

**COLONIZING MINDS: PUBLIC EDUCATION, THE  
TEXTBOOK INDIAN, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR  
SETTLER HEGEMONY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA,  
1920-1970**

by

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THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis examines the relationship between public education, the representations of indigenous peoples as the Textbook Indian in secondary school textbooks, and the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970. In drawing inspiration from Marxist Theory and critical pedagogy, this work shows how education in general and textbooks in particular were powerful tools of a project of colonizing minds. The colonizing minds project refers to the state's process of manufacturing and manipulating public education to justify and rationalize colonialism and the development of settler society in British Columbia to students as commonsensical. This thesis argues that the colonizing minds project was subtly refashioned over time to reflect the needs, struggles, and changing historical circumstances of settler society in British Columbia during the twentieth century.

**Keywords:** Colonizing Minds; British Columbia; Public Education; Textbook Indian; Hidden Curriculum; Settler Hegemony

*For Patricia (Gran)*

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# 1. INTRODUCTION: CLEARING A PATH

This thesis explores the close relationship between public education and what I am calling the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970.<sup>1</sup> My work is motivated by the desire to highlight the tremendous capacity of settler societies like British Columbia—whose very existence is predicated on the dispossession, redistribution, and resettlement of indigenous peoples’ lands by non-indigenous settlers—to rationalize and recreate their existence. More specifically, I am interested in how such societies use education as a tool to, in the words of educational theorists Michael W. Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, “regenerate themselves, not only in their material foundations and structures but in the hearts and minds of people.”<sup>2</sup> In this thesis, education in general, and textbooks and their representations of the past and of indigenous peoples in particular, will be understood as part of a project of colonizing minds. The colonizing minds project in British Columbia during the mid- to late twentieth century sought to teach students—both indigenous and non-indigenous—to take their place in settler society as a way of guaranteeing that society’s continued existence.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term “settler hegemony” and why I feel it must be understood as a “struggle” in the history of British Columbia will be explained in greater detail later in this chapter. For now I note that my work will draw from Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci’s understanding of hegemony as a fluid form of social and cultural control and apply it to the colonial setting of British Columbia.

<sup>2</sup> Michael W. Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, “The Politics of the Textbook,” in *The Politics of the Textbook*, eds. Apple and Christian-Smith (New York: Routledge, 1991), 15.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the “colonizing” power of pedagogy in the Canadian educational context see, for example, Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* (London: The Athlouse Press, 1988), 377.

By way of introduction, this chapter aims to “clear a path” for my work.<sup>4</sup> I begin by reviewing the historiography of three important fields that often operate in isolation in the North American context: postcolonial studies, the history of education, and the history of indigenous peoples.<sup>5</sup> Having established the important trends and debates within these three fields and created a space in which to bring them into conversation, I will then explain how I will engage with and move beyond these works in the writing of my thesis.

In the early 1950s, studies of colonialism emerged that reflected the revolutionary spirit of decolonization movements in the aftermath of the Second World War. During this period, such scholars as George Padmore, Albert Memmi, and C.L.R. James sought to analyze the history of colonialism and capitalism with hopes of inciting resistance and revolution.<sup>6</sup> Emblematic of this early postcolonial literature are the works by Aimé Césaire and his more famous student and protégé Frantz Fanon. The basic premise of Césaire’s most famous work, *Discourse on Colonialism*, is that modern colonial conquest entailed the imposition of capitalist social relationships and a colonial way of thinking or

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<sup>4</sup> Historian Nancy Shoemaker appropriates the metaphor of “clearing a path”—one used by some northeastern indigenous groups in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when talking about clearing obstacles from trade and travel routes—to urge historians to look for theoretical frameworks that can open new ways of seeing and studying the colonial past in North America. See *Clearing a Path: Theorizing the Past in Native American Studies*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker (New York: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>5</sup> For examples of the rich scholarship produced when these historiographies do meet see John Willinsky, *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire’s End* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Ann Laura Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 23-67; Mary-Ellen Kelm, *The Letters of Margaret Butcher: Missionary-Imperialism on the Pacific Coast* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> For examples of early twentieth century anti-colonial literature see George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* (London: Dobson, 1956); Albert Memmi, *The Colonized and the Colonizer* (Boston: Beacon, 1965); Richard White, *White Man Listen!* (New York: Anchor, 1964); C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L’Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1963)—originally written in 1938 but revised by James in 1963 to reflect changing historical circumstances surrounding decolonization.

discourse.<sup>7</sup> It was Fanon, however, who built upon and is usually credited with furthering Césaire's ideas, most notably on the importance of colonial discourse.

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon reveals how colonizers impose colonial discourses of inferiority on the colonized as part of a process of dehumanizing them so as to legitimize colonial rule.<sup>8</sup> Particularly fascinating about Fanon's work is his argument that the implementation of colonial discourse dialectically constructs the colonized and the colonizer, simultaneously. For Fanon, this dialectical relationship means that the decolonization of the colonized necessarily entails the decolonization of the colonizers and the discourses they use to justify their rule. Yet, it is important to emphasize that for both Césaire and Fanon, decolonization was not simply a process of rooting out colonial discourse—it also entailed rooting out the unequal and exploitative social relations of capitalism that colonial discourses sought to legitimize as normal and natural. Thus, in much of the early postcolonial literature, it is argued that resistance against the dissemination of colonial discourses must also resist and expel the oppressive relationships of capitalism. A revolution that deconstructed the former but not the latter was not only incomplete but also lacked the crucial understanding that colonialism and capitalism were intimately entwined throughout much of the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

While the works of Césaire and Fanon captured the revolutionary energy of post-Second World War decolonization movements, it would be some time before the ideas of

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<sup>7</sup> Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1955). For a particularly helpful overview of Césaire's work in the context of decolonization see Robin D.G. Kelley's essay, "A Poetics of Anticolonialism," included in the 2000 edition of *Discourse on Colonialism*.

<sup>8</sup> Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1963). See also Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967).

these authors were recognized by scholars in the metropole.<sup>9</sup> While not speaking directly to the works of Césaire or Fanon, Edward Said's *Orientalism*, published almost twenty years later, was one of the first studies to break the silence on questions of culture, colonialism, and empire.<sup>10</sup> In building on the proliferation of social and cultural histories by such British Marxists as E.P. Thompson and Raymond Williams, Said's work focused on the relationship between culture and colonial discourse. His famous argument is that Orientalism—as a colonial discourse—is constructed by the West as an institution for dealing with the Orient, “dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”<sup>11</sup> In linking culture, colonialism, and critical discourse analysis, Said's work quickly became the classic text and benchmark for the writing of postcolonial studies.

While Said's work was tremendously influential, it was criticized on a number of fronts. These criticisms opened spaces for the emergence of several different trends in the postcolonial historiography. For example, in 1981 a group of scholars loosely identified with the publication *Subaltern Studies* attempted to complicate and open up Said's analysis of Orientalist discourse to include discussions of peasant agency and

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<sup>9</sup> There were, however, many scholars writing about the history of oppression, exploitation, and empire in relation to the development of capitalism during that time. See, for example, Paul Sweezy, *The Theory of Capitalist Development: Principles of Marxian Political Economy* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1942); Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1957); Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967); Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974). For a critique of these studies see Anthony Brewer, *Marxist Theories of Imperialism: A Critical Survey*, Second Edition (New York: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>10</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Vintage, 1978).

<sup>11</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

colonial resistance in relation to Indian historiography.<sup>12</sup> Since this time, such Subaltern scholars as Gyan Prakash, Ranajit Guha, Partha Chatterjee, Gayatri Chakrovorty Spivak, and Dipesh Chakrabarty have increasingly focused on the relationship between colonialism, culture, and dominant discourse.<sup>13</sup> For the most part, these intellectuals argue that the agency, the “voice,” of subaltern peasants is only accessible by a strategy of reading against the grain—reading colonial documents and texts for the silences and absences and even for the local subversion of colonial discourse.

While a criticism of Said’s lack of insight into colonial agency helped to shape the emergence of the Subaltern Studies, since the 1980s Said’s totalizing view of colonial discourse has also been challenged and disrupted by such scholars as Homi Bhabha, Ann Laura Stoler, and Frederick Cooper. Influenced by what is often perceived to be the more nuanced Marxism of Antonio Gramsci as well as the proliferation of poststructuralist theories like those of Michel Foucault, such scholars are interested in ambiguity, tension, and the constantly shifting meanings of nationhood, gender, race, and sex in colonial discourse.<sup>14</sup> For example, in looking at the fluid relationship between

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<sup>12</sup> For an overview of this approach see Gyan Prakash, “Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism,” in *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: A Reader*, ed. Catherine Hall (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 120-137. For a succinct critique of Subaltern Studies see Matt Parry, *Marxism and History* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 106-107.

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. Gyan Prakash (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995); Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed Press, 1986); G.C. Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, eds. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (London: Macmillan, 1988), 271-313; Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000).

<sup>14</sup> Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) and *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s ‘History of Sexuality’ and the Colonial Order of Things* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1995); Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California, 2005). See also such recent collections as *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and *Haunted By Empire*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler.

colonialism, printed text, and the historical process of nation-building, Benedict Anderson argues in his work *Imagined Communities* that nations and nationalisms are imaginatively constructed.<sup>15</sup> Anderson's work is important because it highlights how images and ideas about "the nation" have historically played key roles in rationalizing the asymmetrical social relations of capitalism to people as natural and inevitable. Further, *Imagined Communities* influenced scholars like Bhabha to look for subtle shifts and slippages in national and colonial discourses, and to determine how the meanings of such discourses adapted to and reflected changing historical circumstances.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, scholars have also illustrated how colonial discourses have been used to manufacture ideas about race and ethnicity in colonial settings. For example, in the introduction to the important collection of essays *Tensions of Empire*, Stoler and Cooper argue that the most basic tension of colonial empires was that the "otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained."<sup>17</sup> In moving beyond Said's work, this recent postcolonial literature has focused on the more intricate ways in which colonial discourses are socially and culturally constructed, contested, and refashioned over time.

The postcolonial literature looking at colonial discourses and the processes of nation and empire-making overlaps with the focus of the most recent development in the historiography: New Imperial History. In the early 1990s, and in response to the

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<sup>15</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso 1983). On the cultural histories of nations see Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and his edited collection with Terrence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

<sup>16</sup> See *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha (New York: Routledge, 1990). In this work, pay particular attention to Bhabha's essay "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," 291-323.

<sup>17</sup> Stoler and Cooper, *Tensions of Empire*, 3-4, 7.

criticisms of *Orientalism*, Said published *Culture and Imperialism*.<sup>18</sup> In this more nuanced work, Said argues that the histories and cultures of the colonies and the metropole overlapped and were in fact tangled up in each other, dialectically intertwined.<sup>19</sup> Building on Said's refined ideas about colonial discourses, historians such as Catherine Hall and Kathleen Wilson have investigated the varied classed, raced, and gendered ways that the close and intimate relationship between metropole and colony shaped particular imaginings of the British nation.<sup>20</sup> In showing how the experiences, discourses, and cultures of empire helped to construct both the colonized and the colonizer, new imperial histories attempt to return to, and finally grapple with, Césaire and Fanon's ideas about colonial discourse. More broadly, my work will draw from the new imperial literature and its reinvigorated interest in the study of colonialism in a comparative framework to complicate the understandings of British Columbia's history, as that of a Canadian province on the very edge of the British Empire.

In addition to postcolonial scholarship, works of educational history are also relevant to my project. The first histories of Canadian education emerged in the 1950s. Written by such prominent historians as Charles E. Phillips and Henry F. Johnson, these early works focused on the creation, expansion, and evolution of the state-run system of

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<sup>18</sup> For Said's thoughts on the legacy of *Orientalism* see "Preface to the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Edition" in *Orientalism*, xv.

<sup>19</sup> Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993). For a critique of Said's work and its influence on the study of British imperial history see Bernard Porter, *The Absent-Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> See Catherine Hall, *Cultures of Empire*, 21; *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity, and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660-1840*, ed. Kathleen Wilson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Oxford: Polity, 2002); *At Home with Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. Catherine Hall (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

public schooling in Canada.<sup>21</sup> In the decades following their publication, these histories were criticized by such scholars as Neil Sutherland and J.D. Wilson for their linear Whiggish interpretations of education that effectively minimized the conflicts and tensions that defined the imposition of state-controlled education in Canada.<sup>22</sup> Although Sutherland and Wilson were critical of Whiggish history, their works continued to support the notion that battles over educational reforms did and would continue to result in an improved public education. Thus, the early histories of education for the most part shared an optimistic view of schooling as a progressive social force.

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s educational histories have moved beyond the early interpretations of schooling. Known as the “radical revisionists,” scholars such as Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly were the first to respond to popular concerns for a more critically informed study of social and intellectual history in regards to education in North America.<sup>23</sup> Embracing the belief that education performed important functions of social control and labour force production, the radical revisionists viewed schools and

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<sup>21</sup> Charles E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1957); Henry F. Johnson *A Brief History of Canadian Education* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1968). Also see Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Publications Centre, University of British Columbia, 1964); John Jessop: *Gold Seeker and Educator* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971); “The Ryersonian Influence on the Public School System of British Columbia,” *B.C. Studies*, 10 (Summer, 1971): 26-34. For other early educational histories of British Columbia see Jean Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla* (Ottawa: National Library, 1969); Charles W. Humphries, “The Banning of a Book in British Columbia,” *B.C. Studies* (winter 1968-69): 1-12; W.C. Gibson, *Westbrook and His University* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973).

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society, 1880-1920: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) and *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. Donald Wilson (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1984); *Canadian Education: A History*, eds. J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970); *Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia*, eds. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1980).

<sup>23</sup> See *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, eds. Michael Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York: University Press, 1975). See also Michael Katz, *The Irony of Early Social Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) and *Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America* (New York: Praeger, 1975).



schooling as powerful tools for the indoctrination of students as the future working class. As such, these studies embodied what one critic called a “maleficent obsession” with revealing the nefarious influences of capitalism, racism, and sexism on the development of North America’s educational system.<sup>24</sup> The major problem with the radical revisionists and the 1970s mechanistic views of education as social control was that they failed to see schooling as a process and as a struggle situated within the larger nexus of social relations.<sup>25</sup> Although heavily criticized at the time, the works of the radical revisionists signalled a shift in the educational historiography towards critical analysis.

