elision, silence, and metaphor, if political action requires unifying symbols and slogans, then surely we are all guilty of miseducation (p. 342). Postmodernists recognized that problem as early as the 1970s, but with the exception of Donald Warren's historiographical essay, *Miseducation* spends little time examining self-deceptions or half-truths propagated in good faith or put to worthy ends. It offers only passing insight into the most sacred and intellectually stultifying of educational institutions, the family, or the role that the public itself plays in perpetuating ignorance. What of Richard Hofstadter's claim that America is hostile to critical thought not despite but because of its democratic traditions, with attendant questions about equality, conformity, and the role of expertise in a free society? And what about the constructive uses of ignorance by educators themselves: the affected naïveté with which Socrates leads his interlocutors through their errors, the "noble lies" that Plato equates with justice and social harmony, or the veil of deception with which Rousseau cultivates his students' independence? When future scholars take up Angulo's call to study ignorance—as they should—I would encourage them to foreground unexpected and uncomfortable questions, lest they conclude that more information will in itself dispel ignorance or that they are somehow immune from the blindness that they condemn in others. The unfortunate truth is that assumptions can go unscrutinized within academia as often as they do outside of it.

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Thomas D. Fallace. *Race and the Origins of Progressive Education, 1880–1929*. New York: Teachers College Press, 2015. 216 pp. Paper $42.95.

Thomas Fallace presents a rigorous intellectual history of race and the development of the progressive education movement from 1880 to 1929. In tracing the intellectual development of key thinkers and their influence on educational policy, curriculum, and administration, he uncovers some major intellectual shifts. In particular, he highlights a move from "a belief in the biological-anatomical inferiority of non-Whites to a belief in the sociocultural inferiority of non-Whites" (p. 6). While the group of sociologists, educators, and educational psychologists that Fallace studied diverged greatly, he underscores how they shared a presumption that nonwhite groups were plagued by a lack of sociocultural development.

The book's core arguments are framed by the theory of "recapitulation," which presumes that "the development of the individual retraced

the sociological history of the human race, and that non-White social groups represented an earlier, inferior status" (p. 7). In other words, the theory presented a hierarchical view of social groups, ranking them based on how they measured against Western standards of civilization. Fallace contends that the educational ideal of "child-centeredness" emerged from this theory of recapitulation and ethnocentrism. By exploring the thinking of key scholars across disciplines, he demonstrates how recapitulation "dominated the production and dissemination of professional knowledge in the social sciences and education" (p. 33). These thinkers directly influenced the development of the new education. To substantiate the crosscurrents of these intellectual ideas in the world of educators, Fallace offers analyses of textbooks, reports from committees formed by the National Association of Education, writings by influential figures of progressive education, and more.

The book is divided into six chapters, which are more thematic than chronological. Fallace begins by presenting the intellectual context in which the progressive education movement began during the late nineteenth century and how the prevalent ideas on race were generated from the theory of recapitulation. He then charts how this theory was operationalized through policy for nonwhites in the United States and territories under U.S. control. In the third chapter, Fallace shows how the theory of recapitulation informed broader educational reforms to address urban crises as white immigrant populations grew in American cities. The three final chapters explore the development of race and educational reform during the World War I period through the late 1920s. Some educational and social science thinkers came to rely on statistical models of intelligence and heredity, others maintained a belief in the sociological deficiency of nonwhites, and finally, a small number expressed a more radical view of cultural relativity in which all human groups were believed to be equally civilized.

The first systematic educational application of the recapitulation theory can be seen in the education offered to Native Americans and southern blacks around the turn of the twentieth century (p. 38). Ironically, while boarding schools and the Hampton-Tuskegee model appear to clash alongside John Dewey's general theory of child-centered education and learning by doing, Fallace shows how, paradoxically, the theory of recapitulation informed them all. The theory "reinforced White supremacy in explicit and implicit ways" and at the same time justified "a more humane, child-centered approach to education" (p. 35). This is an inherent dilemma that Fallace brings to the attention of his readers.

Textbooks and school literature during these early years of progressive education disseminated ideas about racial hierarchy to students and often drew directly upon the theory of recapitulation. Fallace

references books such as *Peter Pan* by James Barrie to show how these texts had literary value but also communicated ideas about what "premodern life was like" so that students could "compare and contrast it with the civilized world" (p. 74). Thus, he maintains the reference to the savage-civilized scale of development as an analytic. Similarly, "the most popular textbooks of the period included references to the biological and sociological deficiency of people of color" (p. 81). Fallace captures how, even when the reports by educational leaders and the content of textbooks and literature did not address the topic of race head-on, they reflected the hidden ethnocentric assumptions of the period (p. 82).

Fallace notes a subtle shift between 1900 and 1916, when some scholars began to take more of an anthropologically informed approach to the theory of recapitulation, John Dewey included. They came to believe that the sociological deficiency of less-developed social groups was a result of learned behavior or was environmentally informed (p. 59). A more dramatic shift took place after World War I. "Between 1915 and 1925, most educators slowly replaced the hierarchical language of savagery-barbarianism-civilization with the allegedly more scientific, quantitative language of innate intelligence and heredity" (p. 102). Nonetheless the "savage-barbarian-civilization hierarchy" that traced the linear stages of human development maintained its application as a commonsensical ordering system, even if the language and assessment methods shifted. Thus, there was a shift from the theory of recapitulation to heredity and eugenics; this took place alongside the development of Frantz Boas's more radical assertion of cultural relativity.

