

# Qualifying Examination Proposal and Annotated Bibliography

The focus of my qualifying exam is the historiography of anti-black racism in the Canadian medical profession with specific attention to the ways historical texts accomplish ideological work. I am motivated to understand the exclusion of Black trainees from the Canadian medical profession in the period from 1900 to 1970 with specific focus on the micro-historiographical analysis of texts and anti-texts of Queen's University's ban of black medical students from 1918 to 1965 (and its de jure continuance as a university policy position until 2018).

My anticipated doctoral research begins with an archival analysis of the Queen's ban and construction of a revisionist history. It then compares the product of my historical revision to the official and unofficial histories and counter-histories of the ban in the years 1918 to 2018 (prior to my own interventions). Analyses of these texts and related texts of anti-black racism in medicine provide a context for analyzing the ideological work of history in discursive practice. To accomplish this analysis, I propose a theoretical intervention in historiographical method away from structural taxonomy and towards cultural practices of signification and representation. This proposed method synthesizes methods from discourse analysis, reception theory, and articulation theory to enable an extensible model of medical history and medical culture as mutually co-constitutive of subject positions in medical practice (i.e., ideology informed by history). This method could, in practice, be applied to any other identifiable corpora of historical texts or cultural spaces.

I expect to orient my Qualifying Examination essay (and the annotated bibliography appended to this document) around two key research questions:

- 1) How have historical texts of anti-black racism in Canadian medicine served to construct culturally important norms within the profession?<sup>1</sup>
- 2) By what mechanism(s) might such historical texts do ideological work (*where ideology is understood to be a reproducible system of collective representation that acts to guide/constrain intersubjectivity?*)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is a broader framing of the question I expect to answer in my dissertation: "What did the recurring elisions within the narrative of the Queen's medical ban against Black students do to the historical understanding of that specific policy and of the construction of a Canadian historical narrative of anti-black racism in medicine?"

<sup>2</sup> Intersubjectivity is understood here to align with the early 20th Century definition provided by Edmund Husserl's 1913 "Path to a Pure Phenomenology", which anticipates the interaction of multiple subjectivities in human perception. The definition of ideology as "normative guidelines for intersubjectivity," is my own and has been defined to allow for an extensible method of analysis of the ideological work of history, or any other cultural text. Specifically, I take "Intersubjectivity" to encompass the frameworks by which one subject comprehends another, inclusive of subject legitimation, delegitimation, or hierarchical ordering. This extensible definition of ideology and

The narrow goal of this work is to reconstruct the history of the Queen's ban of Black medical students from 1918–1965. The broader goal is to use this microhistorical case study to understand methods of historicizing anti-black racism in Canadian medicine and the impact of such historicization. The broadest goal of this work is to better understand how historical texts become ideologically valent, dominant, contested, or even overthrown.

This project draws upon archival sources, secondary source histories of anti-Black racism in medicine, and on canonical literature from disciplinary historiography (source criticism, structural analysis & narrativity, constructionism, and philosophy of history); ideology (hegemony, interpellation, discourse analysis); Black Studies, Structural Criticism, Critical Theory (literary, sociological, and racial), and key aspects of Stuart Hall's cultural studies theorization (representation & signifying practices, articulation, materialist approaches to textual encoding and decoding within reception theory). *I also categorize these works according to one category of scholarly objects (historical texts) and three categories of methodological approaches to those objects (Structural and poststructural criticism, ideological analysis, and epistemological critique).*

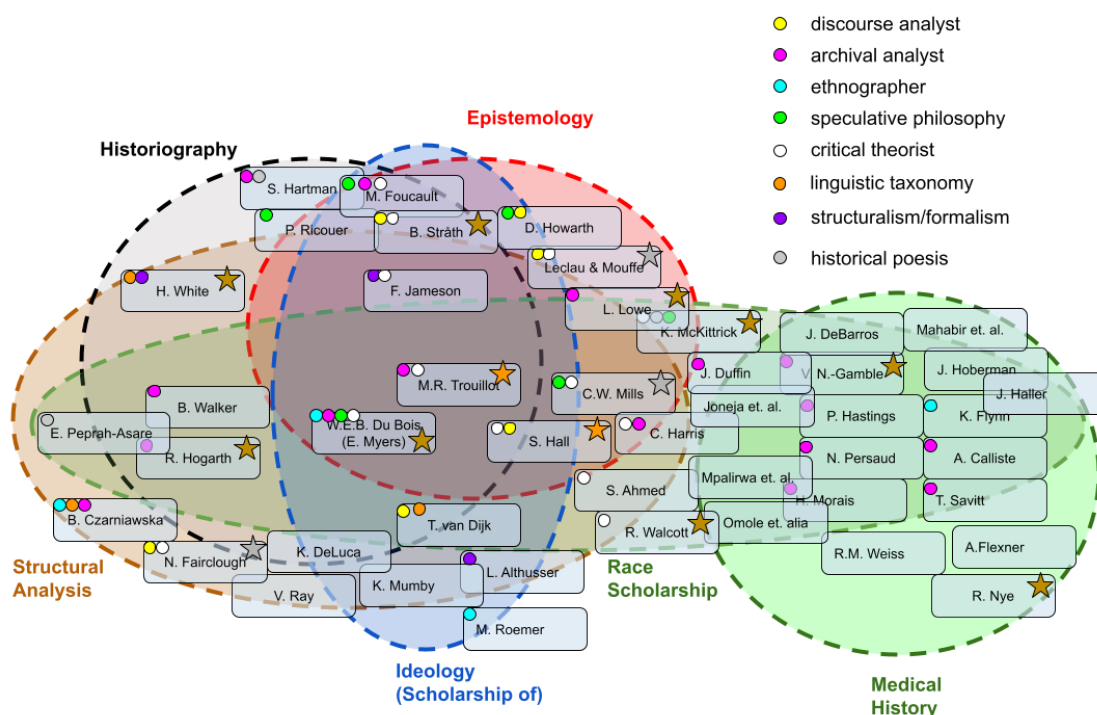


Figure 1: Distribution of authors across six categories of scholarly focus. (See the link at: [https://docs.google.com/drawings/d/1txMoOH76eLl\\_HvSUpybQRW8yYzMCM4ar94CUVRhUWCO/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/drawings/d/1txMoOH76eLl_HvSUpybQRW8yYzMCM4ar94CUVRhUWCO/edit?usp=sharing))

This work requires a thorough understanding of the existing historical text of Blackness in the Canadian medical profession. Much of this literature is grounded in a broader framework of medical racism in the United States, which is highly relevant for

intersubjectivity is broad enough to facilitate complex intersubjective exchanges. A detailed description of this proposed method is contained in an unpublished [working paper](#).

Canada in the years 1910–1956 when the American Medical Association set the standards for education and licensure in both countries. The most important authors in this space are Rana Hogarth, Vanessa Northington Gamble, Robert Baker and Aisha Lofters. The sub-topical readings within this body of work include: a) the historical role of medical science as a site for legitimizing constructions of racial difference; b) the construction of the medical profession as an anti-black social space; c) the counter-hegemonic history of Black physicians, and d) the consequences and continuing sites of contestation over the material ramifications of a racialized anti-black medical profession. An additional body of research concerning anti-black racism in the Canadian nursing profession in the 1940–1970 era is used to better understand anti-blackness among Canadian physicians, which is otherwise unaddressed in peer-reviewed literature, but is important for understanding the cultural-historiographical consequences of anti-black medical policies such as the Queen's 1918 ban. Key researchers of the 1940–1970 nursing history include Agnes M. Calliste and Karen C. Flynn

The next important group of readings concerns the analysis of cultural texts, (broadly), and historical texts specifically (historiography). The most influential of the historiographical scholars on this list are Michel-Rolph Trouillot, Hayden White and Paul Ricoeur. These readings in historiography are selected for their primary emphasis on the illumination of epistemological issues affecting: the creation and consumption of historical texts (archival erasure, archival elision, group interest motivated irrationality, etc.); methods of structural analysis of text (formalistic, linguistic, narratological, etc.); and the phenomenological hermeneutics of history relevant to cultural production and ideological patterning.

Readings in ideology are selectively chosen to focus on extensible definitions of the term (e.g., “ideology” as cognitive structures with legitimizing functions, per Stråth's definition). The most important authors in this group of readings are Stuart Hall, Charles Wade Mills<sup>3</sup>, Teun van Dijk, Fredric Jameson and Bo Ståth. These readings deal with mechanisms of ideological historicization and processes by which textual objects engage such processes. A key goal of these readings is to elucidate a working definition of ideology that is suitable to answering the Qualifying Exam questions, as well as those of a doctoral thesis.

Readings from Critical Theoretic traditions span a broad range of power critiques from Cultural Studies and Sociology. These include Marxist, Feminist, Critical Race and Critical Literary scholars. These include most of the epistemological and structuralist methodologists in this bibliography. Very careful attention has been placed on the work of Stuart Hall, whose work in the field of reception theory and whose materialist approach to Articulation and cultural production strongly informs the author's own interventions in modelling the phenomena of historical text as intersubjective

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<sup>3</sup> Charles Wade Mills was not explicitly a scholar of ideology, but he was a political philosopher engaged in a career-long critique of liberalism as a model of intersubjective norms. He is centred here because of his close attention to the epistemological consequences of subject power asymmetry in the historicization of liberalism as an ideology of Modernism.

ordering. Much of this work is rooted in critical analyses and applications of this work by other scholars. Additional work from interdisciplinary scholars<sup>4</sup>, organizational studies<sup>5</sup>, Critical Race Theory<sup>6</sup>, postcolonial theory<sup>7</sup>, neo-Marxism<sup>8</sup>, and the Black Radical Tradition<sup>9</sup> is surveyed with particular attention paid to the way scholars in these traditions problematize historiographical practices within white-normative racial epistemes, along with the ideological implications of these practices. Arguments from these scholars inform the candidate's approach to a cultural-production model of historiographical analysis, and particular attention is paid to the late-career works of Charles Wade Mills, who critiqued the motivated ignorance required to de-racialize liberal modernist ideology.

I anticipate that the exercise of answering questions of the Qualifying Exam will accelerate the theoretical portions of my doctoral research, whose primary and secondary aims are:

- a) establish a disciplined historical account of the race ban at Queen's Medicine and situate it within a broader phenomenology of anti-black racism within Canadian and North American medical history, and;
- b) provide a theoretically extensible<sup>10</sup> model of the creation, consumption and reproduction of historical text used to discursively establish, entrench or disrupt an ideology<sup>11</sup>.

With the input of examiners, I suggest that a Qualifying Examination question suited to situate work cited in my annotated bibliography to the above research aims could be: **“What is the historiography of anti-Black racism in Canadian medicine in the 1900-2000 era, and how might the construction of such history be understood to have affected the profession's culture?”**

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

**Ahmed, Sara. 2007. “A Phenomenology of Whiteness.” *Feminist Theory* 8 (2): 149–68.**

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<sup>4</sup> Katherine McKittrick, Robert Nye, John Hoberman,

<sup>5</sup> Barbara Czarniawska, Yiannis Gabriel

<sup>6</sup> Cheryl Harris, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Derrick Bell

<sup>7</sup> Frantz Fanon, Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said

<sup>8</sup> Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe

<sup>9</sup> W. E. B. Du Bois, Cedric Robinson, Ella Myers

<sup>10</sup> “Extensible” in this context specifically addresses the problem of causative underspecification in prevailing models of ideological action on subjects. The problem of theorizing Marxist politics as a strictly economic phenomenology is one example of such underspecification (“overdetermination” in the parlance of Marxist scholar Louis Althusser). My doctoral research aims to develop a fully tractible method of theoretic Articulation to address this problem that avoids recourse to any form of poststructuralist capitulation (i.e., ideology work of historical text is impossible to know, on the grounds that the tools used to inscribe such analysis are wholly contingent and therefore unstable).

<sup>11</sup> This is motivated by a simple question: “How does history do ideological work?” There is very little work addressing the discursive role of historical text in the social development or maintenance of ideology, which I define as “normative rules governing intersubjectivity,” which militates from more broadly used definitions, which I paraphrase here as: “cognitive structures with legitimizing functions,” or “frameworks for resolving the psychological anxiety of resolving self-identity in complex societies”.

- *The main topic or focus*

Sara Ahmed explores the ways in which institutionalized whiteness is practised, encountered and comprehended (emphasis on academic environments). Her particular concern is the extent and durability of white-racial normativity as a foundational structure in institutional life.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Ahmed argues that whiteness is best understood as a manifestation of social space that habitually establishes and maintains racially normative habitus that deems non-white bodies as anti-normative.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Ahmed points to the work of Franz Fanon to establish how a social space cultivated by whiteness (racialized white normativity) can disrupt any anti-normative “body”<sup>12</sup> within its proximity, thereby reinforcing whiteness even in the absence of any formal intent to do so. This lends credence to her treatment of whiteness as (predominantly) habitually established rather than consciously established in society.

Ahmed also points to Pierre Bourdieu’s model of Habitus and Field as a means for characterizing the habitually-driven emergence, maintenance, and reproduction of whiteness as a social space.

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

Ahmed is a phenomenologist, who builds on Althusser’s model of Interpellation to suggest that whiteness (white normativity<sup>13</sup>) enacts modes of recruitment (hailing) of bodies for alignment with the habits, norms, and expectations of white normativity. Her interest in this essay is understanding the conscious experience of this space inside of bodies that whiteness marks as anti-normative.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

This essay considers the phenomenology of encounter with racially normative history, as an “inheritance” of whiteness that is both received and re-constructed by bodies. This concern with the historicity of whiteness is both useful in approaching the question of “how” the production and circulation of history might do ideological work, as well as suggesting how individual actors might experience such history.

**Althusser, Louis. 1969. “Contradiction and Overdetermination.” In *For Marx*. The Penguin Press.**

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<sup>12</sup> “Body” is used here to denote a de-racialized framework of the Black Body, which is a sociohistorical object of analysis, through which the Black subject is assigned racial identity and whose subjectivity becomes racialized. I am using the broad term “body” to make clear the distinctions between racialized bodies and non-racialized (e.g. white-normative) bodies.

<sup>13</sup> My practice is to refer to the presence of whiteness as “white normativity,” as an acknowledgement that white racial identity also shares



- *The main topic or focus*

Althusser's essay provides a detailed argument that Marxist dialectical materialism & determinism is not a mere inversion of Hegelian dialectics, but a much more complex commitment to complex and overlapping causative dynamism in dealing with historical contradictions. "overdetermination" characterizes this materialist approach to causation, where external realities drive historical processes rather than coalesce toward some ideal state to which history inevitably leans<sup>14</sup>. In describing this complexity, Althusser argues for a more contingent and multi-agent approach to economically reductionist Marxist philosophy, one that includes cultural history, politics and ideology.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Althusser suggests that Hegelian dialectics and Marxist dialectics cannot be mere inversions of each other, owing to the fundamental difference in the two traditions' understanding of historical contradictions, whether antagonistic and non-antagonistic. Marxist conceptions of contradiction are radically different owing to their requirement for "overdetermination" representing a host of multiple, material and historically contingent causes of societal change. Hegelian contradiction cannot be overdetermined because it arises historically as a bounded state of consciousness that is ultimately beholden to a ideal end state rather than a consequence of complex external realities<sup>15</sup>.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Althusser demonstrates how the internal logic of Hegelian dialectics thwarts material overdetermination by describing the path from thesis, antithesis and synthesis as a kind of pre-determined narrative, where contradictions are simple ruptures in states of consciousness leading to a final historical end-state of consciousness. Marxism, which has its own predictive commitments with respect to the direction of history – views historical development as a consequence of contradictions rooted in material reality and does not, in principle, presuppose either a specific end-state of social consciousness, nor its ultimate material condition.

Althusser takes care to acknowledge the failures of classical Marxist historical materialism to anticipate the importance and agency of non-economic causation and makes the case that its most rigid ideas need to yield to overdetermination as a more nuanced approach to historical contradiction (e.g., ideology, tradition, culture should be understood as emerging from and also informing economic life).

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Althusser was a neo-Marxist aiming to reconfigure material determinism in less rigid forms than classical Marxists. This reconfiguration aims to deal with

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<sup>14</sup> "Overdetermination" is a terminology Althusser introduces to refer to the multiple and overlapping causes of historically relevant events. Specifically, Althusser is considering multiple levels of societal phenomena (economics, ideology, politics) affected by multiple material conditions and how the contradictions of these multiple layers of interactions interact with each other.

<sup>15</sup> When Hegel speaks of historical thesis, antithesis, and synthesis, he does so under an assumption of an overshoot/undershoot/equilibrium that must resolve in a permanent stable equilibrium. Marxism predicts an economically driven transformation from capitalism to socialism to communism, but it does not suggest a necessarily stable or history-ending communism immune from further change.

Marxism's failures to anticipate failures in Marxist Leninism in the 20th Century and to rehabilitate dialectical materialism as a robust and promising intellectual framework for addressing problems of human societies.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Althusser's essay was a highly influential call to action to develop a structured, complex and multi-factor historical materialism outside of a strict economic framing. In particular, it called for the inclusion of humanist insights rooted in material practices rather than idealist constructs. This call to action was largely taken up in earnest by the proponents of Articulation Theory (Stuart Hall, Ernesto LaClau and Chantal Mouffe), which develops overdetermination, but does not, I argue, structure it in the ways Althusser advocated. My work aims to adopt ideas from Overdetermination and Articulation into an historiographical method that allows a materially driven approach to modelling the ideological work done by historical text.

Althusser's critique of Hegel is also useful to my work insofar as I am developing an historiographical method outside of narrative tropism and other structural taxonomic analysis, as these are prone to anthropological idealism that can be as historically reductive as Hegelian idealism (e.g., supporting the concept of an "End of History").

**Anderson, Elijah. 2015. "The White Space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1 (1): 10–21.**

- *The main topic or focus*

The author presents a contemporary ethnographic perspective on Black people navigating normatively white-racialized physical spaces.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Anderson argues that persistent failure of racial integration in contemporary American institutional life is linked to the social distance created by white socialization of Black absence as a marker of safety from urban decay. Even within the "cosmopolitan canopy" of ostensibly racially diverse spaces, the association of Black subjectivity with physical threat affects Black people's comfort and performances in such spaces as well as white people's comfort with Black subjects and reception of Black people's performances in such spaces.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Anderson traces the history of white spaces and Black spaces, arguing that spatial division of Black people established by slavery in America has been propagated by the post-Emancipation racial caste system, and that the social logics of this system have only been legally overturned, but have been culturally retained.