Since the late 1980s, a number of more nuanced critical histories of Canadian education have emerged. These works focus on how education was used by a variety of agents including capitalists, governments, politicians, and teachers as a tool of citizenship formation in Canada. For example, such works as Bruce Curtis’s *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* and Mona Gleason’s *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* locate the goal of “making subjects” in the development of the educational state in Canada.<sup>26</sup> In looking at how education was linked to identity formation, the studies by Curtis and Gleason share many similarities with the large body of scholarship on education and indigenous peoples in Canada. For example, such important works as J.R. Miller’s *Shinwauk’s Vision: A*

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<sup>24</sup> David C. Jones, “Maleficent Obsession: Social Control and the Schools,” *Journal of Educational Thought*, XII, 1 (1978): 48-54.

<sup>25</sup> For critiques of the radical revisionists see Diane Ravitch, *The Revisionists Revised: A Critique of the Radical Attack on the Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1978). For Katz’s response to such critiques see Michael Katz, “An apology for American Educational History: A Review of Diane Ravitch’s ‘The Revisionists Revised,’” *Harvard Educational Review*, XLIX (May, 1979): 256-266.

<sup>26</sup> Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State* and Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). There exists a vast body of literature that has looked at how education sought to make subjects in Canada. See, for example, the selected works in *Children, Teachers, and Schools: In the History of British Columbia, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*, eds. Jean Barman and Mona Gleason (Calgary: Detselig, 2003). See also Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001).

*History of Native Residential Schools* and John Milloy's *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* have brought into focus the experiences of indigenous students and the ways that education was utilized in the attempted assimilation of indigenous peoples.<sup>27</sup> While the literature on residential schooling is important, there is a considerable blind spot in the historiography that fails to address the complex process of integrating indigenous and non-indigenous children into the public school system in British Columbia during the post-Second World War period.<sup>28</sup> Despite this gap, the studies looking at how education in Canada sought to make subjects—both indigenous and non-indigenous—have firmly established the importance of a critical perspective.

In addition, since the 1970s an extensive body of literature has problematized Canadian history textbooks and their representations of the past. Building on the tradition of the radical revisionists, studies such as *Teaching Prejudice* (1970) conducted by Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, set the precedent for textbook analyses in

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<sup>27</sup> On residential schooling in Canada see J.R. Miller, *Shinwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996); John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Celia Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988); Elizabeth Furniss, *Victims of Benevolence: The Dark Legacy of the Williams Lake Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal, 1992); Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools*, 57-80. For an attempt to move beyond the victim narrative of residential school history, see Paige Raibmon, "A New Understanding of Things Indian": George Raley's Negotiation of the Residential School Experience, *BC Studies*, No. 110 (Summer 1996): 69-96. For the most recent studies of missionary education see Mary-Ellen Kelm, *The Letters of Margaret Butcher: Missionary-Imperialism on the North Pacific Coast*; Jan Hare and Jean Barman, *Good Intentions Gone Awry: Emma Crosby and the Methodist Mission on the Northwest Coast* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> While works such as Milloy's *National Crime* do acknowledge the complexity of the integration process in Canada, the particular experiences in British Columbia are not explained in detail. For the most part, histories of indigenous peoples and education can be broken into two camps: studies surveying the evils of residential schooling in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and works looking at how indigenous peoples have, since the 1970s, begun the process of reclaiming education for themselves and their communities. For more on the scholarship of indigenous education see Marie Battiste, "Introduction" in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds*, eds. Marie Battiste and Jean Barman (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1995), vii-xx.

Canada.<sup>29</sup> The majority of these studies critiqued the demeaning, limited, or even non-existent portrayals of women and the working class, as well as the negative depictions of members of racial, ethnic, and religious minority groups. In relation to my research, the representations of indigenous peoples as “Indians” were a particular focus of such studies. These early works utilized a method of quantitative content analysis—one that records and calculates the number of derogatory remarks and statements in texts—aimed at drawing attention to, and ultimately eliminating, the racist content in school textbooks.

Building on the textbook studies of the 1970s and 1980s, scholars have attempted to move beyond simply calling for the elimination of offensive representations. To develop a more sophisticated strategy of textbook analysis, Canadian scholars have increasingly turned to critical pedagogy and the works of Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, Ira Shor, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren.<sup>30</sup> Critical pedagogy pushes for a more nuanced examination of how schools have historically been established in North America as

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<sup>29</sup> Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario* (Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971). See also Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks!* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974); Lloyd Paul Williamson, *The Image of Indians, French Canadians, and Americans in Authorized Ontario High School Textbooks, 1890-1931* (Ottawa: Carleton University, 1969); *Survey of Canadian History Textbooks Now in Use in Manitoba Schools in Order to Determine to What Extent they Tend to Promote a Patronizing and Degrading Attitude on the Part of the White People Towards Indians, are Harmful to the Indian Child's Sense of Racial Dignity and Deal Inaccurately with Indian Life* (Toronto: Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1971); Patricia V. Ofner, *The Indian in Textbooks: A Content Analysis of History Books Authorized for Use in Ontario Schools* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1983).

<sup>30</sup> For background on critical pedagogy and its methodologies see such works as Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1970) and *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973); Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education* (South Hadley: Bergin & Garvey, 1987); *Pedagogy of the Heart* (New York: Continuum, 1997), Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); Ira Shor, *Critical Teaching and Everyday Life* (Boston: South End Press, 1980) and *Empowering Education: Critical Thinking for Social Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Henry Giroux, *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981) and *Border Crossings: Cultural Workers and the Politics of Education* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Peter McLaren, *Critical Pedagogy and Predatory Culture: Oppositional Politics in a Postmodern Era* (New York: Routledge, 1995) and *Capitalists and Conquerors: A Critical Pedagogy Against Empire* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005).

institutions aimed at inculcating and justifying the oppression of capitalist rule to students as commonsensical. Rather than viewing education in starkly deterministic terms, like the radical revisionists, critical pedagogy highlights how education is a contested and constantly negotiated process.

In regards to textbook analyses, the most important American critical pedagogue is Michael W. Apple. Influenced by Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Apple focuses on what is called a hidden curriculum—the values and norms that the schooling process embodies and attempts to inculcate in students as common sense.<sup>31</sup> In addition to looking at the overt and covert ways in which education is used to make subjects, Apple's work is important for my thesis because it suggests that textbooks are important tools serving the hidden curriculum. In such works as *Teachers and Texts* and his edited collection of articles with Linda Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*, Apple argues that textbooks are “conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests.”<sup>32</sup> In questioning whose knowledge becomes legitimate in the realm of education, Apple argues that textbooks often become powerful mechanisms of domination, rationalizing the exploitative relations of economic, political, and social inequality as natural and inevitable. Thus, Apple contends that textbooks do not present neutral knowledge; they are both cultural as well as profoundly political artefacts. In short, critical pedagogy views the educational process as operating in a complex nexus of power relations and struggles within a given society.

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<sup>31</sup> For more on the “hidden curriculum” concept see Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (New York: RoutledgeFalner, 2004); Apple and Nancy King, “What Do Schools Teach?” in *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education: Deception or Discovery?* eds. Henry Giroux and David Purpel (Berkley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1983), 82-99.

<sup>32</sup> Apple and Christian-Smith, “The Politics of the Textbook,” 1-2. See also Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum* and *Teachers and Texts: A Political Economy of Class and Gender Relations in Education* (New York: Routledge and K. Paul, 1986).

The influence of American critical pedagogy helped generate new studies of Canadian education and textbooks in the 1990s. As a result of the continued focus on critical histories of education, there emerged a series of intense intellectual debates over education and history.<sup>33</sup> Known as Canada's "History Wars," these scholarly exchanges featured prominent historians debating the future pedagogical direction of Canadian history at the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary levels. On the one hand, works like Jack Granatstein's *Who Killed Canadian History?* protested against an overly critical view of education which he saw as being responsible for creating a Canadian population seemingly ignorant of their history, fragmented in their loyalties, and apathetic about the country's future.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, historians like Daniel Francis argued that the promotion of critically informed understandings of the past in the classroom "should be a cause for celebration, not concern."<sup>35</sup> In the realm of textbook analysis, such historians as Francis and Timothy J. Stanley continued the critical tradition and investigated the relationship between racism, imperialism, and the textbook representations of the Canadian past in the twentieth century.<sup>36</sup> More recent studies such as those by Colin

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<sup>33</sup> The late twentieth century also witnessed fierce debates over education and history in the United States, Great Britain, Russia, Germany, South Africa, and Japan. For a brief discussion of these international debates in relation to Canada see Amy Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History & Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006). Von Heyking claims that in each of these countries, the debates about education and history "represented struggles of competing visions for the future, not simply interpretations of the past" (2).

<sup>34</sup> See Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998). See also, Michael Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, The Sundering of Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26:4 (1991-92): 5-19.

<sup>35</sup> Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal, 1997), 173. For more on reactions to Canada's History Wars, see Ian McKay, "After Canada: On Amnesia and Apocalypse in the Contemporary Crisis," *Acadiensis* Vol. xxxviii, No.1 (Autumn 1998): 76-91. For a brief and insightful response to the views of Granatstein see Mark Leier, "Hit and Myth Approach to Canadian History," *National Post* 3 May 1999.

<sup>36</sup> See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal, 1992) and *National Dreams*; Timothy Stanley, *Defining the Chinese Other: White Supremacy, Schooling, and Social Structure in British Columbia* (Ann Arbor:UMI, 2005) and "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools: In the History of British Columbia*, 39-56.

Coates and Cecilia Morgan, José Igartua, Penney Clark, and Amy von Heyking have sought to better understand how education and textbooks have played important roles in creating both regional and national identities in Canada.<sup>37</sup> As a result of these new works, the field of educational history continues to produce more critical understandings of education and textbooks.

The final body of literature that I will draw from in my thesis is the history of indigenous peoples. Aside from the accounts of early explorers, fur traders, and Christian missionaries, the first people to write about indigenous peoples emerged from the salvage ethnography movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to the art of Paul Kane and the photography of George Catlin and Edward S. Curtis, the written accounts of the salvage ethnographers were largely motivated by the belief that indigenous peoples had become members of a vanishing race—particularly those groups living on the Pacific Northwest Coast.<sup>38</sup> As a result, anthropologists like Franz Boas and

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<sup>37</sup> Colin M. Coates and Cecilia Morgan, “Lessons in Loyalty: Children’s Texts and Readers,” in *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 164-194; José Igartua, “Values, Memories, Symbols, Myths, and Traditions” in *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 63-88; Penney Clark, “Representations of Aboriginal People in English Canadian History Textbooks: Towards Reconciliation,” in *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*, ed. Elizabeth Cole, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 81-120; Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*.

<sup>38</sup> See Paul Kane, *Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America, from Canada to Vancouver’s Island and Oregon, Through the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Territory and Back Again* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1859); George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American: Written During Eight Years’ Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America* (Philadelphia: J.W. Bradley, 1859); Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians By Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982). For more on the concept of the “vanishing Indian” see Brian Dippie *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982).

Diamond Jenness sought to salvage a record of what was left of indigenous cultures and lifeways before they disappeared.<sup>39</sup>

It was not until the 1960s and 1970s that the history of indigenous peoples was accepted as a legitimate source of scholarly research. During this time, studies of indigenous history emerged from the field of ethnohistory and were produced by such scholars as A.G. Bailey, Bruce Trigger, James Axtell, Cornelius Jaenan, and—for British Columbia—Robin Fisher.<sup>40</sup> In critically analyzing the discourse of early writings and documents regarding indigenous peoples, ethnohistorians sought to locate the experiences and voices of indigenous peoples in European sources. It was thus the field of ethnohistory that began the process of bringing indigenous peoples in from the margins of Canadian history. Such histories, however, were limited by their almost exclusive focus on early trade relations. Yet, since the 1980s historians have broadened their focus to include a myriad of previously neglected topics, such as the experiences of indigenous

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<sup>39</sup> See Franz Boas, *Indian Myths & Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America: A Translation of Franz Boas' 1895 Edition of Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Kuste Amerikas* (Vancouver: Talon Books, 2002); Diamond Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* (Ottawa: Acland, 1932).

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Alfred Goldsworth Bailey, *The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Bruce Trigger, *Children of the Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976) and *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's 'Heroic Age' Reconsidered* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985); James Axtall, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Cornelius J. Jaenan, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1977).

women, oral history, health, education, and urban and environmental histories.<sup>41</sup> For my research, the most important trend within the field of indigenous history has been the works that have politicized culture and representation in the study of indigenous peoples.

The classic text looking at non-indigenous representations of indigenous peoples in North America is Robert F. Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. Berkhofer's central argument is that the image of the "Indian" was a White invention and still remains largely a White image, if not stereotype."<sup>42</sup> According to Berkhofer, Europeans invented historically specific images of the "Indian" to justify dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands and legitimize the creation and continued existence of settler states in the New World. Since the publication of Berkhofer's text, such works as Brian Dippie's *The Vanishing Indian* and Philip J. Deloria's *Playing Indians* and *Indians in Unexpected Places* have studied

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<sup>41</sup> See such important works as Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1980); Elizabeth Vibert, *Traders' Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Jean Barman, "Taming Aboriginal Sexuality: Gender, Power, and Race in British Columbia, 1850-1900," in *BC Studies* 115/116 (Autumn/Winter, 1997/98): 237-267; Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1848-1930* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996); Joan Sangster, "Native Women, Sexuality, and the Law," in *In the Days of Our Grandmothers: A Reader in Aboriginal Women's History in Canada*, eds. Mary-Ellen Kelm and Lorna Townsend (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 301-336; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Julie Cruikshank, *Reading Voices=Dan dhá ts'edeninth'é: Oral and Written Interpretations of the Yukon's Past* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991); Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: University of Vancouver Press) and *The Letters of Margaret Butcher: Missionary-Imperialism on the North Pacific Coast*; Hare and Barman, *Good Intentions Gone Awry: Emma Crosby and the Methodist Mission on the Northwest Coast*; Coll-Peter Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007); Theodore Binnema, *Common and Contested Ground: A Human and Environmental History of the Northwestern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001).

<sup>42</sup> Robert Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3.



how indigenous peoples in the United States have been represented in everything from history to literature and film.<sup>43</sup>

In the Canadian context, one of the first people to pay sustained scholarly attention to the image of indigenous peoples in the writing of history was Bruce Trigger.<sup>44</sup> For example, in “The Indian Image in Canadian History,” Trigger traces the treatment of indigenous peoples in historical writing, concluding that most historians have only studied the history of indigenous peoples in relation to settlers and even then largely during the period of settlement.<sup>45</sup> Building on the works of Berkhofer and Dippie, Francis has attempted to answer Trigger’s call for more attention to be paid to the nineteenth and twentieth century representations of indigenous peoples in Canada. In his book, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Francis describes what he calls the “Imaginary Indian”—a construct representing the popular images of indigenous peoples that Canadians “manufactured, believed in, feared,

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<sup>43</sup> Dippie, *The Vanishing American*; Philp J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), and *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2004). See also Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Raymond William Steadman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982); Michael Hilger, *From Savage to Nobleman: Images of Native Americans in Film* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1995); Mary Ann Weston, *Native Americans in the News: Images of Indians in the Twentieth Century Press* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996); Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004).

