of policing Blacks in Canada, as though homicidal mob rule were a natural course of race relations" (p. 53). In Québec, the history of the slave gravesite in St. Armand has been enshrouded in secrecy and denial, and the refusal to allow scholars and anthropologists on site to further document the history of this gravesite has been sustained by community support over the last two decades (H. Avery, personal communication, October 13, 2015). Legal historian Barrington Walker (2010) has also documented the ways in which white Canadian communities in the 19th century

engaged in patriarchal anti-Black racial discrimination which rewarded Black male respectability at the expense of the humanity of Black women within their communities. Walker documented, as one example, the 1867 Windsor case involving Jonathan George, a Black man, charged with the rape of Hannah Brown, a Black woman. Although George was convicted of the rape of Hannah Brown, hundreds of white residents in Windsor petitioned for seven years to overturn his sentence when Brown's chastity was publicly called into question after the trial. I argue that a pattern of community complicity, well documented within the historical record, undergirds Canada's history of anti-Black racism and the history of public schooling discrimination throughout Canada.

Black resistance.

The historical record, both before and after the passage of the 1850 Common School Act, contains numerous examples of Black parents asserting their rights as taxpayers to attend common schools rather than expressing a desire to establish separate schools (Burke & Milewski, 2012; McLaren, 2004). As both Winks (1969) and McLaren (2004) pointed out, the Act of 1850 served as a way for whites to easily exclude Black children from common schools and to insist that Black parents had a "statutory right" to create their own separate school after Black children were excluded.

I identify this statutory right as an illusion of choice that critical race theorists have long critiqued within the law as a common example of colourblind legal racism. Legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1998) has written extensively about the ways the law in its construction of formal equality upholds an imaginary "choice," yet is beholden to the same racist logic that governs two seemingly disparate holdings regarding racial discrimination. Crenshaw explained, for example, that the U.S. Supreme Court relegated the personal experience of inequality—the

inconveniences of heat, noise, and poor condition of inferior social amenities—as “privately knowable” and thus, unknowable by legal decision makers in the public sphere in its *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) holding. This case, notably, preceded *Brown v. Board of Education* and upheld state racial segregation laws in the US for public facilities under the doctrine of “separate but equal.” In *Plessy*, individual experiences of inferior amenities, thus, were relegated to the private rather than social or public sphere. It is this logic of false equivalency, she argued, which acknowledges “symmetrical treatment” (Crenshaw, 1998, p. 282) as coterminous with formal equality, despite glaring, widespread material racial inequalities. Applying this legal logic to public schooling within Canada, regarding the “right” of Black and white Canadian families in Canada West to establish separate schools, the construction of a formal equivalency that allowed both groups equally to create schools for their families discounts the materially invisible, entrenched social inequalities already at work within the community. Most importantly, it also ignores social outcomes that are unequivocally disparate. So, for example, a chicken coop-sized school of 16 feet by 24 feet for 80 Black families (as provided by school trustees in Windsor from 1858–1862) served as a suitable equivalency under the separate schools provision in the Common School Act so long as the law, facially, extended the same colourblind standard that allowed Black and white families to create separate schools for both Black and white families (McLaren, 2003, 2004; Winks, 1969, 1997). The discomforts of intense spatial crowding, improper insulation and ventilation, and inadequate desk and chair space are private experiences, as Crenshaw has pointed out, deemed “unknowable” by a court or a legal actor such as Ryerson. Thus, these unjust conditions were maintained in Canada on the basis of strict legal equality.

In the majority of cases, separate schools in Upper Canada were greatly inferior both structurally and materially in comparison to the common schools that housed white students

(Hamilton, 2007; McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1969). Schooling historian Timothy Stanley also described the dilapidated, condemned buildings that racialized students in British Columbia were provided (Stanley, 2011). With a lack of jurisprudence on the subject of segregation, “separate but equal” was upheld nonetheless as a tacit legal standard throughout Canada. In practice, however, the doctrine functioned as it did within the US as an arm of white supremacy that validated and made rational white parental fears of contaminating white children, intellectually and physically, with “subhuman” Black children (Bernstein, 2011). Regarding the reality of separate schooling practices in Ontario and Nova Scotia, Winks (1969) stated that “the education received, either formally at the school desk or in terms of civic awareness at the hands of a tax collector, could hardly have been regarded as equal” (p. 177).

Conclusion

The Common School Act of 1850 in Canada West did not strictly bar Black children from entering common schools. Yet, with the arrival of the first few Black students, white families regularly removed their children and relocated them to another school or gathered quickly to create a separate school, even for the enrollment of small numbers of Black students (Shepard, 1986; Winks, 1969). During a fiscally depressed period, the Act ensured inferior schools for Black students: Black students received inferior buildings, supplies and, often, poorly educated and trained teachers. Such was the concern with interracial relations between students that the creation of separate schools for Blacks often negatively impacted the overall quality of education within a pre-existing common school. For example, in 1862, Chatham residents who created a separate school for Blacks were forced to share one teacher for both schools (Winks, 1969, 1997). As budgetary restraints would not allow for a second hire, the teacher moved between the adjacent, racially separated schools all day long, attempting to complete lessons for

segregated classes of white and Black students. Both student groups suffered. So widespread was the creation of inferior schools for Black students in Upper Canada that U.S. abolitionists referred openly to the separate schools as “caste schools” (Winks, 1969, p. 178). Historian Jason Silverman (1985) concluded that “the effect of the School Act of 1850 was to reinforce and legally entrench a system of segregated schools for Blacks in Canada West” (p. 180).

Winks (1969) noted that the Common School Act was expanded to allow white families to establish schools for Black students, to avoid integration, and to cease the “endless trouble” (p. 172) between the two groups. White Canadians who petitioned for separate schools, community members who supported their petition, and trustees of schools legally forced Blacks into separate schools by merely creating them. This expansive schooling amendment is historically important for understanding the specific tiers of anti-Black Canadian racism and the local impact of the provision. In expanding the Act to allow white families to establish schools for Black families and thereby legally mandate them, it became socially acceptable to shift anti-Black racial discourse—specifically, claims of anti-Black racism lodged by Black families—away from the reality of structural racism and towards a failure of Black individual responsibility. Thus, Black parents who insisted on the right of their children to attend local, quality schools, were treated as failing to exercise an individual right and responsibility sanctioned by the law by not sending their children to the inferior schools the law had “provided” for them. Arguably, some of the earliest critiques of Black respectability arose out of this time period, as local white residents used the failures of resistant Black parents in conforming to the law to both criminalize Black expressions of civil rights in the context of unequal schooling strata and to also criticize the failure of Black parents to “conform to the right of the law” (Thompson, 2011, p. 24) when legally equivalent schooling options had been provided.

A question of what is owed to Black parents and to Black children, who are now adults, who were denied the right to equal education for over 100 years in Canada remains a viable question within the history of public schooling segregation and its widespread discriminatory practices. Given the history of public schooling discrimination against Black Canadian children from the mid-1800s until the 1960s, are reparations a worthy consideration? Could a viable argument for corrective justice in the form of a fixed compensatory amount of scholarships, as an example, be made for Black families who paid school taxes with the expectation of schooling resources comparable to white Canadian families?

A starting point for this conversation begins with Canadian law, legal precedents, and state actors such as Egerton Ryerson,¹ who supported segregation directly and upheld or ignored anti-Black discrimination practices for a century in the context of public schooling. Provincial policies and province-sanctioned actors and local residents constituted a society that caused harm to Black families in the context of public schooling. This long-term practice entails historical implications and harms that continue in the present. Corrective justice theory holds that when society as an interlocking network of laws, state actors, and residents causes a past harm against an identifiable group of people, society has an obligation, both moral and legal, to remedy the harm in the present (Forde-Mazuri, 2004; Ogletree, 2003). The theory of corrective justice has been well developed in the context of the history of racial discrimination and reparations debates in the US (Forde-Mazuri, 2004). Corrective justice theory holds, "To the extent that [a] society's wrongful participation in racial discrimination continues to have effects today, corrective justice suggests a moral obligation on society's part to remedy such effects" (Forde-Mazuri, 2004, p. 707). Rather than a fixed monetary sum, reparations is the pragmatic arm of corrective justice theory that defines what constitutes a remedy or remedies for a harm caused in light of a

historical wrong, its gravity, and the community or group affected. Renowned reparations scholar and sociologist William Sandy Darity (2008) described reparations as a program “intended to achieve three objectives: acknowledgment of a grievous injustice, redress for the injustice, and closure of the grievances held by the group subjected to the injustice” (p. 656).

Corrective justice, or the obligation to repair a wrong, “is a principle reflected in every legal system in the world” (Forde-Mazuri, 2004, pp. 707–708). Legal scholar Kim Mazuri-Ford (2004) wrote,

The substantial consensus regarding the legitimacy of corrective justice theory not only supports its use as a basis of moral responsibility, but also provides a rich source of experience regarding how to apply the theory to circumstances involving collective wrongdoing and consequential harm. (p. 708)

Although Canada's history of anti-Black racism differs from province to province, its history of widespread structural and de facto schooling discrimination has created a collective wrongdoing and consequential harm against Black families who were denied equitable schooling practices and access over a long period of time throughout Canada. Although the argument for corrective justice and reparations to Black Canadians is one that requires an ongoing conversation, as well as greater scholarly historical analysis, the history of anti-Black practices throughout Canada's provincial public schooling systems provides a viable historical starting point for analysis. Black parents, as a number of scholars have well documented, paid municipal school taxes without service, experienced local gerrymandering practices that narrowed community schooling choices for Black children, and sought legal restitution without retribution (Howe, 1864; Silverman, 1985; Slaney, 2003; Winks, 1969, pp. 171–172). Robin Winks (1969) noted, as well, that the practice of paying school taxes without access “was clearly illegal after

1853” (p. 177), yet school taxes were nonetheless collected from Black families into the 1900s in Canada West without access to equitable schools. In the instance of Black families who paid school taxes without access to equitable education facilities, reparations issuing direct compensation to documentable surviving kin or establishing a higher education scholarship bank for Black students in the country serves as a form of corrective justice.

Although Black families frequently used the law to challenge anti-Black segregation and schooling practices in different provinces, these practices nonetheless continued for over a century (Silverman, 1985; B. Walker, 2010; Winks, 1969). In Ontario, the separate school provision of the Common School Act of 1850 remained in legal effect in Ontario until 1964 (Winks, 1969). In Nova Scotia, a eugenic-based distinction of “separate races” was listed in the text of the Education Act until 1954 (Winks, 1969, p. 188–189). Throughout the 1960s, provincial school bus drivers in Halifax refused to carry Black children (Winks, 1969, p. 189). In Alberta, separate schools functioned throughout the 1960s (Winks, 1969, p. 188). Anti-Black public schooling practices are documented throughout Canada for over 100 years between the mid-1800s until the mid-1900s. Given the scholarship documenting the history of anti-Black racism in public schooling practices and access, a viable argument can be made for reparations in the context of provincial public schooling for Black Canadians.

¹ Egerton Ryerson, a white Methodist minister, served as the first superintendent of schools in Canada West from 1844–1876, the period which saw the development of the nation's first public schooling system, which also became segregated under the 1850 School Act. Ryerson University is named in his honour. As numerous scholars, herein cited, have described, Black parents appealed directly to Ryerson when their children were excluded from public schools and Ryerson failed to intervene—yielding blindly, time and time again during his tenure, to racist white local trustees and instead encouraging Black parents to bring expensive, timely legal actions against the trustees (Campbell & Freyer, 2011; McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1969). His inactivity sustained a racially segregated system of schooling for Black and white children in Upper Canada, and his legacy must be noted for his racism. Historian Lyndsay Campbell has described Ryerson's disposition as intentionally tolerant of the widespread racism and segregation in public schooling because it allowed him to easily “advance his plan for public schooling as a whole” (as cited in Campbell & Freyer, 2011, p. 212).

Chapter 6: Anti-Black Racism in Schooling Practices in Montréal, 1960 to the Present

To date, very little is known about the schooling experiences of Black children in Montreal and Quebec prior to 1950. June Bertley's thesis (1982) detailing the educational contributions of Black community social institutions prior to 1950 is discussed below. Dorothy Williams' demographic study on Black Montreal (1997) demonstrates the systemic discrimination that deterred immigration and social life in Montreal between prior to 1950. She writes, for example, that "from 1897 to 1912, in the largest immigration Canada has ever experienced, 2.3 million Europeans and Americans came to Canada"; yet, Canada "made clear that black immigration, particularly from the United States, was not desirable" (Williams, 1997, p. 41). Her chapter on Black Montreal from 1897 to 1930 details the widespread social, housing, and employment discrimination faced by Black Montrealers in the period. While her chapter does not detail primary and secondary education for Black children, she notes that advanced educational opportunities were very rare, and that "few [Black] students remained in Montreal" upon graduation due to the "overwhelming discrimination" in the job marketplace for Black Montrealers (Williams, 1997, p. 46). Particularly, "West Indian women who had been trained as teachers, secretaries, or nurses" in their home countries, "found that they had to deal with the day-to-day constraints of the ethnically defined job market" (Williams, 1997, p. 49). Acknowledging the limitations of the archive and the reliance on limited secondary materials to narrate a history of schooling in the early 20th century, this chapter, thus, locates its post-1950 discussion of public education in Montreal within the history of systemic anti-Black discrimination in Montreal after the end of slavery and the well-documented history of anti-Black discrimination in public schooling in Upper Canada.

This chapter is an effort to further document the history of Montréal's history of anti-Black schooling practices from 1960 to the present. Although a few scholars have documented both the history of Canadian anti-Black public schooling discrimination and anti-Black social practices in Montréal, the history of Black educators, their encounters with racism during their professional career, and the discriminatory experiences of Black students in Montréal historically have not been centred within the larger body of scholarship in Canada pertaining to anti-Black schooling violence. This chapter builds upon the scholarship of Black female Canadian historians such as Dorothy Williams (1999) and June Bertley (1982) and centres a varied collection of secondary sources; primary sources such as the *Uhuru* newspapers published from June 4, 1969, to November 9, 1970; and personal interviews with retired Black educators, education historians, and Black Canadian scholars to capture the landscape and patterns of anti-Black discrimination of Montréal's public schools from 1960 to the present.