Anderson observes the social behaviour of white and Black people in normative white spaces to describe a pattern of Black social performances and negotiations required to acquire the cultural and social capital required in excess of legal rights to make beneficial use of white spaces. These manifest as reflexive moments of white suspicion or evasion, Black avoidances or

engagements, Black respectability performances, racial affinity mapping and other patterns of spatial politics.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Anderson is a sociologist most known for his ethnographic work of African Americans in urban settings. He is largely engaged in the social research of entrenched systemic racism and its role in thwarting racial equity in the post Civil Rights era of the United States.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Anderson's synthesis of W. E. B. Du Bois' model of double consciousness and Erving Goffman's dramaturgical model of impression management provides a useful model for interpreting the manoeuvrings of Black historical actors in my work as they navigated historical white spaces (W. E. B. Du Bois 1903; Goffman 1956). Recognizing the historical contingency of my analysis, Anderson's scaffolding on Du Bois' work provides near synchrony for my archival sources<sup>16</sup>.

**Baker, Robert B., Harriet A. Washington, Ololade Olakanmi, Todd L. Savitt, Elizabeth A. Jacobs, Eddie Hoover, and Matthew K. Wynia. 2008. "African American Physicians and Organized Medicine, 1846–1968: Origins of Racial Divide." *JAMA: The Journal of the American Medical Association* 300 (3): 306–13.**

- *The main topic or focus*

The American Medical Association comes to terms with its legacy of anti-black racial discrimination in the medical profession in the United States.

- *The thesis or main argument*

The organized and systematic exclusion of Black people from practising medicine, through both official policies and unofficial discrimination, has resulted in limited institutional participation and poor health outcomes for Black patients in the United States since the mid-19th century. Despite the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the gradual reintegration of Black practitioners into the medical profession, these health disparities continue to persist in the present day.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The paper traces the institutional origins of the exclusion of Black people from the profession of medicine, coinciding with the professionalization of medicine in the United States in the mid-19th century. The paper also links the decline of Black participation in the profession (including the American Medical Association policy driven by the Flexner Report of 1910) to increasingly asymmetrical health outcomes for Black patients, who presumably would have been treated by Black physicians if they had not been excluded from the profession in the first place.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

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<sup>16</sup> Indeed, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois himself emerges as an actor in my historical research, as a long-term associate of Robert W. Bailey (Queen's Meds' 1904) and as an arms' length influence of Dr. Albion S. Chance (Queen's Meds' 1919).



The paper focuses on a historiographical analysis aimed at situating the current state of the practice of medicine in the United States with respect to its construction as part of a state-mediated racial project. The authors, Baker, Washington, and Savitt, are well-established historians of medical racism in the United States, and the remaining authors are practising physicians actively involved in anti-racism work within the profession. This paper provides a relatively high-level, cursory history of key actors, such as the American Medical Association, and high-profile instances of racially motivated medical malpractice, exclusion of Blacks from the practice of the profession, and widespread disparities in the care of Black patients in the United States compared to the care of white patients.

- *The relationship of the source to my essay*

This paper was written with the participation and cooperation of the American Medical Association, a principal historical actor in North American medical discrimination based on race, and also a key institutional influence in the Queen's 1918-1965 ban. It represents an institutionally legitimized and authenticated historical account of presumed root causes of racially mediated health disparities. I will use this as a key starting point in building a more robust historiographical methodology of the ideological work of historical texts about racism in medicine.

**Blishen, Bernard R. 1969. *Doctors and Doctrines: The Ideology of Medical Care in Canada*. University of Toronto Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

The author examines physicians' ideological resistance to the broader scheme of national public health care enabled after the Royal Commission on Healthcare Services concluded its work in 1964.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Blishen argues that doctors struggle to balance their desire for professional autonomy and self-reliance with the demands for bureaucratic accountability under a public health care scheme.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Blishen relies on physician interviews and survey data to support this thesis.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*

Blishen was a well-regarded professor of sociology who had been the research director of the Royal Commission's work and had extraordinary access to physicians during a decade-length period. In this work, he interviews physicians to understand how they understand their identities within the profession and how these relate to doctor-patient care in the context of a "full-service" public funded health care regime.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*

This monograph about ideology is *remarkable, perhaps even exquisite*, in its silence on any of the widely recognized and established social objects of ideological construction. Even though Blishen demonstrates a sound traditional understanding of ideology as a constructed social technology of collective

identity/subjectivity/agency, this 200-page volume has nothing to say about the role of race, ethnicity, sex, gender, religion, physical ability, or ethnicity in the construction of that ideology. Only class-affinity is briefly considered as a hypothesis of differentiation in attitudes towards public health care. When the author's investigation rapidly disproves that hypothesis, no other traditional aims of ideology are probed. The only instance in which Blishen references medical discrimination is that observed between hospital specialists and general practitioners.

Even within the consideration of the narrow-focus of Blishen's investigation of medicine's professional culture, and even in consideration of his position as a professional outsider, the silences in this work are profound and legible with attentive analysis (Trouillot 1995). I use this book as an argument that the Canadian medical profession historically self-encodes as disengaged from ideological affinity, similar to claims made in other professional caste systems (Traweek 1988; Croissant 2001). This is one of many similar clues indicating how a fragile historicism of anti-Blackness could survive within medical culture for more than 100 years.

**Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2002. "The Linguistics of Color Blind Racism: How to Talk Nasty About Blacks without Sounding 'Racist.'" *Critical Sociology* 28 (1-2): 41–64.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
Bonilla-Silva identifies five tactical styles by which people can promote or entrench anti-black racism without making use of explicitly racist language or symbolism.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
The author argues that polite or covert forms of "colour-blind" racism render their users incapable of effectively confronting structural racism, leading to the same form of racialized discrimination undertaken consciously by explicitly racist persons.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
Bonilla-Silva interrogates the rhetorical methods and linguistic style of "polite" language of colour-blind racism, which he characterizes as the dominant ideology of the post-Civil Rights Era United States. He characterizes five key modalities of language: avoidance, semantic misdirection, psychological projection, diminution of racial issues, and rhetorical incoherence.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*  
Bonilla-Silva is a highly cited scholar in the tradition of Critical Race Theory, which historically emerged in the application of interdisciplinary methods to interrogate the failures of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement (and its many legal desegregation initiatives) to end entrenched structural racism in the United States. In this work, which prefigures his monograph on the same topic (Bonilla-Silva 2010), he uses quantitative ethnographic interview data to demonstrate how white people with racially antagonistic ideas express themselves in ways deemed to act below the normative threshold of explicit racism. These findings parallel those obtained by discursive analysis of similar interview subjects (van Dijk 1987).

- **The relationship of the source to your essay.**

My work confronts the contradiction of a consciously racist institutional policy that was, on the one hand internationally scandalous in its time, but was on the other hand subsequently historicized as a passively originated, low-consequence misfortune. The rhetorical and linguistic devices of Bonilla-Silva's strategies of colour-blind racism are also encountered in exculpatory erasure, which is the effective work of the histories I encounter in my work. Bonilla-Silva's work and similar studies also make plain that ideological racism can be signified using ostensibly non-racist textual conventions.

**Calliste, Agnes. 1993. "Women of Exceptional Merit: Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law = Revue Juridique La Femme et Le Droit* 6: 85.**

- **The main topic or focus**

Calliste's paper details official and unofficial anti-black policies affecting the nursing profession in Canada from the 1940's to the 1990's.

- **The thesis or main argument**

The Canadian nursing profession was constituted as a normatively white-racialized and cis-female gendered institution and this professional cultural structure was amplified by anti-black government policies for employment immigration, anti-black patterns of recruitment and promotion within nursing professional bodies, and culturally anti-black nursing workplaces. Black women nurses adapted, in part, through their performances as "exceptional" practitioners – a strategy used to obtain professional entry, but also less-than-equal treatment to white peers. This pattern of professional racism continued to impact the prospects for Black women in the profession when Calliste published this article.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

Calliste retells the stories of Black nurses like Bernice Redmon, as well as the (then recent) formation of the Coalition for Black Nurses in Toronto to advocate for fair treatment for members who'd been dismissed for racially discriminatory reasons. She also cites the Canadian government's own race-proscription policy for immigration of 1950, based on disadvantaging nations with predominantly Black populations, and the government's own immigration statistics to show how Caribbean women were disproportionately disengaged from nursing work despite having the required credentials to work in the field.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective**

Agnes Calliste was a professor of sociology at St. Francis Xavier University and a career-long researcher of ethnically differentiated employment and career development in Canada (A. M. Calliste 1980; A. Calliste 1987, 1994; A. M. Calliste 2000). Her mid-to late-career work focused on critical feminist approaches to anti-racism (A. Calliste 1996; A. M. Calliste, Dei, and Aguiar 2000).

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

A key concern of my research is understanding the historical resonances of Queen's ban against Black students on the broader culture of Canadian medical-training. There is very little historical research of anti-black discrimination in Canadian medicine in the 1918-1970 era, but there is excellent research of anti-black discrimination in nursing in the latter half of this period. Calliste's paper demonstrates a set of racial exclusionary logics used to deny or impede Black nurses' careers in Canada in the 1940s and 50s that are similar to those used to justify the banning of Black medical students from Queen's University in 1918 and again in 1929. These rationales include inadequacy of Black-localized education, patient prejudices (contamination complaints), and objections of third party institutions (e.g. hospitals). I argue that the Queen's policy, in advance of state action established a set of precedential logics by which Black bodies could be excluded from physician training as well as nursing

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**Czarniawska, Barbara. 1997. *A Narrative Approach to Organization Studies*. Vol. 43. *Qualitative Research Methods*. SAGE Publications.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This instructional monograph outlines the use of narratology for understanding and historicizing institutional cultures and organizational behaviours.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Czarniawska models organizations as intrinsically narrative-building, a position that follows the work of Karl Weick in his key work "The Social Psychology of Organizing" in which he posits organizations as intrinsically sensemaking entities (Weick 1969) .

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Czarniawska argues that proper organizational ethnography requires close attention to the structure and signing of organizational self-narratives, as these represent the most reliable artefacts of the cultural system of the organization. Her principal focus in this work is to outline methodological approaches to fieldwork that are intended to faithfully capture organizational narratives as researchers develop their own narrative of their observations and analysis.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Czarniawska is an esteemed scholar of organizational studies, and its sub-discipline, organizational storytelling, which has a practical concern in the abilities of social groups to pursue coordinated collective action. She uses ethnographic methods and narrative analysis to understand how collectivities are made more effective or less effective by the ways such group action has been emplotted in time.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

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<sup>17</sup> Order-in-Council P.C. 2856, from 1950, for example, outlined a federal policy for immigration that disfavoured entry to Canada from countries with customs, habits or climates deemed incompatible with Canadian norms, as well as barring entry from any persons of "Asiatic" races.

The dominant method of critical historiography is informed by the narratological tropisms and structural taxonomies elucidated by Hayden White in 1975 (White 1975). The application of narratology to organizational studies represents, in my estimation, the boldest commitment to using this method to understand cultures. While the psychological valence of narrativity is not controversial, cultural studies' research also suggests that a single and stable historical narrative cannot be the object of dynamic recursive exchange between itself and cultural practice. My work is more concerned with how the organizational narrative changes (or does not change) over time as a consequence of historical texts' production and consumption within cultural practices. This concern about complex narrative dynamism is potentially important to disciplinary organizational studies, which strongly influences my own term-adjunct teaching of science leadership and management in the Queen's University Departments of Physics and Chemistry. I observe that cultural studies methodologies and theoretical interventions have not significantly influenced organizational studies scholarship, but have excellent potential to advance that field.

**De Barros, Juanita. 2016. "Imperial Connections and Caribbean Medicine, 1900-1938." In *Doctors Beyond Borders: The Transnational Migration of Physicians in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Laurence Monnaïs and David Wright. University of Toronto Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This chapter in "Doctors Beyond Borders" retraces the impact of anti-black discrimination against British Caribbean doctors who gained medical credentials abroad, but whose careers were often thwarted or repressed upon their return home.

- *The thesis or main argument*

British-Caribbean medical students, compelled to travel abroad for training with no medical school at home, became engaged in social-professional networks of Black colleagues facing racial oppression in their training environments and in their working careers at home. These networks, and the ideas they circulated in response to racial discrimination, played an important historical role in the fight for racial justice and political independence in the Caribbean.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

De Barros interrogates the archives of correspondences of Black medical students abroad in the 1915-1925 era, as well as Black physicians struggling to have their credentials fully recognized in the British West Indies. She cites the archived testimonies of Edward W. Reece (a key actor in my own research), Harold Moody, and John M. Rohlehr, and traces the latter two actors' subsequent roles as activists for political and social equity in the British West-Indies.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Juanita De Barros is a professor of history specializing in the social history of the Caribbean. Much of her research examines the role of race in the history of political economy and social organization of Caribbean countries.



- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

This is one of a small handful of scholarly works addressing the history of Black physician training in Canada in the first half of the 20th Century. It explicitly draws the link between the networking of Black Caribbean medical students under conditions of discriminatory oppression and their subsequent roles as early Pan-Africanists, political reformers and advocates for justice – a theme that is recurring in Caribbean historiography on this topic (Watkins-Owens 1996; Alexander 1997; Turner 2012), as well as the work of Vanessa Norton Gamble (Gamble 1987, 1995).

De Barros notes that the experience of medical training away from home brought these students into common experiences of racial oppression that catalyzed their subsequent organization into politically active networks. This is a central argument in my revision of the history of Queen's Black medical students, not as mere barrier breakers in a provincial regional university, but as a substantial node of agency in international affairs including the establishment of the West Indies Federation, the Long Island NAACP, the African Orthodox Church and the Menelik Hall of UNIA<sup>18</sup>.

**DeLuca, Kevin. 1999. "Articulation Theory: A Discursive Grounding for Rhetorical Practice." *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 32 (4): 334–48.**

- *The main topic or focus*

DeLuca uses Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau's Articulation Theory to explore how subject positions and identity emerge within environmental justice discourse.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Articulation theory offers a superior model of rhetorical practice owing to its allowance for non-stable concept formation and contingent frames of meaning-making.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The author introduces a summary of Mouffe and Laclau's Articulation Theory with particular emphasis on their modelling of discursive subject formation where the subject, as a node within a discursive field<sup>19</sup>, is simultaneously interpellated by elements (basic units of discourse), and particularly the antagonisms (contradictions) that arise among elements and their articulated

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<sup>18</sup> My own research takes a similar narrative approach, in which I consider the demonstrable long-duration social networks established among Black alumni of Queen's Medicine 1904-1919, and then assess their collective international impacts on medicine, politics, finance, etc., which I then compare to the narrative erasure within Queen's own narrative of their historical agency.

<sup>19</sup> In my current Articulation practice, I model the subject as a node within a social graph whose directed edges are modelled as textual objects containing concept signifiers. The rationale for this adaptation is based on a few key observations: 1) that such a model is mathematically describable using normal graph-theoretical arguments, and 2) such modelling allows a similarly extensible modelling of the split-subject (multiple concurrent intersubjectivities) and even multiple concurrent levels of articulation (e.g., articulation of concepts within a textual edge object, but also articulations of edges (conceptually loaded texts) and nodes (subjects), and also articulations of clusters of text/subject sub-graphs with other sub-graphs (e.g., cultures with cultures) – all in a manner that is analytically extensible and tractable for the purpose of analysis.

unities (meta-elements that owe their unique meaning to their juxtaposition or combination with other elements). He then illustrates the utility of this model by examining the environmental activist career of Lois Gibbs, who articulated her roles as a mother and a homeowner to identify herself as an environmentalist.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*

Kevin DeLuca is a scholar of discourse analysis and communications theory.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*

The author offers a call-to-action for the scholarly use of Articulation Theory as an applied method of communications analysis. I deem the structuralist-linguistic origins of Articulation Theory, and the latter's incorporation by Stuart Hall into cultural studies, make it a promising approach to historiography. Because I treat any given account of the past similarly to any cultural textual object, it is also practical to model it as an articulated unity of conceptual signifiers (e.g., the constructed set of concept signifiers: {"Black", "smart", "oppressed", "foreign"} signifiers evokes particular denotations and connotations beyond any of the individual concepts in that list, or any less-than-complete combination of signifiers within that set. That is to say that connotations are combinatorial with respect to denotations. Likewise, history's meaning depends on its internal significations, but also those of the significations that are added (or removed) from its reception/reading.

Articulation Theory allows for subjects and objects to interact, or for reader-subjects to be interpellated by historical-text-objects that contain articulations of concepts about other subjects, for example. This conception of discursive modelling can radically disrupt historiographical analysis – provided that a tractable process is established for modelling concepts, articulations (of concepts into temporary unities) and the interpellation of subjects (responding to antagonisms between concepts and their articulated unities).

My intervention aims to overcome the "hand wavy" elucidation of Articulation Theory literature by reducing analysis to a "primitive" grammar conceptual elements, articulated unifications, and antagonisms, such that analysis of intersubjective effects (ideology) arising from the encounter with history, is, in fact, extensible.

**Dijk, Teun A. van. 1987. *Communicating Racism: Ethnic Prejudice in Thought and Talk*. Sage Publications Inc.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Teun van Dijk, a leading scholar of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), explores the ways prejudicial racist ideas are communicated, transmitted and reproduced in society by performing observational studies of human subjects and analysing language patterns of their discourse.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Subjects integrate racial discourse into semantic memory that is prefigured to a model of in-group/out-group definitions, social hierarchies, and social-competency practices. Subjects' racial utterances are performative with

respect to situating oneself socially and such utterances may serve to reinforce or disrupt in-group/out-group power asymmetry.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Van Dijk establishes conditions for subjects to engage racial discourse and he creates controls for race and class in both sample populations under study (study groups in Amsterdam and in San Diego). He then performs qualitative and quantitative analyses of the linguistic forms of these discourses and classifies them according to a variety of speech-performance categories.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Van Dijk's interest is to understand ideology as a discursive phenomenon.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Van Dijk's ethnographic investigation of racist thinking observed from two sets of subjects in Amsterdam and San Diego foregrounds his expansive review of discursive ideological propagation (Van Dijk 2006), which is a core question in my research. How does racist policy feed racist ideas and how does the reproduction of these ideas become an ideological norm within a cultural system?