<sup>44</sup> For other early Canadian writing on this subject see Ronald Graham Haycock, *The Image of the Indian: The Canadian Indian as a Subject and a Concept in a Sampling of the Popular National Magazines Read in Canada, 1900-1970* (Waterloo: Waterloo Lutheran University, 1971); Leslie Monkman, *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Sarah Carter, “The Missionaries’ Indian: The Publications of John McDougall, John MacLean and Egerton Ryerson Young,” *Prairie Forum* 9, 1 (1984): 27-44. A more recent example is Peter Geller, “‘Hudson’s Bay Company Indians’: Images of Native People and the Red River Pageant, 1920,” in *Dressing in Feathers: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature*, ed. Elizabeth S. Bird (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 65-77.

<sup>45</sup> Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers: Canada’s ‘Heroic Age’ Reconsidered*, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1985), 3-50.

despised, admired, and taught their children.”<sup>46</sup> More importantly in terms of my work, in *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History*, Francis briefly examines the school textbooks of the early twentieth century in Canada as cultural artefacts in which the Imaginary Indian can be located. He discerns that from the pages of these texts emerge “a cluster of images which might collectively be labelled the Textbook Indian.”<sup>47</sup> According to Francis, textbooks represented indigenous peoples to children as the Textbook Indian in ways that demonized indigenous peoples so as to justify the historical dispossession of their lands and the subsequent creation of the Canadian nation.

Since the publication of Francis’s work on the Imaginary Indian in Canada, there has been a proliferation of works that have sought to further understand how specific images of indigenous peoples have been produced and contested historically. Among the most important works of this new scholarship are Elizabeth Vibert’s *Trader’s Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbian Plateau*, Paige Raibmon’s *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter From the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast*, and Scott Sheffield’s *The Red Man’s on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” and the Second World War*.<sup>48</sup> Of this new scholarship, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and*

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<sup>46</sup> Francis, *The Imaginary Indian*, 5. Francis makes clear that the images of the Imaginary Indian played an important role in Canadians’ self-identification: “the Imaginary Indian became a stick with which [...Canadians] beat their own society” (8).

<sup>47</sup> Francis, *National Dreams*, 71. Francis argues that the Textbook Indian was “the Indian... which the anglocentric view of Canada invented in order to justify its own hegemony” (71).

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth Vibert, *Trader’s Tales: Narratives of Cultural Encounters in the Columbia Plateau, 1807-1846* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes From the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man’s on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” and the Second World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004). The work of Sheffield, in particular, makes an invaluable contribution to the field of indigenous representation in Canada because it highlights the dynamics of race and representation in twentieth-century Canada. In focusing on this time period, Sheffield addresses what Ken Coates and Robin Fisher called, in *Out of the Background*, an “enormous historiographical gap” that has ignored the important events following the Second World War. See *Out of the Background: Readings on Canadian Native History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, eds. Ken Coates and Robin Fisher (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1996), 3.

*the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* by anthropologist Elizabeth Furniss is the most important for my work. Specifically, Furniss's work opens an important space to think about the relationship between culture and colonialism in Canada in general and British Columbia in particular.

In *The Burden of History*, Furniss highlights the relationship between the representations of indigenous peoples, education, and the struggle for settler control as it applies to the colonial context of British Columbia. In building on the ideas of Marxist literary critic Raymond Williams, Furniss argues that Canada has a dominant colonial culture whose power lies in its ability to saturate the understandings of everyday life as a diverse yet interrelated “set of values, beliefs, attitudes, identities, and understandings about society, history, and [...indigenous/non-indigenous] relations.”<sup>49</sup> According to Furniss, such carefully constructed views of the world are infused in the dominant culture and transmitted in such settings as the home, the school, and the community. These commonsensical understandings produce taken-for-granted images of the past and rules for producing knowledge for the present and future.<sup>50</sup>

Furniss contends that at the heart of Canada's dominant colonial culture is a form of historical consciousness—an awareness of history—that is culturally conditioned and deeply influenced by Canada's history of colonialism. In looking at the representations of indigenous peoples in textbooks used in British Columbia high schools in the 1970s and 1980s, Furniss argues that textbooks are important sites where this awareness of

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<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian Community* (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia Press, 1999), 17. Unfortunately, in disregarding economic analysis, Furniss fails to grapple with the complexities of Williams's Marxist views of culture, power, and class struggle. More importantly, she neglects to engage with the profoundly important work of Antonio Gramsci on domination, subordination, and resistance in capitalist societies—the very dynamics of hegemony that Williams builds on.

<sup>50</sup> Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 13-14.

history can be located. In drawing on Williams's idea of a selective tradition, Furniss suggests that through the use of narratives, themes, metaphors, and images—representations—textbooks present to children a selective way of knowing about the colonial past. Ultimately, Furniss argues that textbooks can be understood as “official, state-sanctioned accounts of Canadian history that have been designed specifically to shape how Canadian children understand the history of the nation, the process of colonization, and the relationship between [non-indigenous] society and [indigenous] peoples.”<sup>51</sup> Building on Furniss's work, this thesis aims to further our understanding of the connection between state-sanctioned education and colonial discourses. In engaging with and moving beyond the literature of postcolonial history, educational history, and the history of indigenous peoples, I will examine the relationship between public education, the textbook representations of indigenous peoples as the Textbook Indian, and the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970.

What is settler hegemony, why was it a struggle in British Columbia, and what does this struggle have to do with education and the representations of indigenous peoples in textbooks? To answer these questions, my work begins with a basic premise: that between 1920 and 1970 the province of British Columbia was a colonial, settler society.<sup>52</sup> I argue that British Columbia was a settler society because its very existence was predicated on a local manifestation of settler colonialism—the historical process of

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<sup>51</sup> Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 56.

<sup>52</sup> I have chosen to use the term “settler society” in my work to denote that the province of British Columbia was—and continues to be—based on the “settlement” of indigenous lands. As well, I share Antonio Gramsci's belief that we are all a “précis of all the past” and that “each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations, but the history of these relations.” See Antonio Gramsci, “The Study of Philosophy” in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, eds. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 353. While the “settlement” of British Columbia was largely over by the mid-twentieth century, the relations that were forged as a result of this process continue to define the province and its citizens, both indigenous and non-indigenous—hence my usage of the term settler society throughout my work.

originally dispossessing indigenous peoples of their traditional lands and relocating these peoples onto small reserves while selling their lands to non-indigenous settlers, investors, and railway companies.<sup>53</sup> As Karl Marx argues in Volume One of *Capital*, the processes of clearing original inhabitants off their lands, such as “settlement,” usurpation, or just plain theft—the methods of colonialism—are actually the “idyllic proceedings” of primitive accumulation and the basis of the capitalist system.<sup>54</sup> And, as Marx makes clear, original or primitive accumulation is both a ruthless process and a continuous struggle. While maintaining that a causal relationship existed between the methods of colonialism and the proceedings of capitalism, this thesis is interested first in beginning to understand the dynamics of the colonial project of usurping indigenous lands in British Columbia and how education was used as a tool to justify that process over time.

By the late nineteenth century, the direction of land policy in the colony of British Columbia had become a contentious subject of debate. In the 1850s, Governor James Douglas entered into fourteen agreements with indigenous groups on Vancouver Island, known as the “Douglas Treaties.” For these historic arrangements, Douglas negotiated the surrender of specific tracts of lands with indigenous peoples themselves, thus following the legal stipulations of the 1763 Royal Proclamation, a document eventually enshrined in the *British North America Act* as the legislative framework for Canada’s dealings with indigenous peoples. After Douglas’s retirement in 1864, however, his

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<sup>53</sup> Note that a variety of meanings and definitions of colonialism are used in historical studies. For an overview of the scholarly work produced in the last two decades see Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005). See also Jurgun Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005) and Robert J.C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Historical Introduction* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2001). The latter analyses, however, tend to ignore or downplay the complex dynamics of settler colonialism in North America and often disconnect colonialism from capitalism. For a strong critique of such studies see Benita Parry, *Postcolonial Studies: A Materialist Critique* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>54</sup> Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 915.

strategy of following the law was rejected by many settlers. By the time British Columbia entered into confederation with the Dominion of Canada in 1871, a new colonial policy had been loosely forged that sought to unilaterally usurp indigenous lands and relocate indigenous peoples onto small reserves. This ad hoc policy was enacted by a powerful minority of such settlers as the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new province Joseph Trutch and was carried out by Indian Reserve Commissioners such as Peter O'Reilly, Trutch's brother-in-law, and A.W. Vowell.<sup>55</sup> Thus, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a handful of settlers used the power of the provincial government to privatize, divide, and redistribute unceded indigenous lands to transform the once isolated British colony into a successful settler society—a prosperous province within the Dominion of Canada and the larger British Empire.<sup>56</sup>

The historical process of making British Columbia was not, however, without conflict and struggle. Indigenous peoples were not powerless nor did they passively accept the new colonial policy. Despite being devastated by various epidemics, indigenous peoples defended their territories and resisted encroachments on their lands. Indigenous peoples also developed strategies of resistance such as holding rallies, drafting petitions, and sending delegations to Victoria, Ottawa, and London to express their concerns.<sup>57</sup> Such groups as the Nishga'a Land Committee, the Interior Tribes of British Columbia, and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia were formed in the early twentieth century and were led by prominent indigenous leaders such as Andrew Paull

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<sup>55</sup> For background on British Columbia's colonial land policy in relation to indigenous peoples see, for example, Paul Tennent, *Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1990), 39.

<sup>56</sup> For more on the history of British Columbia and colonialism during this time period see Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002); Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*.

<sup>57</sup> On the politics of indigenous organizing in British Columbia before 1920 see Harris, *Making Native Space*, 169-261; Tennant *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, 53-113.

and Peter Kelly. While non-indigenous settlers and investors eventually won out as a result of support from the government and its instruments of power—gunboats, land surveys, and the law—indigenous peoples continuously struggled against the illegal settlement of their lands.<sup>58</sup>

The federal government of Canada also voiced its displeasure over British Columbia's land policy. This was because British Columbia's actions violated the 1871 Terms of Union, the document legalizing the province's entry into the Dominion of Canada. Specifically, the document stipulated that indigenous peoples were to become a federal responsibility while land would remain a provincial responsibility. The issue of jurisdiction over indigenous lands thus became a bitter source of federal-provincial contention that was not resolved until the late 1930s. The federal government wanted to pursue a colonial policy similar to that applied in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces, one that extinguished indigenous title to the land—as stipulated by the 1763 Royal Proclamation and the 1880 revised Indian Act—through a process of treaty-making and reserve allotment. While rejecting such an approach and challenging the government of Canada's claims to jurisdiction over indigenous lands, the provincial government of British Columbia continued its own policy of unbridled theft.

In addition to Ottawa's displeasure, the government of British Columbia's colonial policy was by no means unanimously supported by the province's non-indigenous population. Such figures as Gilbert Malcolm Sproat as well as such organizations as the Society of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia spoke out

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<sup>58</sup> For more on indigenous peoples' tactics and strategies of resistance on the Pacific Northwest Coast see Barry Gough, *Gunboat Frontier: British Maritime Authority and Northwest Coast Indians, 1846-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1984); Bruce Stadfeld, "Manifestations of Power: Native Response to Settlement in Nineteenth Century British Columbia" (MA Thesis: Simon Fraser University, 1993).

against the illegal and stingy land policy.<sup>59</sup> Even well-known figures like the Governor General of Canada, Lord Dufferin and Canadian Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier sympathised with indigenous peoples in British Columbia. For example, while in Victoria in 1876, Lord Dufferin stated, “Now, we must all admit that the condition of the Indian question in British Columbia is not satisfactory. Most unfortunately, as I think, there has been an initial error, ever since Sir James Douglas quitted office, in the Government of British Columbia neglecting to recognize what is known as the Indian title.”<sup>60</sup> Despite such prominent voices of discontent on what was known as the “Indian Land Question,” many settlers continued to support the reactionary views of people such as the second Premier of British Columbia, Amor de Cosmos. While “Amor de Cosmos” may have considered himself “a lover of the universe,” he despised the original inhabitants of British Columbia: “Shall we allow a few vagrants to prevent forever industrious settlers from settling on the unoccupied lands? Not at all... Locate reservations for them on which to earn their own living, and if they trespass on white settlers punish them severely. A few lessons would enable them to form a correct estimation of their own inferiority.”<sup>61</sup> While there was prolonged struggle between the provincial and federal governments as well as consistent opposition by indigenous peoples and their allies, the government of British Columbia continued to restrict indigenous peoples to small reserves so as to open up as much land as possible to attract settlers. In the end, it was not until 1938—once the reserve policy was essentially

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<sup>59</sup> In fact, Harris dedicated his book, *Making Native Space*, to Sproat, as a “colonizer who eventually listened.”

<sup>60</sup> Quoted in *The British Columbia Indian Land Question from a Canadian Point of View: An Appeal to the People of Canada/Recommended by the Indian Affairs Committee of the Service Council of Canada* (Victoria: Conference of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia, 1914).

<sup>61</sup> Amor de Cosmos as quoted in Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 153.



complete—that British Columbia finally transferred legal title to indigenous reserves to the federal government.<sup>62</sup>

Due to the illegal nature of the dispossession of indigenous lands in British Columbia, the state's struggle to assure investors and settlers and their families of the security of their newly purchased lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was paramount. The economic growth and development of settler society depended on guaranteed, unchallenged access to lands and resources. Given that there were no legal treaties with the vast majority of the original inhabitants of the land, such a guarantee was speculative at best. As a result, the process of making British Columbia into a successful settler society required the influential minority of settlers like Trutch and de Cosmos to further extend the powers of government and implement new social institutions that would continue to secure the sanctity of "settlement," the very legitimacy of settler society's existence, into the future. In short, to dissuade and disarm thoughts of resistance, new institutions were needed to defend the legitimacy of settler society as common sense, what I am calling settler hegemony. Formed in 1872, state-controlled public education was one such institution.<sup>63</sup>

By 1920, in addition to the expansion of the public school system, a key responsibility of education officials in British Columbia's Department of Education was

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<sup>62</sup> See Harris, *Making Native Space*, 260-261.