Similar to the prior chapter, this chapter seeks to relate the past with the present as a way of describing and illuminating the systemic practices of anti-Black racism within Montréal's public schooling systems (Howard, 2014). This chapter relies on the testimonies and perceptions of a number of retired educators and principals who worked in English-language schools in Montréal between 1965 and 2000 and centres the personal narrative of Daphne Arnott, an educator who was recruited to Québec from Trinidad in the mid-1960s. Although this chapter does not contain any interviews with current educators or retired professionals who worked within the French-language system, this dissertation does integrate the personal narrative of the author and the author's son, whose difficult schooling experiences within the Commission Scolaire de Montréal (CSDM) highlighted the many similarities of anti-Black schooling practices between both the French and English schools systems in Montréal.

Literature Review

Although most of the scholarship regarding segregated schooling has pertained to the provinces outside of Québec (Hamilton, 2007; McLaren, 2004, 2005; Winks, 1969), a few local scholars have provided important information regarding the history of Black Montréal and the history of anti-Black racism and public schooling in the city. This section names these sources as a way of creating an ongoing public catalogue of sources for future scholars and researchers. It also provides details of the varied kinds of sources where information relevant to schooling may be obtained as a methodological template for those who are seeking historical information about anti-Black racism in the history of Montréal's public school system.

Wilfred Israel's 1928 thesis on the Montréal Black Community in the early 20th century, entitled *The Montréal Negro Community*, although not specifically written on education, detailed the formation and intra-cultural hierarchy of the local Black community and provided the first detailed demographic study of the Montréal's Black community at the turn of the century. One of the most important inclusions in Israel's thesis is detailed information at the end of the document on the Eureka Association, Inc., a group of Black Montréalers and businessmen who organized in 1917 to create a property buying network as a way to escape the rampant housing discrimination that Black Montréalers faced regularly throughout the city. In addition to detailing the discrimination that Black Montréalers commonly faced, the Association's incorporation documents pointed out the patterns of schooling discrimination faced by Black Montréalers in the first two decades of the 20th century throughout the city (as cited in Israel, 1928).

Historian Gary Collison's 1994 article about Blacks in Montréal provides a nuanced analysis of the small, but growing, community of Black peoples dispersed geographically around

the city between 1850 and 1866. He, importantly, admonishes against the reliability of census reports, given their historical tendency to undercount Blacks and minorities. He wrote,

Canadian (and U.S.) censuses tend to under-enumerate blacks and other minorities. This is true even of modern “scientific” censuses with their explicit instructions and more rigidly controlled procedures. Robin Winks cites the incredible case of the 1951 census of Montréal, when reliable estimates put Montréal’s black population at 6,000 but the official census reported a total of only 3,677. (Collison, 1994, p. 62)

Philip Howard has published two works on the topic of schooling and anti-Black discrimination in Montréal. In Howard’s education thesis from 2002, he interviewed Black Anglophone educators in Montréal for their perspectives on racism in the public schooling system and addressed the varied ways that white educators, specifically, deny or minimize their racism in their interactions with Black students. His thesis also began with a personal narrative about his parents’ Anglo-Caribbean experiences with anti-Black racism, as well as his own childhood in Montréal (Howard, 2002). In his article on the experiences of Black educators in Anglophone schools in Montréal, he documented the stories of two Black educators “concerning the racial inequity they have witnessed and experienced during their careers, as well as strategies they use and propose to resist this racism” (Howard, 2014, p. 498).

In Québec, the silence pertaining to both the history of anti-Black racism in the province and the contributions of Black peoples in Montréal is particularly pronounced in scholastic textbooks and curricula. A number of scholarly articles on scholastic textbooks adopted and mandated by the school boards in Québec at the primary and secondary levels detail direct biases regarding First Nations histories in Canada, distorted histories of colonialism and racism, and problematic representations of ethnic minorities in the province (Arcand & Vincent, 1979;

Blondin, 1990; Stanley, 2000). These resources shed light on the systemic problem of historical ignorance and its relationship to anti-Black racism within the educational system.

A groundbreaking article by Carol Knowles (1996) detailed the personal narrative of a longtime Black educator in Québec and the deep trauma he experienced during his tenure with the Deux Montagne School Commission outside of Montréal. Mr. Botsoe William Kafe experienced extreme anti-Black racial violence within his school, yet his persistent requests for support from his school administrators and school board were deemed as displays of psychotic behaviour (Knowles, 1996). His school board thrice mandated that he receive psychiatric evaluations in an attempt to strengthen their argument that he was “unfit” for teaching (Knowles, 1996). This article, contained in the *Journal of Transcultural Psychiatric Research Review*, is important because it is a testament to the ways in which Black protest to anti-Black violence has historically been used to signify mental illness and Black criminality (Metzl, 2009). It is also an important example of anti-Black violence in public schools in Montréal, as well as a powerful display of a common pattern documented by researchers and educators pertaining to racism in schools—that is, the outright denial of anti-Black racial violence and its unjust relegation to “poor discipline control” or insufficient pedagogical practices of Black educators.

Historian June Bertley (1982) has also published a history of the role of the Black community in establishing and supporting educational practices for Black children in Montréal from 1910 to 1940. Bertley's 1982 thesis entitled *The Role of the Black Community in Educating Blacks in Montréal, from 1910–1940*, provided a history of how Black community organizations in Montréal, including the United Negro Improvement Association, created cultural and academic support and safe, nondiscriminatory learning environments for Black children in Montréal by developing educational alternatives to the public schooling systems for

Black families. Her research shares archives with Leo Bertley, whose 1980 thesis, entitled *The Universal Negro Improvement Association of Montréal, 1917–1979*, provides a broad history of the United Negro Improvement Association in Montréal.

Dorothy Williams (1999) has argued that Montréal was not a tolerant, colourblind city. Although not directly focused on education, her thesis detailed the experiences of a number of prominent Black families, including the Lord family, and their public schooling experiences between 1920 and 1960 (D. Williams, 1999). Given her heavy reliance on personal interviews, Williams's thesis provided crucial primary source information from Black Montréal families who experienced segregation and racism in the city's public schools.

Additionally, Dorothy Williams' (1997) *Road to Now* contains invaluable information about the patterns of immigration, schooling, and discrimination in Montréal from 1900 to 1990. Her chapter on the Sir George Williams Affair¹ detailed the development of the Québec Board of Black Educators, an organization formed by Montréal's Black teachers and principals to address the academic challenges and racial discrimination faced by Black students in Montréal (D. Williams, 1997). Her discussion of the Québec Board of Black Educators's demands on the Protestant School Board of Greater Montréal captured the protracted histories of anti-Black violence and the streaming of Black students into remedial courses by white educators in Montréal (D. Williams, 1997).

Recently, a crucial study published in the journal *Youth and Society* by researchers from Québec and the US used a Québec population-based sample (N = 1,311) "to examine whether ethnicity and teacher-perceived signs of disadvantage in kindergarten predict child reports of their relationship with teachers in fourth grade" (Fitzpatrick, Cote-Lussier, Pagani, & Blair, 2015, p. 727). This large-scale study made a number of essential conclusions that shed light on

the relationship between schooling and anti-Black racism in Québec. In the study, visible minority children—in this case, Black children—were found 50% less likely to report having a positive relationship with their teachers (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015, p. 735).

Most significantly, the study drew a strong correlation of consistency between the volume of literature on disadvantage, race, and academic achievement in the US and the studies produced in Québec to date. The authors concluded that two large-scale studies, including their own, “provide evidence that the long-term consequences of disadvantage for child academic achievement tend to be the same in Québec and the United States” (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015, p. 738) and that their results were “generalizable to the North American context” (p. 738). The authors also concluded that “teacher biases against low social status [and Black] children appear to influence interactions between students and teachers in the elementary school classroom” (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015, p. 739). As such, they call for ongoing, institutional antibias teacher education that “can be provided to teachers to help them overcome stereotypes through willful processing and special training exercises” (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015, p. 739).

Discussion

Historical context: Demography.

Historian Gary Collison (1994) has asserted that the Black population of Montréal before 1900 was estimated at 220 to 350. He warned, however, against a strict reliance on census counts because of their noted bias for excluding Black people and provided a range that included an estimate from the *Montréal Gazette*. After the turn of the century, the Black population grew significantly as Blacks from “Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Ontario joined the influx of West Indians and Americans moving to Montréal” (D. Williams, 1997, p. 38). By 1930, the Black population of the city expanded to 5,000 (Bertley, 1982; D. Williams, 1997), and as

Dorothy Williams has documented, the allure of stable employment as porters and railway workers attracted a vibrant, cadre of educated Black men from historically Black universities in the US to the city in the first three decades of the 20th century (Mathieu, 2010; D. Williams, 1997, 1999).

The next large migration of Blacks into the city began in 1955 as small but steady numbers of West Indian women arrived in the city under the domestic scheme (D. Williams, 1997). This educated group of women worked as “indentured servants” (D. Williams, 1997, p. 108) for a year for wealthy white families and then were provided permanent residency in Montréal (pp. 108–109). Additionally, a migration of 3,500 well-educated Haitians began to arrive in Montréal after the 1957 installment of the oppressive Duvalier regime (Couton, 1995; Williams, 1999). Couton (1995) distinguished between the first migration of Haitians in the late 1950s and 1960s and subsequent groups arriving in the late 1970s and 1980s. Couton wrote,

Two stages of this migration can be identified: In the 1960s and early 1970s professionals, technicians and other highly educated individuals made up the bulk of migrants fleeing the island's dictatorial government. In the following decades, outmigration from Haiti was more massive and consisted of much less educated individuals and families seeking a better life away from their country's devastated economy. Haitian immigration to Montréal followed this two-phase pattern closely: 70% of immigrants in 1968 intended to work as professionals, technicians and administrators. By 1974, this proportion had fallen to 15% (Labelle et al., 1983). Although in 1968 almost 60% of Haitian immigrants had 14 or more years of formal education, slightly less than 10% had reached that level among those entering Québec in 1977 (Pierre-Jacques, 1981, p. 74). (pp. 48–49)

By the early 1960s, the Black population of Montréal was estimated at 7,000; by the end of the decade, the Black Anglophone population constituted of 15,000 persons (D. Williams, 1997).

Between 1960 and 1972, the first large community of French speaking Haitians was formed, eventually numbering an estimated 3,500 (D. Williams, 1997). Labelle, Larose, and Piché (1983) documented 3,790 Haiti-born persons living in Québec in 1971—a number, as Couton (1995) wrote, that “was not a level likely to attract the attention of the native born population” (p. 49). This first group, Dorothy Williams (1997) confirmed, contained a large number of professionals, and as a group, they were generally “from a much higher economic bracket than the majority of English-speaking Blacks” (p. 112). Notable to Williams’s discussion of the expanding Black population in Montréal was the rate of unemployment and labour discrimination faced by the Haitian community despite speaking French, as well as the false equivalency between educational attainment and occupational attainment (D. Williams 1997, p. 158). She wrote,

The working population [of 38,000 by 1986] found themselves ghettoized in the manufacturing (50%) and the service sectors (20%). The same census revealed that high educational levels did not produce a higher living status—average income for a Haitian was only half that of the average Québécois. (D. Williams, 2007, p. 158)

This point is significant beyond its demography for Black Montréal (Torczyner, 2010; D. Williams, 1997). One of the most consistently challenged yet revisited points of analysis undergirding the literature on schooling, outcome, and wealth disparity between Black and white students is the insistence that greater educational attainment increases access to employment and eliminates the earning gap between Black and white populations (Luo, 2009; Patten, 2006). Williams’s (1997) assertion, of course, highlighted the false equivalency between the two. This

point is perhaps illustrated most powerfully in a study published in 2010 by James Torczyner of the McGill School of Social Work. He wrote,

The data indicates a profound and persistent inequality in total income within each educational category. Restated, members of the Black community who have obtained the same educational qualifications as members of the non-Black community, earn dramatically less than their non-Black counterparts. *Moreover, Blacks with higher educational qualifications systematically earn less than non-Blacks who have lower educational qualifications* [emphasis added]. (Torczyner, 2010)

Torczyner (2010) also found that Blacks who had a graduate degree in Montréal actually had higher unemployment rates than non-Black high school drop-outs. The Black population of Montréal was enumerated at 216,000 in 2011 for the Montréal Census metropolitan area (Census, 2011). The Black population in Canada totals 945,665 or 2.9% of the total Canadian population (Census, 2011).

Early patterns of discrimination in the city

In 1999, Montréal historian Dorothy Williams published her thesis, *The Jackie Robinson Myth*. She wrote,

From the beginning, Jackie Robinson was well received on and off the field. He became a lasting source of pride for the city, proof that Montréal had a high degree of racial tolerance. But racial tolerance was not so evident to Blacks living in Montréal. They experienced severe discrimination in jobs, in housing, and in the city's social life.

(Williams, 1999, p. iii)

Montréal, like all other Canadian cities, has a long history of racial discrimination and violence towards its Black population (Aylward, 1999; Mackey, 2010; Trudel & d'Allaire, 2013; D. Williams, 1999).

Employment discrimination.

Frank Mackey (2010) detailed early patterns of anti-Black discrimination in Montréal in his text, *Done with Slavery*. After 1834 and well throughout the 1960s, the relationship between white and Black Montréalers was marked by a racial hierarchy. Access to the job market was widely confined to domestic and blue collar labour restrictions for Black Canadians (Cohen, 1987, 1991, 1994; Mackey, 2010). After the end of slavery, Black Canadian workers were dominantly relegated to menial or laborious work (Mackey, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). This was especially true in Québec and Montréal in the 21st century, where Blacks faced an exclusion from the labour market regardless of their educational attainment (Mackey, 2010; Torczykner, 2010; D. Williams, 1997).

There is some debate in the historical record about the degree of limitation that Blacks faced in the Montréal labour market. As a justification for asserting that Blacks in Montréal at the end of slavery were provided a diverse array of jobs, Mackey (2010) asserted that free Blacks were termed "servants" or "labourers" in the historical record and insisted that, although these labels "do not enlighten us about their occupation" (p. 185), they were common occupation descriptions at the time and should not be read to signify Black subjugation in Montréal. Yet, Mackey nonetheless concluded that Blacks were denied the best jobs due to anti-Black attitudes and assumptions of Black inferiority by white Montréalers and that "there were no blacks in government or public administration in Lower Canada" through the early 1900s (p. 185).

Despite his assertions of diverse occupations for Blacks in Montréal, Mackey (2010) confirmed that Black workers were systematically denied access to positions of power and decision making, specifically government-level positions, and denied white-collar professions due to anti-Black racism in Montréal through the mid-1800s (Mackey, 2010, pp. 266–272). The history of slavery, the postslavery relegation of Blacks to menial labour and domestic work, and the exclusion from positions of power, bespeak the manner in which Canada historically perceived and currently values its Black population.