———. 2004. "Ideology and Discourse Analysis." *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 11 (2): 115-140

- *The main topic or focus*

In this paper, van Dijk focuses his attention on the interplay between discourse and ideology, and argues for the role of discourse analysis in understanding ideology.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Van Dijk's work posits ideology as an (non-exclusive) consequence of discursive representation, and discursive representation as an non-exclusive means of reproducing or contesting ideology.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Van Dijk defines ideology as a particular set of "foundational" collective beliefs that play a role in governing in-group and out-group identities, social organization, normative practices, attitudes, or other non-foundational beliefs. Subjects use discourse to situate themselves and others with respect to these collectivities and this action serves to either reproduce or contest the ideology itself.

While he is not especially concerned with the emergence, or origin of any given ideology, he does not view such "systems of belief" as entirely discursive constructs, nor does he subscribe to a view of ideology as false consciousness, or as situated within personal attitudes of beliefs. He proposes that ideologies influence discourse by propagating contextual maps, mental models and collective attitudes and beliefs. He proposes that these discourses shape the cognitive mapping of subjects' self-identity, collective identity and the identities of out-group subjects. A small portion of the paper critiques the neoliberal discursive form of a Sunday Telegraph article on class inequality to illustrate these points.

Because he does not treat ideology as exclusively discursive, nor does he

consider all beliefs to fall within ideology, van Dijk proposes that Discourse Analysis provides a useful, if incomplete mode of ideological analysis.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**

Van Dijk approaches ideology as a phenomenon of social cognition and is interested in the cognitive effects of linguistic exchange (the discourse of interest in his research). He sees discourse and ideology as interlinked, but is more concerned with the way discourse acts as the vehicle by which ideology is propagated and is less concerned with the way ideology emerges in discourse.

- **The relationship of the source to your essay**

Van Dijk's body of work on ideology is especially useful in cataloguing various signing conventions that regularly arise in ideologically valent discourse (useful for my work). On his model of ideology, he is, among Critical Discourse Analysts, the closest to Hall's ideas about Articulation and ideology, which are key to my proposed historiographic method. Van Dijk is rooted in linguistic-cognitive tradition (i.e., ideology is in our heads but gets around through speech acts). He refers to the material practices as at least potentially contributing. He also situates discourse as a contingent mode of ideological propagation with no necessary deterministic relationship between language and ideology. He engages with the high-level concepts of Articulation Theory, noting that the ideological valence of language arises from the combination of linguistic signifiers, the circumstances in which they are uttered and the interplay between subject intent and subconscious reaction in making an utterance. In these aspects he is "as close as it gets" among CDA scholars and his observations are exceedingly helpful in structuring a more cultural-practices-of-interpellation tradition such that it can be put to work as an extensible method of analysis.

**Dryden, Omisoore H. 2022. "Who Gets To Do Medicine: Black Canadian Studies and Medical Education." *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 44 (April): 159–74.**

- **The main topic or focus**

In this paper Omisoore Dryden is concerned with the historicized societal norms governing the participation of racialized positions in the profession of medicine.

- **The thesis or main argument**

Dryden proposes that underrepresentation of racial minorities in Canadian medicine is a result of historical barriers and contemporary structural barriers to participation.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

Dryden cites cases of educational institutions' anti-black policies and actions to make the case that Blacks have been both intentionally and systemically excluded from participation in the profession of medicine. He cites the Queen's 1918 ban among these instances. She also cites anti-black quotas, restrictions, and disciplinary actions at University of Toronto, McGill, Dalhousie and Sir George Williams University in the years between 1918 and 1968.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**

Dryden is the James R. Johnston Chair in Black Canadian Studies at Dalhousie University's Faculty of Medicine. She is also the co-lead of The Black Health Education Collaborative

- **The relationship of the source to your essay.**

This paper is one of several scores of popular and scholarly publications that reflect on my research work, or the specific history my work addresses. One of my research goals is to provide better scaffolding between the facts of the 1918-1965 ban at Queen's (or similar microhistories) and the cultural propagation of anti-blackness in Canadian medicine. Doing so will help other scholars build historical specificity in their engagements with anti-blackness in Canadian medicine.

**Duffin, Jacalyn. 2014. "The Queen's Jews: Religion, Race, and Change in Twentieth-Century Canada." *Canadian Journal of History* 49 (3): 369–94.**

- **The main topic or focus**

Jacalyn Duffin reviews the history of antisemitic discrimination against Jewish students and faculty at Queen's University in the 20th Century.

- **The thesis or main argument**

While it is widely accepted that many 20th Century medical schools in North America quietly discriminated against Jewish students, there are few direct archival records of official policies enabling these actions, and it is also widely accepted that quotas and other discouragement tactics were often enacted unofficially. Duffin uses statistical analysis of registration records to demonstrate the likelihood that Queen's University did consciously practise antisemitic policies against students seeking to study medicine there.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

Duffin uses the data from more than 4,000 archived medical student registration cards noting religious identification and even racial identity during several years in the 1940's. She compares the number of Jewish and other minority students in these records against the applicant pool available to Queen's to infer demographic enrollment gaps and the likelihood of an active unofficial quota system against Jewish students. She also uses the archival records of former University trustees to demonstrate their specific hostility to admission of Jewish Students.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**

Duffin was the Queen's University Hannah Chair in the History of Medicine. Her core work engages medical history of illness and pathology, history of the profession, medical biography and medical-cultural phenomenology.

- **The relationship of the source to your essay**

This 2014 paper engages with the widely known history of the Queen's medical ban along the established institutional narrative of the time. However, Duffin does trouble the institution's rhetorical diminution of Black engagement by demonstrating that no fewer than 53 students had attended between 1906 and 1919. She also disrupts the "expulsion" narrative by demonstrating that at least a few students had managed to remain at Queen's long enough to graduate from



medical school after the ban was enacted in 1918. Last, by inferring the possibility of the university reacting to the Flexner Report, she became the second medical historian to question the university's narrative of the ban (Connor 1988). A central point of analysis in my revision of the narrative is based on having recovered the archival link between the university's response to Flexner and the enactment of the ban, wherein I demonstrated an evidentiary case supporting Connor and Duffin's inferences.

**Edwards, Jason A., and Benjamin R. Bates. 2013. "An Attempt to Heal the Rifts in Medicine: Collective Apology and American Medical Association's Attempts at Reconciliation with the African-American Community." In *Public Apology Between Ritual and Regret: Symbolic Excuses on False Pretenses or True Reconciliation out of Sincere Regret?*, edited by Daniël Cuypers, Daniel Janssen, Jacques Haers, and Barbara Segaert, 79–102. Amsterdam: Rodopi.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This paper critiques the 2008 institutional apology issued by the American Medical Association for historical anti-black racism, and its reception by Black physicians and patients.

- *The thesis or main argument*

The authors (both communications studies researchers) think the AMA erred in its act of apology by eliding the specifics of the harms done under its name, and by failing to engage with the perspectives of the Black physicians and patients it sought to reconcile with.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The authors establish a timeline of the AMA's initial press release apology, its follow up with a full-length article in the *Journal of American Medicine*, and the responses from Black doctors and patients. In each case, the authors compare the actions of the AMA against the minimum requirements of effective collective apology and the literature on collective memory and how one collectivity can offer an apology to another.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Bates and Edwards are both communications scholars contributing to a large pre-existing body of literature on public apologies and collective memory.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Acts of apology (and non-acts of apology) are legible subject propagations of historical text. My own research has spawned two formal acts of apology and this paper's critique of those acts provides useful structure for considering how those acts were conceived, enacted, and received by wronged parties. Trouillot also troubles the advice of this paper and my own experience by noting the basic epistemological problem of enacting apologies to past collectivities on behalf of past collectivities (Trouillot 2000).

**Flexner, Abraham. 1910. "Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching." Bulletin No. 4. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.**

- *Thesis or main argument*

The "Flexner Report," written in 1910, has remained the dominant text outlining the curricular methodology for training physicians throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries. In this report, educational reformer Abraham Flexner, under contract with the Carnegie Foundation, prescribes a modernization program for North American medical schools, supported by the rapidly growing influence of the American Medical Association. The report's primary focus is on deepening scientific preparation for medical students and culminating undergraduate training with practical fieldwork or internships. It also includes recommendations on limiting the training of black physicians to primarily serve public health duties in protecting white communities from disease outbreaks in segregated black communities.

- *Main arguments supporting the thesis*

Medical education should be modernized and become less artisanal and more technological due to the expansion of scientific knowledge and the increasing availability of medical technology. Flexner's modernization plan also involves limiting medical training for Black students, with a few exceptions to serve public health roles in protecting white communities from disease outbreaks in Black communities.

- *Authors' methodological and ideological perspectives*

Flexner derives his recommendations after a year-long tour of medical schools, examining their organization, scientific curriculum, laboratory facilities, and disposition towards modernizing the curriculum. Ideologically, he is committed to a project of modernizing physician education, emphasizing scientific positivism, and endorsing racial segregation, accommodating the idea that black people in the United States will neither go extinct nor emigrate elsewhere. This prescription reflects a racial apartheid framework similar to the Jim Crow legal framework.

- *Source's relationship to the essay*

Historians often argue that the Flexner Report had two main objectives: 1) modernizing and standardizing medical education, and 2) legitimizing the American Medical Association's dominance over entry to the profession. The report is a core text examining the subsequent exclusion of Black students by Queen's University. Through the university's archives, I have demonstrated that the university aimed to improve its ranking after the 1910 publication of the report and that it enacted anti-black policies, public statements, and private representations to the Flexner-guided medical college accreditation body along the lines of his racial-proscription advice. The report is also read critically as a key document reflecting the American Medical Association's position on racial identity, alignment with state modernization projects, and commitment to a gendered and racialized view of medical progress.

**Flynn, Karen Carole. 2011. *Moving Beyond Borders: A History of Black Canadian and Caribbean Women in the Diaspora*. University of Toronto Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Interviews of 35 Black Caribbean and Black-Canadian women nurses conducted in 2000 form the basis of a life-course paradigmatic ethnography of Black nurses within the Caribbean diaspora in Canada, Britain and the United States between the 1950's to the 1990's. The focus of the research is an intersectional feminist analysis of subject identification of Black nursing professionals in a diasporic context.

- *The thesis or main argument*

The author argues that Black women facing a racially gendered oppression in their chosen profession, constructed their identities along multiple lines – both in opposition to agents of their oppression, but also in collaboration with family and church networks to which they often found emotional and social support.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Flynn gathers ample evidence via testimonies of social and professional barriers her interview subjects confronted in establishing nursing careers (primarily in Britain and Canada) under conditions of implicit and overt anti-black racism and a professional habitus dominated by white-normative femininity. She begins by using interviews to construct a collective narrative of early childhood subjectivities informed by Caribbean class and gender norms and then elaborates on subjects' recalled responses to their introduction to endemic racial differentiation upon entry to Canadian and British nursing environments. She then continues on with interviews examining how subjects navigated overlapping problems of racial and gender oppression while constructing personal/private subjectivities through family, church and community activism.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Karen Flynn is a feminist ethnographer and critical scholar of gendered raciality.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

The Canadian history of Blackness and medicine between 1945 and 1970 has been established mostly upon research concerning the nursing profession, led by the ethnic labour market segmentation research of sociologist Agnes Calliste (A. Calliste 1993, 1994; A. M. Calliste 2000) and ethnographic research of Flynn in "Moving Beyond Borders" and its predecessor works (Flynn 2008, 2009). The search for records of medical professional culture with respect to race in that era is particularly aided by Flynn's methodology for interrogating subjectivity and intersubjectivity, as such moments of past-occurrence retrieval can be read as signifying practices within a circuit of (medical) culture. Both Calliste and Flynn also recover abundant archival references to the performance of racial hierarchy in the nursing (specifically), and medial (broadly) professional culture. Some of these are similar to those encountered in my research (anti-black housing segregation, minstrelsy, tone-policing, derogatory language, claims of perceived racial contamination of the Black Body, employment discrimination) and others are particular to their research findings regarding nursing culture (racialized defeminization, deskilling).

**Gamble, Vanessa Northington. 1995. *Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement, 1920-1945*. Oxford University Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Gamble's monograph, based on her 1987 doctoral thesis in history and sociology of medicine, mines predominantly Black archives spanning the National Medical Association and its National Hospital Association, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, records and governance documents of three important Black hospitals, personal papers of key Black hospital organizers, along with numerous media and social records of the era to reconstruct the work of Black physicians to erect a separate African American medical training and service system in the wake of the post-Flexner collapse in Black medical training c. 1910, and continuing through the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the ensuing de jure desegregation of American medicine.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Gamble historically positions the struggle of physicians and nurses building Black hospitals as a key site of broader political struggle in the pre-war Civil Rights movement. She works to demonstrate both commonalities and conflicts between their work and that of the NAACP – acting to build separate and unequal facilities to mitigate the effects of medical racism on Black people on the one hand, while on the other hand rejecting segregated health initiatives to maintain political momentum for medical desegregation.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Gamble establishes the late 19th Century origins of the Black Hospital Movement from the emergence of the American Medical Association as a central authority in the profession and its escalating practices of occupational closure to Black physicians. She follows the establishment and rise of early Black hospitals, such as Douglass Memorial (late Douglass-Mercy) Hospital in Philadelphia, and uses the archives of these institutions to establish the economic and political contexts through which they negotiated the terms of their own sustainment. Key contradictions are established: 1) between integrationist physicians and those focused on immediate relief for underserved communities; 2) between predominantly Black service-oriented founders and practitioners and predominantly white financially driven philanthropists and local governments; and 3) between Black class interests. She then uses the archive to interrogate the course of these conflicts and maps outcomes to the peak of Black hospitals (more than 200 in the United States in the 1940s) to their ultimate diminishment after 1964 (eight remaining in 1993).

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Gamble is an M.D., PhD. medical historian and one of the leading interpreters of the role of anti-Black racism in physician recruitment, patient care, and racially differentiated distrust of the white-normative medical establishment<sup>20</sup>. She interrogates Black medical archives, including the publications and letters

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<sup>20</sup> Other key historians of medical racism not included in this bibliography include Harriet A. Washington, Todd L. Savitt, Thomas J. Ward, and Robert B. Baker.

circulated by figures in the National Medical Association, and those of key organizers and operators of (mostly private) Black hospitals and clinics operating outside of the professional acknowledgement and support of the AMA. She places this archive in conversation with that of the mid-20th Century Civil Rights Movement, such as the NAACP, white philanthropic organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation's General Education Board, and the Imhotep Conferences on Hospital Integration<sup>21</sup>. She personalizes this history in her introduction, noting her own childhood dreams of becoming a physician and her memories of Mercy-Douglass Hospital prior to its 1973 closure. She also notes the lack of awareness of Black hospitals and their role within the white-normative institutions where she practised medicine and she recalls her inspiration to remedy this after writing about the Mercy-Douglass Hospital in graduate school.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

The Black Hospital Movement was an important professional and social arena for several Black graduates of Queen's University (1904-1919) and it subsequently shaped their political and professional contributions<sup>22</sup>. Gamble's highly cited work is one of two comprehensive accounts of the response of Black physicians to the Flexnerian racial enclosure of the profession (Morais 1968). Gamble's account is exceptional for its extensive incorporation of Black archival sources. Her work focuses on the Black Hospital Movement and its commitment to professional survival that contends with and negotiates with American racial politics. It examines the tension between integrationist and segregationist approaches to medical practice as the best means to attaining health care for Black patients and access to medical training and licensure as the means to retaining access to the profession itself. This work situates the historical political problem of medicine's structural racism within a Black perspective and expands the historical understanding of the way Black physicians were forced to make stark choices between equality, justice, self-interest and community commitment in order to function within a consciously and structurally anti-Black racist profession. This work broadly reflects that same pattern of negotiated medical practice of key historical actors in my own research.

**Hall, Stuart. 1985. "Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication: CSMC: A Publication of the Speech Communication Association* 2 (2): 91–114.**

- *The main topic or focus*

In this paper, Hall establishes Articulation Theory as a direction of bridging structural linguistics, non-reductionist material determinism, and socio-ideological formation in a manner that addresses the post-structuralist

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<sup>21</sup> The latter is narrated in detail in "the History of the Negro in Medicine" (Morais 1968).

<sup>22</sup> R. W. Bailey, a Queen's Medicine graduate (1904) is mentioned for his role as a staff physician of Mercy-Douglass Hospital. The desegregation work of J. W. Saunders (Queen's Meds' 1914) at Harlem Hospital is also referenced although Dr. Saunders is not directly mentioned.



critique without capitulating to its tendency to abandon causation as a mode of analysis.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Althusser's reading of Marx as a non-reductionist, complex, multi-layer schema of material determinism demands close attention to the production and practice of contradictions and differences. While discourse analysis grasps the centrality of material textual production and consumption its model of ideological causation, deeply influenced by Lacan's work, tends to reduce causation to psychosocial phenomena, similar to the classical Marxists reduction of ideological causation to economic determinism. While the post-structuralists grasp the centrality of contingency in the production and ideological meaning of texts, they tend to frame textual production and ideological effect as non-corresponding in all cases.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hall establishes the significance of Althusser's intervention in thinking through a materialist ideology, with special attention to the influence of Lacan's thinking of discourse as the vehicle of subconscious social identification inspiring Althusser's interpellation (being hailed by an ideologically valent signifier and then making oneself subject to it via one's response). Hall then turns his attention to the way Articulation Theory situates discourses, subjects, significations and representations as a route to understanding how Althusser's material ideology (caused by linguistic practices rather than caused by interior psychology) could also work under conditions of contestation. Here, Hall offers his definition of articulation as an analytical framework (p: 113-14):

*By the term, "articulation," I mean a connection or link which is not necessarily given in all cases, as a law or a fact of life, but which requires particular conditions of existence to appear at all, which has to be positively sustained by specific processes, which is not "eternal" but has constantly to be renewed, which can under some circumstances disappear or be overthrown, leading to the old linkages being dissolved and new connections—re-articulations—being forged. It is also important that an articulation between different practices does not mean that they become identical or that the one is dissolved into the other. Each retains its distinct determinations and conditions of existence. However, once an articulation is made, the two practices can function together, not as an "immediate identity" (in the language of Marx's "1857 Introduction") but as "distinctions within a unity".*

Hall then considers the use of the words "black," "negro," "immigrant" to illustrate how the inter-subjective consequences of these signifiers are historically and culturally contingent and may have multiple conflicting effects depending on the specific circumstances of their discursive use.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Hall was a neo-Marxist thinker very much influenced by the work of Antonio Gramsci in understanding how societies maintain ideological dominant

structures in the face of contradictions and even open contestation. As an intellectual committed to material determinism he was sceptical of post-structuralist (post-modernist) tendencies to dismiss material-structuralist analysis of ideology as non-commensurable. He viewed the use of Articulation to understand discourse in the context of cultural practices as an alternative path between reductionist determinism and post-modernist non-determinism – one that did not cling to monist epistemology, but also respected epistemological contingency and instability.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

This paper is important in my work because it's here that Hall makes a criticism of poststructuralism's tendency to insist on non-correspondence (e.g., between signs and meanings) and its tendency to capitulation against the prospect of ideological analysis of texts. This is a key proposition to addressing my research questions regarding the ideological work of history. Adopting a reductionist model guarantees any arising model will be particularized and non-extensible. Adopting a post-modernist stance infers that no reliable model is possible. Hall, at the time of this paper, is unique in his insistence that ideology is both far more complex than it has been made out to be, but that it is also approachable and understandable as a material phenomenon.