<sup>63</sup> The *British North America Act* assigned jurisdiction over education to the provinces. State-controlled public education came into effect in British Columbia with the passing of the *Public Schools Act* in 1872. I note that although indigenous students often enthusiastically attended provincial public schools in the late nineteenth century, by the early twentieth century such attendance was rare. By 1900 the majority of indigenous students had been funnelled into segregated residential or day schools subsidized by the federal government and run by local Christian missions. Indigenous children did not attend British Columbia public schools again until the 1940s and early 1950s when desegregated education once again became the norm. See, for example, James Redford, "Attendance at Indian Residential Schools in British Columbia, 1890-1920," *BC Studies* 44 (Winter 1979-80): 41-56. While acknowledging the history of residential schooling in the province, this thesis focuses on British Columbia's public school system.

the development and implementation of school curriculum. The goal of this curriculum was to inculcate the norms, values, and beliefs that the state deemed legitimate and necessary for students. Building on the critical pedagogy concept of a hidden curriculum as reflecting the underlying intent of the knowledge authorized by the state to be taught in schools, I argue that British Columbia's textbooks sought to legitimize the existence of settler society as natural and inevitable. This was British Columbia's hidden colonial curriculum. Textbooks in history, geography, and civics—subjects eventually unified as “social studies”—were authorized based on their ability to meet the objectives of this curriculum. Authorized textbooks thus explained the settlement of Canada to students in ways that justified colonialism, legitimized the creation of settler society, and rationalized the continued occupation of stolen indigenous lands.<sup>64</sup>

I call the process of manufacturing and manipulating state-controlled public education to defend settler hegemony a project of colonizing minds. This was not an abstract process but rather, as the work of Said suggests, one rooted in colonial settings. Said argues that while the main battle of colonization is indeed over land, “when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going...and who now plans its future—these issues were reflected, contested, and even

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<sup>64</sup> Note that in practice what was actually taught in schools undoubtedly differed from the official knowledge of authorized textbooks. These texts, however, were often the only sources of information on Canadian history available to students and teachers. Yet it must be clear that the goal of my project is not to document what children were taught nor how students read their textbooks. Instead, I am highlighting the knowledge about the nation, the process of colonization, and the relationship between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples the state officially sanctioned by authorizing specific textbooks. I note also that I agree with Michael W. Apple and Linda Christian-Smith's point that “any text is open to multiple readings” (“The Politics of the Textbook,” 13). Acknowledging the possibility of alternative and contradictory interpretations, I offer my readings of the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970 as one strategy of analysis. In doing so, my aim is to contribute to a broader discussion on the politics of education and textbooks in Canada.

for a time decided in narrative.”<sup>65</sup> In the context of British Columbia, these debates, struggles, and negotiations were enshrined in the hidden colonial curriculum as well as encoded in the narratives and illustrations of textbooks authorized for use in classrooms by the Department of Education. Therefore, I will argue that one of the most important tools of the colonizing minds project was the school textbook.

As the particular focus of my work, the textual and visual representations of indigenous peoples in 34 textbooks authorized for use between 1920 and 1970 will be analyzed in relation to changing historical circumstances in the province of British Columbia.<sup>66</sup> In order to better understand how textbooks, as selective documents, sought to shape how children understood indigenous peoples and themselves, my thesis will also build on the work of Stanley and Francis, who argue that as the “Textbook Indian,” indigenous peoples were presented to children in their textbooks as wild, savage, cruel, immoral, and uncivilized. Whereas historically textbook analyses have focused on textbook discourse and rightly called for the removal of offensive content, I am more interested in understanding *why* such representations existed. Thus, I will argue that the

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<sup>65</sup> Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xii-xiii.

<sup>66</sup> Within the Department of Education, the power to authorize textbooks for use in British Columbia public schools was held by the Council of Public Instruction, the highest level of educational bureaucracy in the province. Consisting of a Minister of Education, Deputy Minister of Education, and Superintendent of Education as well as other officials this council was responsible for approving what was to be taught, what books were to be used, and what qualifications were to be required by teachers in the educational system of British Columbia. Note that in practice it was not the members of the Council of Public Instruction who were necessarily preparing the curriculum and making textbook recommendations. In fact, as the educational bureaucracy of the province expanded in the mid-twentieth century, this work was performed officially by the Curriculum Division, headed by a Director of Curriculum. The Curriculum Division also acted on the advice of two professional curriculum committees, established in the 1960s, one for elementary and the other for secondary schools, and it also took into consideration the suggestions of a number of ad hoc committees. The final results of the educational procedure, in the form of a programme of studies or curriculum guides, together with recommendations of textbooks were submitted by the Curriculum Division to the Council of Public Instruction for approval. Once approved, the Department of Education then published the curriculum guides and lists of authorized textbooks to be distributed to schools throughout the province. See British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction Orders-in-Council 1871-1971*, GR-0138.

depictions of the Textbook Indian—whether positive, negative, or ambiguous—were part of the larger colonizing minds project that sought to justify the history of colonialism to students and legitimize the continued existence of settler society in British Columbia.

Highlighting the intimate relationship between public education, the textbook representations of indigenous peoples, and the struggle for settler hegemony is only the first part of my study. The second and more important part of my work is to show how this relationship was in motion, part of a colonizing *process* between 1920 and 1970. While looking at discourse, narrative strategies, and images and ideas, my work will move beyond Said's totalizing view of colonial discourse by showing how the project of colonizing minds was not an isolated regime of truth or, except analytically, an abstract colonial system. Instead, the colonizing minds project was put in motion and carefully defended in the Department of Education by real people with real interests who in developing curriculum and authorizing specific textbooks played a role—whether consciously or not—in *trying* to inculcate students with a colonial way of thinking. In addition, I will take up the call of Robert Berkhofer, who, back in 1978, argued that scholars studying the representations of indigenous peoples must:

Show both the continuity and the changes in the imagery. Ideally such a history would embody both (1) what changed, what persisted, and why, and (2) what images were held by whom, when, where, and why. On the whole, scholars of the topic attempt only one or the other of these approaches and adopt quite different strategies in doing so...To oversimplify somewhat...usually the former concentrates upon imagery and ideas, and the latter emphasizes policy and actual behaviour toward Native Americans. As a result of these differences in attention and explanation nowhere does one find a comprehensive history of White imagery.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian*, 30-31.

While not claiming to be creating a comprehensive analysis of the Textbook Indian in British Columbia, this work will link the study of ideas and images—colonial discourse and representation—with that of the changing relationships between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in settler society. By examining textbooks in the historical circumstances in which they were authorized for use in classrooms, I will open my analysis to the possibilities of pursuing the reasons *why* changes occurred in the textbook representations of indigenous peoples and *how* they were related to the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia.

But why, if indigenous lands had, by the 1920s and certainly by the 1930s, already been dispossessed and a settler society created, was settler hegemony a struggle? Furthermore, how did the struggle for settler hegemony shape the colonizing minds project and shift the images of the Textbook Indian over time? In answering these questions it is important to keep in mind Raymond Williams's thoughts on Gramsci's articulation of the concept of hegemony. In building on Gramsci's work, Williams argues that hegemony "does not just passively exist as a form of dominance."<sup>68</sup> Instead, Williams contends that hegemony "has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended, and modified [...and] it is also continually resisted, limited, altered, challenged by pressures not all its own."<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Marxist scholar Ralph Miliband argues that "hegemony is actually a process of struggle, a permanent striving, a ceaseless endeavour to maintain control over the 'hearts and minds' of subordinate classes."<sup>70</sup> As there was continuous resistance from indigenous peoples and their supporters to the illegal

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<sup>68</sup> Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 112.

<sup>69</sup> Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 112.

<sup>70</sup> Ralph Miliband as quoted in Harvey J. Kaye's *The Education of Desire: Marxists and the Writing of History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 132.

occupation of indigenous lands in British Columbia, defending settler hegemony was indeed a ceaseless struggle.

The following chapters will illustrate how the colonizing minds project in general and the textbook representations of indigenous peoples in particular were shaped by the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970. Chapter Two will examine the relationship between public education and the Textbook Indian in the context of indigenous struggles and protests, educational reforms, and Canada's imperial relationship to the British Empire between 1920 and 1945. Chapter Three will show how the colonizing minds project was refashioned in relation to the public debates surrounding indigenous peoples and the emergence of Canadian nationalism between 1945 and 1970. The central thesis of this work is that while subtle changes were made to public education that shaped how indigenous peoples were represented in textbooks, the colonizing minds project continued, fundamentally, to justify the history of colonialism in ways that rationalized settler society's continued existence to generations of students in British Columbia as common sense.

## 2. FOR “SAFETY, STABILITY, AND PERPETUITY”: IMPERIALISM AND THE TEXTBOOK INDIAN, 1920-1945

Settler societies develop within the dissonance between imperial dreams and colonial realities. In the introduction to *Tensions of Empire*, Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper speak to this point, arguing that “Europe’s colonies were never empty spaces to be made over in Europe’s image or fashioned in its interests; nor, indeed, were European states self-contained entities that at one point projected themselves overseas.”<sup>1</sup> While this was undoubtedly true, the history and social studies textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia public schools between 1920 and 1945 attempted to teach students the very opposite. In fact, promoting the history of the Dominion of Canada as part of the larger history of British imperialism—Britain’s exploration, penetration, and eventual settlement of a seemingly empty, or at least empty enough, North American continent—was a fundamental aim of public education in British Columbia during the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> This chapter examines the relationship between imperialism, public education, and the textbook representations of indigenous peoples in British Columbia between 1920 and 1945.

Because the development of curricula and the authorization of textbooks are shaped by particular historical circumstances, I will begin with an explanation of the economic, political, and social context of British Columbia between 1920 and 1945.

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<sup>1</sup> Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper, “In Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda,” in *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 1.

<sup>2</sup> For examples outside of British Columbia see Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, “Lessons in Loyalty,” in *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 164-195; Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta’s Schools, 1905 to 1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006).

According to historian Jean Barman, the interwar period in British Columbia was both “the best and worst of times.”<sup>3</sup> With the exception of brief periods of prosperity in the mid and late 1920s, the period directly following the Great War was a time of tension, uncertainty, and instability. As Canadian soldiers who had fought for the British Empire in the fields of Europe returned home to the Pacific province, they sought re-entry into the economy. This reintegration, however, proved difficult. Recognizing that job opportunities in the staple-extraction economy were scarce, the provincial government initiated a number of land settlement schemes to provide returning soldiers with land for farming. For the most part, these schemes were of little success, as the lands made available were often unsuitable for agriculture. As a result, many soldiers found themselves competing for jobs in the already competitive resource sector, where to make matters worse, employment was largely subject to the boom and bust cycles of the uncertain international market. Adding to these tensions, the total population of the province continued to rise, jumping from 178,657 in 1901 to 694,263 by 1921.<sup>4</sup> Politically, the Liberal and Conservative governments of John Oliver and Simon Fraser Tolmie respectively were on shaky ground in the early post-war period, as they tried to neutralize various demands for work in the young province in order to stay in power.

The instability of British Columbia increased with the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s. Unemployment, the scarcity of goods, and the general hardships of Depression life were exacerbated throughout the province by an increased

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<sup>3</sup> Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 1991), 236. For other sources looking at British Columbia during this period see, for example, Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan in Canada, 1958); Harold Griffin, *British Columbia: The People's Early Story* (Vancouver: Tribune Publishing Company, 1958); George Woodcock, *British Columbia: A History of the Province* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1990).

<sup>4</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 363.



population seeking jobs and subsistence in British Columbia's milder climate. By 1941 the province's population had increased to 817,861.<sup>5</sup> While the Depression reflected a crisis of capitalism, Tolmie continued to see the problems of poverty and unemployment as peoples' personal failings and thus opposed direct government intervention.<sup>6</sup> As a result of Tolmie's conservative approach, Liberal Thomas Dufferin Pattullo—aligning himself with the New Deal economic policies of American president Franklin Roosevelt—was chosen to lead British Columbia out of the Depression by voters in the 1933 provincial election. Like his predecessor, however, Pattullo was unable to redirect the provincial economy.<sup>7</sup> As a general feeling of unrest resolved throughout the province and led to such organized demonstrations of working-class discontent as the 1935 On-to-Ottawa trek, Pattullo looked to the federal government for help.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 363.

<sup>6</sup> On the Depression and British Columbia see, for example, Andrew Roddan, *Vancouver's Hoboes* (Vancouver: Subway Books, 2005). Note that this book was originally published in 1931 as *God in the Jungles*. Historian Todd MacCallum's introduction to the revised edition is particularly helpful in contextualizing the Depression in Canada, and in British Columbia more specifically. See also John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988). Note that in 1931, the financial situation of the province was so bad that Tolmie appointed a committee of five prominent businessmen to make recommendations to the government. Chaired by former president of the BC Electric Company, George Kidd, the committee released its report—the Kidd Report—in 1932. The report stated that the only viable solution to the depressed economy was to cut social spending. One area that the Kidd Report singled out was the vastly expanded public education system. On the public outrage surrounding the Kidd Report see Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 252-254.

<sup>7</sup> For more on interwar politics in British Columbia see Robin Fisher, "The Decline of Reform: British Columbia Politics in the 1930s," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 25:3 (Fall 1990): 74-89 and *Duff Pattullo of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991); Neil Sutherland, "T.D. Pattullo as a Party Leader" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1960); Dennis Pilon, "The Drive for Proportional Representation in British Columbia, 1917-1923," (M.A. Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> See Victor Hoar, *The On-to-Ottawa Trek* (Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1970). For examples of Canadian working-class radicalism in the early twentieth century see Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991); Craig Heron, *The Canadian Labour Movement: A Short History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1996). For descriptions of the politics of labour organizing in British Columbia see Mark Leier, *Rebel Life: The Life and Times of Robert Gosden, Revolutionary, Mystic, Labour Spy* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1999); Paul Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia* (Vancouver: British Columbia Federation of Labour, 1967).

Throughout the interwar period, the federal government had been busy negotiating its relationship to Britain and the British Empire. In 1931, the Statute of Westminster officially acknowledged the Dominion of Canada as an autonomous community within the British Commonwealth of Nations.<sup>9</sup> With Canada's increased autonomy—not to be confused with national independence—came the expectations of greater responsibility for domestic economic issues. As such, the federal governments of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett and his successor Mackenzie King reluctantly enacted several relief measures, including unemployment insurance. Despite the state's implementation of limited assistance, it was not until the outbreak of the Second World War and the resulting boom in war-time production that British Columbia ceased to be shaped by the hardships of the Depression.

In addition to maintaining social order during the interwar period, the federal and provincial governments also sought to continue dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands. As a result, throughout the period, and in defiance of the stipulations of the Indian Act, the illegal encroachment upon indigenous lands in British Columbia persisted. Moreover, the process of reducing, or “cutting off,” previously allotted reserves without indigenous consent, as was suggested by the 1916 report of the McKenna-McBride royal commission, was ratified by the passing of the British Columbia Indian Settlement Act in 1920.<sup>10</sup> In continuing to dispossess indigenous peoples of their lands, the federal and

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<sup>9</sup> On Canada's changing relationship to Britain and the British Empire during the early twentieth century see, for example, *Canada and the British Empire*, ed. Phillip Buckner (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1-15.