Housing discrimination.

Israel's (1928) work, briefly aforementioned, provides an important context for the early patterns of discrimination in Montréal that began in the early 20th century within Montréal's small Black population. Although little has been written on the history of the Eureka Association, Inc. (the Association), Israel included a number of primary source documents in his thesis detailing the mission, the history, and organization of the Association. Documentation from the Association detailed the early patterns of de facto housing segregation and discrimination that existed widely in the city, despite the fact that very small numbers of Blacks lived in Montréal in the first two decades of the 20th century. The documents counter the misconception that, where Blacks existed in small numbers in the city, their integration was more facile than when sizeable populations of Blacks began to arrive to the city (D. Williams, 1999). The historical documents for the Association stated,

Housing has been a problem for [Blacks] ever since their increasing numbers have been observed in this city. A people with limited means, they are forced to seek homes within easy access to their work. The presence of an invader, whose color set him off from the wider community, tends to be met with open resistance by the property owners. The

white landlord, feeling that the mere presence of a Negro home in his property will surely lead to an exodus of the whites from the surrounding district refuses to rent desirable houses to these people. They are forced in this manner to seek houses wherever they can be procured. (as cited in Israel, 1928, pp. 209–210)

In two personal case studies of housing discrimination—one of a wealthy Black entrepreneur and the other, a single Black mother—two specific trends practiced by white landlords, Anglophone and Francophone, can be seen. White landlords in Montréal commonly lied about the lack of availability for a property when a potential renter who was Black was revealed (Israel, 1928). White landlords also systemically raised rental prices for unsanitary, unlivable flats, knowing that Black renters had very few other rental choices in the city (Israel, 1928). Summarizing the cases, the Association documents stated,

The housing situation among Negroes in Montréal gives no hope of improvement in the future. We are still forced to live in unsanitary houses, to pay high rentals, and suffer humiliation from landlords whilst endeavoring to procure suitable residences. This condition will continue indefinitely unless offset by the development of the Eureka Association Inc., which is equipped already for the task. (as cited in Israel, 1928, p. 214)

A telling addition within the documents is the critique of systemic white supremacy remarked upon by the members of the Association as their rationale for forming the Association and insisting, first and foremost, upon economic self-sufficiency. The documents noted,

[The local government and colonization organizations] apparently are not worried about our increased or decreased numbers, they are not worried about our social and moral improvement or deterioration, they are not worried about our economic oppression or industrial stagnation, they are not worried about us when passing their immigration and

colonization laws, in short they are not worried about us at all. Their time and energy is centered wholly on the European immigrants. (as cited in Israel, 1928, p. 216)

Legal discrimination.

Although Canada is widely championed for its absence of de jure segregation, a number of court cases in Montréal provide information about the structural, de facto racism that has existed throughout the city (Aylward, 1999; Backhouse, 1999). These cases revealed the ways in which the law has been used to confirm anti-Black discrimination in Montréal's public and private institutions historically. Of note is the 1940 case of *Christie v. York Corporation* (1940), a case from Montréal regarding racial discrimination heard by the Supreme Court of Canada. In this case, Mr. Christie, a Jamaican immigrant, who worked as a chauffeur and who had arrived from Jamaica 20 years prior, was denied service in the Forum Tavern due to the owner's policy of nonservice to Blacks (Aylward, 1999). The court held in favour of the respondent, establishing that racial discrimination was an acceptable practice and grounds for denial of service within private establishments in Montréal. In the decision, the court referred to a standard established in an earlier case, which argued, "Alors, chaque propriétaire est maître chez lui; il peut, à son gré, établir toutes règles non contraires aux bonnes mœurs et à l'ordre public" (*Christie v. The York Corporation*, 1940, p. 143).² The court, however, decided in the case of Mr. Christie that "it cannot be argued that the rule adopted by the respondent in the conduct of its establishment was contrary to good morals or public order" (*Christie v. The York Corporation*, 1940, p. 144). Thus, the holding confirmed that anti-Black racial discrimination was an acceptable practice in Montréal and was not "contrary to good morals or public order" so long as the discrimination occurred privately and in the context of a privately owned establishment.

This, importantly, creates a syllogism akin to the U.S. Supreme Court's rationale in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), for which the court reasoned the legitimacy of racial discrimination on the basis that the impact of discrimination is both private and unknowable and, thus, lacks standing before the Supreme Court (Crenshaw, 1997). The standard set forth in *Christie v. York Corporation* (1940)—that is, that racial discrimination was acceptable in Québec and not “contrary to good morals or public order” (p. 144)—remained the legal standard in Québec until 1975, when the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* outwardly “prohibited the discriminatory refusal of goods and services ordinarily available to the public” (Adams, 2012, p. 4).

The holding in *Christie v. York Corporation* illustrated the widespread de facto racism practiced throughout the city. Legal scholar Eric Adams (2012) explained that the case illustrated the ways that anti-Black racism was pervasive in the city, yet practiced with a slippery, discriminate application that nurtured a terror-filled reality for Black Montréalers. He explained,

Canada's colour bar did not need the backing of racist legislation, nor did it require the obviousness of a “Whites Only” sign. The colour bar operated, instead, with invisible lines and quiet whispers. “[I]n refusing to sell beer to [Christie], the [York's] employees did so quietly, politely and without causing any scene or commotion whatever,” Justice Rinfret pointed out. Sometimes, as it turns out, the colour bar could be quiet to the point of silence. Christie could drink at the York Tavern in the exuberance of the hockey season; in the more racially-charged context of a boxing tournament, he could not. A lighter-skinned black man could sometimes evade the bar, but sometimes not. Flexible and protean, the colour bar was equally adept at disguise, framing itself, as it did in the Christie litigation, as a sensitive business practice and clear rule, or, more abstractly still,

as a matter of freedom of contract. In practice, however, *racial exclusion existed as a pernicious social reality* [emphasis added], evasive and slippery even as it mapped urban spaces with racial ideologies, and affected the everyday lived experiences of city-dwellers. (Adams, 2012, pp. 38–39)

De facto practices of anti-Black racism.

Historian Frank Mackey's (2010) work has been instrumental in detailing the ways in which race and racism functioned within Québec and Montréal after the end of slavery in the city. His descriptions help to erase notions of racial innocence within the province and develop the concept of institutional racism that bolster local institutions, such as public schooling, that have been long classified as race-neutral within the province (Mackey, 2010). Québec's first premier Pierre Joseph Olivier Chauveau who served from 1867 to 1873, Mackey wrote, openly professed his beliefs in the scientific inferiority and hideousness of Blacks, and expressed no public sympathy for enslaved Blacks ensnared under the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, despite public outcry in other parts of Canada. Mackey argued that Blacks in Montréal were identified on sight by a system of white pseudo-scientific designation in contrast to other racial designation systems used within the US. He wrote that "the determination [of Blackness] was made wholly by sight, not by any pretended science or by law. Indeed, strictly speaking, the laws did not distinguish between Black and white" (Mackey, 2010, p. 7). Thus, racial categories were primarily skin-colour-based in Lower Canada rather than in the US, where racial Blackness was widely based upon the "one drop rule"³ (Mackey, 2010). From the late 1800s through the 1960s, Black men and women in Montréal were also confined, almost exclusively, to blue collar and domestic positions of employment in the city, the exceptions found within the small porter community of itinerant Black train-servicemen (Israel, 1928; Mathieu, 2010; D. Williams, 1989).

Mackey (2010) noted that after the end of slavery in Lower Canada, Blacks were also deliberately barred from holding positions of political and legal leadership in a way that would permit authority over whites—a history that currently restricts the 550 judgeships in Québec to five Black judges (Mackey, 2010; Wilton, 2015). Black Montréalers were barred from work as jurors and from holding political positions that would involve speaking authoritatively against whites until the 1950s (Mackey, 2010; D. Williams, 1997). Other scholars researching Black Montréal history have widely documented that Blacks were also denied employment in hospitals and with major retailers, such as The Bay (J. Bertley, 1982; D. Williams, 1997), and were forbidden, as in the US, entrance to hotels and nightclubs in Montréal through the 1940s (Gilmore, 1988; Lees, 2000).

History of Montréal's school boards and Black Anglophone teachers in Montréal.

Akin to the character of anti-Black racism in Montréal historically, the history of public school boards in Montréal is one fraught with racial, linguistic, class, and ethnic tensions. Prior to the deconfessionalization of public schools in Montréal in 1998 (Young & Bezeau, 2003), school boards in Montréal were divided by religious preference and governed, respectively, by either the Catholic or Protestant churches and named “confessional schools.” Given the heavy influence of the Catholic church in France and the colonial legacy of Catholicism in Québec, the French-speaking population in Québec was dominantly Catholic. As a result, Catholic schools in Montréal were nearly all white schools divided between French Québécois and white Anglophone Catholic-faith ethnic groups, such as the Irish, through most of the 20th century. Many Catholic confessional schools instructed in French. In 1998, the school boards in Montréal divided upon linguistic, rather than religious lines, and the English Montréal School Board and CSDM were established (Young & Bezeau, 2003).

Throughout the 1950s, the Black community in Montréal was composed primarily of Black Canadians who had been born in Canada; those who had migrated from the Maritimes for employment in the city (D. Williams, 1999); or those who were Anglophone Blacks from the West Indies (D. Williams, 1989). Dorothy Williams (1989) wrote that this latter population comprised 40% of the Black population in Montréal by the late 1920s. She added that they were generally the most “educated, vocal and ‘British’” (D. Williams, 1989, p. 33) of the Black population, as well. With the arrival of the first sizable Anglophone Black community in Montréal prior to 1950, most Black students largely attended English-instructed, Protestant schools during this period (D. Williams, personal communication, May 10, 2015).

Between 1957 and the mid-1960s, two large distinct groups of Blacks contributed to the increase of size within Montréal's Black community—Black women from the Anglophone Caribbean under the West Indian Domestic Scheme and 3,500 educated, French-speaking Haitians, some of whom worked as educators within the Catholic schools in Montréal (Couton, 1995; D. Williams, 1999). Similarly, in the early 1960s, handfuls of well-trained, Black educators from the Anglophone Caribbean arrived to Montréal in two capacities: either to join other friends and family members in the city, or to join school boards after being recruited from their respective countries (D. Arnott, personal communication, August, 20, 2015).

Daphne Arnott (formerly Ferdinand), who arrived as an educator from Trinidad in 1966, shared that it was not uncommon for school administrators in the 1960s to recruit Black teachers from Trinidad and other Anglophone Caribbean islands and to offer both relocation packages and spousal stipends for their partners (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) recalled significant numbers of Black educators from the Caribbean arriving around the time she arrived and added that the need was

dire in Québec because “their teachers were untrained. But we were coming from the West Indies as *trained teachers*. And we were coming from training colleges.” She added that most Black teachers arriving during her time from the Anglophone Caribbean taught in English-instructed schools dispersed throughout the city (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Mrs. Arnott noted,

Most of the teachers, we did not settle together, and that was different from other nationalities. We did not settle together. We went off to different townships. We went to LaSalle...there were a few Black teachers in Montréal. But, they all dispersed. They were teaching in English schools. And back then, in Québec, [English schools] were at a very high level. The level of education was almost at the level of a private school then. The instruction was very good.

Black educators in Montréal.

Very little has been written about the history and influence of Black educators within Montréal's school boards. In the 1960s, Black educators from the Anglophone Caribbean began arriving in Montréal in visible numbers (D. Williams, personal communication, October 29, 2014). When Daphne Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) arrived from Trinidad in 1966, it was very easy for her to find a job as an educator.

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) was offered two jobs immediately—one with the West Island Lakeshore School Board and one with the Sault St. Louis School Board. Lakeshore offered Mrs. Arnott a competitive salary, housing income, and an additional partner stipend for her husband. She accepted Sault St. Louis's offer, however, because it was in LaSalle and closer to downtown, where her husband was studying at Loyola at the time (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Mrs. Arnott was first assigned

in January of 1967 to a difficult, all white, Grade 2 class at Leroux Elementary that had already lost two other white teachers due to their inability to control their students' behaviour in the classroom. Historically, Black teachers in Montréal were often assigned the most difficult classes with white students that other teachers could not manage—the “slow learners and disruptive students” (Knowles, 1996, p. 299). Mrs. Arnott explained,

In Trinidad, I taught 5 years and had 2 years of training college, and had just gone back to do my next year. Teaching in Trinidad is very structured. I don't know if you know anything about the British system, but it is a *very structured* system. Finally, when I got to Leroux Elementary school, since I was coming in in January, I was given a difficult class. They had a difficult class that teacher number one had come in and could not handle. Teacher number two came in and could not handle it. So, they were very happy to have me. Some of the children had severe behavioural problems. I was precursored [sic] by [my friend] from Guyana, so the school had some experience with Black teachers. Immediately, the class began to settle down and work, and [the principal] would come into the class and sit and look and see what I was doing.

The principal, she explained, was both astounded by and grateful for her competency in the school's most notoriously difficult classroom. Eventually, he sent other teachers to observe and study her pedagogical practices in the classroom.

In addition to excellent training and a reputation for strong pedagogical practices, Black Anglophone teachers from the Caribbean were reputed to also have the management skills and the disciplinary ability to teach effectively in special education classes and classes with noted behavioural disruptions (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). This reputation

was attributable, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) explained, to the style of teaching that was employed in programs that prepared educators in the Caribbean:

What we did in Trinidad was, if you had 30 children in classroom and they were all at different levels, you would generally say, okay, "I have a top group, a middle group, and another group." And you taught to that. I did not know what it was to stand in front of the blackboard. You taught to 10 kids, and then you went and taught to the other 10 and everyone was busy and you are walking all the time. So the principal was quite impressed by that. Very impressed by that. The kids had settled down, and there was no fighting. You don't have time for that when you are busy. We had a very good year, and all the kids moved up.

After witnessing Mrs. Arnott in her classroom for a few months, her principal told her that her instruction was so excellent that he wished he could send all of his other teachers to regularly observe her class.

Although her skills were appreciated, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) was made aware of the limitations of her career advancement opportunities within her school and school board. After working in Grade 2, the school approached Mrs. Arnott with their need for a kindergarten teacher, but found her degree from Trinidad unacceptable. She quickly completed another kindergarten diploma locally and remained as a kindergarten educator for a number of years, introducing innovative pedagogical practices to the classroom while remaining at Leroux until 1976 (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). A number of colleagues who noted Mrs. Arnott's gifted teaching practices recommended that she apply for an available kindergarten consultancy position. Her white principal, however, heavily discouraged her from applying, and she ultimately decided not to apply without his support

(D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Later, when Mrs. Arnott became pregnant, she was denied maternity leave by her school and so decided to quit in order to stay at home with her baby. She was later hired back by the Sault St. Louis board on a nonpermanent basis, despite her prior stellar work in the school (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015).