———. 1986. "The Problem of Ideology – Marxism without Guarantees." *The Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (2): 28–44.

- *The main topic or focus*

Hall picks up on the earlier work of Louis Althusser, who argued against classical Marxism's insistence on economic determinism as the overriding consideration for ideological hegemony.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Hall theorizes ideology as a culturally produced, consumed, altered and re-produced social phenomena that cannot be adequately understood through Marxist dialectical determinism, despite its material origins.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hall submits that labour, in a Marxist framework, is never without agency in the production, consumption and contestation of ideology. The notion of Superstructure does not provide predictive utility in gauging the behaviours of a proletariat and the agency of those who lack power must be acknowledged. Hall positions Gramsci's model of hegemony over Marxist Superstructure as a better approach to the problem of people choosing ideological patterns that militate against their own self-interests. He further argues that the emergence of hegemony or counter-hegemony can be further interrogated as a phenomenon of cultural production or counter-production.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Hall is committed to the Marxist intellectual and political project of a materialist epistemology, but he is unwilling to subscribe to Marxist grand theoretical narratives of a reliably predictable individual historical agent, nor any reductionist determinist expectation of a communist Utopian future.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

I am interested in the role of historical text, if any, in establishing “rules” for intersubjectivity (ideology). Hall’s application of cultural phenomenology to Marxist materialism is my starting point for an historiographical method that can interrogate ideological effect without utilizing either literary tropism (culturally and temporarily specific to the text in question) or traditional hermeneutics (which ascribes all agency to the authors of historical text and none to its readers).

———. 1997. “Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Dominance.” In *Cultural and Literary Critiques of the Concepts of “Race,”* edited by E. Nathaniel Gates and Benjamin N. Cardozo, 305–43. Taylor & Francis.

- *The main topic or focus*

In this paper, first published in 1980, Stuart Hall addresses the need for an analytical methodology for ideological racism’s effects in cultural practice and he argues that contemporary approaches favouring either economic determinancy or social determinancy both result in reductionist models that do not predict the observed complexity of racism as a cultural force.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Hall identifies a need for a more extensible model of social formation and argues that Articulation Theory influenced by Barthes, Althusser, Laclau, and Mouffe, offers a promising direction of analysis. He makes the case that race is constructed in a manner that is highly contingent on the way its denotations and connotations are affected by combination (articulation) with ideological, political and economic concepts. He argues that racism cannot be adequately understood as a stabilized ideological concept, nor as a simple matter of material conditions. Instead, he proposes that each instance of racism can be best analyzed through articulations of class, politics, and historical material conditions, where race is a signifier (a denotation) whose discursive connotation is dependent upon its articulation with other key concept signifiers (class, politics, etc.).

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hall develops a comprehensive literature review of social-determinant and economic-determinant models of racial hegemonic systems and demonstrates where these models regularly fail to anticipate observed social phenomena. He then turns to the work of Saussure, Gramsci, Barthes, Althusser, Mouffe and Laclau to introduce the “articulation thesis” which he promotes as a uniquely promising methodology of social and cultural analysis. He then considers articulation approaches to the analysis of race and racial-discourse.

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

In this paper, Hall extends the Althusserian project of re-configuring Marxist material determinism to a form that is better prepared to accommodate the unstable and complex phenomena characterising its objects of analysis. Here Hall works with special focus to understand race as an emergent and contingent phenomena that is not reducible to an instance of ideological “false

consciousness” or a simple manifestation of economic determination via class and modes of production. He marries the observations of Gramsci’s hegemonic model with Saussure and Barthes’ linguistics, Althusser’s Overdetermination and Mouffe and Laclau’s Articulation to model race as one of several interdependent conceptual elements within social discourse and its material practices (i.e., the social formation).

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Within Hall’s massive body of work<sup>23</sup>, I find this paper provides the most detailed exegesis of his theoretical analysis of Articulation Theory and its application to the analysis of race. Hall’s articulation theory, married with his circuit of culture, provides the underpinnings of my proposed historiographical methodology. What is novel in my approach, is the work I undertake to confine the elements of signification and their possible articulations to a comprehensible “spanning set” of primitives (making analysis both extensible and tractable). I also extend the engagement with history to attend to more than the synchronous and diachronous material conditions of concept articulations, but also consider history itself as a self-contained set of subject signifiers that is both the product and feedstock of cultural production. I then articulate the entire set of “primitive” concept significations against its predecessor signification and read the unification (articulation) of these as a stabilizing or destabilizing transformation of the signing schema. Insofar as the signing schema encodes subjects, intersubjective work is accomplished (stabilization/destabilization) as subjects encounter historical text, transform it (or not) and reproduce the result within Hall’s Circuit of Culture (Renwick 2014).

———. 2018. “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power.” In *Essential Essays, Volume 2*, edited by Stuart Hall David Morely, 185–227. Duke University Press.

- *The main topic or focus*

In this chapter, originally published as a chapter of “Formations of Modernity” with Bram Gieben (Gieben and Hall 1993), Hall briefly walks through the epistemological development of “The West” as a conceptual signifier of a racially hierarchical modernity. Here he makes use of the Articulation variant he espouses in his earlier work in “Race, Articulation...” to understand the rise of the conception of the “The West” and the implications for this knowledge in Foucauldian discourse analysis and Edward Said’s Orientalism.

Hall, Stuart (ed ), Ernesto Laclau, and Open University. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. SAGE.

*Two key chapters from a textbook on the subject of cultural representation are summarised below:*

———. 1997. “The Work of Representation.” In *Representation*, Stuart Hall, 13–74. Duke University Press.

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<sup>23</sup> The Stuart Hall Foundation’s career bibliography from 1953-2015, inclusive of posthumous articles, cites nearly 1,000 separate works spanning journal papers, recorded interviews, documentaries and popular press articles.

- *The main topic or focus*

Stuart Hall lays out the key linguistic and discursive models underlying cultural studies, including a chronology of major contributions from Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault. Hall positions cultural studies as scholarly concern with the social making of systems of representation and conceptual maps that allow for shared understandings of the world.

Representation is defined in this work as the production of meaning using language. This focus is on a constructionist approach to representation, where language signifiers of meanings are not inherently reflective of reality and their decoding is not inherently driven by the signifier's intention, but are mediated by material cultural practices under the influence of power. Key inputs of the cultural circuit (things, concepts, concept maps, signs, language) and key outputs (representations, meanings, subjects, objects, knowledge) are reviewed.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Hall does not declare a preference between semiotic or discursive approaches to linguistic ontology, but does make the critical point that the members of a similar culture must share a similar concept map, and therefore a similar language in order to generate representations and meanings within the cultural circuit. This key emphatic point could be summarized as saying that culture ontologizes language.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hall conducts brief critical analyses of cultural texts ranging from oil paintings, to lexical tables, to advertisement images using each major model of linguistic ontology of concern (i.e., Saussure, Barthes, and Foucault). Hall poses the rhetorical question to the reader "how do you interpret this?" as an open-ended means of engaging with the implications of each model on the role of language in representation.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

In his established style as a scholar in the Marxist tradition, Hall emphasizes the materiality of linking tangible things to their signing conventions as a conceptually mappable system of knowledge creation. Representation encompasses the entirety of this process from an instance of linguistic signification to that signification's incorporation within cultural practice (the Circuit of Culture). Here, Hall touches on the ideological implications of meaning making, with specific reference to Barthes' denotation/connotation hierarchy of ideological vs. referential representation, and to Foucault's observation that the subject is, in fact, assigned via discursive practice, which implies that ideology is an emergent condition of social life under regimes of power-knowledge rather than a specific and intentional knowledge construct of power itself.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

The material of this chapter is fundamental to mapping Hall's positioning within a discursive tradition of Critical Theory and his (nearly simultaneous) work to use Articulation to historicize race and class as cultural systems of meaning, along with his later work in critiquing neoliberal ideology as a hegemonic phenomenon. It is Hall's long-running adaptations of Articulation



Theory that informs my own work to understand how historical text does ideological work through cultural practices.

———. 1997. “The Spectacle of the Other.” In *Representation*, Stuart Hall, 223–278. Duke University Press.

- *The main topic or focus*

This chapter focuses on the history of anti-Black stereotyping and analyzes its occurrence as a discursive practice of representation.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Stereotyping is a representational practice that places boundaries on the signification of difference. In the case of racial difference, it establishes an anti-normative “Other” that is discursively positioned as antithetical to the culturally hegemonic or culturally dominant norm. This has the effect of naturalizing difference such that it is not contested within the cultural system of shared meanings.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The chapter examines the ways in which anti-black stereotypes are generated and mobilized in cultural discourse. Particular attention is paid to the establishment of a constituted “Other” as a binary opposite to a normative “Us”, and the attendant violence of asymmetry in binary opposites (Derrida 1981). Examples are taken from research on Blackness representation in Victorian-era soap advertising (Anne McClintock); the treatment of Paul Robeson’s African-identity authenticity/non-authenticity (Richard Dyer); the role of anxiety and psychological projection in stereotyping (Sander Gilman); and the fetishization of Black bodies (Kobena Mercer).

Hall also uses Gilman’s work as a basis for understanding the treatment of Saartje Baartman’s in Europe as a fetishized signifier of Black difference, using the archives of her exhibition to examine specific instances of projection, anxiety and fetishism in the representational work of white supremacist cultures’ encounter with Blackness under conditions of colonial imperialism.

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

Hall approaches the subject matter here as a scholarly cultural critic engaging with textual artefacts. His specific concern is the nature of anti-Black racism and its persistence in normatively white societies. He advocates a practice of regular signing-inversion across binary opposites, as a means of disrupting entrenched stereotypes.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Hall’s critique of binary opposition in representational practice is a key concern of my work to advance historiography beyond taxonomic and tropism classifications. Beyond the emergence of power asymmetry within binary opposites pairs, I observe that black/white, man/woman, capitalist/socialist pairs are not viable candidates for extensible representational analysis as they are not, in fact, opposites. Hall’s care to examine the consequences of binary oppositional logics to racial inequality provides incentive to “do better.”

Hall, Stuart, Paul Gilroy, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore. 2021. "Race, the Floating Signifier: What More Is There to Say about 'Race'?" In *Selected Writings on Race and Difference*, edited by Paul Gilroy and Ruth Wilson Gilmore, 359–73. Duke University Press.

- *The main topic or focus*

This transcription of Hall's 1997 lecture at Goldsmiths College summarizes his application of Articulation Theory to the question of the origins and social meaning of race.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Hall proposes that race is a "floating signifier" in discursive practice. This means that it does not have representational (connotative) meaning in the absence of articulation with other concepts such as power, class, epistemological claims, etc. This understanding of race does a better job of describing its historical contingency, its convoluted and complex application in daily life, and its (unsupportable) imbrication with scientific truth claims.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hall develops the basic premise of race as an evolving concept (a floating signifier) and suggests that this idea has yet to take hold in popular racial discourse. He then visits the racial truth claims of Scientific Racism that have since been disproven by modern genetic science, and notes that many scholars still labour to align race within the regime of scientific truths, noting that science has a core cultural function of guaranteeing or warranting normative claims in modernity. He notes that Du Bois was early to abandon race as a natural phenomena and focused instead on its social construction (W. E. B. Du Bois 1903).

After acknowledging Frantz Fanon's 1952 work describing the way the Black Body is inscribed as a legible text to be scrutinized and assigned meaning under a white gaze (Fanon 1986), Stuart demonstrates that race arises discursively through articulation of the Black Body (a signifying text) with other social-formation concepts and that the discursive imbrication of these articulated connotations with the concept of "scientific truth" serves to establish equivalencies between race as a cultural system and race as a naturalized material fact. This analysis of Black Bodies, scientific claims, and other conceptual texts articulated against each other yields a model of race as a cultural practice rather than a natural phenomenon.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Per Paul Gilroy's introductory essay in the anthology where this lecture was first published, "Race, the Floating Signifier", represents a maturation of Hall's understanding of race as a cultural phenomenon, but also his increasing conviction that race is an especially important concept undergirding modern Western epistemology.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

This work by Hall approaches the core of my methodological interest in applying Articulation Theory to historiography. If concepts like race gain their social meaning through their unification with other concepts, then it becomes possible to interrogate historical text as a system of articulated signing

conventions (e.g., Black + successful → exceptional case), and observe how such articulations are either absorbed, or contested by the consumers/readers of such texts.

**Haller, John S. 1970. "The Physician Versus the Negro: Medical and Anthropological Concepts of Race in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 44 (2): 154.**

- *The main topic or focus*

The article concerns the role of anti-Black racism in the shaping of medical culture prior to its late 19th Century to early 20th Century modernization as a self-regulating profession in the United States.

- *The thesis or main argument*

American medicine in the late 19th Century aligned itself with the idea that Black people were inevitably heading for natural extinction in antebellum America, owing to innate differences in physical resistance to disease and mental disability<sup>24</sup>. These ideas were developed under the broad logics of Scientific Racism, and bolstered by medical professionals and statisticians using heavily biased data sampling to reinforce this conclusion.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

American medicine was recruited to legitimize anti-Black racism in the late 19th Century<sup>25</sup>. The consequence of the medical profession's active participation in the Black-extinction trope of Scientific Racism was to bolster arguments for Jim Crow segregation, disenfranchisement and foreclosure of opportunities for social progress in preparation for eventual death and disappearance.

- *The author's ideological or methodological perspective*

John S. Haller is U.S. historian of medicine, the Civil War, and of Scientific Racism. His monograph, "Outcasts from Evolution," was an early attempt to trace the emergence of government policies emerging from the encounter between Darwinism and white supremacy in the mid-19th Century.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

My analysis of the impacts of the Queen's medical ban on medical culture requires me to situate the profession's shared meanings of race both prior to 1918 and afterward. This paper, along with several others, helps to scaffold this chronology of anti-Blackness in medicine by using American sources as a proxy for the Canadian profession, which was effectively absorbed into the post-Flexner American milieu (especially with respect to physician training). Additionally, this paper's list of objectively unscientific ideas vigorously embraced by the medical elite goes a long way to demonstrating Foucault's power-knowledge concept, which should give us pause in the investments we place in historiography that cannot analyze ideological effects.

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<sup>24</sup> This notion included the claim that the absence of slavery made Black survival in North America biologically untenable, if that helps the reader to situate Scientific Racism with respect to science, generally..

<sup>25</sup> Other work by Rana Hogarth cited in this bibliography demonstrates that the medical profession was important in establishing a scientific basis for anti-Black racism as early as the 18th Century.

**Harris, Cheryl I. 1993. "Whiteness as Property." *Harvard Law Review* 106 (8): 1707–94.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This paper by legal scholar Cheryl Harris lays out a critical theoretical pillar of whiteness as an analytical object within Critical Race Studies – specifically the degree to which a white-normative subjectivity is linked to modern notions of property rights, and the ways in which the law in the United States has interpreted such subjectivity as property.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Working from a model first proposed by a famous scholarly collaborator (Bell 1988), Harris argues that the evolution of property law as the regulation of expected outcome of entitlements arising from ownership is imbricated in the legal interpretation of racial hierarchy as a system of differential societal expectation. Where the law engages with America's racial caste system, it interprets the reasonableness and legitimacy of existing entitlements rather than attempting to restore equity. The tendency of the law's mode-of-action emphasizing the protection of established racial entitlements is a factor in the failure of the Civil Rights Act to desegregate American social life or restore equitable justice across racial identity.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Harris begins the paper with an anecdotal observance of her white-passing grandmother's navigation of social and career opportunity within America's racial caste system and how this ability to evade racial identification accrued to her as economic and social opportunity. She then traces the legal history and definitions of property developed within Settler Colonialism and chattel slavery – systems in which racial identification became the law's principal test for the who did or did not possess rights to property, and the consequential fact of whiteness accruing the law's protection of white-owned property. She then explains how property law acts to determine the extent and applicability of entitlement claims and how this logic is applied in cases, such as *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, to protect or entrench historically arising white racial entitlements or privileges over and above compensatory rights for historically arising non-white disadvantage.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Cheryl Harris is a leading intellectual figure of Critical Race Theory (CRT), which emerged from Critical Legal Studies. CRT seeks to interrogate the long-term failure of de jure legal policy to fundamentally alter the material facts of racial inequality (e.g., Civil Rights Act of 1964). This concern attends to two key critical scholarly interventions: 1) the contradictions of the law and the legal apparatus as a vehicle of social justice versus its role as an apparatus of economic, social, and political power; and 2) the co-construction of the law and culture/political-economy/ideology/etc., as a racial-dominance structured social formation.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

I came to Harris' paper through its citation of *Regents v. Bakke*, a successful "reverse discrimination" lawsuit by Allan P. Bakke, a white engineer and ex-military officer who blamed affirmative action policies at University of California Davis for his failure to gain admission to its medical school. This is one of many instances of cultural, legal, or social resistance to addressing the historical effects of occupational racial closure in medicine (or to the effects of racism, generally). Harris' elucidation of Bell's hypothesis that whiteness (which I re-code as white-normativity for the sake of clarity) behaves as property in American society, and is therefore a site of contest. This model of racial property is revelatory with respect to the philosophical history of race, or the Foucauldian archaeology of race (i.e., how is it that the social formation of race has manifested as it has, in response to what epistemological frameworks, and to what degree have such frames been contested or disrupted). Harris' paper has been instructive in interpreting the broader sub-field of "whiteness studies" (L. Anderson 2021; Ahmed 2007; E. Anderson 2015). The consideration of white and non-white actors navigating racial-normative social formation necessarily incentivizes certain discursive practices – Interrogating these incentives provides insight to the discursive analysis of such subjects' texts – and this is a key consideration for understanding how medicine and its training institutions have approached the construction and representation of the profession's anti-black history.