<sup>10</sup> See *Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for the Province of British Columbia* (Victoria: Acme Press, 1916). For background on indigenous peoples' political struggles with the law in British Columbia see, for example, Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia, 1849-1989* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), 84-96; Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), 216-265.

provincial governments hoped to meet the growing demands of settler society by freeing up as much land as possible for settlement, the building of new rail lines, and economic development in general.

In response to the blatant disregard for both the law and the concerns of indigenous peoples, many indigenous groups formed to protest for the recognition of rights and title to the land. For example, national movements such as the League of Indians of Canada, the Committee for the Protection of Indian Rights, and the North American Indian Brotherhood were established in the interwar period.<sup>11</sup> In British Columbia more specifically, new organizations such as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and older groups such as the Nishga'a Land Committee and the Allied Tribes of British Columbia continued the struggle for land and political survival. Indigenous activism during this time strengthened the political consciousness of many indigenous peoples, posed a serious threat to Canadian complacency, and reinforced a strong foundation of resistance that ensured the continuation of political struggle into the post-Second World War period.<sup>12</sup> As well, such political organizing was impressive when considering that the indigenous population, having been significantly reduced by diseases, remained a relatively small segment of the province's total population, increasing gradually from 22,377 in 1921 to 24,882 by 1941.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> On indigenous peoples' political struggles in interwar Canada see, for example, Peter Kulchyski, "'A Considerable Unrest': F.O. Loft and the League of Indians," *Native Studies Review* 4.1 & 2 (1988): 96-7. Paul Tennant, "Native Indian Political Organization in British Columbia, 1900-1969: A Response to Internal Colonialism," *BC Studies*, 55 (Autumn 1982): 8-9; Hugh Shewell, "Jules Sioui and Indian Political Radicalism in Canada, 1943-1944," *Journal of Canadian Studies* No. 3 (Fall 1999): 211-242; Peter McFarlane, *From Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993).

<sup>12</sup> See Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics*, 96-114 and Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 154-160.

<sup>13</sup> In 1921 and 1941 the indigenous population comprised 4.3 and 3.0 per cent respectively of British Columbia's total population. Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 363

Voices of discontent also emerged from the non-indigenous community. For example, such organizations as the Society of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia and the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society sought to assist and mobilize public opinion in favour of indigenous peoples in the province. In addition, prominent activists like James A. Teit, Charles Hill-Tout, and Arthur O'Meara continued to publicly support indigenous struggles and help different groups to organize politically. Furthermore, O'Meara, as well as being the founder of the Society of Friends of the Indians of British Columbia, was also a lawyer and helped the Nishga'a Land Committee draft a petition directed to the federal government for the recognition of land title. While the Nishga'a petition became a "political catalyst" and a "symbol of the political struggle" for indigenous peoples in interwar British Columbia, in the end its call for the recognition of land rights was ignored by the government of Canada.<sup>14</sup> As historian Hugh Shewell reminds us, while the use of force for the federal and provincial governments was no longer the necessary method of subversion to suppress indigenous protests, administrative and legal coercion ultimately served the same purpose.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, to thwart further attempts to organize land claims and to discourage non-indigenous support for indigenous peoples' challenges to settler hegemony, an amendment was made to the Indian Act in 1927 at the insistence of Deputy Superintendent of the Department of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott. The new amendment, Section 141, prohibited indigenous peoples from soliciting funds to hire

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<sup>14</sup> Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics*, 89.

<sup>15</sup> Shewell, "Jules Sioui and Indian Political Radicalism in Canada, 1943-1944," 212.

lawyers, like O'Meara, to pursue further land claims cases.<sup>16</sup> This amendment was not dropped from the Indian Act until 1951. But throughout the interwar years such groups as the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia and the North American Indian Brotherhood found ways to circumvent Section 141 and maintain their political struggle. For example, while not directly pursuing land claims, many indigenous peoples struggled for the recognition of economic rights to resources that would stem from acknowledgement of indigenous title. Yet, with the onset of the depression in the 1930s, both the provincial and federal governments seemingly had little patience for indigenous protests that challenged the very root of settler society's economic structure—access to land and resources.<sup>17</sup>

While the provincial government showed a general disregard for indigenous peoples and continued its refusal to recognize the federal government's jurisdiction over indigenous lands, provincial officials were more than willing to support the federal government's attempts at educating indigenous children in segregated schools. During the interwar period there were as many as seventeen residential schools and sixty-five day schools in British Columbia with a total of 4,060 indigenous students.<sup>18</sup> Similar to those schools financed by the federal government and run by Christian missionaries in

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<sup>16</sup> On Duncan Campbell Scott and Canadian Indian Policy see, for example, E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> Shewell explains that for the Canadian government there was no logic in "permitting dissent" from indigenous peoples, seeing as the ultimate objective of Indian Policy was their disappearance through assimilation. He argues that "to have acknowledged or conceded the aims of Indian political organizations would have been an inherent contradiction of that objective [assimilation] and a tacit admission of the failure of Indian policy" (212). As a result, the federal and provincial governments either ignored or actively neutralized indigenous protests. This was often done by trying to frustrate or discredit the leaders of indigenous groups and their causes. See Leonard Taylor, *Canadian Indian Policy During the Inter-War Years, 1918-1939* (Ottawa: Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1984).

<sup>18</sup> See Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 62; Thomas Lascelles, *Roman Catholic Residential Schools in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Order of OMI in BC, 1990), 95-98.

other provinces, the schools in British Columbia largely aimed to colonize the minds and bodies of indigenous children in hopes of assimilating them to settler society.<sup>19</sup> Political scientist Paul Tennant argues that though most schools did not provide children with schooling beyond a basic elementary education, some graduates were able to attain higher education and use such knowledge as a political tool.<sup>20</sup> In addition, it is important to note that while education was officially segregated, it was possible for indigenous students to attend public settler schools for higher education.<sup>21</sup> Yet, in showing how indigenous pupils were able to resist and manipulate colonial education for their own purposes, we should not forget that ultimately the residential schooling system in Canada was intended to be an invasive method of cultural genocide.<sup>22</sup>

While the education of indigenous children was not a provincial responsibility, British Columbia's Department of Education did institute massive educational reforms in the public schooling of settler children in the years following the First World War.<sup>23</sup> The most significant change made to the province's public education system was its vast

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<sup>19</sup> For more on residential schooling in Canada see John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1999).

<sup>20</sup> On resistance and Pan-Indianism in British Columbia schools see Tennant, *Aboriginal People and Politics*, 80-81.

<sup>21</sup> For example, I found correspondence between the Superintendent of Education Alexander Robinson and a secretary from an un-stated school board in British Columbia regarding the admission of indigenous children to public settler schools. In the outgoing letter, Robinson reminds the secretary that the schooling of indigenous children living on reserves was the responsibility of the federal government. Yet Robinson went on to state that "I may say, however, that this Department will offer no objection whatever to your board admitting these children" on the condition that the board be ready to "admit others that might seek admission later." British Columbia Archives, *Superintendent of Education Correspondence Outward 1972-1919*, GR-450, 8476, 1 October 1919. In "Schooled for Inequality," Barman argues that situations such as this one would have been "the exceptions rather than the rule" (62). Indigenous children were not actively integrated into the public schools of British Columbia until the period after the Second World War—a focus of my third chapter.

<sup>22</sup> For discussion on how to write the history of residential schooling in Canada see Paige Raibmon, "'A New Understanding of Things Indian': George Raley's Negotiation of the Residential School Experience," *BC Studies* 110 (Summer 1996): 69-66; Mary-Ellen Kelm and Robin Brownlee, "Desperately Seeking Absolution: Native Agency as White Alibi in Recent Historical Writing," *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 4 1994: 543-556.

<sup>23</sup> See Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland, "Royal Commission Retrospective" in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 411-426.

expansion. Combined with the shortage of work, British Columbia's increasing population created demands for better job training and as part of this, education beyond the elementary level. At the recommendation of the 1925 report of the Putman-Weir commission on education in British Columbia, the Department of Education further committed to developing a secondary system of public education composed of junior and senior high schools to meet the needs of the growing province.<sup>24</sup> As a result of the gradual implementation of the commission's recommendation, the population of settler students attending secondary schools rose from 5,806 in 1919 to 41,362 by 1945.<sup>25</sup>

The demands for higher education proved to be a catalyst for the Department of Education to view secondary education as an important institution for the development and training of future productive citizens. In the words of one of the textbooks authorized for use during the interwar period, "it is a self-evident fact that the state ought to teach its future citizens the worth of our civilization and the ways of preserving it from impairment, and of assisting its progress... There must be a means sought for training our people in social and civic responsibility."<sup>26</sup> Crucial to the successful training of British Columbia's children was the creation of a school curriculum that met the needs of settler

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<sup>24</sup> On the importance of the Putman-Weir commission and the educational history of British Columbia see, for example, Penney Clark, "'Take it away, youth': Visions of Canadian Identity in British Columbia Social Studies Textbooks, 1925-1989," (Ph.d. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1995). Note that George M. Weir served as Minister of Education for much of the time during which the commission's recommendations were implemented in British Columbia—from 1933 to 1941 and then again from 1945 until his death in 1947.

<sup>25</sup> *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1918-1919* (Victoria: Don McDiarmid, 1920), A10 and *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1945-46*, (Victoria: Don McDiarmid, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1947), 9. Note that the total population of British Columbia in 1919 was approximately 500,000 and the total schooling population was 72,006, while the total population of British Columbia in 1945 was approximately 820,000 and the total schooling population was 130,605. Despite growing in importance and attendance, public education in general and public secondary education in particular remained a privilege of the few in the growing province of British Columbia.

<sup>26</sup> R.S. Jenkins, *Canadian Civics: British Columbia Edition* (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, 1918), Preface. An in-depth analysis of the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia during the interwar period will follow the current discussion of curriculum documents.

society and the settler state. The general purpose of British Columbia's public education system during the interwar period is expressed in the "Aims and Philosophy of Education in British Columbia," included in the *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia*.<sup>27</sup> The document states that:

From the point of view of society, the schools in any state exist to develop citizens, or subjects, according to the prevailing or dominating ideals of the state or society. Any society desires to transmit its culture. All states seek to ensure their safety, stability, and perpetuity. The people of a democratic state such as Canada aim at more than this. They wish to have citizens able to play their part in a democratic state, but able to also make new adjustments in an evolving and progressive social order, so that social stability may be united with social progress.<sup>28</sup>

As this statement shows, public education in British Columbia not only aimed to legitimize the existence of settler society but attempted to instil in students a desire to guarantee its "safety, stability, and perpetuity." Thus, the aim of public education during the interwar period was the implementation of the hidden colonial curriculum—legitimizing the existence of settler society as something to be taken for granted as common sense. In short, public education in British Columbia sought to make subjects of good character and teach them to take their place in settler society.

Nowhere was the goal of making settler children into subjects of good character more apparent than in the curriculum for the social studies—a course that combined history, geography, and citizenship training.<sup>29</sup> According to the *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, 1927-1928*, the sole purpose of the secondary social studies program was to produce "intelligent, responsible, and socially conscious

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<sup>27</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1936), 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia*, 8.

<sup>29</sup> Note that prior to 1927 courses in geography, history, and civics were taught separately or at least were not referred to as a unified course in social studies.



citizens.”<sup>30</sup> To achieve this goal, the document suggested that such a citizenry could be created by promoting a respect for the following “Right Ideals and Attitudes:”

1. Love for the other nations of the British Empire and for our constitutional monarchy.
2. An appreciation of the necessity for government; the meaning of liberty, of citizenship, and of co-operation.
3. A sincere appreciation of our great pioneers of empire, government and reform, science and invention.
4. Tolerance and respect for other nations and races.
5. A willingness to submit to the rule of the majority and a respect for the rights of the minority.
6. A recognition of civic responsibilities and a willingness to respond to them with the appropriate action.
7. A respect for the rights and property of others.
8. An appreciation of the dignity of labour and its part in the development of character.
9. Recognition of the fact that the British and Canadian tradition is to abide by the law, and that when one desires changes to be made in the law he should employ only lawful and constitutional methods of effecting such changes.
10. Recognition of the fact that every Canadian, whether he be such either by birth or by adoption, should have a whole-hearted love for Canada, a reasoned but deep-seated patriotism, and that a Canadian can best serve the other nations of the British Empire and the rest of the world by doing what it is in his power to do towards making Canada greater and nobler.<sup>31</sup>

In order to make responsible and useful citizens, public education attempted to instil in students a respect for the rules and values of settler society.

While there is much to unpack in “Right Ideals and Attitudes” statement, there are a few glaring contradictions. By the time this document was published, not only had the settler state in British Columbia shown complete disrespect for indigenous peoples (4.) by illegally dispossessing them of their land (7. and 5.) but it had also disregarded their lawful protests and had upheld federal law to bar further disturbances (9. and 6.) Indeed, judged by its own standards, the provincial government of British Columbia during the

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<sup>30</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, 1927-1928* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1927), 18.

<sup>31</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, 1927-1928*, 18.

interwar period could be said to be a student of bad character. Yet, to show how the colonizing minds project attempted to guarantee the continued existence of settler society, it is more important to point out that the ideas of a respect for law, labour, and liberal democracy were sandwiched between loyalty to the British monarchy and respect for the Dominion of Canada's membership in the virtuous British Empire.

Given that the legitimacy of settler society was presented in education as being connected to the history of Britain, promoting Canada's imperial connection to the British Empire was a responsibility that the Department of Education in British Columbia took seriously. For example, after the outbreak of the Second World War, the Department of Education demanded that "teachers in the public schools of this Province as well as students in the Provincial Normal Schools and in the teacher-training class at the University of British Columbia be required to take an Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty King George VI, his Heirs and Successors."<sup>32</sup> Moreover, a 1941 school bulletin produced by the Department of Education reminded both teachers and the public at large that:

The dissemination of biased or partisan views, whether reactionary or radical, is a betrayal of trust, is harmful to public education, and destroys the influence of the person who indulges in it. It is not propaganda, however, in the sense in which exception is taken to it, to instil into the pupils a love of country, loyalty towards it and towards our common throne, Empire and Commonwealth, appreciation of our free democratic institutions, and respect for law and order. All of these are consistent with the stated aims of our system of education, and the development of these sentiments is a duty of the school.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction Orders-in-Council 1871-1971*, GR-0138, Vol.8, File 3, 20 February 1940. In the Department of Education's Annual Report for 1939-1940 it is stated that the oath of allegiance was taken "willingly" by almost all teachers. See *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of The Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1939-40* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1940), 28-29.