From 1976 to 1986, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) worked as a special education and kindergarten consultant. Mrs. Arnott completed her bachelor's at McGill in special education while working full time, then completed her masters as well. She became a respected consultant, well known for her innovation in her interactions with families and children with special needs (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). As one noted example, Mrs. Arnott regularly made home visits to families with children who had been diagnosed with disabilities or developmental delays—children who had been removed from schools and placed in segregated institutions with other diagnosed children. With the permission of their parents, she removed a number of children from these institutions and placed them in classrooms with other nondiagnosed children. She believed deeply in the inherent capability of all children and found institutional settings devastating for children who had been diagnosed with disabilities or developmental delays (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Mrs. Arnott explained, exasperated,

They had no right in these institutions! I would go in these institutions and pull the kids out. I just got them out of these institutions and into a classroom where they could work and play with other children and be in an area where they felt normal. . . . These kids were just sitting [in their hospital rooms] just looking at TV all day, doing nothing! They would sit in a chair and do nothing! So, that is just what I started doing as a consultant.

For her, the institutionalization of elementary aged children with varied diagnosed mental and intellectual disabilities was unacceptable. Mrs. Arnott added happily, “Eventually, we got a large class [of mixed students], and we got a lot of money! And so, we were able to hire assistants to come into the class and help me with what I was doing.”

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) articulated the ways that anti-Black racism worked tacitly to limit her career advancement and that of Black teachers within Montréal's school systems. In her initial years at Leroux Elementary, Mrs. Arnott could not recall an instance where staff members or children commented on her Black skin. After leaving Leroux Elementary, however, she worked at Laurendeau Dunton in LaSalle teaching kindergarten under the direction of a white principal for 3 years (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Here, she worked with three other Black educators from the Caribbean—including her best friend (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). It was under the white principal's leadership, Mrs. Arnott explained, that she and the other Black educators most felt the silent restraints on their career advancement based upon their skin colour. She explained,

The principal was an Irishman. He had on staff [numerous Black educators]. They stayed as educators their entire careers and *never went anywhere*. There were about five Blacks working on staff for him. The principal knew they were good teachers. But, they did not move up under his care. He knew they were good teachers, but he would never recommend any one of us to get a position in any other thing. [If you were Black], you were a teacher and that is where you stayed. Anyone else who was recommended for promotion under his care was someone else—it was someone with white skin. There

were only certain people who advanced in the system, and it was very clear who they were. (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

Eventually, Mrs. Arnott moved up to become principal of a different school, Allion School, with the advice and support of a colleague. She worked there from 1987 until 1990.

The lived experience of Botsoe William Kafe provides important information about the kinds of anti-Black violence from schooling administrators and white students that Black educators regularly faced during their careers, particularly in schooling environments where there were few or individual Black educators (Knowles, 1996). Pascale Annoual (personal communication, December 3, 2015), a local mental healthcare worker of Haitian descent who has worked in Black communities in Montréal for the last 20 years, worked closely with Mr. Kafe and helped ensure the close documentation of his case over a period of years. At his high school within the Deux Montagnes school commission, Mr. Kafe faced a convergence of teaching challenges that were “highly suspicious” (Knowles, 1996, p. 299) for any educator. Over his 15-year career at the same school, he faced remarkable displays of physical and verbal anti-Black violence that were ignored both by his school principal and the school board (Knowles, 1996). Of note in his well-documented case was an assessment of his complaints of racism as symptomatic of a dangerous, potentially violent “paranoia” (Knowles, 1996, p. 307)—a diagnosis proffered by the psychiatrist hired by the school board with hopes of determining his incompetence. Despite his students’ incessant disparages of “nigger” and “slave,” threats to “burn him,” and ongoing physical violence, the school commission’s psychiatrist held that the expressions of anti-Black racism, both verbal and physical, were normal behaviours of adolescence and should easily have been dealt with by a “competent” (Knowles, 1996, pp. 306–307) educator. The school commission’s psychiatrist, identified in the court record only as

“Dr. G,” explained that the acts of racism that Mr. Kafe described were “inevitable and going on everywhere, but when this occurs with any normal teacher, he does not take it personally; he knows very well that it is part of the problems related to adolescence, and in turn, he treats them as discipline related problems and not as something personal” (Knowles, 1996, pp. 306–307). As Knowles (1996) noted, Mr. Kafe “and not his students’ behavior, became the problem, and thus a social and political problem was characterized in individual terms” (p. 300) by both the school commission and Mr. Kafe’s school. In sum, Mr. Kafe’s experience of racism was reduced to a normative, individual phenomenon to be managed by the individual teacher, and Mr. Kafe’s “paranoia” was construed as mental illness that, like his Blackness, signified both psychological volatility and dangerousness (Knowles, 1996, p. 311).

Longtime and retired educators in Montréal have similarly described this treatment of anti-Black racism—that is, the association between anti-Black violence and personal culpability—by their schools and school boards, at both the faculty and student levels (D. Arnott, personal communication, October 20, 2015; H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015; T. Rhymes, personal communication, August 17, 2015). Thomas Rhymes (personal communication, August 17, 2015) began working in the mid-1990s in the outreach network for the Catholic School Board with students who had been expelled, dropped out, or demonstrated serious behavioural problems. When Rhymes worked as an outreach educator, he noted the ways in which Black students were regularly treated as culpable by other educators and treatment specialists for their struggles with drug abuse, whereas white students were consistently provided with medical and mental health support. He described the ways that Blackness was and continues to be associated with criminal culpability in his work:

There is a very different perception of substance abuse and race still. It is media driven. Schools believe that Black kids are more likely to be drug using and drug dealers than white kids. Dominantly Black schools also have a reputation for being “drug dealing.” But, Black kids point out all that time that white schools are notoriously drug dealing schools because drugs follow the money. That is the case with “whiter schools.” But still, white drug dealing and abuse was and is perceived as a need for counseling, help, and support. (T. Rhymes, personal communication, August 17, 2015)

Regarding anti-Blackness in French schools specifically, Rhymes (personal communication, August 17, 2015) opined,

The French [system] ha[s] an unapologetic nature of their board having white schools and Black schools. Their racial separation is veiled in pedagogy, enriched programs, and culture, but it is simply racism by segregation. The idea in practice is that, “White kids go here, and Black kids go there.” French schools have long accepted the reality of this segregation and have had no inclination to take a step back and look at it more critically.

Daphne Arnott (personal communication, October 20, 2015) echoed these sentiments regarding the practice of anti-Black racism:

The French have a history of a sense that they are “better than.” That is the best way I can put it—that they are “better than any other nationality.” When it comes to people, dealing with the children, they only want to deal with a blond child, white skin, who is bright, and has no problems. And this was even the case with the *white kids*; there were many problems with the white kids. Now, if you take into account that I am also Black, it makes it difficult to move into [their] vision that [they] think I should be. Their attitude

is, "Let me keep you out of this." As soon as children get into the kindergarten system, they begin separating them. They begin putting them in categories.

Both Rhymes and Mrs. Arnott detailed practices of anti-Black racism that they observed in their long and varied careers as educators throughout the schooling systems in Montréal. Both, during our conversations, demarcated the variances that they observed between French and English language-instructed schools. Consistently, they noted the ways Blackness was treated as a sign of culpability and criminality in classrooms and schools, the ways that protests of anti-Black racism were regarded as individual instances rather than systemic problems, and the various ways Black children were segregated within their learning environments.

Historical patterns of anti-Black racism in Montréal's schools.

Wilfred Israel's (1928) master's thesis from McGill University on the demographics of the Black population of Montréal noted that early patterns of schooling discrimination existed for even the small numbers of Black students in Montréal who attended school at the time. In Montréal, as local scholars have documented, there was no school act that permitted for the establishment of separate schools for Black students (D. Williams, 1999; D. Williams, personal communication, October 29, 2014). As Dorothy Williams (1999) has noted, no legal policies spoke to the point of segregation in the province, and Blacks were not legally barred from entering schools around the city (see also J. Bertley, 1982). Rather, the patterns of schooling segregation and discrimination encountered by Black students functioned exclusively in a de facto capacity in various parts of the city beginning in the early 20th century (Israel, 1928; D. Williams, 1999).

Schools were often segregated by neighbourhood, class, language, and religion within Montréal, and within these contexts, anti-Black racial segregation also occurred (D. Williams,

1999). As an example, former Verdun principal Daphne Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) noted the virulent resistance and racism her white educators expressed when the Protestant and Catholic School Boards amalgamated—thus, becoming racially unsegregated—and for the first time, large numbers of Black students (formerly in Protestant schools) came into the care of white teachers who had previously taught only in predominantly white schools. She explained her challenges as a principal in Verdun:

Verdun was white white white; white, poor white—not middle class or upper class! Then you had the Montréal Protestant School Board that was quite Black; then those school boards merged. The white students resented the Black students coming into the school board. And the teachers were just awful. Awful! They did not want these kids in their classes at all, at all, at all . . . You could just see it. They did not want these kids in their classes. And so, there was a war going on. (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

Within the city's schools, white parents also commonly practiced self-segregation by extending social invitations exclusively to other white students and encouraging similar behaviour in their children (J. Bertley, 1982; Flynn, 2011). This was a common practice documented in other provinces, as well. Historian Karen Flynn (2011), for example, documented the experiences of Black students in Ontario and Nova Scotia and the ways in which white children openly encouraged other white children to ignore Black students. These behaviours were both reified and approved in classrooms by white teachers, she argued (Flynn, 2011).

White educators in Montréal, Francophone and Anglophone, have also historically played an important role in upholding institutional racism in public schooling. In 1966, Daphne Arnott

(personal communication, August 20, 2015) shared, French-language schools were touted as notoriously racist, and Black educators arriving from the West Indies with their children were often advised by their coworkers and other Black parents to put their children in Protestant schools as a result. Mrs. Arnott explained that her first supervisor and principal at Leroux Elementary and director of the Sault St. Louis School Board, advised her explicitly upon her arrival to enroll her children in an English-instructed, rather than French-instructed, Catholic school. French schools, he had warned, were known for their anti-Black racism and punitive treatment of Black children for rudimentary student misbehaviours (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Both Williams (1997, 1999) and June Bertley (1982) have noted that schooling beyond the elementary level was often discouraged by white educators in Montréal, who commonly referred to secondary education for Black students as a “waste of time” (J. Bertley, 1982, p. 64).

At times, white teachers also intentionally created learning environments of social and academic isolation for Black children. White educators, both Francophone and Anglophone, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) observed, internalized a desire to invisibilize Black students in their classes. She said, “The issue for Black children [in the minds of white educators], was that you must get rid of them somehow.” Mrs. Arnott noted a number of examples of this pattern throughout her 37-year career as an educator, consultant, and principal in Montréal. In one case, after her son—the only Black student in his class at Allion Elementary—was labelled “obstreperous” by his teacher and principal for defending continual aggressions from his white classmates in grade 1, his teacher repeatedly instructed his classmates not to play with him both inside and outside of the classroom (D. Arnott, personal

communication, August 20, 2015). His teacher enforced a practice of social segregation against the 6-year-old throughout the school day.

As a special education consultant, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) regularly watched white teachers engage in practices of invisibilizing Black students in more mundane ways. For instance, Mrs. Arnott observed white teachers often ignoring the raised hands of students after asking the class a question, calling on white students repeatedly, and blatantly ignoring Black children who sat closer to the front of the classroom. French educators, Mrs. Arnott added, "By grade 1 or 2, they have a habit of putting the Black kids in the hallway and having them do nothing for 2 hours" or more. This kind of displacement from planned lessons, coupled with the social stigma of removal and physical isolation, she stressed, is a certain way to break both the spirit of a Black child and diminish his or her intellectual engagement in school.

Howard (2014) similarly has used the testimonies of two Black Montréal educators to detail patterns of anti-Black racism in Montréal. Both educators, he noted, spoke openly and often during their interviews about the impacts that the biased perceptions of white educators have in creating detrimental scholastic environments and outcomes for Black students (Howard, 2015). Mrs. Matthews (pseudonym) noted that white educators "are miscoding, still miscoding, and putting kids in classes that say they're slower than everyone else. So, once they're placed in the classes that say they're slow, their chances of college and university go down" (as cited in Howard, 2014, p. 502). Mr. Bernard (pseudonym) also spoke about the ways that Black educators were constantly forced to intervene in white educators' academic mislabelling of Black students and noted the lifelong consequences that their interventions had on their students. He said,

I remember best when I was teaching at either Manor Place or Central High. The Black Liaison Officer was Jerry Mohais in those days. He got in touch with me and said, "Look, there's a student from Trinidad who is living over on Hyman Drive and he's having some problems at the school up there. This is a fairly capable young man who came from Trinidad, but he is put in a class for retarded students. He's put in the very slow stream and doesn't know what to do. His mother has approached the school about it and that type of thing." Well we eventually got him into the regular stream. Then in grade eleven, he was placed in the slow math stream, and we made a representation to the school and said, "Look, this guy should be in Functions." And they refused; so again we made representation and said, "Look, I will personally take responsibility for this young man, and I will work with him." Well, I had to write a letter to Jackson High School saying that I was the department head of mathematics at Central High, and I would be responsible for working with this young man and seeing that he keeps up with the rest of the class if he's put into functions. And they accepted that. Well this young man eventually scored in the mid-nineties in math, and not only that, he went on to university and majored in mathematics, and the last I heard, he is an actuary in Toronto. (as cited in Howard, 2014, p. 503)

Black educators who worked in Montréal from the mid-1960s to the present have widely noted the patterns of aggregating Black students into special education classes and/or lower level classes where their intellectual or academic gifts were ignored or muted (D. Arnott, personal communication, October 20, 2015; H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015; Howard, 2014; D. Williams, 1997). June Bertley's 1982 study of education in Montréal documented the ways that Black children in Montréal were disproportionately tracked to lower

classes historically within elementary schools, discouraged from attending high school, and subjected to social and academic deterrents within schools that contributed to high drop-out rates. Ann Packwood, a Black Montréaler, shared that the principal of her school outright discouraged her daughter and her Black peers from taking academic high school classes and instead insisted upon lower track courses and vocational training for them (as cited in J. Bertley, 1982). Bertley wrote that this was consistent throughout the 1940s, although Black families arriving to Montréal from the Caribbean and at times, the US, often had advanced training or university degrees upon arrival. This anti-Black scholastic discouragement and practice of segregation within Montréal also influenced employment discrimination practices in the city (J. Bertley, 1982).