**Hastings, Paula. 2014. "Territorial Spoils, Transnational Black Resistance, and Canada's Evolving Autonomy during the First World War." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 47 (94): 443–70.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This paper tracks the failure of a political-union discussion that was emerging between Canada and the British West Indies prior to the First World War. The failure of these discussions were owed, in part, to a resurgence of anti-black racism in Canada.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Prior to the end of the first World War, the Dominion of Canada, which had extensive trade with the British West Indies, had flirted at several levels with some level of political union between itself and the Caribbean colonies. However, resurgent ethno-nationalism and racism, along with changing trade patterns, exacerbated by specific racially motivated diplomatic embarrassments committed by Canadian institutions destroyed enthusiasm for this project of political union, which subsequently died.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Hastings establishes the economic and trade ties of the British West Indies and the recently confederated former colonies that became Canada. She then (primarily) sources archival correspondences to demonstrate the emergence of dialogue for deeper political economic integration between Canada and the B. W. I. She then turns her attention to key incidents of political embarrassment between Canada and B.W.I. colonies, including the Queen's University ban



against Black medical students, which affected dozens of Caribbean medical candidates.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*  
Hastings' archival research is directed toward political-economic Canadian history – with special attention to the role of economic factors on the social and political experience of the country.
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
Hastings has helped me with my research (U.K. archival notes). Her prior work unearthed two key pieces of documentation underpinning my research analysis. While her academic concern is not focused on the question of Blackness in Canadian medicine, or at Queen's University, specifically, her work develops important historical contexts for racialized state relations between Canada and the British West Indies in the 1910–1920 era. This is particularly born out in her PhD thesis upon which this work is based, which details the Diplomatic incident caused by Queen's University's announcement that it would no longer train black students (Hastings 2010).

**Hoberman, John M. 2007. "Medical Racism and the Rhetoric of Exculpation: How Do Physicians Think about Race?" *New Literary History* 38 (3): 505–25.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
This paper deals with the ambivalences and evasions of the medical community in confronting its own role in racial disparities for patients.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
The medical community uses euphemism, deflection, projection and other discursive tactics to maintain its social standing as a site of moral goodwill. Subsequently, it avoids direct responses to overwhelming research evidence pointing to deadly racial disparities in patient outcomes, and it is not strongly engaged in confronting a pattern of consciously racist historical behaviour.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
Hoberman develops his argument by parsing the statements of medical organizations, officials and individual physicians in response to scrutiny over racially differential medical outcomes.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*  
Hoberman is a cultural historian who uses linguistic analysis for his research. Although he is mostly concerned with sports culture, he is also concerned with the role of race in that work.
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
One of the motivating questions for my research is how it was possible for the Queen's University narrative of the ban, as it existed discursively between 1918 and 2018, to persist as long as it did in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary? I do not position my archival work in this research as especially insightful (I was able to conclusively overturn the narrative using widely available online archival material during two evenings of Internet surfing). Nor was I the first scholar to encounter counter-narrative sources and testimony. I was not even a student, staff member or faculty in Queen's school of medicine

where key counterfactual data hung on the hallways for many decades. So how is it possible for so many objectively intelligent people to collectively not know obvious things? Hoberman's paper demonstrates the ways that knowledge is constructed in conditions of dominance and becomes immune to reality, even in the midst of an elite group that has been socially constituted as arbiters of reality. This phenomenon of innocence-maintenance is referenced in many sources in this bibliography (Goffman's impression management, Mills' epistemologies of ignorance, Hall's consideration of Freudian and Saussurian constitution of a binary opposite to "Us the good," etc. Here, Hoberman elaborates on this phenomenon in the modern medical profession.

**Hoffman, Kelly M., Sophie Trawalter, Jordan R. Axt, and M. Norman Oliver. 2016. "Racial Bias in Pain Assessment and Treatment Recommendations, and False Beliefs about Biological Differences between Blacks and Whites." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113 (16): 4296–4301.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
The paper briefly addresses the persistence of racist ideation in the medical profession and the correlation between racist ideation and the potential for bias in the provision of pain assessment and treatment of Black patients.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
A survey of 418 medical students and residents in the United States tested individual accordance with demonstrably false beliefs about Black bodies (i.e., that Black people have thicker skin, smaller brains, poorer hearing, etc., compared to white people) and their inclinations to relieve suffering in Black patients. They were asked to assess pain ratings of hypothetical Black patients. Those that showed higher bias against Black people based on their endorsement of false beliefs about Black bodies also tended to minimize pain ratings and recommended lower pain treatments.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
The survey data was controlled via distribution of the same survey to a general population of laypersons with no scientific training. While the medical trainees were less likely than laypeople to hold false beliefs about Blackness, a plurality (50%) still held at least one false belief (compared to 73% of the layperson respondents). Acceptance of such beliefs correlated to reluctance, in principle, to treat Black patients' pain.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*  
The authors include three psychology and behavioural science scholars and one public-health physician. They are responding to a widely established pattern in North American medicine of undertreating Black patients' pain (one issue within a growing body of evidential patterns of systemic malpractice against Black patients in obstetrics, oncology, psychiatry, public health, etc.).
- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*  
The predominant performative posture of the medical profession is to claim its adherence to scientific method as a sign that it does not harbour racist ideation. This study, of course, does much to destabilize that argument and demonstrates

that race is interpreted culturally within medicine and that such interpretation has an impact on medical practice itself. This should not be surprising to medical historians in light of the work of Rana Hogarth, who has demonstrated the deep connection between Scientific Racism and the professionalization of medicine (Hogarth 2017).

**Hogarth, Rana A. 2017. *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840*. UNC Press Books.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
The work focuses on the role of American and Caribbean medicine in legitimizing the idea of race as a marker of fundamental biological difference in the 18th and early 19th Centuries, and the role this medicalization played in sustaining ideological justification for chattel slavery as an economic system.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
The medical realities of chattel slavery drew medical practice into the trade and practitioners soon came to define fanciful diseases, conditions and pathologies of Black bodies that fed an emerging Scientific Racism in the mid-19th Century. The construction of “medical expertise” of Black difference was an important platform for legitimizing medicine as a professional class possessing scientific authority.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
Hogarth develops three key historical arguments: 1) The professions of medicine and science were financially and socially incentivized to build a corpora of truth claims about physical differences between Black and white bodies and their comparable susceptibility to injury and illness as a sustaining logic underpinning the brutal logics of chattel slavery. These logics were the basis upon which post-Darwinian Scientific Racism made truth claims about Black racial degeneracy; 2) The profession of medicine set itself the task of ascribing differential pathologies to Black bodies as part of the naturalization of slavery’s political economy and its devastation of Black health; 3) The profession of medicine established custody over the health of Black bodies in slavery, which became a platform for the profession’s social and economic elevation, as well as a key factor in differential care of Black patients in the medical profession.
- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*  
Hogarth’s monograph comprises an intellectual history of medical contributions to Scientific Racism in America and the Caribbean. This work is built on archives of slavers and their consulting physicians along with those of archives of medical advertisements and articles.
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
In the same manner that Charles Wade Mills imbricates the Enlightenment’s foundational anti-Black racism with the emergence of liberalism, Hogarth links the modern medical profession’s foundational racism with its own emergence as a modern and legitimized profession. This is valuable historical work on a specific aspect of the antecedents of modern medical culture, and it complements other work such as Silverman’s review of late 19th Century

extinction tropes legitimized by the medical community ([Hoffman 1896](#)). My interest is to situate my own research within a broader chronology of anti-Black ideation in the medical profession, as a necessary historical condition for analysing the cultural politics and forward impact of Queen's ban in 1918.

**Jameson, Fredric. 2008. *The Ideologies of Theory*. Verso.**

*This large collection of Jameson's essays is thematically organized around the central concern of ideological work done by theory in social sciences and cultural criticism. In these works, Jameson is particularly concerned with cultural texts (defined broadly), and a Marxist approach to textuality that seeks to critique text for insight to material conditions and modes of production in which the text emerged. Within the scope of his larger project of Marxist criticism, Jameson argues that cultural theorization (sociological, linguistic, political, etc.) is inherently ideological. For this reason theorists must exercise reflexivity (transparent self-awareness) in their work. Summaries of his most relevant essays in this anthology follow:*

———. 2008b. "Figural Relativism, or The Poetics of Historiography." In *The Ideologies of Theory*, 161–174. Verso.

- *The main topic or focus*  
Fredericson offers a critique of Hayden White's "Metahistory."
- *The thesis or main argument*  
White's Metahistory (cited in this bibliography), synthesizes an aesthetic interpretive system for history, based on the text-classification schemes proposed by Northrop Frye, Stephen Pepper and Karl Mannheim. While this "deep hermeneutic" system helps establish history as an aesthetic practice, it does not provide an extensible methodology for deep structural analysis of history as a textual object with societal implications. However, it does provide a figurative hermeneutic method of great value to scholars of realist novels, owing to White's recognition of narrative as perhaps the most important cognitive issue in history itself.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
Jameson establishes the extensive scope of White's project, which tackles a very large volume of narrative history generated by European scholars in the late 18th and 19th centuries. He then defines the limits of this work as pertinent to a figural-structural analysis of narrative, but makes clear he does not consider White to be engaged with issues of narrativity (societal phenomena). From this vantage, Jameson defines the benefits of White's analysis as a hermeneutic system form narrative analysis, while delineating the deficiencies of engaging these analyses with material societal structures. He also casts doubt on White's observation of temporal cyclicity in tropes of "historical poetic consciousness" moving from irony, to synecdoche, to metonymy, to metaphor, and returning to irony<sup>26</sup>.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

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<sup>26</sup> I view this idea of a tropic cycle to have evolved from such a socially and chronologically sparse data set as to be deeply underestablished.

Here, Jameson shows a structuralist-Marxist perspective in his engagement with White, particularly with his critique that White's textual analysis is a kind of open-ended taxonomy of individual textual objects that is detached from the social forces that caused those objects to come into being. As a leading proponent of Marxist criticism, Jameson is adamant that texts can (and should) be read as signifiers of the modes of production under which they were created.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Hayden White's work to categorize genres, historical tropes, emplotments, explanatory modes, and ideological implications is the most widely cited historiographical work of the late 20th Century. While I do not argue against its aesthetic merits, I am engaged with Jameson's criticisms of its limitations. While Jameson is more broadly dismissive of the utility of White's taxonomy within his broader critical project (analysis of culturally significant texts to deduce something about the material conditions and modes of production in which they were generated), I anticipate that White's methods do have some value in understanding the ideological work of history in the limited case of intentional representation, where subjects who encounter the text derive its meaning along the lines directed by the text's subject-creator<sup>27</sup>. Jameson fleshes out my own critical engagements with White by specifying particular problems of historiographical taxonomy: 1) He clearly identifies White's silence on the interdependence or dependence of the various classification variables he raises (for example, how does ideological implication affect the meaning of emplotment method and vice-versa?). This reflects Jameson's interest in the semiological work of Algirdas Julien Greimas that attended to the articulation of multiple sets of binary opposites, and my own interest in the Articulation Theory of Stuart Hall, who postulated contingent and multivalent potentials for concepts (e.g., White's taxonomic variables) to have unique combinatorial signification. 2) Jameson notes that White does not propose a limit-case for his system, making it a largely idealist scheme that cannot be reliably adapted to understand the meaning-making potential of history (nor, presumably, its ideological effects).

———. 2008b. "On Cultural Studies." In *The Ideologies of Theory*, 598–635. Verso.

- *The main topic or focus*

Jameson critiques "Cultural Studies," by Grossberg et. al, which was originally published in 1992 as a collection of 40 essays from leading figures in the field ([Grossberg et al. 2013](#)). He critiques cultural studies as an academic discipline with respect to Marxist criticism.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Jameson situates cultural studies as an political attempt to form a justice-oriented intellectual historic bloc (a coalition of heterogeneous identities

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<sup>27</sup> To be clear, I do not presuppose the intentional model of representation to be applicable in any but the most supremely power-imbalanced social structures. Constructionist approaches to representation are a much more viable model spanning the vast majority of analytical instances.



aiming to secure shared social interests). He views this as its most promising impact and is sceptical of its establishment as a formal scholarly discipline.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

The chapter begins with Jameson's description of cultural studies and its "historic bloc" orientation. He then cites Catherine Hall's contribution to the Grossberg-edited anthology in which she problematizes the relationship of cultural critique and cultural history. Jameson then expands on these problematics and introduces cultural studies' intellectual engagement with complex, contingent, and contradictory approaches to culture that supersede earlier Marxist economic reductionism. While he writes approvingly of these interventions, he also criticizes what he perceives as a tendency for cultural studies scholars to understand themselves as versions of Gramsci's organic intellectuals, citing the tension between popular acceptance and meaningfully disruptive intellectual work. He also contends that the tendency to centre power in analysis risks reductionism. He further views the field as an insufficient substitute for Marxism as a basis for societal analysis. He recommends the field pay closer attention to its early work in *Articulation* to include more systematic tracing of its arguments and to pay more attention to material commodification/consumption.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective**

Jameson emphasizes Marxist analysis as his primary frame of analysis and he critiques cultural studies' relative disengagement with key concepts such as commoditization, spatial-temporal relationality. Jameson is a literary theorist in the Marxist scholarly tradition, with a deep interest in the postmodern impact on cultural analysis. In other works, he coined the term "postmodern hyperspace," which is linked to his assessment that human experience in late capitalism has become temporarily, spatially and epistemologically unmoored from an apprehensible reality. He is very concerned with the way cultural theory is applied and its potential to reproduce the same kinds of ideological entrenchments and blindspots as its predecessor scholarly traditions.

- **The relationship of the source to your essay**

Jameson argues for a more structuralist discipline – among his most positive critiques he cites linguistic turn in cultural studies and recommends *Articulation* as a useful practice, providing it can better trace its own arguments and identify its errors in application. My own project for drawing on the theoretical insights of cultural studies for use in historiography is motivated to address Jameson's call-to-action with respect to an *Articulation* practice that can be traced and scrutinized and corrected.

**Joneja, Mala, Shikha Patel, Sabreena Lawal, and Jenna Healey. 2022. "Anti-Black Racism and Medical Education: A Curricular Framework for Acknowledging and Learning from Past Mistakes." *CMAJ: Canadian Medical Association Journal = Journal de l'Association Medicale Canadienne* 194 (41): E1425–28.**

- **The main topic or focus**

This paper provides a brief overview of the ways my research has informed the instruction of Queen's medical students during their history-of-medicine training module.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Physician-trainees need to understand the history of why the underrepresentation of Black physicians in the medical field arises from institutional policies. This understanding is important for students' ability to situate the practice of medicine within broader structures of systemic racism, sexism or other oppressive patterns, and to be able to historicize these phenomena.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The authors review two exemplar cases of institutional oppression in Queen's medical faculty, including the 1918-1965 race ban and the banning of women from 1891-1943. They detail the university's attempts to reckon with its actions in 2018-2019 through the formation of a Commission on Black Medical Students and its recommendation to apply my underlying research to medical curriculum<sup>28</sup>. The article describes the three-hour module that has been deployed to student cohorts and the ways in which the relevant training material and discussion-sessions were designed to encourage students to reflect on their own learning about the history and contemporary consequences of discrimination in their field.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

The authors are engaged, or were very recently engaged, in Queen's medical faculty respectively, as a student (Lawal), senior clinical faculty (Joneja), and the Hannah Chair in the History of Medicine (Healey). All served on the Commission on Black Medical Students, which was chaired by Joneja 2018-2019. All three promote activist anti-oppression frameworks in their professional practice and have been deeply engaged with my work and its application to advance equity in medicine.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

I am concerned with the way history does ideological work, but much less in terms of how historical authors' textual encoding of the past interpellates readers, and much more in terms of how readers decode such texts, and how such decoding is made legible in Hall's Circuit of Culture (Renwick 2014). I argue that the linguistic performativity<sup>29</sup> of historical decoding is more ideologically valent than its encoding. This paper offers a good example of legibly de-coding an historical text (my own), and reproducing it in conventions that not only legitimize its claims on past knowledge, but also imbricate it with inter-subjective meaning for medical trainees, institutional prerogatives, and a broader appeal to normative sensibilities about equity in society.

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<sup>28</sup> I acted as a volunteer member of the Commission on Black Medical Students during the entirety of its operation from 2018 to 2023.

<sup>29</sup> "Performativity" is used here in its original linguistic meaning: "to do things with language," and not as its common use as interchangeable with "dramaturgy," which is concerned with the social phenomenon of impression-management.

**Mahabir, Deb Finn, Patricia O'Campo, Aisha Lofters, Ketan Shankardass, Christina Salmon, and Carles Muntaner. 2021. "Experiences of Everyday Racism in Toronto's Health Care System: A Concept Mapping Study." *International Journal for Equity in Health* 20 (1): 74.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This paper uses conceptual mapping of attitudes of health care recipients and health care providers to interrogate physicians' grasp of structural racism in medicine.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Contemporary Canadian medicine's emphasis on cultural competency (a regime of training for knowledge of cultural difference and appropriate demonstrations of tolerance) does not provide caregivers with any insight to structurally oppressive factors that affect patients.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The authors surveyed 64 Toronto region patients who had complaints about their health care with respect to their experiences. They also surveyed 11 caregivers about their interactions with patients. Both sets of responses were open-ended, and the key concepts elicited in both cohorts were conceptually mapped for the sake of analyzing commonalities/divergences in experiences. They found that racialized patients were very likely to ascribe their negative experience to racial discrimination, but caregivers were not likely to do so (and in fact, had a similar perception as non-racialized health care users). On examination of the racialized patients' responses, the authors found patients reported instances of feeling judged, objectification, poorly engaged, neglected, abused, and that they had difficulties in accessing care. The authors suggest that the divergence between these patients' perceptions and those of health care providers (including an undisclosed proportion of racialized health care providers) may be due to the profession's overemphasis of cultural competence as the means through which equitable service should be achieved. They point to the absence of structural factors in the cultural-competency framework.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

The authors are health care providers who are concerned with the heavily disproportionate rate of COVID-19 infection on racialized populations in the Greater Toronto Area (more than six times the rate of non-racialized people). They attribute this disproportion to structural factors above and beyond individual prejudice among health care providers and question how an individual-focused equity practice like cultural competency can be in any way adequate to addressing structural racism.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*

The pursuit of "individual virtue" as method of inscribing racial equity on institutions is a recurring pattern of dehistoricizing institutional racism. This paper is useful with respect to engaging how the culture of professional medicine has or has not been able to reckon with its own encounters with racial difference.