<sup>33</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Senior High Schools of British Columbia, Bulletin I* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1941), 9.

Thus, one aim of public education in British Columbia in the interwar period was to instill in students a feeling of personal responsibility for ensuring the “safety, stability, and perpetuity” of settler society, and it did so by linking that society’s legitimacy to the larger and more important history of the development of the British Empire.<sup>34</sup>

But how did the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia secondary schools between 1920 and 1945 meet the needs of British Columbia’s hidden colonial curriculum? How was the authorized textbook history of British imperialism, the story of “our great pioneers of empire,” presented to pupils in order to legitimize the creation of the Dominion of Canada? More specifically, how was the dispossession of indigenous peoples’ lands—a crucial part of the creation of the Dominion of Canada—rationalized to children in their textbooks as common sense? In short, how were these textbooks part of the colonizing minds project in British Columbia?

In general, textbooks are chosen based on their ability to meet the objectives of educational curricula. It is not surprising, then, that the majority of the 25 history and social studies textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia throughout the interwar period vigorously promoted the history of British imperialism [See Figures 1 & 2]. Of the 25 authorized textbooks, two focused on geography and four discussed the issues of civics and citizenship. The remaining 19 were history textbooks, all of which explained

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<sup>34</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia*, 8.

the history of the Dominion of Canada as part of a larger story of British imperialism.<sup>35</sup>

The textbook history of British imperialism authorized for use in British Columbia classrooms was explained to pupils as the spread of civilization and the subsequent development of a world-wide British Empire in the name of tolerance, freedom, and progress. This imperial narrative framed the story of Canada’s history and in doing so, shaped how indigenous peoples were represented in the unfolding drama. I argue that in connecting the story of colonialism and the creation of Canada to the larger history of the creation of the British Empire, authorized textbooks, as tools of the colonizing minds project, sought to rationalize to pupils the legitimacy and perpetuity of settler society.

Figure 1: Textbooks Authorized by Subject, and Total Page Breakdown Showing Number and Percentage of Pages Mentioning British Columbia, “Indians,” and “Indians” in British Columbia.

| Period   | History | Civ. | Geo. | Tot. - Tot. Pgs. | BC     | “Indians”  | BC “Indians” |           |
|----------|---------|------|------|------------------|--------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1920-45  | 19      | 4    | 2    | 25               | 8,452  | 539 (6.4%) | 588 (7.0%)   | 55 (0.7%) |
| 1945-70  | 14      | 2    | 3    | 19               | 7,024  | 299 (4.3%) | 457 (6.5%)   | 37 (0.5%) |
| 1920-70* | 25      | 6    | 3    | 34               | 12,411 | 641 (5.2%) | 769 (6.2%)   | 60 (0.5%) |

\*Totals with consideration given to overlap between the interwar and post-war periods.

<sup>35</sup> Many authors of state-sanctioned history and social studies textbooks used in British Columbia in the interwar period were professional English-Canadian historians. Such well-known scholars included George M. Wrong, Duncan McArthur, W.L. Grant, Chester Martin, and Carl Wittke. As a result, the authorized textbooks presented students with a particular perspective of Canada’s past that, like the broader Canadian historiography of the time, emphasized and debated the historical importance of the Dominion of Canada’s relationship with Britain and the British Empire. For more on the politics of history-writing in the early to mid-twentieth century see Donald A. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing, 1900-1970* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976) and *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

Figure 2: Textbooks with Canadian Content Authorized for Use in British Columbia, 1920-1945.

- George M. Wrong, *The British Nation* (Authorized: 1919-22)
  - W.L. Grant, *History of Canada* (1919-20)
  - R.S. Jenkins, *Canadian Civics, British Columbia Edition* (1919-23)
  - George M. Wrong, *History of Canada* (1923-27)
  - George M. Wrong, *High School History of England* (1924-27)
  - James Bryce, *Canada: An Actual Democracy* (1924-27)
  - James McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship* (1927-1938)
  - Oscar D. Skelton, *The Canadian Dominion* (1927-1931)
  - H.F. Angus, *Citizenship in British Columbia* (1927-28)
  - George M. Wrong, *Conquest of New France* (1927-32)
  - William Bennett Munro, *Crusaders of New France* (1927-32)
  - George Cornish, *Canadian School Geography* (1927-46)
  - Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (1928-37)
  - George M. Wrong, Chester Martin, W.N. Sage, *The Story of Canada* (1930-?)
  - W. Stewart Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada* (1927-38)
  - *Lessons on The British Empire*, Department of Education (1936-39)
  - A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada* (1937-50)
  - Arthur Anstey, *British Columbia* in Burt's *The Romance of Canada* (1937-50)
  - V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord, *A World Geography for Canadian Schools* (1937-50)
  - H.B. King, *A History of Britain* (1937-50)
  - Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada* (1940-56)
  - George M. Wrong, *The Canadians: The Story of a People* (1940-49)
  - George Brown (ed.), *Readings in Canadian History* (1942-50)
  - A.W. Currie, *Canadian Economic Development* (1943-50)
  - W.N. Sage, *Canada From Sea to Sea* (1944-70)
- Note:* For full bibliographic information see page 112-114

As illustrated in the discussion of the curriculum documents above, British Columbia secondary students were taught that *their* British Empire was, as one textbook stated, the “greatest and the freest that the world has ever known.”<sup>36</sup> To explain how this remarkable result came about, W. Stewart Wallace’s text, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada* claimed that “three hundred and fifty years ago the English-speaking peoples were confined to the British Isles. To-day they have spread all over the globe, and the British Empire is one ‘on which the sun never sets.’ Indeed, in this time, Britain has built up one overseas empire, lost it, and built up another much vaster in area and no less

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<sup>36</sup> James McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship* (Toronto: The Educational Book Co., Limited, 1930), 152.

glorious in character.”<sup>37</sup> In *High School History of England*, George M. Wrong boasted that while Britain was only a small island state, due to its history of expansion and conquest, “to-day one-quarter of the surface of the earth is under British Rule.”<sup>38</sup> According to Wrong, Britain had even surpassed Rome in that while the latter “conquered, she did not, in any real sense, colonize.”<sup>39</sup> In *High School History of England*, Wrong further explained that what set the British Empire apart from the Roman Empire was that in settling new areas of the world, Britain founded “new nations of her own blood.”<sup>40</sup> Indeed, all 25 textbooks stressed the importance of tracing the history of “our Anglo Saxon ancestors” who, with their “spirit of ‘Little Englandism’”—the desire to transplant British civilization to all parts of the globe—slowly but continuously settled the New World in the name of progress.<sup>41</sup> As a result, the stories of the colonial conflicts between French and British forces, the struggle for responsible government, the Confederation of British settler colonies in 1867, and the subsequent western expansion to create a Dominion from sea to sea were explained to students as but a part of one larger story, the history of British imperialism and the creation of global British rule.

While it is easy to get caught up in the textbook narrative of imperialism and progress, it is important to pay attention to the subtle transition between the explanation of Britain’s history and the story of the development of Canada. It was at this point in the narrative that most textbooks first made mention of the original inhabitants of North America. Yet, discussing indigenous peoples and their histories was not the focus of the interwar texts. Approximately 7 per cent of the total pages of all texts authorized for use

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<sup>37</sup> W. Stewart Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1936), 166.

<sup>38</sup> George M. Wrong, *High School History of England* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 1.

<sup>39</sup> George M. Wrong, *The British Nation* (Toronto: Ryerson), 1.

<sup>40</sup> Wrong, *High School History of England*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> McCaig, 2-3 and W.L. Grant, *History of Canada* (London: Heinemann, 1916), 7.

between 1920 and 1945 mentioned indigenous peoples and only 0.7 per cent referenced indigenous peoples living in British Columbia specifically [See Figure 1]. Thus silence or, at best, brief references to the original inhabitants of Canada characterized the textbook representations of indigenous peoples in the interwar period. While it was clear that indigenous peoples were not a primary concern of textbooks, analyzing what textbooks did say can reveal much about how and why indigenous peoples were represented in the ways that they were, and how such depictions ultimately served to justify colonialism to students as common sense.

Of the 25 textbooks authorized for use in the interwar period, 12 specifically addressed the histories and cultures of indigenous peoples in Canada.<sup>42</sup> Textbook discussions of indigenous peoples were treated as an “undesirable interruption of the narrative,” usually included in brief introductory chapters describing the “Discovery of the Americas” or outlining the geography and natural resources of Canada.<sup>43</sup> According to Duncan McArthur’s textbook *History of Canada for High Schools*, when the Europeans first “encountered the Indian” they found him an “undisputed master of the forest and the plain.”<sup>44</sup> In such descriptions, indigenous peoples were also often described as animals. For example, W.L. Grant, in *History of Canada*, stated that “when the white man first came to our country, over the greater part of it ranged small bands of

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<sup>42</sup> The 12 texts that have chapters or sections discussing indigenous peoples are Grant’s *History of Canada*; Wrong’s *History of Canada*, *The Conquest of New France*, and *The Canadians*; Munro’s *Crusaders of New France*, McArthur’s *History of Canada for High Schools*; Wrong, Martin, and Sage’s *The Story of Canada*; Wallace’s *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*; Burt’s *The Romance of Canada*; Anstey’s *British Columbia*; Wittke’s *A History of Canada*; Brown’s *Readings in Canadian History*. Note that 11 other texts make reference to indigenous peoples, but do so in passing and as part of other stories. Note also that only two textbooks make no mention of indigenous peoples at all: Wrong’s *High School History of England* and the Department of Education’s *Lessons on the British Empire*.

<sup>43</sup> William Kingsford, a prominent nineteenth century English-Canadian historian, once said that in writing a history of Canada, a detailed account of the “Indian races of North America” would “only lead to an undesirable interruption of the narrative.” W. Kingsford as quoted in J. R. Miller’s *Reflections on Native-Newcomer Relations: Selected Essays* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 13.

<sup>44</sup> Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto: W.J. Wage, 1927), 9.

dark-skinned men of good features and athletic form.”<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, students were told that in these early times it was “impossible to separate the life of the Indian from his surroundings. He was, as it were, a part of the landscape.”<sup>46</sup> In short, whether included as part of a brief introduction, described as animals, or transformed into part of the landscape, descriptions of indigenous peoples were used to establish the setting for the more important story of British imperialism.

But the story that follows, the development of the Dominion of Canada, was a history predicated on the dispossession of the lands of these indigenous peoples by non-indigenous settlers. The important question, then, is how was the story of British imperialism, the separation of indigenous peoples from the land, and the establishment of the Dominion of Canada linked and rationalized to students in their textbooks during the interwar period? How did this shape the brief references to indigenous peoples? In the remainder of this chapter, I will show how textbooks attempted to justify the dispossession of indigenous peoples’ lands through the use of broad generalizations that depicted all indigenous peoples, when they were mentioned, as inferior to Europeans. This universal Indian was judged by the standards of European civilization and subsequently described in terms of deficiencies. Thus the majority of textbooks negatively stereotyped all indigenous peoples as the ignorant and inferior Indian Other—the Textbook Indian.<sup>47</sup> While there were a few exceptions to this negative image that I

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<sup>45</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 8. The textbook accounts of the early encounters with the original inhabitants of North America were very similar to the accounts of the “degraded aborigines” of Australia and the “virile natives” of New Zealand, who were living in “savage isolation” until the coming of the white man (Wrong, *High School History of England*, 564, 568). While future work is needed that examines the representations of the British Empire’s other ‘Others,’ for now it is important to note that in interwar textbooks British imperialism was said to be a benevolent force, bringing modernity and civilization to the backward peoples of the world.

<sup>46</sup> McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 9.

<sup>47</sup> For more on the idea of the “Textbook Indian,” see Daniel Francis, *National Dreams*, 71-79.



will discuss, the Textbook Indian was most often represented as a savage—uncivilized and violent, “suspicious and bloodthirsty”—and thus illegitimate in the presence of a civilized society.<sup>48</sup> In the history of Canada, civilization and savagery were fundamentally incompatible. As colonialism was depicted as an inevitable process, textbooks suggested to students that supporting the contemporary struggles of indigenous peoples would only hinder the natural progression of their civilization.

Interwar textbooks made important racial differentiations between indigenous peoples in Canada that illustrate how the construction of race was tied to notions of civilization and the struggle for settler hegemony. As Figure 3 shows, Métis peoples were not considered “original inhabitants” of the Dominion of Canada according to McArthur’s textbook *History of Canada for High Schools*. Indeed, many textbooks represented Métis peoples to students as “half-breed” settlers, both civilized and uncivilized.<sup>49</sup> Discussions of the Métis were usually included as part of the explanation for the Dominion of Canada’s westward expansion. For example, Wrong’s *History of Canada* discussed the grievances of the Métis peoples in a section entitled “The Winning of the West.”<sup>50</sup> Specifically, the textbook discussions of Métis peoples revolved around the issues of the “rebellions” led by Louis Riel. What is fascinating about these discussions is that because “half-breeds” were presented as disgruntled settlers, textbooks actually sympathized somewhat with their grievances. Grant stated in *History of Canada* that though “sometimes, rash, vain, and cruel,” Riel and his followers “felt themselves to be free people, and denied the right of the Hudson’s Bay Company to sell them like so

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<sup>48</sup> George Wrong, M. Chester Martin, and W.N. Sage, *The Story of Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1929), 214.

<sup>49</sup> Wrong, *History of Canada*, 300.

<sup>50</sup> Wrong, *History of Canada*, 307-312.

many cattle in the market.”<sup>51</sup> Thus, while still inferior to Canadians, Métis peoples were, because of their uncertain race, constructed as racially different from both “Indians” and “Eskimo.”

Figure 3: “Original Inhabitants of Canada,” Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 10.



© 1927, The Educational Book Company of Toronto.