Access to schools in Montréal has historically depended on residency, and communities like Westmount, as one example, had a common practice of keeping “gentleman’s agreements” between landlords (Israel, 1928; D. Williams, 1999). These unwritten agreements kept communities free of Black residents, deemed uncomely, and restricted Blacks from renting or buying homes in white communities (D. Williams, 1999). These buying and renting restrictions also ensured that Westmount’s schools remained segregated as a whole or exceptionally included a few Black residents. Dorothy Williams (personal communication, October 29, 2014) stated that as Westmount was, historically, an exclusive community and only a handful of Blacks were able to rent within Westmount’s school boundaries, Westmount’s reputable and well-funded schools were also deeply segregated (D. Williams, 1999). Both residential and employment “ghettoization” in Montréal influenced the segregation that existed in Westmount’s schools, Protestant and Catholic (D. Williams, 1999).

Dorothy Williams (personal communication, October 29, 2014) explained the lengths that Black parents went to in order to ensure that their children gained access to the best schools in Montréal, despite city-wide de facto housing segregation (D. Williams, 1999). Schools in the Westmount community of Montréal received large sums of scholastic funding and, so, received superior facilities and supplies in comparison to other schools in the city (D. Williams, 1999). In one instance, Williams described a Black family (not the aforementioned Lord family) who rented an expensive home in Westmount so that their physical address fell within Westmount's boundaries, lived in another community and, thus, legally ensured that their children could access the Westmount school district (D. Williams, 1999). Williams noted that this method was practiced occasionally by Black families in the city prior to 1970.

This rental arrangement was exceptional, however, as Black children in Montréal were both unwelcome in segregated, white communities and frequently greeted with hostility in their social interactions with white families within segregated communities. Gwen Lord, a Black Montréaler whose mother moved her family north of St. Antoine near the Westmount border to access better schooling for her children, shared a story of trick or treating on Halloween in her Westmount community and facing the animosity of a white neighbour who asked her why she was trick or treating in Westmount and, then, accused her angrily of lying about living in the neighbourhood (D. Williams, 1999). Gwen Lord was scolded for "lying," pushed away from the door by the white tenant, and punitively sent home without candy that evening. This kind of social hostility towards Black children was reified within Westmount's schools.

June Bertley's (1982) thesis also documented supplementary educational programs developed by Black community members to strengthen the learning practices and education of Black children in Montréal, as well as to create affirmative cultural spaces for Black children that

shielded them from white schooling discrimination from students and teachers. The program at the Negro Community Center, for example, was so reputable that it was also attended by white children in the city—children who were never denied entrance by Negro Community Center's teachers or board members (J. Bertley, 1982). Bertley wrote, "White children attended from a young age right up until they reached the age of dating; when [race] was very noticeable at this age, they drifted away" (p. 142).

The long career of Daphne Arnott.

The long educational career of Daphne Arnott offers a nuanced and detailed description of the ways in which she experienced and witnessed anti-Black racism in relation to students during her 37-year career as an educator and principal in Montréal. Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) arrived from Trinidad in 1966 and began working for the Sault St. Louis School Board in 1967. When I asked Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) about her experiences with racism in her first school, she responded, "As a teacher, my focus was my classroom. So, I did not pay much attention."

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) paused and then began to explain, in great detail, the histories of her interventions regarding her own five children who all experienced racism in the predominantly white schools in which she worked. The names of the children are made anonymous below and are not identified by age or birth order. She began by explaining the challenges of navigating anti-Black racism as an educator in Montréal's schools in the 1960s and the simultaneous, ongoing need to intervene on behalf of her children due to the racism that they suffered at the hands of white educators:

You know, it's interesting . . . I'll still go back to the fact that as a teacher, you don't spend a lot of time observing. At the first school I taught at, there were no other Black

kids. Son 1 was a shy boy, for example, and never seemed to get into any trouble. But, you see, it is sad to say that, but it all depends on the child. Daughter 1, now I remember her. The problem I had with her . . . she was quiet and was not getting into any trouble. But, the problem with her was that she was too quick for the class she was in. She was too bright! So she would sit and the teacher would be teaching, and the teacher complained that she was not paying any attention. But, she had a book on her lap (laughing), and she was reading her stories while the teacher was teaching! And still she would know, she would still be able to answer the questions! [The teacher] would complain that she was not paying attention. This is the kind of complaint I would get. With Daughter 2, the complaint was similar. The kind of complaint that you get from the teacher is, well, she never answers any questions. So, she gets a D. But I said, well, did you try to interact with her? Well, no! I can recall going in to meet with the teacher and asking her to change that mark. (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

Mrs. Arnott's statement is a testament to the ways that intellectually gifted Black children from Caribbean households, in the past often raised to be more silent in their interactions with educators than white children, were both ignored and punished for their learning styles in the classroom. It is important to note that the children Mrs. Arnott mentioned above, became successful, accomplished professionals—a businessman, doctor, and lawyer, respectively. The success of these children, however, depended heavily on their mother's interventions in their educations, her unflinching belief in their own brilliance, and her advocacy that their individual learning needs must be respected in their classrooms. For instance, Mrs. Arnott refused to accept the "D" her daughter received for her classroom silence, and at the same time, she also demanded that the teacher acknowledge this learning style and engage her daughter more

actively in the classroom. Her example shows, as with my son Ade, the ways that intellectually capable, yet quiet, Black children in all white classrooms often simply get lost, ignored, and academically punished in the classroom (Howard, 2014).

Mrs. Arnott's example of her son's Grade 1 experience provided another example of the particular ways anti-Black racism has worked historically within Montréal's public schools. Son 2 was a child who was equally intellectually gifted among his siblings, but who had a forceful and persistent character, even from a young age. Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) explained,

Son 2 was a child who was forceful, who made his presence known. He was not following all the rules, like all the other white children. He was active and very intellectual, even more than his teachers. And he got in *a lot of trouble* for that. That I never understood though. He was not aggressive . . . well, a little bit. He had a huge afro. I used to braid his hair every night before he went to bed. And then in the morning, he would puff his afro out and go to school. This was in Grade 1. The boys would come up and touch his hair. And he would say, "I don't want you to touch my hair. This is my hair!" Now Son 1, would kind of pass it off, but Son 2 would say, "If you touch my hair again, I'm going to hit you." So he hits, and he gets into trouble. And he was sent to the principal's office.

She explained that she began noticing increased aggression in Son 2's behaviour at home, and as an educator and parent, she began believing that something may be deeply troubling him at school (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). She noted, simultaneously during this part of our interview, the responsibility of Black parents, in particular, to pay very close attention to Black children in all or dominantly white schools in Montréal:

Look, I blame the system. The system is very bad, but the parenting is very bad, too. And it's an area where I think a lot of parents need to note. You need to know your kid, and you need to know what is going on [in their classroom]. Son 2 would come home and he would hit Daughter 1 or hit . . . he became very aggressive. And he was not an aggressive kid. (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

After inquiring with one of Son 2's classmates about what was happening in their classroom, she discovered that her son was not allowed to play with other children in the classroom because his teacher had labelled him an aggressive, "obstreperous" child and intentionally created an isolating, continuously punitive learning environment for Son 2 that prevented any socialization during his school day (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). She explained,

I called one of his friends in the classroom and I said why is Son 2 so angry? And he said, "Oh, Mrs. Ferdinand, we are told by the teacher that none of us while we're in school can play with Son 2." I said, "What?!" And he said, "Yes, because some of the children try to touch his hair and he would hit them. So the teacher said, 'Nobody in the classroom is to play with Son 2 while in the school.'" (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) then explained how she and her husband took a meeting with the principal immediately to discuss what she found infuriatingly unacceptable, especially given her years of experience managing behaviourally challenged students and special education classrooms. Mrs. Arnott found it incredulous that a teacher would intentionally create a hostile and demeaning environment of social isolation for a young child rather than contact his parents to seek behavioural solutions. After her meeting with the

principal, Mrs. Arnott and her husband contacted the school board with their complaints, and Son 2's teacher was ultimately fired.

Although complaints against educators today seldom, if ever, lead to such dismissals, Mrs. Arnott's experience in the school community as an educator and her savvy, confident advocacy for her son, resulted in two important and historic outcomes that are helpful for education researchers who study the history of public schooling and racial discrimination in Montréal. First, her actions signalled to the other educators in the school what an example of anti-Black discrimination looked like in an all-white schooling environment for a Black child. Secondly, it also signalled a loud intolerance for such behaviour. Specifically, it illustrated how a Black parent's ardent advocacy against anti-Black schooling discrimination could yield swift and potent consequences for educators.

Before describing what she came to understand as a mother and educator about her children's well-being, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) prefaced her words by expressing the importance of a connected, shared relationship between home and school for a child. Throughout the course of our interview, she not only spoke frequently about anti-Black racism in schooling, but also about the responsibility of Black parents' involvement in their children's schooling experience. She stressed,

There is a system of waves that moves through the home, the school, and teacher and everybody else, and we need to get that right. And somehow Black parents often do not seem to get that moving right. (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

For Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015), the "system of waves" that she spoke about entails a responsibility of parents noting the behavioural changes in their children, as well as remaining in close communication with their children's educators. Although

she acknowledged systemic anti-Black racism in Montréal's schools, Mrs. Arnott also noted the role parents must have in monitoring their child's academic progress and behavioural changes. Her story is a testament to the ways that Black parental advocacy can help Black children thrive in hostile learning environments. Mrs. Arnott is deeply aware of the power of her parental advocacy in the lives of all of her children, as well as its absence in the lives of other Black students. She stated that, although her son's story of intentional social isolation was significant, "there are other Black youths who are as bright, or even brighter, and who do not have the support at home or in the community" (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015), and so, they suffer the emotional and academic consequences of anti-Black racism within classrooms and schools.

Mrs. Arnott offered one more story about Son 2's educational experience that is significant to detail because it highlights the ways in which anti-Black intellectual violence against Black children may, at times, be both mediated and ameliorated by close parental involvement. In his fifth grade year, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) was called to the principal's office because Son 2 was suspended for a classroom disruption that made his teacher angry enough to request an immediate suspension. Son 2, a very gifted student, had received a test with an answer marked incorrect that he did not agree with; when he approached the teacher to disagree with the mark, the teacher insisted that it was correct, called him rude, and told him that she would not change the exam (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Son 2 then created a survey of the question marked incorrect on his exam and distributed the survey widely in his classroom and amongst other educators in the school; the results of his survey, which he presented in his class, "showed that his teacher was wrong, and he was right. Well, she went screaming to the principal! And the principal called me into his

office,” Mrs. Arnott explained. In this instance, Mrs. Arnott mediated the situation between the teacher and her son by explaining to Son 2,

You had no right to do it. You had to do it in a different way. You should not have confronted [the teacher] in front of the class . . . And when we got home, I said to him. There are two things here. You have to learn that you are very bright. You can do things and see things that not everyone can see. And if she is the teacher in the classroom, you have to show her respect. And maybe you could have gone to her personally or done it in a different way.

In this instance, Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) accepted the suspension for her son from the school. Later, in secondary school, Son 2 became bored and decided to leave public school to complete his schooling at Loyola. He paid for his first year at Loyola by selling newspapers for a full year prior (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). He eventually entered medical school after gaining acceptance to every school to which he applied, studied and practiced surgery, then left the medical practice to start a successful company that prepares preparatory materials for students applying to medical school (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015).

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) worked as a special education and kindergarten consultant for 10 years from 1976 to 1986. Regarding her experience as a consultant, Mrs. Arnott said of Black children, “My God! They were just dumping them in [special education classes indiscriminately].” She explained further,

When I started consulting, I would go into the classroom, and a teacher would give me a list of all these things that were wrong with a child, why they should be placed in special ed [sic], why they should not be in a regular classroom . . . a regular school. And I would

pull them and test these kids, and these kids were brilliant! They were bright! It's a racial attitude. It's so complex. The kids come into school and immediately they feel "less than." The other kids won't play with them. They are isolated as soon as they come in. They would put up their hands . . . to show what they know, and the teacher will not call on them. She would ask somebody else. Then, she will ask another kid all the way around behind them! Then, their self-esteem goes down and just keeps going down.

(D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015)

Mrs. Arnott (personal communication, August 20, 2015) shared a story of a student who had recently arrived from Trinidad, an educational system that she understood well. One day, Mrs. Arnott bumped into the child's mother in the hallway, and the mother was very concerned that her daughter had been placed in a remedial class and seemed, despite being very bright, to be suddenly failing her classes. When she personally assessed the child, Mrs. Arnott found her to be an exceptional child with a Grade 7 reading and comprehension capability, although the girl had been placed in Grade 1. The child was properly placed in an appropriate classroom and ultimately gained admission to Marianapolis College, an elite private CEGEP—collège d'enseignement général et professionnel—in Montréal (D. Arnott, personal communication, August 20, 2015). Mrs. Arnott concluded,

If the mother had not taken that step—had not seen me and been comfortable with me as a Black person—that child would have failed out of the system. That is why I say this is all so complex. Some of [the support and intervention] has to come from the home . . . They have to keep confronting the system for the failures. It is not always right. You must confront the system.

Conclusion

Montréal has a well-established history of anti-Black racism throughout the city that is observable within its social institutions, such as its de facto housing policies and employment practices, as well as within its legal history. Public schooling has also been a site where anti-Black practices of discrimination have been systemically practiced and documented since the early 20th century. As the histories of previous education scholars and the testimonies of retired Black educators and former principals have illustrated, specific patterns of anti-Black violence are identifiable in both the histories of Francophone and Anglophone public schooling systems in Montréal. Notable are the patterns that former educators and principals share of witnessing white educators invisibilize Black students within classrooms by first creating learning environments of social isolation for Black students and, second, treating Black students as culpable, regardless of their actions within their classrooms. These professionals also attest to the ways that educators in Montréal historically directed Black students into lower level classes and into special education tracks even when Black students, clearly, suffered no learning disabilities.

In addition to the stories and patterns of anti-Black racism in public schools documented by Black educators in Montréal, Black educators also detailed the discrimination they faced throughout the course of their careers by students and staff. Botsoe William Kafe's story is a well-known example of anti-Black racism and violence within Montréal's public schooling systems. His case, replete with instances of verbal and physical racial violence, serves as an illustrative example of the ways that reports of anti-Black racial violence in Québec are denied as systemic problems and are instead labelled as examples of personal incompetence—in Mr.