**Makus, Anne. 1990. "Stuart Hall's Theory of Ideology: A Frame for Rhetorical Criticism." *Western Journal of Speech Communication: WJSC* 54 (4): 495–514.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
Stuart Hall's use of Articulation as a model of ideological emergence through cultural practice is considered as a theoretical framework for rhetorical criticism.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
Articulation Theory, as elucidated by Stuart Hall, is an optimal model for advancing rhetorical criticism aimed at studies of ideology. It prioritizes material (cultural) practices that legitimize intersubjective structures as naturalized occurrences of "common sense". This is a substantially more promising framework for critiquing ideology than identifying, categorizing, and assessing argumentative strategies, which is the dominant mode of rhetorical criticism.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
Anne (Makus) Pym McDonald offers an overview of key insights from Hall's scholarship and writing, along with a brief comparison of Articulation to standard practices of rhetorical analysis. She then uses the Articulation model to critique media coverage of software hacking, making note of the way that established articulations of threat and technology prefigure the reception of "hacker" as anti-normative or distrustful, etc. She concludes that articulation provides extensive advantages for assessing the efficacy of rhetorical framing, although she suggests that the theory is underdeveloped in terms of its ability to interrogate the mutual dependence of subject agency and discursive structure.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*  
Pym McDonald is a communications scholar focused on rhetorical criticism in political life. She has been an organizing scholar of the American Rhetorical Society, which has grappled with a diverse and interdisciplinary body of critical methodologies (Hauser et al. 2003).
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
This paper is Pym McDonald's most widely cited work, which makes a strong argument for the incorporation of Hall's Articulation into critical practice. While widely cited as a model and method of critical analysis, there has not been a substantial effort, to my knowledge, to adapt Hall's articulation as a primary method of historiographic analysis, although a substantially modified Articulation model was proposed for the historiographical analysis of rhetoric itself (Stormer 2004)<sup>30</sup>.

**McKittrick, Katherine. 2014. "Mathematics Black Life." *The Black Scholar* 44 (2): 16–28.**

- *The main topic or focus*

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<sup>30</sup> Stormer pays attention to the performativity of articulations, an aspect of Articulation Theory he claims is underdeveloped.

The author, motivated by the work of Saidya Hartman, considers how to conduct scholarship on an archive of Black death, disruption, and displacement without reproducing the inherent violence of such archives.

- **The thesis or main argument**

McKittrick proposes conscious inversions of the logic of Black death embedded in archives structured to reproduce violence.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

She proposes that archives can also be read for potentials and alternatives, as well as destruction.

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**

McKittrick is a Black studies scholar concerned with racial social spatiality/temporality and the means by which Black presence can disrupt the logics of white supremacy or other structures of oppression. Black liberation poetics and their aesthetics in cultural production are a key point of reference in her work to illustrate these kinds of disruptions.

- **The relationship of the source to your essay.**

This short paper calls for a conscious ethics of care in the conduct of Black studies. In my own work, which is motivated by an archive of Black dispossession and erasure in the field of medicine, there is ample opportunity to reproduce these tropes. I can invert the logic of anti-blackness in medicine by paying attention to alternatives and potentials – most effectively, in my case, by considering the substantial resistance, recovery, and re-establishment of the historical actors of concern<sup>31</sup> – and by referencing alternative archives of Black flourishing and growth that provide a counter-history to the institutional historicization of anti-blackness within Canadian medicine.

**Mills, Charles Wade. 2017a. *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*. Oxford University Press.**

- *This 2017 collection of philosopher Charles Wade Mills' essays concerns his career-long critique of liberal political philosophy's elision of race and racial injustice and the destabilizing ramifications for understanding liberalism as an episteme of modernity and morality emerging from European Enlightenment thinkers. He views the erasure of racism and racist ideation from liberalism's self-conception as a fundamental error leading not only to unresolvable contradictions within the liberal tradition, but also to major epistemological deficits within racialized liberalism. Mill's goal is to try and rehabilitate liberalism by correcting its own self-referential historicism, such that it can pursue its goals of social contract and personal liberty with full awareness of the non-ideal nature of a project that must work across differences in race, class, gender and power. Brief entries on key essays follow:*

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<sup>31</sup> Where I am apt to struggle in this instance is the ease with which my historical revision follows Black exceptionalism as a tropism of historical actors. Apart from its potential ellisions of political, gender, class and religious oppressions, my work needs to critically attend to the ways the actors in this history leveraged their own social capital in ways that intersected with these other frameworks.



———. 2017b. “Ideal Theory as Ideology.” In *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*, 72–90. Oxford University Press.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Mills refutes the Ideal Theory of a Just Society, developed by political philosopher John Rawls, who postulated a universalist notion of liberalism’s key tenets of societal contract and individual liberty, based on the conceptual assumption of a “perfect” society.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Mills notes that situating real-world liberal societies and their governments as normative systems en route to Utopian endpoints necessarily ignores the historical realities of how such governments arose, or how they in fact came to be normative. He also points out that the descriptive ideal theory and the real-world normative model are not bound to converge over time. Further, Mills attacks the observable ignorance of Rawls and his followers in discussing the historical emergence of their political philosophy without any consideration for the many unjust systems underpinning the historical emergence of an international liberal order.

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

Mills is invested in rescuing liberalism in the longer term, as he sees it as the most promising Modernist political philosophy for pluralist societies, especially given the 20th Century failures of socialist collectivist politics. However, he sees the ethical and political philosophy of liberalism as weakly constructed upon a false-premise of racial innocence, when racism (particularly anti-black racism) has been foundational to the material conditions and social epistemology under which liberalism emerged.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

The Ideal Theory (of a Just Society) parallels Hegel’s “Weltgeist” (world spirit) and reflects the same teleological thinking of a Utopian end state of affairs as an optimal frame of analysis. In the historiography of the liberal tradition, Hegelianism runs rampant, as the horrors of the past are often dismissed as “exceptions” to an otherwise monotonic trajectory of improvement. This “regrettable errors of the past” ellision in the historiography of liberalism also features as a central narrative device in the history of the Queen’s medical ban, the closure of the medical profession to Black practitioners, and the ahistorical approach to racial desegregation of the profession in the late 20th Century. Mills’ attack on the Ideal Theory and his advocacy for its non-ideal complement parallels my own interest in a more ruthlessly honest, thorough, and tractable method of historiographical analysis of racism in medicine.

———. 2017c. “Kant’s Untermenschen.” In *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*, 91–112. Oxford University Press.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Mills rejects the widely held notion that Immanuel Kant’s anti-black racism had no bearing on his broader philosophical work on the personhood of the human subject.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Mills uses Kant's own writings to demonstrate the German philosopher's clear declarations that neither Black people nor women were equally endowed with equivalent traits of subject agency found in white men. He links these statements to Kant's broader statements on the subject position and its establishment through its engagement and mastery of its environment. He concludes that these foundational statements about individual agency and natural rights were drafted in a context in which such rights were accorded to some, but not others. In practice, Mills notes, the liberal ideal masks rampant historical tyranny against non-white people while extolling its liberatory effect on its intended white subjects.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Mills situates the racially differentiated realization of liberalism's chief tenets of social contract and personal liberty as a consequence of liberalism's intellectual history, starting with Locke, Kant and later Hegel, each of whom were deeply entwined in white supremacist political economy and concomitant racist ideation.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

The overwhelming volume of Kant's objectively racist musings makes a mockery of political philosophy's innocence claims with respect to his body of work. Mills demonstrates that this naive-innocent view still persists, and even dominates disciplinary philosophy's point of view. This epistemological failure is a particularized instance of "white ignorance" (developed elsewhere in this volume), and is useful as a simple example of the tenacity of erroneous race-history narratives in the face of obvious contrary evidence (e.g., Queen's actively banned Black students from its medical school for 47 years, and kept the policy on its books for 100 years, but continually presented itself as a non-racist actor in this history). Likewise, the medical profession systematically elevates itself as a racially equitable culture, but does not situate its ideals of non-prejudicial professionalism against its history as an agent and legitimizer of Scientific Racism, Eugenics, or fabricated Black pathology.

———. 2017d. "Racial Liberalism." In *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*, 28–48. Oxford University Press.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Mills extends his critique of whitewashed Kantian philosophy by turning his attention to racial boundaries that broadly define the application of contemporary liberalism. He notes that liberalism has never been a universally applicable doctrine anywhere it has been applied, and he finds that any truth claims it makes based on Ideal Theory would obviate the possibility of achieving universal contractarianism since such an outcome would require liberalism to constitute itself around the facts of non-ideal reality.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Mills revisits the presuppositions of "universal" social contract and liberal contractarianism and then notes the racial exceptions to this core value that nominally liberal societies have always maintained. He notes that liberalism makes claims based entirely on ideal-world assumptions. He also notes that the

philosophical enterprise propping up liberalism is overwhelmingly dependent on white perspectives and archives that are stubbornly resistant to addressing the contradictions between the ideal-liberal model and its racist real-world implementation.

He finds that liberalism's engagement with race is chiefly concerned with evading its imbrication in structural racism. He then proposes four disruptive tasks to put liberalism's philosophical enterprise back onto a productive and emancipatory track: 1) Deal with the intellectual history of liberalism honestly; 2) Understand the centrality of racial differentiation in both the ideological underpinnings and the material implementation of liberalism; 3) Reconfigure the understanding of contractarianism as racial in nature, and 4) Approach white supremacy as a political system in its own right and do the requisite philosophical work to understand its workings.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Here, Mills is extending his personal goal to rescue liberalism as a call-to-action for the discipline of political philosophy.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Disciplinary historiography has its own white-normative entrenchments with respect to source, archive, testimony, narrative and ontology – and disrupting this tendency is a key activity of Black Studies (among other identity-linked disciplinary interventions). It is therefore important to attend to the historical establishment of white-normative approaches to racism in medicine, both as an analytical position, but also as a means of anticipating where “avoidance” has yielded “historical silences.” Mills' critique not only models this kind of intervention, but also lays out a course of action for accomplishing such work.

———. 2017e. “White Ignorance.” In *Black Rights/White Wrongs: The Critique of Racial Liberalism*, 49–71. Oxford University Press.

- *The thesis or main argument*

The construction of a universalist liberalism bounded by white-normativity (whiteness) leads to regular and catastrophic failures of epistemology. Very often, the unresolvable contradictions arising between white-normative liberal ideology and material conditions for non-white subjects are simply disengaged to protect white-normative conceptions of Ideal Theory liberalism as a teleological certainty.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Mills traces the effects of white-normativity on major stages of social cognition (perception, conception, memory, testimony and motivational group interests), demonstrating how defaulting whiteness as a signifier of legitimation can lead to categorical errors in knowledge. He references the history of North American colonialism where non-neutral concepts tied to whiteness (such as the signifier, “savage”) ellide the vast majority of brutalities committed by white supremacy during 500 years of occupation. Likewise, white-normative memorialization in history obscures the perspective of people extirpated by colonization while naturalizing the perspective of those who committed these crimes against humanity. This obscurantism is reinforced by the de-legitimization of

testimony of sources not within the epistemological boundaries of whiteness. When these cognitive factors do break through whiteness, reflexive defence of white epistemology manifests as cognitive disordering, which Mills ascribes to incidents of motivated irrationality, or a “will to not know.”

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Mills is historicizing “white ignorance” as the emergence of motivated collective ignorance in defence of racial constructs and consequent social structures that contradict material, moral or cultural advantages of white-normative epistemology.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

An important question motivating my research is: “How is it possible that Queen’s University’s narrative of its ban of Black medical students could persist for 100 years despite easily available and widely circulated evidence to the contrary?” Mills’ model of epistemological failure within white-normative structure offers valuable clues to this kind of phenomenon, and the particular instances of naturalized concepts, obviated testimony, and motivated irrationality are especially helpful to my proposed historiographical method of analysing historical texts circulating in culture.

**Morais, Herbert Montfort. 1968. *The History of the Negro in Medicine*. International Library of Negro Life and History. Publishers Company.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This archival history is written in the form of a narrative chronicle of the history of Black physicians in the United States, culminating in their incorporation into a desegregated medical system in the wake of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Morais frames the participation of Black physicians in the profession as a history of counter-hegemonic struggle against anti-black racism.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Morais initiates his history with brief biographical passages describing the lives of early Black physicians in the United States dating to enslaved medical practitioners who used traditional learning to successfully treat disease outbreak (e.g., Caesar, a late 18th Century enslaved man whose medicinal knowledge saved many people in his South Carolina community), and then shifting focus to early free Black physicians trained in formal medical colleges (e.g., James McCune Smith, Martin Delany). Having established a Black medical legacy, he shifts his attention to the failure of Reconstruction and the racial closure of a rapidly modernizing profession. Here he makes use of the work of W. E. B. Du Bois to historicize the consequences of anti-blackness in American medicine (William Edward Burghardt Du Bois 1899, 1906). Much of the remainder of the book mines the archives of the National Medical Association to chronicle the work of Black doctors working in a segregated system and the struggles to force professional integration. This work is still notable for its close attention to the work of the Imhotep Conferences on Hospital Integration and its leading figures, Drs. William Montague Cobb and Theodore Howard (recent history at the time of publication).

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Morais was a liberal-progressive activist and Columbia-trained historian who worked as a professor at Brooklyn College before becoming an organized-labour researcher. This work was his most notable and it reflects an awareness-raising motive and highly developed narrative sensibility.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

As a white author engaged with Black archive, Morais was an early mover working inside the academic discipline of medical history in devoting substantial attention to the historiography of racism in American medicine. His 1968 work is scaffolded on 50 years of Black writers' narratives of race in the medical profession. By cataloguing and summarizing the NMAJ discourse on health care segregation c. 1910–1965, he focuses on a Black dialectic between integrationists and segregated Black Hospital Movement proponents, prefiguring the more specific and critical work of Vanessa Northington Gamble (Gamble 1987, 1995).

**Mpalirwa, Joseph, Aisha Lofters, Onye Nnorom, and Mark D. Hanson. 2020. "Patients, Pride, and Prejudice: Exploring Black Ontarian Physicians' Experiences of Racism and Discrimination." *Academic Medicine: Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges* 95 (11S): S51.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Owing to a lack of research literature, three medical-practitioner authors commissioned a survey of Black doctors, residents, and fellows in the Canadian healthcare system to learn about their racially mediated experiences in the medical profession.

- *The thesis or main argument*

The authors argue that Canada lacks a substantial understanding of the role of racism within its medical system, which they contrast with extensive research and intervention in the United States. The survey of 46 Black medical practitioners in Canada suggests that anti-black racism is prevalent and that the profession's elite is disengaged with the scope and scale of the issue.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The responses to both close-ended and open-ended survey questions were categorised for positive/negative experiences pertinent to race. Among survey responses, stereotyping instances of being mistaken for an orderly or nurse were a common observation. Many respondents reported having their competencies questioned, being overlooked, or being ignored as a mentorship recipient. They also reported relatively low levels of professional recognition, and having received directly racist discriminatory behaviour from patients.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

The authors, who are Black medical professionals in Canada, include two family physicians (Mpalirwa, Lofters), a public health doctor (Nnorom), and child psychiatrist (Hanson). Their motivation for this study stems from the lack of literature on the occurrence and effects of anti-black racism in the Canadian healthcare system.



- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

I choose this as a representative entry among a recent surge of research interest in the role of race in the Canadian medical profession. This new body of work principally addresses racism against Indigenous and Black practitioners and patients, and also considers anti-Muslim (Islamophobic) discrimination under a racial rubric<sup>32</sup>.

One of the recurring patterns in this recent body of literature is its lack of historical situatedness, which is unsurprising owing to the paucity of disciplinary attention to this topic. These “problem-identification” papers tend to describe racism in medicine as a subset of broader political and cultural pathologies and do not interrogate the specifics of medical professional culture and its active historical engagements with race. Here is where I am interested in: 1) establishing an important and well-researched micro-historical narrative relevant to Blackness in Canadian medicine; and 2) bridging between an historical understanding of race and racism in Canadian medicine and a methodologically extensible method for critiquing that history’s role in the contemporary cultural performance of race and racism within the profession.

**Mumby, Dennis K. 1989. “Ideology & the Social Construction of Meaning: A Communication Perspective.” *Communication Quarterly* 37 (4): 291–304.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Dennis Mumby proposes a conceptual framework for understanding ideology: as a system of symbolic representation (and misrepresentation) in a recursive and co-constitutive exchange with discourse (communication) under conditions of power (cultures structured in dominance).

- *The thesis or main argument*

Communication does ideological work, insofar as its practices of signifying meanings necessitate engagement with the structures of meaning-signification (i.e., representation). This relationship between discourse and pre-existing structures of signification and meaning are what we call ideology, which is itself co-constituted through communicative practice (discourse). This discursive emergence occurs under conditions of power (which the author defines as contexts of meaning creation within institutional life).

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Mumby synthesizes a framework of ideology, in the context of contemporary representation, from prior work by Louis Althusser, Stuart Hall and Valentin

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<sup>32</sup> The racialization of Muslim identity in Western societies c. 1979-present, is, of course, addressed within political discourse criticism, but the academic literature still makes a distinction between Muslim as a religious identity and racialized-Muslim as a subcategory of other racialized identities. This militates against my own consideration of race, which I treat as a discursive social construct, and therefore a viable descriptor of any ostensibly inheritable social identity that has been normatively differentiated within culture. Because of the contingency of this discursive formation, this definition of race is best used to analyze the signing structures race-specific discourse (talking about Islam as a racial identity) than used to make a comparative categorization between the identity in question vs. another racialized identity (Islam as a racial identity in a manner similar to Jewish as a racial identity c. 1550, but not similar to c. 1970).