Fallace is clear to point out that there were dissenting views that challenged the fundamental ideals of recapitulation—in particular, the anthropological school of thought under Boas. Boas and his associates developed the alternative perspective of cultural relativity, which charged that social groups should be viewed independently through their own unique histories and contexts rather than relying on a prescribed sociological hierarchy. Additionally, cultural pluralists such as W. E. B. Du Bois and others presented a more inclusive ideology, which suggested that all social groups in the United States made contributions to a pluralistic transnational culture, thus challenging the ethnocentricity of white thinkers (p. 109). The cultural gifts movement of the 1920s also embodied this cultural pluralism. However, Boas's conception of cultural relativity, which also asserted that all human groups were equally civilized, was never fully embraced during these years of progressive education.

Ultimately, Fallace makes the bold claim that the cultural-deficit thinking regarding nonwhite students began with sociologist Lester Frank Ward and pre-1916 John Dewey (p. 145). While Dewey and

Ward are often positioned to have had an egalitarian approach to race and education, broadly speaking, "they nevertheless espoused a belief in the sociological inferiority of non-White groups" (p. 146). Thus, this author challenges scholars of education to recognize how the previous labeling of pioneering educational thinkers such as John Dewey as egalitarian continues to obscure how he, among others, helped sustain white supremacist ideology. Fallace also challenges readers to consider the fact that child-centeredness, which continues to be a primary pillar in progressive education, directly stems from the theory of recapitulation, which considers nonwhite adults and white children to be mentally equivalent (p. 11).

Perhaps one aspect of the text that could have been more developed was the treatment of scholars of color. I found this area to be thin in presentation and analysis. A deeper engagement with the intellectual thought of men and women of color, who challenged notions of recapitulation (which Fallace does acknowledge) could have provided useful balance and more complicated understandings of their diverse perspectives. For instance, Carter G. Woodson was grouped with all scholars of color as "the pluralists" who "focused their discussion of culture on the contributions of the educated, urban elite of each marginalized group, but were dismissive of their agrarian, premodern populations" (p. 108). It is slightly reductive to clump the intellectual thought of all scholars of color into this one category. A deeper engagement with Woodson would have challenged the idea that he believed that "pre-modern" African groups were not "sociologically valuable" (p. 122). Woodson's *The Negro in Our History* (1922) and *African Heroes and Heroines* (1944) present his thinking in a manner that directly challenges this idea. At times, Woodson's treatment of premodern African groups closely mirrored Boas' notion of relativity, and these two scholars were closely affiliated. Boas attended Woodson's annual meetings of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History in the early 1920s and even served on the board of this organization during the late 1920s. More details on this relationship can be found in the notes section of Woodson's *Journal of Negro History*.

Overall, this book makes a great contribution to the history of race and education. The text is written with great clarity, and the author's central claims are lucidly stated throughout. This intellectual history is necessary for teachers and educational scholars to develop a conceptual understanding of how prevailing white supremacist ideology shaped the policy and orientation of dominant educational thinkers. Fallace highlights how residual effects of recapitulation even showed up in the scholars we often remember as the most forward thinking of their time. Furthermore, he raises questions about how these ideals persist as we continue to borrow from these intellectuals. This is an important

text that explores some of the inherent contradictions of progressive education.

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Leah N. Gordon. *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015. 257 pp. Hardcover $45.00.

In this carefully designed, exhaustively researched, and persuasively argued book, Leah Gordon reveals the monumentally important but previously occluded history of how social science research on race in the mid-twentieth century came to revolve around questions of prejudice rather than around conditions of power. Gordon shows how foundation funding, the politics of postwar knowledge production, and a rightward drift in the national political culture all worked in concert to promote what she names as *racial individualism*, an approach that promotes an understanding of racism as private, personal, individual, and aberrant. Within the frame of racial individualism, discrimination and rights violations are seen to stem from intentional acts by people with irrational beliefs or from mutual miscommunications and misunderstandings. Social scientists using this approach seek to identify the personality traits that lead to bigotry, to measure the degrees and dimensions of intergroup tensions, and to propose practices that could lead to changes in individual attitudes.

Gordon's research helps us see how racism acquires its determinate social meanings through what Michael Omi and Howard Winant call *racial projects* that produce historically and socially specific forms of racial formation. In demonstrating how racial individualism worked to protect and promote the unearned advantages of whiteness, Gordon shows how scholars and civic leaders focused on the moral and psychological frames deployed by Gunnar Myrdal in *An American Dilemma* while ignoring his extended arguments on behalf of social democratic economic and political reforms. She explores the ways in which ties to southern white "moderates" led administrators at the Rockefeller Foundation to support scholars who framed debates in ways that accommodated segregation. In a similar vein, Gordon discloses how the efforts by the Committee on Education, Training, and Research in Race Relations at the University of Chicago to measure racial tensions by studying the attitudes of white individuals precluded analysis of the coordinated and collective actions of social collectives,