Kafe's case, as a case of mental incapacity. This chapter, finally, is an attempt to shed light on the challenges facing Black students within Montréal's public schools today.

¹ The Sir George Williams Affair refers to the January 29, 1969, protest at Sir George Williams University in Montreal, Canada, now a part of Concordia University. The protest was led by Black students and allies after a number of Black students accused a white biology professor, Perry Anderson, of discriminatory grading against Black students. The protest, which began in the campus computer lab, was the largest student occupation in Canadian history at the time. In 2015, the National Film Board of Canada released a documentary entitled *Ninth Floor* about the protest and its aftermath. National Film Board of Canada (Producer), & Shum, M. (Director). (2015). *Ninth Floor* [Documentary]. Retrieved from https://www.nfb.ca/film/ninth_floor/

² In English, translated as, "Each business owner is the chief of his establishment; he is able, at his will, to make all the rules that are not against good custom and public order." My translation.

³ The "one drop rule" was a social and legal principle of racial classification that was historically applied in the United States to assert that any person with even one ancestor of sub-Saharan-African ancestry ("one drop" of Black blood) was considered Black. This concept evolved over the course of the 19th century and became codified into law in the 20th century, primarily in the U.S. South. At the end of Reconstruction in the US, the one drop rule strengthened white supremacy in the South and supported the passage of Jim Crow racial segregation laws throughout the nation.

Chapter 7: The Case for Mandatory Implicit Bias Training for Canadian Educators

On History

This history begins in 1855 with Solomon Washington, a 12-year old Black Canadian boy living in Charlotteville, Ontario (Cameron, Robinson, Robinson, Wetthey, & Van Koughnet, 1883). Solomon was denied admission to the common school in Charlotteville on the basis of race. His father, George, a farmer and taxpayer, sued the trustees of the school. At trial, the defendants in *Washington v. The Trustees of School Number 14* denied redrawing the school zoning lines for the purpose of excluding Solomon from the school, but Judge Robinson nonetheless reprimanded the trustees of the school for their dishonesty and gerrymandering of the district lines (as cited in Robinson, 1854, p. 569). Although the court held in favour of Solomon Washington's right to attend school Number 14, George Washington sold his farm to pay for the court costs associated with his son's trial (Robinson, 1854). His extraordinary practice of faith and love for his son cost him his livelihood and his ability to provide for his family. It also served as a sharp deterrent to other poor Black neighbouring families whose children were similarly excluded from the right to education in Canada (Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1969). The kind of racial gerrymandering practiced in Charlottesville became both a practice in other parts of Canada (McLaren, 2004; Winks, 1969) and a bedrock of schooling segregation in the US well throughout the 1960s (Yarmolinsky, Liebman, & Schelling, 1981).

The history of racial segregation in schooling continues through the body of Ann Packwood, a Black Montréaler, whose white school principal discouraged her daughter and her Black peers, outright, from taking academic high school classes in the 1970s and instead insisted upon inferior, lower track, and vocational training for them (J. Bertley, 1982, p. 65). Stories such as these have been passed down throughout the years between researchers and retired

principals in Montréal and are confirmed through my research (J. Bertley, 1982; H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015; Howard, 2014; D. Lockhart, personal communication, August 20, 2015; T. Rhymes, personal communication, August 17, 2015; D. Williams, 1999; D. Williams, personal communication, October 29, 2014).

This history also continues in the body of my beautiful, dark-complexioned son born on the coldest night of January in Montréal in 2006. He was 7 years old when he first began showing signs of depression and bringing home report cards that noted both his misbehaviour in class and his mediocre academic performance in his neighbourhood alternative public school. He was seven and a half when he insisted, with a knife pressed firmly against his neck, that he wanted to kill himself. He was eight when I, painfully yet swiftly, made a decision to remove him from his classroom and homeschool him, a near impossibility given the precarious conditions dangling within my life at the time as a single mother and sole income provider. I watched, with joy and affirmation, his depression lift almost immediately. I watched his self-esteem become robust in a way I had never before witnessed. I have also carried with me since this time, the echoing, defiant words of his former teacher and principal, both of whom insisted that his unhappiness and lack of ease in his classroom were attributable, wholly, to his own undoing, his own “misbehaviour” and his own lack of social skills.

Perhaps this history must begin in the bodies of the thousands of enslaved people who risked everything and migrated north at the time of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Law with the intention and hope of bodily freedom and the right to education—a right denied violently in most southern U.S. jurisdictions (Cornelius, 1983, 1991; Drew, 1856/2008; Silverman, 1985). This basic right was also denied to thousands of Black families when they finally crossed the Canadian border in the mid-19th century and their children were shuttered into woefully inferior

public schools, if they were provided with education at all (McLaren, 2004; Silverman, 1985; Winks, 1969). What is the relationship between past practices of overt, de facto anti-Black racism and today's covert practices of institutional anti-Black racism?

Although this study does not presume a direct relationship of causality, it is undergirded with an understanding that present practices of racial discrimination in Canada's public school system arise from historical traditions of racism in North America—particularly when those historical traditions are consistently, institutionally practiced over long periods of time (Coates, 2014; Crenshaw, 2011; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Such an approach to understanding racism is the guiding principle of a critical race methodological approach to research and is the methodology that undergirds this paper (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Discussion

The science of Black children and schooling in North America.

There is no shortage of studies documenting the challenges faced by Black children and adolescents in public schools in the US in the 21st century (e.g., James, 2012; Howard, 2014; Ramey, 2015; Ruglis, 2009; Skiba et al., 2002; Torczyner, 2010). Recently, David Ramey (2015), an education researcher at Penn State University, performed a sweeping study of 60,000 schools in the US and concluded that overwhelmingly, "Schools and districts with relatively larger minority and poor populations are more likely to implement criminalized disciplinary policies, including suspensions and expulsion or police referrals or arrests, and less likely to medicalize students through behavioral plans" (p. 181) that support the mental and physical health of children. His report confirmed the work of prior researchers in the US and Canada who have long argued the relationship between anti-Black bias in educators and school administrators and the practices of excessive punishment and criminalization of Black youth (Crenshaw et al.,

2015; Dei, 1996; Dei & McDermott, 2014; Delpit, 2012; Fine & Ruglis, 2009; Ibrahim, 2016; James, 2012; James & Taylor, 2010; Ruglis, 2009; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2011). The findings are also supported through the work of social workers in Canada who have reported alarming disproportions of Black children in provincial and foster care systems in the country, where primary and secondary schools are consistently one of the most common referrers of children into state care (Contenta, Monsenbraaten, & Rankin, 2014; J. M. Ferdinand, personal communication, June 20, 2015; Rambally, 1995; T. Rhymes, personal communication, August 17, 2015).

Recent studies on Black youth have also focused on the way that Black children are regularly labelled or misread as older, more mature, or criminally culpable for their transgressions compared to similarly aged white children. As such, educators and school administrators often treat Black children as devoid of the quality of “innocence” that is read onto the bodies of white children (Crenshaw et al., 2015; James, 2012; James & Taylor, 2010; Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & Mosher, 2014; Mosher, 2008). Renowned critical race theorist and researcher, Kimberlé Crenshaw, recently studied disparities in punishment between Black and white girls in New York City (NYC) and found that 90% of the girls expelled from NYC public schools are Black girls, although Black girls make up less than 30% of the entire NYC public school population (Crenshaw et al., 2015). A team of education researchers studying the consequences of age-overestimation for Black boys recently found “converging evidence that Black boys are seen as older and less innocent and that they prompt a less essential conception of childhood than do their white same-age peers” (Goff et al., 2014, p. 526). A painful, recent example of the consequence of this phenomenon for Black boys may be seen in the story of Tamir Rice, where his murder at the hands of Cleveland police officer, Timothy Loehmann,

occurred within two seconds of his arrival at the playground where a 12-year-old Rice was playing with a toy gun (Flynn, 2016). When the shooting was called into the station and reported by Loehmann's white supporting officer, Rice's age was overestimated at 20. In the aftermath, director Steve Loomis of the Cleveland Police Patrolman's Association referred to Tamir Rice in the media as "menacing . . . a 12-year-old in an adult body" (Capehart, 2015).

Researchers have long considered and studied the consequences of the disparate punishment and criminalization of Black youth, as well as the erasure of innocence from the bodies of Black children (Contenta et al., 2014; Fine & Ruglis, 2009; Rambally, 1995; Ramey, 2015; Skiba et al., 2000). The consequences, consistently documented, are the increased likelihood of adolescent arrest, loss of time from schooling, and involvement with the criminal justice system (Crenshaw et al., 2015; Fine & Ruglis, 2009; James, 2012; Mosher, 2008; Skiba et al., 2002; Ramey, 2015); disproportionate drop out and push out (Dei, 1997; Howard, 2014; Ruglis, 2009); and large numbers of referrals to child welfare and foster systems that lead to disproportionately high numbers of Black children removed from their family homes (Contenta et al., 2014, 2015; Rambally, 1995). Overall, the research connecting racial bias and institutional racism in schooling outcomes for Black children in the 21st century is quite extensive and includes a growing body of research based in a Canadian context.

What is crucial to note about the aforementioned studies regarding schooling and Black children in both the US and Canada, is that the devastating statistical disparities between the treatment of Black and white children and the disparate outcomes of punishment are based upon perceptions of Black children largely made by white educators, school officials, and school support staff (Carr & Klassen, 1997; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; National Center for Education Statistics, 2008; Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). These perceptions of Black children and

youth as culpable, punishable, and lacking the quality of innocence are informed by implicit biases inherent in our society (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Although many scholars have focused on curriculum as a way to ameliorate the negative experiences of Black children in public schools in Canada (Dei, 1994, 1995, 1996; Delpit, 2012), I want to shift the focus of this work away from curricular and pedagogical strategies for confronting anti-Black racism in schools and move towards a strategy grounded, foremost, in teacher self-accountability. I do not mean to suggest that transformative, inclusive curriculum is not desperately needed in Canada. I believe it is. What I want to centralize in this concluding chapter, rather, is the responsibility of educators to confront both the science and practice of implicit bias (IB) in their interactions and pedagogical practices with their Black students. I assert that it is the responsibility of educators to put into practice the ameliorative proposals set forth in the science of IB (Lai et al., 2014).

I want to also acknowledge that I am not suggesting that a mere focus on IB will alleviate the conditions of Canadian anti-Black racism in our schools and in society, more broadly. I believe that there is no simple panacea for the ubiquitous nature of anti-Black racism, and I believe that improving both the experiences and outcomes of Black children in our public schools is a dynamic, multi-faceted process. I agree that there are systemic social conditions, such as poverty and unemployment that must be improved in order to strengthen the educational experiences and outcomes of many Black children (Rothstein, 2008). I do not believe that these improvements are easy. In fact, I believe that they are hugely challenging because the conditions of poverty that shape the lives of large numbers of Black children are supported and maintained by many decades-long practices of systemic anti-Black discrimination, including a well-detailed history of residential segregation and housing discrimination that orders class and wealth in

North America (Haan, 2007; Mosher, 1998; Rothstein, 2008). I also believe our classrooms must—as a fundamental, scholastic practice—embody a self-reflection of the children in them. This is pertinent, particularly, for Black children in Québec, where school history books are filled with biased inaccuracies, rather than complex, truthful histories of Montréal's Black communities (Blondin, 1990; MacAndrew, 1986; Stanley, 2000). Canada's classrooms must mirror back to Black children daily cultural self-affirmations through the images of Black children on their classroom walls, in the reading books and textbooks that are provided and read aloud, through the celebrations educators hold and honour, and through a robust and shared knowledge of the countries Black students' kin hail from. Our teacher's colleges, as well as undergraduate and graduate programs must, unquestionably, invest in Black Canadian-focused curricula and degree bearing diplomas that fund research and scholarship at an advanced level (C. Nelson, personal communication, August 15, 2015). I believe that all of these things, individually, are crucial.

But, this is still only part of the solution.

I argue Canadian classrooms need something more—something proactive that makes our educators aware and holds them accountable for their explicit and implicit biases and for the ways these biases land on the bodies of Black children in Canadian classrooms. IB training, I argue, is useful for both illuminating educators' own IBs and providing a foundation for developing discourses around race, racism, and racial bias within classrooms. In other words, IB training gives educators a skill set and common language with which to navigate oft-challenging conversations about race and racism in their classrooms. In light of the tremendous historical denial of Black Canadian history within Canada (Mathieu, 2010; Trudel & d'Allaire, 2013; Zellars, 2015a, 2015b) and the absence of Black Canadian school curriculum (Blondin, 1990;

Codjoe, 2001; MacAndrew, 1986; Stanley, 2000), as well the robust and growing body of scholarly research that describes the poor experiences of Black primary and secondary students in Canadian schools (Codyjoe, 2001; Hampton, 2010; Howard, 2014), I advocate making initial and annual IB trainings for all of Canada's principals, in-service educators, teaching supervisors, and university-level teaching students an integral part of one's professional certification.

Race, data collection, and schooling in Canada.

Although there is an abundance of reports and scholarly studies performed in the US on anti-Black racism and schooling, there are also many Canadian studies focusing on Black children, schooling, and the specific conditions of Canadian anti-Black racism impacting the educational experiences of Black students (Codyjoe, 2001; Dei, 1997; Glenn, 2011; Dei & McDermott, 2014; Ibrahim & Adbi, 2016; James & Taylor, 2010; James, 2012; Rambally, 2005). There exists still, however, a significant gap in the number and quality of studies on anti-Black racism and schooling between the US and Canada. Part of the lack of availability of comparable Canadian data rests on the tendency of some race researchers and theorists to refer back to the US and its prolific body of scholarship since it is quickly, readily available to scholars and researchers in Canada (McKittrick, 2013). Part of the lack of availability of vast and diverse race-focused scholarship on schooling in Canada is attributable, as well, to Canada's ahistorical invocation of a national colourblindness that has long steadied a widespread institutional denial of the need for race-based data collection throughout the nation (Aylward, 1999; Backhouse, 1999). Canada's long insistence on its history of legal colourblindness as a response to charges of systemic anti-Black racism has roots both in its de facto practices of discrimination (Backhouse, 1999) and in its imbedded historical narratives of benevolence towards the country's Black population (McKittrick & Woods, 2007; Silverman, 1985). The

consequences of these historical tendencies have, in part, led to a relative lack of widely available statistical information and quantitative materials focused on race and racial disparities (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Haan, 2007; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011). Canadian criminologists Wendy Chan and Dorothy Chunn (2014) added that since the 1980s the Canadian government and related law enforcement agencies have ceased to systemically collect data about the racial or ethnic backgrounds of individuals within the criminal justice system (p. xvi).