Volosinov. His framework uses the sign-semiology of Volosinov and the Reception Theory of Hall and the subject-interpellation of Althusser to elucidate his model of ideology.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Mumby is a communications theorist interested in developing a more reliable methodology of ideological analysis (having rejected Jurgen Habermas' "ideal speech situation"<sup>33</sup>).

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

In asking how communications practices affect ideological work in society, Mumby asks a similar research question to the one I pose here and arrives at a definitional conception of what ideology is – an emergent pattern of discursive representation. Notably, Mumby is more focused on signifying conventions of discourse while I am more focused on the dynamic changes to signification patterning in historical text as it is mobilized through the "circuit of culture" and consumed, rejected, contested, or reproduced or modified via cultural practices.

Myers, Ella. 2022. *The Gratifications of Whiteness: W. E. B. Du Bois and the Enduring Rewards of Anti-Blackness*. Oxford University Press.

- *The main topic or focus*

This monograph expands on W. E. B. Du Bois' evolving latter-career conception of whiteness and its appeal to its defenders.

- *The thesis or main argument*

W. E. B. Du Bois is widely credited with coining the term "whiteness" to describe the politics and consequences of imagining social life to be normatively white. In the latter decades of his lifelong career, he broadened his analysis of whiteness beyond economic and social incentives. Owing to his inability to resolve the many irrational behaviours of presumptively economically motivated white actors, he considered psychosocial incentives, or gratifications of whiteness, as an incentive, and this consideration altered his political activism.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

The author has summarized Du Bois' analyses of irrational incentives within white-normativity as belonging to one or more of three kinds of gratifications: 1) Du Bois' already well established socio-political "wages of whiteness" which functions as a surety of social standing above society's lowest, racialized rungs; 2) Sadistic pathopsychology of enjoyment realized from the exercise of asymmetric power to inflict harm on (emphasis) Black Others; and 3) Psychological entitlement to the material and social benefits of the world (emphasis on its space and resources).

Myers further concludes this monograph by reviewing Du Bois' political

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<sup>33</sup> The "ideal speech situation" is a model where an imagined "perfect" situation for rational democratic dialogue is used to critique non-ideal discourse. Like the Mumby, I am also highly sceptical of the utility of such a device, the misgivings of which are mirrored by Charles Wade Mills rejection of John Rawls' Ideal Theory as a viable mechanism for perfecting political liberalism.

activist evolution from an exclusively rational-appeal to white moral sensibility and material self-interest, and towards an aesthetic world-building politics engendering emotional commitments, principally among Black communities, but also in engagement and collaboration with progressive white actors. She links this latter approach to contemporary activism among Black Lives Matter and the carceral abolition movements.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*

Ella Myers is a gender studies scholar and author of an earlier related work "Beyond the Psychological Wage." She constructs her arguments based on comparative analysis of Du Bois' major works, as well as his more marginal papers and essays.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*

There are two key areas of common engagement between Myer's book and my own research work. First, this monograph re-considers Du Bois' early career observations of the encounter of Blackness in white-normative spaces, which is a critical aspect of my work. Second, my historiographical interest is analyzing the way social cognition arises from the cultural circulation of historical text. The work of Charles Wade Mills and Michel-Rolph Trouillot inform my research approach to "irrational" historiography and these both reference white-normativity as a kind of cognitive blindness. Myer's monograph re-opens Du Bois' own insights into cognitive anxiety (wages), pleasure (sadism), and confidence (dominion/entitlement). While blindness is easy to analyse linguistically as a signing convention of erasure or absence, other cognitive factors require consideration as well and this work begins to catalogue these other emotionally driven cognitive processes.

**Nye, Robert A. 1997. "Medicine and Science as Masculine 'Fields of Honor.'" *Osiris* 12: 60–79.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Cultural history of medicine and science as fields that were built upon European military honour-code practices.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Professional fields of medicine and science developed in 18th Century Europe along the lines of earlier honour-code practices, which linked professional legitimacy claims to individual and gendered attributes including in-group loyalty and economic and social independence from out-group actors.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

Robert Nye is a scholar of European intellectual history with a focus on ideas about sex, gender and sexuality. His monograph "Masculinity and Male Codes of Honour in Europe," explores the historical development of extreme masculine-gendered performance in the emerging professional classes in the 18th and 19th Centuries. He uses archival analysis of cultural artefacts (e.g., records of duels, professional-society documents) to trace the chronology of ideals, customs and practices that accrue to individual professional cultures over time.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

There is a rather narrow body of research literature that historicizes cultural practices and systems of meaning in the medical profession. Much of that literature is based on ethnographic field studies and does not propose an historical analysis of how those practices and beliefs have been formed. My research is concerned with the dialogue between the history the profession writes for itself and the cultural practices that either enact (reinforce) or violate (contest) that history. Nye's method is broadly applicable to this task and is one of two works in this bibliography specifically focused on the emergence of medicine's cultural norms (see also Weiss and Miller 2010).

Omole, Mojola, Notisha Massaquoi, Camille Orridge, Bukola Salami, Andreas Laupacis, and Erin Russell, eds. 2022. *Canadian Medical Association Journal: 194 (41)*. Vol. 194. CMAJ. <https://www.cmaj.ca/content/194/41>.

*The main topic or focus*

This special issue of the CMA Journal addresses anti-black racism and anti-racist practices in Canadian medicine.

**Peprah-Asare, Elizabeth. 2023. "Reflections on The Remember Me Project: Queen's University's Black Past and the AfroWomanist Sankofa Archive to Our Future." *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry* 10 (2): 92–115.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Historical remembrance of Alfred Pierce, a Black man who was deemed a "mascot" of Queen's University in the last 25 years of his life.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Queen's University's historicization of the figure of Alfie Pierce (Queen's "black mascot" in the 1920s-late 1940's), as either a jester/minstrel or a hapless institutional victim, robs him of subject agency and it is a useful practice to generate affective empathy with his material and social circumstances to better understand his story from his own point of view.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Peprah-Asare describes the synchronous narrative of Alfie Pierce as a university jester/minstrel and his subsequent diachronous revision as a racially marginalized victim of the Queen's community, finding neither of these approaches satisfactory for building knowledge of the past. She then walks through the archived particulars of Alfie's life, raising questions of substance with respect to historical claims about him. She centres on Queen's eulogizing epitaph "He did alright" to ask if this attribution in any way could be considered a reliable signification of his real relationship with the university. She invokes an AfroWomanist Sankofa archival practice of relational memory retrieval to attempt to close the gap between the supposition "did alright" narrative and the knowledge of how Pierce experienced his own life.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*

Peprah-Asare makes use of critical fabulation in the style of Sadiatya Hartman. She crafts first-person perspective poems in the voice of Alfie Pierce for the sake

of developing an affective resonance for an historical actor whose subjectivity is largely built upon the projected representations of a white-normative institutional narrative.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay.*

The figure of Alfred Pierce appears in my own research with respect to the ideological work of history and the local historiography of the ban on Black medical students from 1918 to 1965. The rise of Alfie Pierce as the dominant representation of Blackness at Queen's closely coincides with the disappearance of Black medical students as historical agents in the university's self-narrative. The peak of Alfie's popularity on campus as racialized and posthumous mythologized embodiment of the school's "spirit" in the early 1950's also coincides with the peak of its former Black medical students' international medical, political, financial and social achievements – about which the university remained silent. Reading the archive of Alfie Pierce against the narrative thrust of the institution's rendering of its encounter with Blackness in medicine yields valuable archives of the concept-signing conventions of belonging, accountability, subject legitimation, and epistemological framing – all of which figure in the earliest implementation of my proposed method of tracing "ideological work" of historical texts. Peprah-Asare's contribution wrestles with the pronounced silences in the institutional archive of Pierce, which I account as instances of epistemological out-of-boundedness in the signing of his subject-signification within Queen's historical texts.

**Ricoeur, Paul. 2009. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. University of Chicago Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

This three-part monograph is a hermeneutic investigation of how the past is remembered collectively. It begins with an investigation of the history of philosophy of memory and the constitution of shared (collective) past knowledge. In the second part, it explores the philosophical underpinnings of history as a knowledge-making (epistemological) schema, and the complicated problems of reconciling the conversion of both passive and active testimony into narratives of the past. The third part, heavily influenced by Heidegger's ideas about temporality, focuses specifically on the phenomenological hermeneutics of collective memory and the problems of situating the past with reference to the present and future, with musings about the problem of forgetting and forgiving the worst collective memories.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Ricoeur makes the case that trace, history, forgetting and collective memory are intertwined phenomena, and that the relationship between these is affected by human experiences of time as well as simple motivated interest(s).

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Ricoeur characterizes or synthesizes the work of scores of historical philosophers, and he emphasizes several key, and highly relevant arguments to a phenomenological hermeneutics of collective memory. In the first part of this work focused on the intellectual history of memory, Ricoeur positions the



ideological work of history as largely rooted in “false consciousness” fed by power-serving narratives of the past. Here he follows Max Weber’s classification of belief legitimations (charismatic, traditional, rational-legal). At the same time, Ricoeur also recognizes that shared memories of the past, however remote from the subject in the present, are shaped by “experience” of that subject upon hearing of them (per Husserl’s object-oriented phenomenology). In the second part of this work focusing on historical epistemology, he problematizes the role of history in establishing and representing memory as knowledge of the past. Here he writes a minor history of Western historical philosophy moving from mentalities, to structural and post-structural particularism, and ultimately to narrativity centred on the work of Hayden White. Here Ricoeur recognizes history as an articulation of sources (trace), testimony, archive, narrative, and representation of the past, but not as a reliable image of the past itself.

In the third part of his treatise, Ricoeur attends to the phenomenological problem of memory and temporality – what does it mean to “experience” the past in the present and how does this ontologize the way we situate ourselves within time? Here, Ricoeur engages at length with: 1) Heidegger’s premise that time is discretized into past, present, and future with the realization of impending death as the key driver of meaning from this situatedness; and 2) Koselleck’s work in attending to the gap between dominant models and methods of historicity and the phenomenology of time. Here, Ricoeur critiques Heidegger’s ontological emphasis on futurity over present conditions along with his lack of specificity in insisting on how this mode of temporality is tied to ontological authenticity. The latter he lauds for attending to the philosophical history of memory, but criticizes for treating the past more externally (less phenomenologically) than Heidegger.

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

Ricoeur synthesizes large swathes of the Western philosophical corpora to develop his argument for the contingency of memory and to reflect on both the utility and risks of collective forgetting. He concludes this work with reflection on the ethics of remembering vs. forgetting, reflecting his desire to elucidate a beneficial praxis of phenomenological hermeneutics.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Ricoeur’s monograph on the hermeneutics of memory ranks among the most rigorous efforts to critique historicity (directly) and historiography (indirectly), but it retains a very traditional view of ideology. While he approvingly catalogues Michel Foucault’s discursive model of knowledge creation and propagation, he is also quick to dismiss a discursive-dominant approach to historical epistemology. This is perhaps reflected in the fairly traditionalist approach Ricoeur takes to ideology as a discretized collection of particular beliefs rather than a dynamic, emergent and oftentimes unstable regime of discursive practice(s). I use Ricoeur’s work in phenomenological hermeneutics to situate individual agents within the “ideological work of history,” while taking a decidedly discursive-linguistic approach to understanding how memory, history and ideology are co-constitutive within culture. Further, I

retain some theoretical distance from Heideggerian temporality as a modern and culturally particular conception of past, present, and future phenomenology, which is not at all a universal framing ([Robinson 2016, page 6](#)).

**Shaw, Melissa N. 2016. “‘Most Anxious to Serve Their King and Country’: Black Canadians’ Fight to Enlist in WWI and Emerging Race Consciousness in Ontario, 1914–1919.” *Social History* 49 (100): 543–80.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
Canadian racism’s role in restricting Black enlistments in the First World War.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
Black political activism in Canada was catalyzed by resistance to racial discrimination against enlistees and soldiers during the First World War and against Black veterans at the conclusion of the war.
- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*  
Melissa Shaw traces the activism of Black Canadians Joseph R. B. Whitney, Donald S. Moore and Rev. F. O. Stewart during and after the First World War, noting that initial organizing on the subject of Black military enlistment through the Canadian Observer newspaper led to a broader engagement on a wide range of anti-black policies and norms in Canada. At the conclusion of the war, this activism found new expression through internationally organized Black liberation organizations including UNIA, the NAACP and the broader movement for Pan Africanism.
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
There is a deep intersection between the Queen’s medical ban and the resurgence of Black race consciousness in Canada during and immediately after the Second World War. One of Shaw’s key sources, Canadian Observer, was also an active node in the international scandal caused by the ban and its attendant offence to notions of Black masculinity, respectability politics, and “fair play” within the British imperial system. Shaw’s work here extracts important historical and cultural markers of this era and she attends to several archival sources that also encompass key actors in Queen’s Black medical history and the 1918–1919 resistance the Queen’s ban<sup>34</sup>. Finally, her analysis of the role of First World War racism in subsequent Canadian engagements with UNIA and the Pan-Africanist movement intersect the post-war careers of several historical actors in my research<sup>35</sup>.

**Stråth, Bo. 2006. “Ideology and History.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11 (1): 23–42.**

- *The main topic or focus*

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<sup>34</sup> Most prominently, Dr. Courtney C. Ligoure, a Queen’s medical graduate of 1916, was a co-founding organizer, fund-raiser and advocate for the formation of the No. 2 Construction Battalion.

<sup>35</sup> Ligoure, Dr. Alvin Calder, Dr. George Clarke, Ethelbert Bartholomew, Dr. Hubert Cezair.

The paper develops an intellectual history of ideology, where ideology is understood to be “cognitive structures with legitimizing functions.”

- *The thesis or main argument*

The understanding and analysis of ideology has gradually shifted from the classification of specific and stable ideas about social legitimation, to the discursive analysis of emergent and contingent patterns of legitimation recognizable within cultural practices.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Stråth outlines recent intellectual history on the topic of ideology, starting with the problem of realizing Leopold van Ranke’s late 19th Century ambition for scientific historicism. He traces the mid-20th Century emergence of E. P. Thompson’s and Quentin Skinner’s independent emphasis on linguistics rather than historical ontology as a means of understanding ideology. Stråth also examines the nearly-contemporaneous historical narratology of Hayden White that identified the mythic pattern of history, which he understood as an ideological phenomenon reflecting the use of language by power. Stråth also looks at the late-career work of Reinhart Koselleck, who focused on the changes of ideological concept language (linguistic practice) in times of historical crisis. He concludes by synthesizing a characteristic view of history as a discursive practice, operating within culture to establish bounding-conditions on linguistic representation of past knowledge (emphasis on the use of such knowledge to frame Koselleck’s “horizon of expectation”).

- *The authors’ ideological or methodological perspective*

Stråth is an historian of Western philosophy who is particularly interested in the historiography of political and economic concepts. He is principally an archival researcher and comparative analyst of philosophical work.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

My practical and theoretical historiographical interest is to develop and demonstrate a method of analysis of history-as-cultural-text that is represented, recognized, regulated and re-articulated within material cultural practices and having ideological consequences. Stråth’s paper locates this approach within his historiography of concepts of ideology. Specifically, he identifies the contingent and culturally co-dependent nature of ideology as an emergent discursive phenomenon. My model of the ideological work of history proposes to track the phenomena indicated in Stråth’s analysis.

**Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1995. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Beacon Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*

Trouillot’s monograph on hegemonic historicism (*not his terminology*) explores the way power elevates some traces, archives, and narratives of the past while silencing others. This widely cited work problematizes historiographical epistemology and advocates for rigorous attention to the materiality of practices between what he calls the two poles of history: 1) what actually happened; and 2) the way we collectively arrive at an account of what happened.

- *The thesis or main argument*

Trouillot posits that the power and ideological shaping of power's social applications generates erasures and silences in each of four "moments" of historical construction: 1) the making of sources (facts); 2) the assembly of facts (making of archives); 3) the retrieval of archival facts (making of narratives), and 4) the signification of meaning from historical narratives ("making of history in the final instance"). He takes a broad view of the sites of these moments, assigning great importance to historical practices well outside of academic historiography.

Trouillot proposes to broaden the analysis of historical production, including the circulation, contestation, and revision of history outside of its disciplinary boundaries. He also proposes to attend to historical silences as closely as historical narratives, recognizing that what history does not say has as much bearing on its role in knowledge and meaning as what it does say. Last, he proposes to attend to the role of power, structure and agency without reducing this practice to false dichotomies he declares to be rampant in historiographical analysis (e.g., structure/agent, material/narrative, reflective/constructionist).

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

Trouillot delves into several contested histories notable for their epistemological dissonances between what is collectively remembered and what is ignored.

Each of these cases is scrutinized for what is knowable vs. what is endorsed by power. In the case of the Alamo, he tracks how changing material conditions in San Antonio, TX, led to a crisis in the testimonial authenticity of settler revolutionaries' personal courage. In the case of the Haitian Revolution, he considers how a white European construction of Black subjectivity rendered a world-changing slave revolt effectively illegible to a white-dominated historical discipline. In the case of public reckoning with the historical facts about Christopher Columbus, he follows the interests of power and the parallel occasions of the explorer/conqueror's memory rising from embarrassed diminishment, to rehabilitation, to widespread adulation, only to return to disgrace once again.

Last, Trouillot considers his own underwhelming experiences of visits to the ruins of old civilizations. He also briefly considers the contestation around a proposed Disney owned antebellum plantation theme park. He examines the way this culturally dissonant project's engagement with history could be experienced by non-whites. Here, he makes an argument about the politics of historical memory and the subject's desire to be situated within an authentic present connected to a credible past. Here, Trouillot moves slightly from epistemology to ontological phenomenology. He ends along these lines with a short epigraph of a trip to his childhood home, Port-Au-Prince, where local people have long since either destroyed or inverted the historical meaning of two historical monuments.