The textbook representations of Inuit peoples as Eskimo also highlight the complexities of making racial designations among indigenous peoples in Canada. Although the Inuit were considered to be original inhabitants, they were constructed as a different race from Indians [See Figure 3]. Indeed, McArthur claimed that the Eskimo were considered to be “another native race,” that though smaller than Indians in stature were “strong, sturdy people.”<sup>52</sup> According to Grant’s *History of Canada*, before the coming of Europeans the Eskimo were “much fiercer and more cruel than they are now”

<sup>51</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 259. Similarly, Wrong, in his text *History of Canada* stated, “were they [Métis peoples], then, to be sold like so many buffaloes?” (307). Note that the authors of these claims were writing at a time in Canadian history when free trade was a poignant political issue. It is possible that there is a pro-free trade element in Grant’s and Wrong’s criticism of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

<sup>52</sup> McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 22-23.

as they were constantly at war with the Indians to the south.<sup>53</sup> Yet, Grant claimed that with the coming of “gentle Christian missionaries” in the eighteenth century, the Eskimo embraced civilization, “cast their cruelty of war aside,” and “became the peaceful race we know today, fighting only with nature and the wild beasts, living quietly in little settlements with names like Nain and Hebron, taken from the Bible.”<sup>54</sup> Not only were Inuit peoples represented as racially superior to Indians because of their acceptance of civilization, but both Grant and McArthur also made mention of their fairer “light brown” skin—as opposed to red—and “brown or blue eyes,” hinting at the possibility of racial mixing with Europeans, most likely Vikings.<sup>55</sup> Again, like the discussions of Métis peoples, the textbook representations of Inuit peoples seemed to complicate the attempts by textbooks to justify the dispossession of all indigenous peoples and their lands based solely on an inherent inferiority and uniform unwillingness to accept civilization.

The descriptions of Métis and Inuit peoples aside, the majority of textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia during the interwar period described indigenous peoples as the uncivilized Textbook Indian. To begin, he—and the Textbook Indian was most often gendered male—was universalized as a fearless master of the forest and battlefield whose religion and medicine were primitive at best and savage at worst. For example, in *History of Canada* Grant argued that the “savage is proverbially fickle” and that “his love for inflicting torture” in battle was “only one sign that his nature was really nervous and hysterical.”<sup>56</sup> Grant’s view that the religion of the Textbook Indian was one

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<sup>53</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 20.

<sup>54</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 20.

<sup>55</sup> McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 22-23 and Grant, *History of Canada*, 18. On the politics of race, sex, and colonialism see Robert J.C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 17.

full of “motion and noise” was supported by other accounts, such as those found in *History of Canada for High Schools*. In this textbook McArthur stated that the Indian was not only “ignorant of the wheel” but “did not understand that there was one great spirit or God.”<sup>57</sup> The Textbook Indian also lacked civilized knowledge of medicine, believing instead that disease was caused by an evil spirit gaining control of a sick person. George Wrong, Chester Martin, and W.N. Sage’s textbook *The Story of Canada* explained that once sick, an Indian might have his dwelling “invaded” by a party led by a “so-called ‘medicine man.’”<sup>58</sup> Described as a trickster in most textbooks, the medicine man was said to have administered remedies derived from roots and leaves or treated patients by means of a sweat-bath in which the evil spirit was thought to be expelled by “shouting and dancing and making a great noise near the poor patient.”<sup>59</sup> In short, the uncivilized Textbook Indian lacked a civilized religion and knowledge of medicine.

Enlightened understandings of spirituality and health care were not the only traits of European civilization that the Textbook Indian lacked. In fact, nowhere is the strategy of describing indigenous peoples in terms of their shortcomings more apparent than in the textbook *The Story of Canada*, in which Wrong, Martin, and Sage provided a four page listing of everything that indigenous peoples did not have, from the arts of industry to table manners. It was said that the Textbook Indian:

had no iron to make axes or swords or spears...Not a horse, nor cow, nor sheep, nor goat, nor pig, was to be found in America when it was first reached from Europe. Though the Indians had canoes large enough to carry a dozen men, they had not learned how to make or use a sail.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 19.

<sup>58</sup> Wrong, Martin, and Sage, *The Story of Canada*, 5. For more on the politics of colonialism and health see Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998).

<sup>59</sup> McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 20.

<sup>60</sup> Wrong, Martin, and Sage, *The Story of Canada*, 4.

Although *The Story of Canada* pointed out that some indigenous peoples in Central America had made wonderful cities and in Canada some groups had learned the arts of cultivation, these peoples were clearly the exceptions to a generally inferior race. Thus, throughout their examination, the authors continued to describe the Textbook Indian in terms of inadequacy:

There was no school in any Indian village in Canada; no training or reading, or writing or arithmetic...The Indians had no written laws...When home from hunting or war, men lounged round these fires and children and dogs ran in and out freely...At meals, the men sprawled on the ground near the fire...the plates were chips of wood or of bark; there was no knives or forks; and the eaters seized their food with their hands and wiped these on their hair or on a dog if one happened to be near....<sup>61</sup>

In the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia, the Textbook Indian was thus defined in terms of uniform deficiency.

In describing the Textbook Indian as uncivilized, textbooks justified the dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands as an inevitable consequence of progress in the history of British imperialism, a history that included spreading "civilization." For example, in *Lessons on the British Empire*, students were told that in addition to furthering the principles of "freedom, justice, and democracy," the history of the British Empire was also the story of "bringing civilization, enlightenment, and progress to the backward peoples of the earth...what Rudyard Kipling has called 'the white man's burden.'"<sup>62</sup> The textbook further explained that "Britain, because of her empire, has

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<sup>61</sup> Wrong, Martin, and Sage, *The Story of Canada*, 4-5.

<sup>62</sup> *Lessons on the British Empire*, Department of Education (Victoria: British Columbia, 1936), 30. Note that Kipling's original poem "The White Man's Burden" was arguably a critique of the United States and its invasion of the Philippine Islands in the late nineteenth century.

shouldered the lion's share of this burden."<sup>63</sup> Similarly, in *Citizenship in British Columbia*, H.F. Angus reminded students that it is "one of the duties of Empire" to ensure that "primitive peoples" are not exploited and are, for the most part, treated with tolerance and respect by "civilized communities."<sup>64</sup> While never mentioning the indigenous peoples of Canada directly, the following question was included for discussion at the end of the chapter on the British Empire: "What effects has the coming of the white man had on the North American Indian?"<sup>65</sup> As if responding to this question, *Lessons on the British Empire* reassured students that "we have to admit that we have not been, by any means, wholly unselfish or always kind in what we as a nation have done, but it cannot be denied that the backward peoples included within the Empire have, in the main, profited much from their British connection."<sup>66</sup> Therefore, as descendants of the "pioneers of empire," settler children were encouraged to take pride in the fact that the story of their country was part of the larger history of bringing British civilization to the backward, original inhabitants of North America.

In addition to the uncivilized nature of the Textbook Indian, textbooks also emphasized his inherently violent disposition. Constructing the Textbook Indian as violent and bloodthirsty further legitimized the dispossession of indigenous peoples' land in the name of guaranteeing the safety and security of settler society's progress into the future. For example, textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia during the interwar period contained countless examples of fierce and cruel Indians—usually the

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<sup>63</sup> *Lessons on the British Empire*, 30.

<sup>64</sup> H.F. Angus, *Citizenship in British Columbia* (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield), 206.

<sup>65</sup> H.F. Angus, *Citizenship in British Columbia*, 212.

<sup>66</sup> *Lessons on the British Empire*, 30.

Iroquois—raiding and pillaging French and English settlements in the New World.<sup>67</sup> One particularly revealing example was found in Wrong's *The Conquest of New France*.

Wrong described the “savages” of New France from the view of Montcalm:

It filled him [Montcalm] with disgust to see them swarming in the streets of Montreal, sometimes carrying bows and arrows, their coarse features worse disfigured by war-paint and a gaudy headdress of feathers, their heads shaven, with the exception of one long scalp-lock, their gleaming bodies nearly naked or draped with dirty buffalo or beaver skins....It was a costly burden to feed them. Sometimes they made howling demands for brandy and for *bouillon*, by which they meant human blood. Many of them were cannibals. Once Montcalm had to give some of them, at his own cost, a feast of three oxen roasted whole. To his disgust, they gorged themselves and danced around the room shouting their savage war-cries.<sup>68</sup>

While such examples are particularly shocking, more fascinating are the rare examples that suggested to students that the creation of settler society in British Columbia was neither smooth nor free from indigenous-settler conflict.

Examples of indigenous peoples violently resisting colonialism in British Columbia are astonishing because most of the authorized textbooks in the interwar period tended to gloss over the history of British Columbia. Of the total pages of authorized textbooks during the interwar period, 6.4 per cent were devoted to British Columbia history and only 0.7 per cent cited indigenous peoples living in the province [See Figure 1]. And, even then, the majority of these references tended to downplay conflict and struggle and instead focused on the diversity of indigenous cultures on the Pacific

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<sup>67</sup> These violent images have been well documented in recent literature. See, for example, Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal, 1992); Penney Clark, “Representations of Aboriginal Peoples in English Canadian History Textbooks: Towards Reconciliation,” in *Teaching the Difficult Past: Violence Reconciliation and History Education*, ed. Elizabeth Cole (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 81-120.

<sup>68</sup> George M. Wrong, *The Conquest of New France: A Chronicle of the Colonial Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 183-184. Note that Wrong's text is particularly interested in presenting to students the story of Britain's conquest of New France and the emergence of British North America. Thus, such examples of uncivilized “savages” also served to explain the weakness of French forces: “What allies for a refined grand seigneur of France!” (183).

Northwest Coast. In fact, most interwar textbooks supported the view of O.D. Skelton's textbook *The Canadian Dominion*, namely that "the extension of Canadian sovereignty beyond the Rockies came about in a quieter fashion."<sup>69</sup> Typifying this kind of representation was James Bryce's civics textbook, *Canada: An Actual Democracy*, which claimed, "This land in which settlers...have been called to be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth is a land where there is room for everybody for generations to come, and in which the ground is cumbered by few injustices to be redressed, no sense of ancient wrongs to rouse resentment."<sup>70</sup> Bryce further stated that the indigenous peoples living in Canada in general and in British Columbia in particular "have been on the whole humanely and judiciously treated."<sup>71</sup> However, while downplaying incidents of violence, Bryce admitted that there were a "few occasions for the employment of armed force."<sup>72</sup> The struggle for settler hegemony was, after all, a process requiring consent and coercion.

As a result, whether intentional or not, a handful of textbooks did give students brief glimpses of a different colonial past, one in which indigenous peoples in British Columbia did not passively accept the coming of the white man and the invasion by settlers. For example, in *Readings in Canadian History*, George Brown provided students with a collection of historical documents relevant to the study of Canadian history, and included a chapter entitled "Britain and her Rivals on the Pacific Coast."<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> O.D. Skelton, *The Canadian Dominion: A Chronicle of Our Northern Neighbor* (New Haven: Yale University, 1921), 156.

<sup>70</sup> James Bryce, *Canada: An Actual Democracy* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada, 1924), 11.

<sup>71</sup> Bryce, *Canada: An Actual Democracy*, 32.

<sup>72</sup> Bryce, *Canada: An Actual Democracy*, 32. Note that in the 1920s, when Bryce's *Canada: An Actual Democracy* was published, both the federal and provincial governments in Canada used the legal system to support the dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands in British Columbia without their consent, as legally stipulated by the Indian Act.

<sup>73</sup> George Brown, *Readings in Canadian History: Original Sources from Canada's Living Past from the Discovery of America to British North America at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1940), 318.



By “Britain and her Rivals,” Brown was, of course, referring specifically to Russia and Spain. Yet the passages from the journal of Captain James Cook included in this chapter told students that indigenous peoples were “dexterous enough in effecting their purposes,” often stealing items from Cook’s ship once on board to trade furs and sea otter pelts.<sup>74</sup> Indigenous peoples were so crafty that, in Cook’s own words, “Sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.”<sup>75</sup> Thus, textbooks did, at times, represent the history of contact on the Pacific Northwest Coast as a contentious encounter.

And it was not just in the fur trade that there was said to be conflict between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in British Columbia. For example, in *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, Wallace stated that as American settlers gradually invaded the Oregon Territory and then British Columbia searching for gold, “they quarrelled with the Indians, debauched them with liquor, and seized what land each one might desire.”<sup>76</sup> In *History of Canada*, Grant claimed that with the discovery of gold in British Columbia, “fierce fighting broke out with the Indians, whom the newcomers wished to treat as they had the natives in California and Australia.”<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Wrong explained in *History of Canada* that in their conflicts with settlers, “the natives resented the intrusion and there was cruel bloodshed.”<sup>78</sup> Finally, in his British Columbia supplement to A.L Burt’s *Romance of Canada*, Arthur Anstey stated that although indigenous peoples in British Columbia at first showed themselves to be of a “peaceable and friendly disposition,” in an attempt to prevent further intrusion and in response to the “harsh and ruthless methods” of some traders, indigenous peoples in British Columbia

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<sup>74</sup> Brown, *Readings in Canadian History*, 318.

<sup>75</sup> Brown, *Readings in Canadian History*, 318.

<sup>76</sup> Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, 91.

<sup>77</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 263.

<sup>78</sup> Wrong, *History of Canada*, 320.

turned to violence, destroying trading ships and even taking some newcomers prisoner.<sup>79</sup> The fate of these captives was left to the imagination of the reader.

While it may be tempting to celebrate such examples for at least acknowledging the agency and resistance of indigenous peoples, the representations of “Indians” in British Columbia as capable of violence played into the stereotype of all indigenous peoples as the uncivilized, cruel, and bloodthirsty savage. Moreover, according to most textbooks, violence was inherent in all Indians. For example, while devoting almost half of the total pages of *History of Canada* to discussions of European wars, rebellions, and revolutions, Grant stated that for indigenous peoples, war was indeed “one occupation common to them all.”<sup>80</sup> In this way, the very presence of indigenous peoples in Canada was constructed as a direct threat to the safety and security of settlers and their property. British Columbia was no exception. Therefore, textbooks suggested to students that in order for settler society to grow, mature, and progress, the inherently violent Textbook Indian—representing all indigenous peoples—needed to be neutralized.

This particular rationalization for colonialism was best witnessed in James McCaig’s textbook *Studies in Citizenship: British Columbia Edition*. In explaining to children how settler society was formed to provide settlers with a “sense of security,” McCaig drew upon the stereotype of the violent Textbook Indian.<sup>81</sup>

For example, *Studies in Citizenship* stated:

You will learn from your study of Canadian history that when the French began to take up farms in Canada during the seventeenth century, they

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<sup>79</sup> Arthur Anstey, *British Columbia*, 21, in A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1948), 7. For a more on indigenous-settler conflict in nineteenth century British Columbia see Barry Gough’s *Gunboat Frontier: British Maritime Authority and the Northwest Coast Indians, 1846-90* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984).

<sup>80</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 14.