The lack of data presents a challenge for education researchers who study race and anti-Black racism in Canada. Despite the challenges to the collection of race-based statistics in Canada, Canadian researchers have employed more “creative approaches” in conducting research focused on racial biases (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Rambally, 1995; T. Rhymes, personal communication, August 17, 2015; Sibblis, 2014). As Dr. Horace Goddard, retired educator and longtime principal in Montréal, has shared, in order to assess a head count of incoming Black students at the start of the school year, he learned to recognize Black, Caribbean, and African-descended family names, and so, would hand-count his Black students each year in order to take note, personally, of their progress throughout the school year (H. Goddard, personal communication, March 25, 2015). Rae Tucker Rambally's (1995) important study on the overrepresentation of Black youth in the Québec social service system relies on her 30 years of personal experience and observations as a social worker. Her article also encompasses a study where local social workers provided self-reported questionnaires that recorded quantitative data on Black clients, given the institutional failure of race-based data collection. Such a laborious and inaccessible collection method for researchers who acknowledge Canada's similarly situated racial disparities, calls for the continued insistence of race-based data collection within Canada's

institutions (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Owusu-Bempah & Millar, 2010; Wortley, 1999; Wortley & Owusu-Bempha, 2011).

Canadian historians and researchers who study race, comparatively, between the US and Canada, have noted important trends of correlation between the two countries—namely, that studies pertaining to anti-Black racism and racial disparity are often analogous here in Canada (Chan & Chunn, 2014; Dei, 2014; Haan, 2007; Mosher, 1998; Polanyi et al., 2014; Rambally, 1995; Silverman, 1985; B. Walker, 2010; J. Walker, 2006). Comparative studies pertaining to the experiences of Black youth in the context of schooling, for example, draw important correlations between the experiences of Black youth in Canada and in the US (Dei, 2014; Howard, 2014; Polanyi et al., 2014).

The science of implicit bias.

Recently, there has been an abundance of attention paid to IB in the context of institutional racism, particularly within surveillance and police organizations in the US (Cole, 2015; Ifill, 2015; Sanburn, 2015; Tucker, 2014; W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 2015). This invigoration is due to the heightened visibility of police brutality and the killings of unarmed Black men, women, and children caught on videotape. Sherilyn Ifill (2015), head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal Defense Fund, has been vocal in advocating for IB training for police officers as a fundamental part of their overall training.

IB has been written about extensively in a number of scholarly fields over the last 25 years, most extensively in the context of medical, legal, employment and critical race scholarship. IB is used interchangeably with “unconscious bias,” as well as “subconscious bias,” but foundational, scholarly literature on the subject uses the term “implicit bias” most consistently (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). IBs, held in all human

beings, are “unconscious mental processes” and “discriminatory biases based on implicit attitudes or implicit stereotypes” (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006, pp. 946–951; Jost et al., 2009). In 1995, Greenwald and Banaji (1995) established an “indirect, unconscious, or implicit mode of operation for attitudes and stereotypes” (p. 4) in their paper, “Implicit Social Cognition: Attitudes, Self-Esteem, and Stereotypes,” which is referenced as the most important scholarly text to assert that social behaviour is “not always attributable to conscious control, but rather often operates within a subconscious fashion” (p. 4) as a set of IBs. Greenwald and Krieger (2006) later added,

Implicit biases are especially intriguing, and also especially problematic, because they can produce behavior that diverges from a person's avowed or endorsed beliefs or principles. The very existence of implicit bias poses a challenge to legal theory and practice, because discrimination doctrine is premised on the assumption that, barring insanity or mental incompetence, human actors are guided by their avowed (explicit) beliefs, attitudes, and intentions. (p. 951)

Over the last two decades, IBs have been widely measured and affirmed through the Implicit Aptitude Test (IAT), created in 1998 by Greenwald and Banaji (Stanford University School of Medicine [SUSoM], 2015). The IAT was developed as a way of detecting bias in human beings across wide demographic categories (Lawrence, 2008; McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Viskontas & Mooney, 2014). The IAT, an online test taken by more than 4.5 million people to date (SUSoM, 2015), “measures unconscious racial bias by linking together words and images to reveal what associations come most easily to mind” (Lawrence, 2008, p. 956). The IAT works by asking test-takers to quickly pair sets of images that appear before the screen (SUSoM, 2015). Working quickly is essential to generate a reliable score; the IAT measures a

user's reaction time and generates a score accordingly (SUSoM, 2015). IAT results are decisive: The massive data generated from the IAT has determined that over 80% of white and Asian users harbor an IB in favour of whites over Blacks (Lawrence, 2008, p. 957; SUSoM 2015). Lawrence (2008) added, "More than two-thirds of non-Arab, non-Muslim testers [also] displayed implicit biases against Arab Muslims" (p. 957).

Due to the reliability of the IAT, its longevity, and its enormous, diverse data sample, the existence and function of IB is widely understood as an accepted concept in scientific studies and legal scholarship theorizing discrimination (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Lawrence, 2008). This scholarly consensus makes it a powerful tool in trainings for educators. IB analysis has been applied to a broad sampling of institutions since the publication of Greenwald and Banaji's (1995) article. For example, Dovidio and Fiske (2012) argued that IB effects the medical care of Black patients. Johnson (2015) argued that IB harms the culture of the FBI; Oreopoulos and Dechief (2011) showed how IB prevents employers from calling applicants in Canada with non-Western names. Additionally, a number of recent articles and studies also attest to IB's persistence and intractability both in social relations and within institutions (Banks & Ford, 2008; Johnson, 2015; Nosek et al., 2007).

Viskontas and Mooney (2014) explained the science of our "racist brains" (para. 1) by detailing the categorization process that necessarily functions on the basis of discrimination. Additionally, they explain the important function of the amygdala and frontal cortex, two essential aspects of cognitive biology needed to both understand and describe IB. Neuroscientist Viskontas and Mooney (2014) explained that although the amygdala drives the human fear response, such as the irrational fears that whites may feel towards Blacks, the frontal cortex, an advanced regulator of the brain, allows human beings to inhibit negative impulses, make

complicated decisions, and behave in socially appropriate ways. Regarding the function of the amygdala, Phelps et al. (2000) stated, "Studies have shown for the first time that members of Black and white social groups can evoke differential amygdala activity and that this activity is related to unconscious social evaluation" (p. 734). Together with Word, Zanna, and Cooper's (1974) study, this research suggests the amygdala fear response to Black-versus-white faces registered in white subjects "is a function of culturally acquired information about social groups, modified by individual knowledge and experience" (Phelps et al., 2000, p. 734).

This section has provided a brief overview of the extensive research into IB and institutional cultures. Now, I turn to the link between intentional bias and institutional racism.

Critical race theory: Linking implicit bias and institutional racism.

Critical race theorists have been instrumental in making sure the science of IB is utilized in a way that transcends the principle of bias-inherence and acknowledges both the social and historical conditioning of the content of our biases, as well as the role of personal responsibility in facing one's IB (Delpit, 2012; Lai, Hoffman, & Nosek, 2013; Lawrence, 2008; Viskontas & Mooney, 2014). CRT does this in two ways—first, by theoretically centralizing the role of history and, second, by insisting upon racism as a concept distinct from mere cognitive characterization. A critical race theoretical approach to IB centralizes the role of history in the context of anti-Black biases because CRT holds that where history illustrates patterns of anti-Blackness, the past correlates to the ways our current biases are formed (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Ameliorating biases, thus, entails reckoning with the histories of their origins and acknowledging the ways they are embedded in the present. For example, as part of my trainings on race and IB, I always begin with a few minutes of history—often centralizing interviews or personal narratives—that illuminate the history of de facto public schooling segregation and

other anti-Black discriminatory practices within Canada's schools since the mid-nineteenth century. With this, I hope to convey a picture of the historical dimensions of the systemic discrimination Black Canadian children have encountered since the 19th century.

Lawrence, who has written about the role of IB and racism in two pivotal scholarly articles (1987, 2008), explained the way scholarly research on IB designates the function of the human brain and perceives prejudice as a "natural condition." He wrote,

Bias or stereotype occurs because the brain works by placing information into categories. We make stereotyped assumptions about others—good or bad—because categories that correspond to those stereotypes are created in this primitive part of our brain and those categories are available as a place to sort our perceptions. People revert to the shortcuts of the implicit system of categorization because this is the way our brain processes information. The theoretical claim made by cognitive social psychologists is that stereotypes should be understood as no different from other categorization constructs. Our biases and prejudices result from the same process of categorization, assimilation, and search for coherence that underlies all human cognition. (Lawrence, 2008, p. 960)

One way to think more visually about the brain categorization that Lawrence described, is to imagine the human brain creating "sorting boxes" inside of our head—boxes that are labelled, as an example, good and bad.

Lawrence (2008) noted the problem with this treatment of prejudice is that "by focusing on the process of [brain] categorization, we normalize bias and make the content of white supremacy and the origins of that content irrelevant to the analysis" (p. 961). He explained what is at stake in this debate:

This view that bias or stereotype grows out of the “normal” cognitive process of categorization (from cognitive social theory in psychology) rather than out of learned prejudice suggests that none of us is responsible for our bias or for the discriminatory behaviour that results from that bias. How can we judge someone blameworthy for the normal functioning of the human brain? (p. 961)

And, of course, a focus on the categorization processes as the basis of the brain's perception-sorting operation ignores the fact that the category “boxes” inside our brains, indeed, have content. Lawrence (2008) added, “The content is what defines the categories and gives them meaning” (p. 961). The content of the categories is not, in fact, inherent to the human brain, Lawrence argued, but rather, is attributable to the outside world—a world ordered by racism, ableism, sexism, and so on—as well as the histories that underpin social discrimination. Lawrence made an important clarification pertaining to cognitive theory:

When cognitive theorists call racial bias normal, they refer to the normalcy of categorization—the fact that we all categorize as a way of making sense of the world.

When I say that racism is normal, I refer to the ubiquity of racism—to the fact that our categories are filled with a specific content: the ideology of white supremacy. (p. 961)

Lawrence's (2008) analysis is invaluable to those who work in the area of CRT and IB, as he clarifies brain categorization as a process that does not naturalize racial discrimination, but one that relies on the history and practice of anti-Black racism. And although the “racist content” of the human brain's categorization process is attributable to the social forces at work in the world, the human mind is also “extremely adept at control and regulation” (Viskontas & Mooney, 2014, “Racial Bias,” para. 6). The job of the highly complex frontal cortex, scientists note, is to make “complicated decisions and behave in socially appropriate ways,” regardless of

one's racist IBs (Viskontas & Mooney, 2014). The link between implicit and explicit biases is not causal, and scientists insist that the brain also grants human beings the ability to regulate their behaviour. Neuroscientist David Amodio, who studies the science of IB and brain biology, concludes that humans do not "have any good excuses for acting on their automatic biases" (Viskontas & Mooney, 2014).

Critical race theory and implicit bias training in action.

For the last 15 years, I have worked as an attorney, educator, and scholar of CRT. CRT, briefly, provides a critique of systemic racism that presumes both the universal presence of anti-Black racism in the US and Canada, and also the intentionality of the practice of racism (Backhouse, 1999; Crenshaw, 2011; Lawrence, 2008; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Although a few critical race scholars have written about IB (Delpit, 2012; Lai et al., 2013; Lawrence, 2008; Viscontas & Mooney, 2014), critical race studies are largely devoid of scholarship about the science and significance of IB and IB training in the context of racism. One can presume the tension between IB's focus on individual behaviour and CRT's focus on institutional racism is largely responsible for this paucity of research. Critical race scholars, namely, are concerned with the ways that institutions such as the law and courts, police departments, government agencies, and schools, as some examples, practice continuing forms of racial discrimination against groups of people to widely disproportionate effect.

Over the last 15 years, I have also understood and studied institutional anti-Black racism as an *intentional* practice that bears down upon the lives of Black people. My greatest concern in adhering to this belief about the intentionality of racism has been the logic of the inverse—that is, the tendency to absolve both responsibility and impact when a belief system or action is

labelled “lacking intent.” This is, of course, the decisive theoretical concern of critical race scholars who study the relationship between IB and racism (Lawrence, 2008).

Yet, as a longtime educator, education researcher, and mother of three Black children, I have also borne witness in all capacities to the kinds of unspoken biases that impact the lives of Black children in Canadian classrooms, distinct from white children. Throughout my graduate work over the past few years, I have had the great honour of creating and leading antibias trainings for secondary school students, teachers, and teaching supervisors. As a researcher and educator, I am also in constant conversation with preservice teachers, in-service teachers, and retired educators and principals. In all of these capacities, I have gained a well-coloured view of the ways in which research on Black children, schooling, racism, and IB animates itself within learning spaces. And this multilayered view, informed by intersecting vantage points, has led me to the conclusion that Canadian classrooms are supported by assumptions of universality and an erasure of Black life incapable of creating culturally self-affirming, preservationist spaces for Black students. Canadian classrooms are informed by the weight of Canada's schooling histories and practices which are heavy with anti-Black bias and violence. Canadian educators are not immune to the weight of this history.

My son's story taught me something I had, somewhat shamefully, not fully understood until its horror seeped into our home. Years of reviewing scholarship on Black children and schooling did not have the same impact, nor kindle the same exigency, as witnessing my son shrinking within his classroom. Listening to both his educator and principal label his depression and his clear articulation of fear during an interview with him, as “his own fault,” instilled a succinct and urgent feeling within me. When I pulled him from his class to homeschool him, I understood what a remarkable, unachievable act it was for most parents—particularly, most

single parents. Even though my son had never been physically assaulted or called a racially inflammatory word, his body and self-esteem bore the signs that the research data on Black boys and schooling confirms many times over (Delpit, 2012). The only thing missing was something “physical” in his schooling experience—a firm yank, an ear tug, or a call to the police for “assistance” with his behaviour. Perhaps those abuses never happened to him; I still sometimes wonder because my son is so very shy—so timid in fact that he still, now at 11-years old, often averts eye contact with friends and family members he has known his whole life. Yet, I know that a primary focus on physical aggression is dangerously naïve. Black children in Canada are assaulted in their schooling spaces regardless of their dispositions and often stilled to silence well into their adult years (Michaud, 2015; “Un Enseignant Agresse,” 2015).