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.*

The most relevant aspect of Trouillot's methodology is his principal focus on what the archives, narratives, and monuments he encounters do not say and the kinds of traces, sources, testimonies and archives they do not engage. "Silencing

the Past” is more concerned with the epistemological consequences of silence than the ontological effects, although he does attend to problems of phenomenological authenticity in the concluding chapter of this work. While he alludes to the ideological work done by history, he focuses on how history comes to be “known” in the first place by focusing on the materiality of four “moments” in history.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Trouillot provides a critically important framework for scrutinizing the ideological work done by history, even though he mostly approaches ideology in a traditional tropism-classification approach rather than as a dynamic discursive cultural phenomenon. What is especially useful in Trouillot’s work is his framing of four essentially discursive practices of historical production and consumption, and his concomitant challenge to the primacy of academic historiography as the principle site where history acquires credibility. Both of these insights figure prominently in my synthesis of historiographical scholarship and cultural/critical studies scholarship, where I theorize that: 1) history gains its ontological significance (and ideological potency) not when its textual objects interpellate subjects, but when those subjects’ performative recursions and transformations of those texts interpellate other subjects; and 2) the ideological work accomplished by history is principally accomplished by the subsequent cultural work of history’s primary consumers (recognizers) upon the encounter of textual objects curated by history’s primary producers (signifiers).

Trouillot’s work additionally occupies an intellectual space of mutual interest between: 1) the racialized epistemological critique of Charles Wade Mills, and 2) the linguistic/literary historiography of Hayden White, and 3) the ideological Articulation practice and Reception Theory of Stuart Hall. While there is little to no mutual citation between Trouillot, Mills and Hall, the former does engage with White (White 1975, 2009) to acknowledge the constructivist-narrativist aspects of history while rejecting such a model as historiographically sufficient on its own. Trouillot’s consistent pattern is to resist purist theoretical approaches in favour of theoretical syncretism, which is similar to Stuart Hall’s career-long advocacy for anti-disciplinary scholarship and praxis. Both Trouillot and Mills address the problem of knowledge creation under conditions of racialized power structures – and here Mills makes a much deeper investigation into the ideological structuring of discourse than Trouillot who treats ideology similarly to White (Mills 2017).

Importantly, Mills and Trouillot are both committed to understanding the creation of historical erasures, and silences as null-objects of knowledge. Such nullities have been taken up by scholars employing critical fabulation as a knowledge creation project outside of empiricist historicity (Hartman 2008; Palmié 2013; Peprah-Asare 2023). Trouillot, however, approaches historical silences as texts in their own right, that can be read (with due consideration to how they arise) along with historical presences as a knowledge making exercise within empirical historicity.



Last, Trouillot is attentive to the phenomenology of history circulated within culture. Stuart Hall's Reception Theory and Articulation practices could bridge the gap between Trouillot's call for an improved historiographical practice and an empiricist reading of nullities – if Hall's models can be reduced to an extensible tool of analysis – and this is where I situate my theoretical work addressing hegemonic historicism and the problem of erasure.

———. 2000. "Abortive Rituals: Historical Apologies in the Global Era." *Interventions* 2 (2): 171–86.

- **The main topic or focus**  
Trouillot briefly considers institutional efforts to reckon with historical wrongdoing on a collective basis.
- **The thesis or main argument**  
The symbolic act of collectivist institutional apology is a classically liberal concept that maps the attributes of the past subject to entire present day collectivities and then attempts to connect the present collective to past collective on a subject-to-subject basis. Because this subject identification is not viable, such apologies will not be transformative, but will in fact be constrained to ritual acts.
- **The main arguments that support the thesis**  
Trouillot critiques a 1980 Reconciliation Walk in Cologne, Germany, where marchers apologize for a bloody Medieval crusade in the Middle East. First he identifies the liberal subject-to-subject structure of this political act. Then he develops the basic subject roles required for this ritual and notes that the past-collective subject (crusaders) must first be historically constructed since the conceptual liberal subject must exist a priori to the encounter with itself. Likewise, the collective victim subject must also be constructed – and both perpetrator and victim must be linked to the present-day collective subject (i.e., the present collectivity must assume the past subject role as perpetrator to enact the apology).
- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**  
Trouillot problematizes the efficacy of collective-subject construction. He further doubts the efficacy and utility of constructing past collectivities as liberal subjects (which have no agency). Here, Trouillot is providing a warning about attempting to construct historical relationships that cannot meet phenomenological standards of authenticity (he identifies pastness as a situational relationship similar to distance).
- **The relationship of the source to your essay.**  
My research work has three modes: 1) historical revision; 2) historiographical theorizing, and 3) social praxis. The third aspect of this work has already led to multiple acts of institutional statements of apology and memorialization (Abraham 2019; Queen's University Senate 2019; Kalipersad 2019; Houston 2023). Trouillot's paper provides a useful theoretical critique of public acts of recognition, as well as a series of useful cautions in the way I might advise, address and collaborate in this mode of use of history. In particular, I have been careful to particularize individual and collective responsibilities in ways that do

not project one subject position onto another (e.g., Queen's as a "living" institution enacted a ban, and is the sole party equipped to apologize for it, while the responsibility of individuals within its community is to understand this history, learn from it, and incorporate the lessons into its present day practices). This work is also helpful in approaching similar texts of historical revision and reckoning that are pertinent to my research (Edwards and Bates 2013).

**Walker, Barrington. 2022. "Critical Histories of Blackness in Canada." In *Unsettling the Great White North: Black Canadian History*, edited by Michele A. Johnson and Funké Aladejebi, 31–52. University of Toronto Press.**

- **The main topic or focus**

Walker's opening chapter in "Unsettling the Great White North" introduces a brief historiographical analysis of Black Canadian history, noting its progression from white-saviour narratives and recountings of discrimination towards more sophisticated critical interrogations of Canadian settler colonialism, racial state politics and social organization. He calls for increasing interventions of Black scholarship in methodology and historiographical analysis and less emphasis on hero-narratives of overcoming, or episodic narratives of oppression.

- **The thesis or main argument**

Walker's position is that Black Canadian history remains underdeveloped and that it is a rich site for broader explorations of counter-hegemonic historiography, analysis of the racial state and its legacies and alternative perspectives of Canadian futurity.

- **The main arguments that support the thesis**

Walker first reviews the tropisms of early popular Black Canadian history, reflecting on their failure to expand an historical perspective outside of white-normative scholarship. He notes the broad expansion of Black history scholarship in the last few decades and the expanded engagement with the Black Canadian archive. He then poses a series of future challenges for Canadian Black historical studies relating to archival expansion, critical readings of power-aligned archives and consideration of multiple frames of temporality. He then points to three sites of current scholarship where he sees potential to enact one or more of his calls to action (Mary Ann Shadd's project for Black settlerism in Canada West, Benjamin Drew's documentation of formerly enslaved people's narratives, and the colored-conventions movement of the 19th Century).

- **The authors' ideological or methodological perspective.**

Walker is concerned with the utility of Black Canadian history as a platform for political and social liberation in Canada and internationally. As a constructionist historian, his career has been centred on counter-hegemonic archives of Black people encountering the opportunities and limitations of the Canadian racial state, which he models as a political economy modelled on hierarchical racial difference and oriented toward a continuance/expansion of Settler Colonialism as an organizing logic for citizenship and national identity. Notably, his work hinges on the archive of contemporaneous Black perspectives on racist

encounters with the institutions of the Canadian state and using these to expand the critique of the states projects (i.e., Settler Colonialism, Racial hierarchy).

- **The relationship of the source to your essay.**

Walker reflects on the increasing sophistication and breadth of constructivist Black Canadian history, but also issues a call to action to its scholars to attend to the creation of critical historiographical analysis and theory.

*“I argue that the writing of critical Black histories must continue to emphasize the move beyond simple storytelling that is all too prevalent during public historical commemorative events that characterize the typical Black History Month fare and, although it is rarer, can still also function as a kind of strategic retreat for some professional (university trained and/or employed) historians as well as their so-called “amateur” counterparts. Such a retreat tragically and needlessly cedes the ground of Black criticality to newer disciplines whose grasp of the complexity of Black histories in Canada is often superficial, bereft of historical or historiographical nuance.” pp. 31-32.*

I position my own work as a two-fold intervention in Black Canadian history: 1) to build a revised historical narrative of Black Canadian actors in the medical profession; and 2) to interrogate the historiography of the “popular” narrative for the purposes of demonstrating an improved scholarly methodology of critiquing the ideological significance of historical narratives. Critical Black historiography is ideally situated to resolve major gaps in the philosophy of history that arise in Mills’ “white ignorance”, or Trouillot’s “silencing of the past”. Specific gaps in the dynamic analysis of ideological effects of historical text are not adequately addressed by White’s metahistory, nor Ricoueur’s phenomenological hermeneutics. I suggest that these gaps arise, in part, from a lack of standpoint “outside the bounds of normative epistemological frame” – and this is where Black historiography is especially potent – not merely as a counter-hegemonic or outsider approach to historiography – but as a reflexively and doubly conscious historical scholarly practice – one that habitually attends multiple concurrent gazes and therefore multiple concurrent epistemic framings.

In answering Dr. Walker’s call to action, I argue that Black historiography working syncretically and simultaneously inside and outside of epistemic white-normativity is uniquely situated to de-silo White’s (ideal) historical pluralism such that its variants can be made more legible across multiple standpoints.

**Weiss, Richard M., and Lynn E. Miller. 2010. "The Social Transformation of American Medical Education: Class, Status, and Party Influences on Occupational Closure, 1902-1919." *The Sociological Quarterly* 51 (4): 550–75.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
The authors investigate the Flexner-recommended institutionalization of medical education to assess whether it was enacted as a project of social closure, per Max Weber's theory of social stratification.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
The reorganization of medical education and professional legitimation in the early 20th century resulted in the closure of proprietary education and the widespread barring of Black trainees along lines predicted by motivated action of affiliation, racial, and gender discrimination.
- *The main arguments that support the thesis*  
The authors collected statistical data of medical training institutions social-status characteristics that relate to Weberian "enclosure" and performed a regression analysis on the likelihood of negative outcome (closure) driven by American Medical Association enactment of Flexner's 1910 recommendations.
- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*  
The authors are both scholars of organizational behaviour and management studies conducting research on occupational closure (a variant of Weberian social closure). They are interested in the emergence of physicians as a powerful locus of professional social status, which is understood to emanate from cultural signifiers of independence, honour and visible affiliation.
- *The relationship of the source to your essay*  
This paper and subsequent work (Miller and Weiss 2012) focuses on the cultural history of North American medicine that is chronologically concurrent with the development of the Queen's University ban against Black medical students. My historiographical work appropriates methodologies from cultural studies and cultural-historical analysis of the medical profession in this period, which is important to the analysis of the physicians' archive (Michalska-Smith 2015).

**White, Hayden. 1975. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. JHU Press.**

- *The main topic or focus*  
The most-cited historiographer in Western scholarship develops his theory of historical structure, presaging his career-long work in critiquing the narrativity of history and historicism as a means of navigating the inherent pluralism of history as a constructionist phenomenon.
- *The thesis or main argument*  
Early Modern European ideas about historical writing span a series of discrete conceptual frameworks within the categories of 1) storytelling type, 2) poetic orientation toward historical consciousness, 3) type of narrative emplotment, 4) method of argumentation, and 5) ideological implication. Each of these five categories is further divided into specific subtypes, and the specific five-variable

signature of a given historical text provides a perspective from which the deep discursive meaning of a particular historical imagining can be optimally interrogated. A key minor thesis of this monograph is that history, itself, is a narrative art of reflection upon the past as much as it can ever be a human science devoted to the credible retrieval of the past.

- *The main arguments that support the thesis*

White introduces his classification scheme, citing a wide range of 19th century historians and philosophers on each important concept category and sub-type german to his model. He uses the work of four historical realists – Jules Michelet, Leopold von Ranke, Alexis de Tocqueville and Jacob Burkhardt to illustrate his categories of emplotment of historical writing. He then dedicates separate chapters on the philosophies of history developed by Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, and Croce to illustrate a chronological rotation of historical “poetics” from pre-Hegelian irony, to Hegelian synecdoche to Marxist metonymy, to Nietzschean metaphor and back to irony (Croce).

- *The authors' ideological or methodological perspective*

White is firmly constructionist and does not propose to recover “correct” history, but he is committed to a philosophy of history that is equipped to deal with conflicting interpretation, which he frames as a largely aesthetically driven divergence. His method is to scaffold a formalism for categorizing such divergences in history.

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

Hayden White's Metahistory is a compelling and aesthetically engaged model of history-as-literature. My goal is to leave it behind and develop something that reflects history as a multi-agent cultural practice rather than a single author's cultural expression.

Metahistory's poetics are tied to an assumption of complex tropisms as stable conceptual objects. These assumptions are problematic for several reasons: Even if a concept synthesis like “Integrative, metonymical, tragic, organicist, conservatism” was widely legible as a signing convention across many peoples' readings, there is no reasonable assurance that such a genre of historical writing would remain interpretable as individual conceptual conventions like “conservatism” are mutable within any given discursive field (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). White's sources for his historical taxonomy are exceedingly narrow, focused on men from Western Europe whose writing spans a single century. We know that even in the confines of Europe, the conceptual breadth of history from 1400 to 1800 spanned radically different conceptions of temporality, subjectivity and agency. White's classification scheme spans an especially particular tranche of historiographical thinking and practice. White recognizes and celebrates discursive construction, but does not provide an extensible and discursive methodology in this work. He is, in fact, careful to characterize this contribution as a means of prefiguring the linguistic deep-structures through which history plays a role in constituting meaning. In this sense, it is possible to conceive of White's poetics as systemic means for footnoting a Foucauldian archeology of knowledge of the past ... one that makes the prospect of chronologizing an historical concept tractable ... but not one that



engages object-subject-subject, or other similarly complex discursive sequences that mobilize history to accomplish ideological work.

Trouillot, and arguably Ricouer, particularly understood that history's social affect belongs to its consumers, regurgitators, and remodelers, as much – if not more – than its primary authors (Trouillot 1995; Ricoeur 2009). Others have recognized history's non-transmissive role in either catalyzing or constraining temporal alterity (Koselleck 2004; Hartman 2008; McKittrick 2006). Neither of these aspects of historicity are addressable under "Metahistory" which remains a dominant historiographical theory more than 50 years after its first publication.

I propose a comparatively simple, extensible, and potentially radical method of historiographical analysis that reflects both the multi-consciousness of Black scholarship (W. E. B. Du Bois 1903; Gilroy 1993) and the material discursive contingency of Stuart Hall's Articulation Theory and Reception Theory (Hall 1997; Hall, Gilroy, and Gilmore 2021; Hall 2019). Both of these influential bodies of work emerge from attention to racial epistemology and its impacts on historicity (Mills 2017; Maxwell 1996; Fanon 1991), temporality (Robinson 2000; Palmié 2013), and spatiality (McKittrick 2006; Sheppard 2008). These are the core concerns that drive my research question of how a particular history of Blackness in medicine might do ideological work.

———. 1985. *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

*The most influential historiographer of the 20th Century expands his genre analysis and begins to engage with late-structuralist and early post-structuralist approaches to historiography. Importantly, White begins to engage with the role of history in generating rather than merely propagating ideology.*

- *The relationship of the source to your essay*

White's main theoretical thrust was to interrogate history as an aesthetic practice rather than a humanist science – and this aesthetic is rooted in narrativity. One of the postulates I have developed from reading critiques of teleological liberalism is that the rather slippery modernist construct called "Western Civilization" is, in fact, best understood as a narrative structure, differentiated from pre-modernist and postmodernist narratives by what Jameson identified as a shift from atemporality to temporality (modernism) and currently from temporality to spatiality (postmodernism) ([Jameson 2003](#)).

I situate the Western modernist narrative, upon which the current (and destabilized) hegemonic neoliberal order is scaffolded, as a synthesis of Christian/Hegelian teleology that was elucidated under conditions that embedded foundational doctrines of racial hierarchy in the liberal ideation of personhood and subject agency ([Mills 2017](#)). To grossly oversimplify, I might say, that the specific anti-black ideologies embedded within white-normative modernity could be understood as sub-narratives in a larger story about white-normative notions of progress towards a white-normative end state in



history. This meta-narrative is part of the cognitive map white-normative<sup>36</sup> subjects use to make sense of the world and to guide collective notions of inter-subjective accountability, legitimacy, in-group status, or even textual legibility within its own (narrative) epistemological frame. It is also apprehended as an aesthetic object more than an epistemological object, and adherences to its structure are as much affective as instrumental. So, if I take pains to identify the persistent ideological power racially inscribed meta-narrative, why do I see White's historiographical method as non-extensible? I treat narrative as a carrier of inter-subjective concepts, or rather the means by which inter-subjective concepts are constructed as cognitively accessible maps into which subjects can project their own consciousness. But these projections are not perfectly commensurate between the text and the subject who encounters the text. You can ask five different people to interpret and summarize the 1619 Project and expect five different perturbations to its narrative meaning ([Lowery 2023](#)). No matter how carefully the historian crafts the knowledge of the past, Stuart Hall observed that people will always have agency over the scope and direction of the moment of conscious self-projection:

*"Far from being grounded in a mere 'recovery' of the past, which is waiting to be found, and which, when found, will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by, and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past."*  
([Hall 1996](#))

In line with established linguistic/discursive approaches to signification and representation, I treat narrative as a "legible" structure into which subject and object signifier are packaged. While White identifies the affective valence of historical narrative, he has not addressed how history's readers transform it by reconfiguring its underlying concept significations. In addressing the research problem of how an easily disproved historical narrative not only endures, but propagates into a professional culture as a particular meta-narrative or race innocence, I'm also bound to ask how the subjects who encountered that history "positioned themselves within the narratives of the past" – effectively, I'm bound to ask how history constructs the subject, or does ideological work. We can observe that it does not simply discipline the subject's conception of the world, but enters into a text-subject dialectic that may transform not only the subject position, but even the pattern of the text's conceptual signification. By implication, I am implicating the consumers of history as co-creators of history, and I am treating their performances-of-consumption as the means by which history has ideological relevance. I am interested in developing the

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<sup>36</sup> I emphasize the point that "white-normative subjects" in this discourse include any combination of racial self-identification(s) that is/are constructed in accordance with white normativity as an ontologically bounded system of experiencing the world. A Black woman who imagines her agency in terms of getting by in a by-default white society may resist acquiescence to that normativity, but is also a white-normative subject.

historiography of the Queen's medical ban as a platform for this inquiry on the nuances of how history accomplishes ideological work.

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