My shifting belief in the effectiveness of IB training for educators in Canada and Québec stems from my son's schooling experience and, additionally, from my experience as a project coordinator for an online training module on IB and employment equity for my university. During my first few months, I spent my time scouring the scholarly literature on the history and science of IB. In my research, my study of the science of IB began to intersect with my understanding of the limitations of teaching the history of the practices of anti-Black racism in Canada, when most students and educators I interacted with in my classes and workshops had very little knowledge of this particular history and, thus, were incapable of critically thinking through the influence of the past on the present in a 2- or 3-hour workshop.

During this time, I also reviewed scholarship on IB, anti-Black bias, and schooling that I discovered in my research (Rudd, 2014; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2011). The relationship between IB, race, and schooling is devastating. Of note, is Skiba et al.'s pivotal 2000 study that assessed the reliability of the large body of literature that presents the disproportionality of

school punishment for Black boys. In the article, Skiba et al. set forth that the goal of the study is “to explore a number of alternative hypotheses that have been used to account for racial and gender disparities in school discipline” (p. 14). The study explored a number of alternatives to bias “as an explanation for gender, race, and socioeconomic disproportionality, and found that none were capable of accounting for *large and consistent disparities* [emphasis added] in the discipline of Black and white students” (Skiba et al., 2000, p. 18). In fact, the authors concluded, “In the absence of a plausible alternative hypothesis, it becomes likely that highly consistent statistical discrepancies in school punishment for Black and white students indicate a systematic and prevalent bias in the practice of school discipline” (Skiba et al., 2000, p. 19). In the study they noted, importantly, that the overrepresentation of Black boys in special education and lower-tiered classes has been shown to decrease as the representation of African Americans among the school faculty increases (Skiba et al., 2000, pp. 5–6). This correlation was also shown where Black educators were responsible for assessing the classroom behaviour of Black students. Black teachers consistently rated their Black students’ behaviour more favourably and often more favourably than white students’ (Downey & Pribesh, 2004). Both of these studies powerfully illustrated the link between IB and its detrimental impact on the lives of Black boys in school.

My detailed scholarly study of the science of IB also provided me with two tools that changed the way I structure my workshops. First, it taught me to lead with the authoritative weight of the science of IB, then introduce the critical race position that centres the labour of personal responsibility for IBs—what Lawrence (2008) labelled the “content” of our brain categorization boxes. This way of entering conversations about IB, racism, and personal responsibility, I quickly found, was disarming and engaging in a way that beginning a workshop

with the history of racism and white supremacy often was not. The language—the script, if you will—of IB is visual and easily transferable. The science of IB also proposes ameliorative solutions for educators and students that can be put into practice readily. Second, in my close review of the IB literature, I found that a more rigorous conversation about anti-Black racism centring the nature and persistence of white supremacy was obtainable still, but after the logic of science had done its work. I found that beginning with “hard” science allowed me to illustrate the fact of universal implicit human bias and allowed me to end, still, in the same place I desired—with a compelling discussion about the nature and intractability of white supremacy in North America. The feedback of gratitude I have received from new and retired educators, particularly, has been consistent. Finally now, I want to introduce what the large body of IB scholarship concludes about ameliorating IBs.

Ameliorating our implicit biases.

The science of IB has invested heavily in research that documents the interventions that are successful, in varying degrees, in ameliorating IBs in human beings. Science has studied how IBs are reduced both individually and institutionally. This final section focuses on methods that have been shown to reduce individual biases in human beings.

Recently, an important comprehensive study reviewed the large volume of studies on IB that proposed or touted interventions successful in shifting individual IB in human beings (Lai et al., 2014). Of the 17 prior pre-established and “tested” interventions for reducing IB, the study found that nine interventions, when retested with the IAT, failed to be effective at reducing individual IB in its test-takers. The categories of interventions that were retested and shown to have no influence on reducing IB were those that (a) engaged the perspective of another,

(b) appealed to egalitarian values, and (c) attempted to induce a sense of moral elevation in the participant (Lai et al., 2014, pp. 45–46).

Effective interventions (Lai et al., 2014, pp. 36–46) for reducing individual IB depended on creating conscious and intentional strategies to overcome biases. The study demonstrated the intentional strategy need not be intricate or complicated, but rather, simply *stating an intention* out loud that one would favour Black subjects at the start of the IAT, as an example, effectively reduced bias in comparison to a test taker who did not vocalize the same intention. A second successful intervention involved being exposed to counter-stereotypes about a group of people. Again, within the comprehensive study, something simple was shown to be quite effective. For instance, watching a Black man commit random acts of kindness in a video showed a reduction in IB later in the test. Finally, evaluative conditioning was shown to be effective in reducing individual human bias. This is a rather active and conscious intervention that involves engaging both thoughts and actions that counter stereotypes about groups. One effective example from the study used inversion as a counter stereotype, so, for instance, pairing Black faces with positive words and white faces with negative words.

The study also, significantly, noted the most effective interventions for reducing IB (Lai et al., 2014, pp. 41–42). These were interventions with a high degree of self-involvement and commitment to change. The three most effective interventions, the study found, leverage multiple mechanisms to increase their impact on implicit preferences. The most effective intervention, “Vivid Counterstereotypic Scenario,”

Involved the participant as the subject of the story, had the participant imagine his/her self under a highly threatening life-or-death situation, exposed participants to counterstereotypical exemplars (malevolent white villain, dashing Black hero) and

provided strategies to overcome bias (goal intentions to associate good with Black and bad with White) to reduce implicit preferences. (Lai et al., 2014, pp. 41–42)

Another example in the study included practicing the IAT with “Counterstereotypical Exemplars.” The authors explained,

Participants repeatedly practiced the combined response blocks of the race IAT that paired Black with Good and white with Bad. The reverse pairing associating Blacks with Bad did not appear during the intervention. The stimulus items representing Blacks and whites were the same as those used in the race IAT, plus six positive, well-known Black exemplars (e.g., Bill Cosby¹) and six negative White exemplars (e.g., Charles Manson). (Lai et al., 2014, p. 17)

Lai et al.'s (2014) study confirmed prior research demonstrating that exposure to positive Black and negative white exemplars can shift implicit racial preferences. Although the authors of the study noted the limitations of some of the interventions tested and affirmed within their study, they concluded,

A prerequisite for long-term change is short-term change. As such, it is efficient to first identify effects that work in the short term so as to focus long-term investigations on interventions that show initial promise. The present work offers a basis for selection for investigating durability of effective interventions. (Lai et al., 2014, p. 45)

The Kirwan Institute (2014), an academic institute focused on race, ethnicity, and bias, has also prepared a list of suggested interventions for school administrators and educators in overcoming IB. In addition to limiting “zero tolerance” policies to instances of strict magnitude, the Institute suggests trainings for educators that focus on teacher IB and the dilemma of “cultural deficient thinking” (Rudd, 2014, p. 2), expanding IB and cultural competency training

within teacher certification programs, implementing restorative justice models in schools, and eliminating out-of-school suspensions in favour of in-school suspension models that keep students in school.

Conclusion

Admittedly, there are few, if any, studies that document the impact of long-term IB training in the context of race on primary and secondary educators. There are, however, thousands of studies that confirm the universal existence of IB in all human beings, the persistence of anti-Black biases, and the relationship between IBs as thought and discriminatory action. The scholarship pertaining to Black youth and schooling in the US and Canada shares a common theme—that is, that Black children and adolescents experience schools in ways adversely distinct from white children. Black children are tracked into lower-tiered classes; are pushed out of school at higher rates than white children; are suspended, expelled, and referred to the police at higher rates than white children; and are referred to child welfare agencies more frequently than white school children. These rates of distinction are not insignificant. Rather, they exist in great disproportion, and they have existed within the institution of public schooling since the moment Black children were able to attend public schools with white children both in Canada and the US (J. Bertley, 1982; McLaren, 2004; Shepard, 1986; Silverman, 1985; Stanley, 2011; D. Williams, 1999; Winks, 1969; Yarmolinsky et al., 1981; Zellars, 2015b). These continued occurrences, I hold, are based upon the biases of educators and school staff who ultimately hold responsibility for placing evaluative judgments on the social and intellectual capabilities of Black children. Notably, most of these punitive occurrences, as well, are exercised against Black children by white educators (Carr & Klassen, 1997; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; National Center, 2008; Ryan, Pollock, & Antonelli, 2009). Researchers have found that

once Black students and white students are both placed with same-race teachers, and are similar on all the other covariates, Black students' classroom behaviour is assessed more positively (Downey & Pribesh, 2004).

In the context of our long, discriminatory schooling history, these studies show a correlation between the past and the present. They also point out the intractability of anti-Black racism in Canadian society, as well as signal the urgency for a new approach, systemically implemented, in governing and assessing our schooling relationship with Black Canadian children. Although I believe it is important not to supplant IB training for educators with the ongoing work to create transformative, self-reflective, and safer learning spaces for Black children, I advocate making annual IB trainings for all of our principals, in-service and pre-service educators, and teaching supervisors an integral part of one's professional certification.

¹ Given the five dozen women who now publicly accuse Bill Cosby of rape, his representation as "America's favourite dad" would no longer be included in the IAT scenario. See, for example, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/lifestyle/cosby-women-accusers/>

Conclusion

Although this dissertation is focused on anti-Blackness historically in the context of Canadian public schooling, this project is, most broadly, an attempt to think through a useful racial discourse for Canada. As a researcher, I am constantly reflecting upon the following question: *How may one begin to conceive of Canada's anti-Black racism as fully complementary to its nation-making project?*

Throughout this project, I have theorized the ways that the history of Canadian public schooling in the 19th century is a site through which to understand two important logics that typify the character of anti-Black racism in Canada. The first acknowledges Canada's history of anti-Black racism made legible in its legal responses to restrictions upon Black life in the US and to Black migration itself. In the context of public schooling, a second important racial logic reveals the kind and function of Jim Crow violence that is integral to its anti-Blackness. Canadian legal scholar Constance Backhouse (1999) and historian James Walker (1997) have similarly written that Jim Crow practices of white terror, racial segregation, and exclusion akin to those in the US were practiced within nearly every Canadian institution after the end of slavery in the British empire in 1834.

By centring Black children's bodies in my work, I have aimed to illuminate a historical fallacy about Black history that Canada has sustained upon the bodies of its most vulnerable migrant population historically. Simply, I believe that the harsh intolerances that befell Black children in the context of public schooling for over 100 years serve as clarifying examples through which to detail, more fully, the violence of Canada's history of anti-Black racism. This history, I believe, is essential for understanding modern histories of schooling violence experienced by Black children.

Critical geographer Rashad Shabazz (2015) draws our attention to the term “technologies of cruelty” (p. 6) as a way of describing the mechanisms, institutions, and spaces that have preserved Black un-freedoms in the afterlife of slavery (Hartman, 2008). Thus, my term “bleeding geography” also classifies the kindred relationship of anti-Black violence between the US and Canada. Canada has—as a nation—fashioned a narrative of anti-racism that relies on an absence of plantation slavery and lynching histories and also acclaims the nation a welcoming terminus for the thousands of Black refugees that crossed the border into Canada between 1830 and 1900 (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010).

Yet, Canada's most salient expressions of anti-Blackness—white supremacist violence, threats of lynching, anti-Black legal restrictions, and all of the varying manifestations of Jim Crow violence—occurred within the context of geography and migration when Black migration to Canada was at its apogee (Mathieu, 2010; B. Walker, 2010). Black migration north was a movement of the bones—specifically, movement away from something trying to kill Black people, a movement guided also with the blessing of ancestors, elders, and those too old, too set, or too fragile to flee (Wilkerson, 2010). As the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act proposed the radical expansion of the geography of enslavement throughout the northern US—thus, prompting increases of Black migration to Canada—the nation responded by legally institutionalizing inferior, segregated schools for Black children. Expressions of racial violence “bled back” across the border, as well. Again, the site of migration is illustrative.

The peak of Black migration from the US in the 19th century coincided with the creation of Canada's first public schooling system. Public schooling throughout the nation, thus, served in itself as a “technology of cruelty”—to now build upon Rashad Shabazz's term—that extended the condition of terror in the lives of Black refugees fleeing chattel slavery and Jim Crow in the

US. The law reinforced this work. Practices of anti-Black discrimination in Canada did not appear, de jure, within the letter of the law in ways akin to the US. Think here briefly of the 1896 decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, in which the US Supreme Court held that separate railway cars for Black citizens and White citizens were constitutional. Although the history of Canadian jurisprudence does not have such an equivalent, it does have a legacy of affirming racial difference through colourblind legal language and de facto social practices that were external to—yet supported by—the law itself. Historically, de facto anti-Black discrimination throughout Canada has been practiced in two primary trends: first, through the implementation and sustenance of colourblind codes, laws, and policies that yielded racially discriminatory impacts, and secondly, through the discriminatory behaviours of its citizens and state actors—mayors, prime ministers, and judges—that the law permitted. Public schooling served as a meeting place for these dual practices.

Within the history of anti-Black public schooling discrimination throughout Canada, I am also interested in the ways that the past informs the present. Critical race theory serves as a useful tool for describing the ways that histories of schooling violence continue to impact pedagogical practices, hiring policies, and the attitudes of schooling administrators and educators (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Canadian CRT presumes a history of transnational institutional anti-Black racism in North America, refuses to beleaguer conversations that demand proof its existence, and describes the persistence of institutional anti-Black racism as it appears in the present. In both the US and Canada, characterizing the persistence of anti-Black racism in the context of public schooling entails using CRT to also theorize the force of colourblind anti-Blackness. CRT, in part, also theorizes the ways that histories are erased. Thus, Chapter 6, which focused on the historic realities of anti-Black racism

in Montréal's public schools, is both documentary and also a critical act of resistance against the erasure of the transformative contributions made by Black educators to the city's public schooling systems since the mid-20th century (Williams, 1997).

Finally, I have developed and employed CRT as a theory of pragmatism (Crenshaw, 2011) that offers approaches for ameliorating current practices of institutional anti-Black racism. As such, this project ends with one approach—mandatory IB training—that takes into account Canada's unique social realities and narrow history curricula that sustain, to again quote Dionne Brand, a “stupefying Canadian innocence” (Backhouse, 1999, p. 14). Although I do not pretend that training alone will act as a panacea to the ongoing practices of anti-Black violence in the nation's schools, I advocate making annual IB trainings for all of the nation's principals, in-service and pre-service educators, and teaching supervisors an integral part of one's professional certification.

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