<sup>81</sup> McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 38.

settled close together along the banks of the principle rivers...The country at that time was filled with savage Indians, who, time and again, swooped down upon the settlements, destroyed the crops, burned the buildings, and killed men, women, and children...By settling together [...settlers] found protection against these raids. When one person raised the alarm, all could gather quickly to defend their homes...We can imagine, however, that even with these measures of protection, the settlers and their families did not lead very happy, peaceful lives. They had little sense of security for life or property.<sup>82</sup>

This example is revealing because it used the image of violent savages and the idea of a dark and scary land to foster in students an appreciation for the progress that settler society had made. In fact, McCaig concluded his section by reminding students that because of the formation of settler society, “We are to-day much more happily situated. We know that our persons are safe from attack, that our property is guarded against theft...Without this confidence, there would be little rest, happiness, or progress among us.”<sup>83</sup> In short, *Studies in Citizenship* demanded that students recall and use the image of the universal violent Indian from their history textbooks. And at the time when McCaig’s textbook was first authorized for use in British Columbia, one of the history textbooks in use was Wrong’s *Conquest of New France*. Like McCaig, Wrong reminded students that in the early days “a pioneer might go forth in the morning to his labor and return in the evening to find his house in ashes and his wife and children lying dead with the scalps torn from their heads as trophies of savage prowess.”<sup>84</sup> Students were thus told to use such threatening images to help guide them through McCaig’s rationalization for the

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<sup>82</sup> McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 38. Note that the “savage Indians” McCaig asked children to remember were the Iroquois, who were actually the allies of the British—the Anglo-Saxon ancestors he praises consistently throughout his text.

<sup>83</sup> McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 38.

<sup>84</sup> Wrong, *The Conquest of New France*, 187-188. This time, Wrong is talking about indigenous peoples allied with the French massacring English settlements. On the politics of empires and their allies during this period see Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

creation and development of settler society. Ultimately, the dispossession of indigenous peoples' land was justified in the name of creating a safer and more secure society.

While most textbooks focused on the Textbook Indian's violent nature and lack of civilization, a defining characteristic of the Textbook Indian was his lack of a present or future in the Dominion of Canada. Indeed, textbooks firmly situated the Textbook Indian in the past. For example, in *The Canadians: A Story of a People*, George Wrong made a distinction between a "primitive Canada" and the Canada of today.<sup>85</sup> Specifically, he claimed that in primitive Canada, "life had always remained primitive and rude; *there* no temples were reared; *there* the best buildings were little more than wooden huts."<sup>86</sup> Like so many of the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia during the interwar period, Wrong's text sought to instil in the minds of students a feeling of distance from Canada's primitive past, a "there" where ignorant and inferior Indians roamed about hunting and fishing as well as killing and torturing each other. Primitive Canada was thus described as a different and far away world characterized by filth, smoke, noise, and savagery. In contrast, "here"—the Canada of today—was represented to students as the civilized Dominion of Canada which formed part of the righteous British Empire.

After a brief description of the character and habits of the Textbook Indian in introductory chapters, and perhaps brief mention of "his" alliances with the French and the British in the colonial conflicts of the seventeenth century, indigenous peoples largely disappeared from textbook narratives. Textbooks played into the idea of the "vanishing Indian" to justify the dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many non-

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<sup>85</sup> George M. Wrong, *The Canadians: The Story of A People* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1938), 2.

<sup>86</sup> Wrong, *The Canadians*, 3. My emphasis.

indigenous peoples justified further colonial settlement by claiming that indigenous peoples in North America were members of a disappearing race. For example, Grant claimed that the history of British Columbia “was a long story of squabbles.”<sup>87</sup> According to Grant, the quarrels that plagued the early history of British Columbia were “now at an end” and as a result the “Pacific province is advancing as fast as any province in the Dominion.”<sup>88</sup> Grant and others implied that one reason for this development was the absence of conflict with indigenous peoples. In short, violent indigenous peoples no longer posed a threat to the safety of settlers. Textbooks used the negative descriptions of the Textbook Indian in combination with the idea of the vanishing Indian to confirm to children that in the clash between savagery and civilization, the triumph of the latter in the name of progress and freedom was inevitable. The bringing of civilization to the New World ultimately marked the beginning of the end for the Textbook Indian.

While the majority of history and social studies textbooks suggested that indigenous peoples had died out, or were at least in the process of disappearing, some textbooks did contradict this notion by discussing indigenous peoples in the present. Though such examples were rare and only appeared in passing, it was clear that if the Indian—like the Eskimo—accepted the ways of civilization peacefully, a present and future in the Dominion of Canada was attainable. For example, in *High School History of England*, Wrong explained that in New Zealand, indigenous peoples had ceased being “virile natives” and “merged with the British element [...so as to] form a united people,” the result being that “to-day some of the political leaders in New Zealand are Maoris.”<sup>89</sup> Textbooks such as Jenkins’s *Canadian Civics* and Angus’s *Citizenship in British*

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<sup>87</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 308. My emphasis.

<sup>88</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 308.

<sup>89</sup> Wrong, *High School History of England*, 568.

*Columbia* reminded students that while “Indians” in Canada were not as advanced as the Maoris in New Zealand, and thus could not vote, they did in fact exist in the present as wards of the federal government. Angus’s textbook even told students that “The schools for Indian children on reserves in British Columbia are looked after by the Dominion and not by the provincial Department of Education.”<sup>90</sup> Similarly, McCaig claimed that in the North-West Territories, “the government has reserved large tracts of land, in which only native Indians are permitted to hunt.”<sup>91</sup> Included with this description was a picture of an indigenous man trapping and peacefully adhering to the government stipulations [Figure 4]. It is important to point out that the caption simply read “A Northern Trapper” and the fact that he was an “Indian” living in the present was not brought to the immediate attention of the reader.<sup>92</sup>

Figure 4: “A Northern Trapper,” James McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 97.



© 1925, The Educational Book Company of Toronto.

<sup>90</sup> Angus, *Citizenship in British Columbia*, 173.

<sup>91</sup> McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 97.

<sup>92</sup> McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 97.

Other brief snapshots of indigenous peoples existing in the present were found in George Cornish's textbook *Canadian School Geography* and its British Columbia supplement by V.L. Denton. For example, to augment their discussions of economic life in rural British Columbia, Cornish and Denton included two photographs entitled, "An Indian Camp at Tête Jaune Cache, B.C." and "Indians Smoking Salmon Along the Bulkley River, B.C." [Figures 5 & 6].<sup>93</sup>

Figure 5: "An Indian Camp At Tête Jaune Cache, B.C. The Indians are Shushwaps," George Cornish, *Canadian School Geography*, 257.

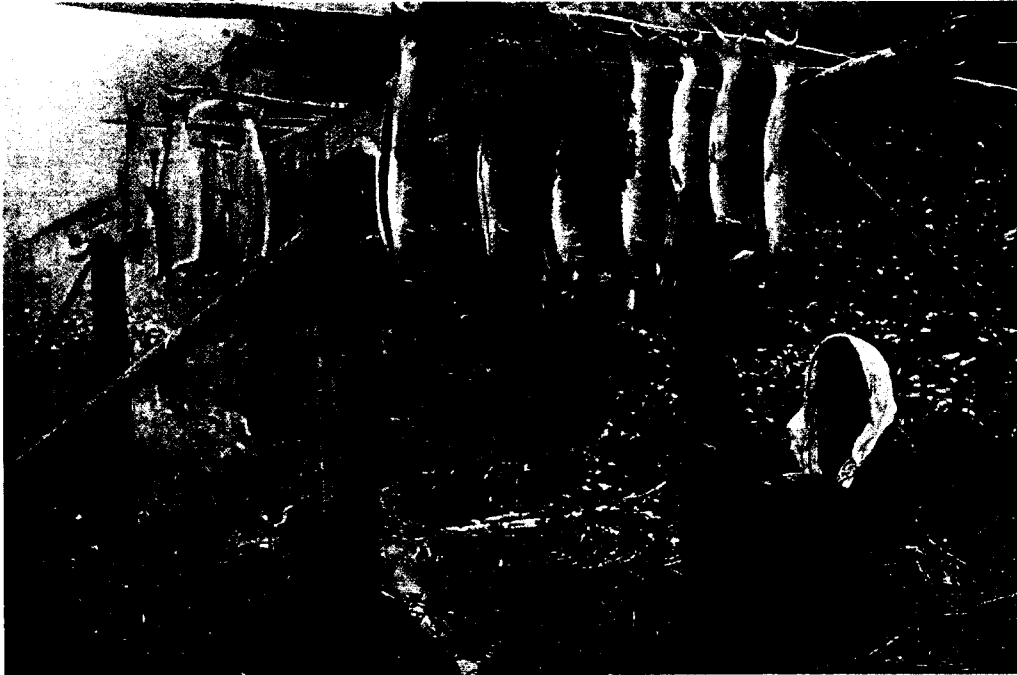


© 1931, Canadian National Railways, by permission.

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<sup>93</sup> George Cornish, *Canadian School Geography* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1931), 257 and 468.

Figure 6: “Indians Smoking Salmon Along the Bulkley River, B.C.,” George Cornish, *Canadian School Geography*, 468.



© 1931, Canadian National Railways, by permission.

The first photograph is of a group of indigenous people dressed in European clothing, the majority of who appear to be youths. The second photograph depicts an indigenous person working. This image of an indigenous women living in then present-day British Columbia is particularly powerful because indigenous women were almost completely absent from interwar textbooks, save a few examples of being “a drudge, though a willing one.”<sup>94</sup> These pictures not only attested to indigenous peoples in British Columbia living in the present, but more importantly, implied their acceptance of civilization through their adoption of western clothing. Moreover, in depicting women and children such images suggested to students that the indigenous population would continue into the future.

Yet textbooks viewed the integration of indigenous peoples into the provincial and national economies as the ultimate sign of progress. Carl Wittke’s textbook *A*

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<sup>94</sup> Grant, *History of Canada*, 16.



*History of Canada* claimed that as of 1926, indigenous peoples in the western Prairie Provinces alone owned real estate and personal property valued at \$74,502,629.<sup>95</sup> In addition, Wittke pointed out that by the 1920s, indigenous peoples' wages far exceeded their income from hunting and fishing, with a total income for 1925-1926 of \$10,189,689.<sup>96</sup> Finally, as further proof that indigenous peoples were seeking active integration into settler society, Wittke stated that over 4,000 Canadian "Indians" saw active service overseas during the First World War.<sup>97</sup> Thus, according to some books, Textbook Indians could survive and exist in the present, but only by accepting the inevitability of the dispossession of their lands, acknowledging the legitimacy of settler society, and seeking active cultural and economic integration into that society.

Despite Wittke's optimistic rhetoric, for many indigenous peoples in Canada the three decades after the First World War were defined by the continuation of what Jean Barman calls a period of "disregard" and what J.R. Miller calls an "era of irrelevance."<sup>98</sup> Indeed, this was the hard reality faced by many indigenous peoples in Canada in general and in British Columbia in particular. As I explained at the beginning of this chapter, indigenous peoples living in British Columbia in the years after the First World War continued their struggle for survival and many organized to protest the illegal dispossession and redistribution of their lands by the provincial and federal governments.

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<sup>95</sup> Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1928), 206.

<sup>96</sup> Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada*, 206. For a history of indigenous labour in British Columbia see Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1848-1930* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1996). More recently see Andrew Parnaby, "'The best men that ever worked the lumber': Aboriginal Longshoremen on Burrard Inlet, BC, 1863-1939" *Canadian Historical Review* 87, 1, March 2006: 53-78; John Lutz, *Makúk: A New History of Aboriginal-White Relations* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008).

<sup>97</sup> As I conclude Chapter 2 and transition into Chapter 3, note that Wittke's textbook was authorized for use in British Columbia in 1940 and continued to be authorized throughout the years of the Second World War until it was replaced in 1950.

<sup>98</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 151 and J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 221.

In response, governments largely attempted to neutralize such protests and remained focused on ensuring the further development and progress of settler society. While the handing over of the province's Indian reserves to the federal government in 1938 may have appeared to signal the final triumph of the colonial project in British Columbia, the struggle for settler hegemony was far from complete. How could the provincial government continue to ensure the legitimacy of settler society to its citizens if the very existence of the province was based on the illegal occupation of indigenous lands? What methods did the provincial government use in its attempts to reconcile these tensions?

This chapter has illustrated the important role that public education and the authorized history and social studies textbooks in British Columbia between 1920 and 1945 played in defending settler hegemony. During this time, the Department of Education in British Columbia manufactured and manipulated an educational system that sought, fundamentally, to ensure the “safety, stability, and perpetuity” of the settler society. The department carried out this colonizing minds project by authorizing specific history and social studies textbooks that promoted the history of British imperialism in ways that justified colonization, rationalized the struggle for settler hegemony as a noble project of bringing civilization to backward peoples, and ultimately, legitimized the existence and continuity of settler society to children as common sense.

Promoting the legitimacy of settler society was, however, only one part of the colonizing minds project. In order to guarantee the continued legitimacy of settler society it was, according to the “Aims and Philosophy of Education in British Columbia,” necessary to reform public education so as to help future citizens “make new adjustments in an evolving and progressive social order, so that social stability may be united with

social progress.”<sup>99</sup> The next chapter will show how public education, as part of the larger colonial project and the struggle for settler hegemony, had to be adapted in order to continue to colonize the hearts and minds of future citizens. What would happen to the colonizing minds project when the British Empire was dismantled and a growing sense of Canadian nationalism emerged? What would happen when indigenous peoples continued the struggle for survival and increased their protests for lands and recognition from settler society? What would happen when indigenous children were integrated into British Columbia public schools and were taught with the same textbooks as settler children? How would the colonizing minds project in British Columbia be adapted and refashioned to meet the needs of a changing society while continuing to legitimize the existence of settler society to children—this time to both non-indigenous *and* indigenous—as common sense?

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<sup>99</sup> *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia*, 8.

### **3. REFASHIONING THE COLONIZING MINDS PROJECT: NATIONALISM AND THE TEXTBOOK INDIAN, 1945-1970**

The colonizing minds project was remade and refashioned in the years following the Second World War. In 1944, British Columbia's future Superintendent of Education H.L. Campbell reminded the Department of Education that "as society changes, the school must change and adjust itself to the needs of the times."<sup>1</sup> In order to continue to capture the hearts and minds of new generations of students, public education in British Columbia would need to be adapted to reflect the changing historical circumstances of the post-war period. One of the ways in which this was done was by manufacturing and presenting a new story of Canada's history to children in their secondary school social studies textbooks. The new historical narrative of these books sought to instil a spirit of Canadian nationalism in the minds of students. Rather than promoting the history of Canada as part of the more important story of British imperialism, the textbooks authorized for use in post-war classrooms presented the history of Canada to pupils as the story of their own country's slow but continuous road to independent nationhood: Canada, from colony to nation.<sup>2</sup> This chapter examines the relationship between

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<sup>1</sup> "Report of H. L. Campbell, B.A., M.Ed., Municipal Inspector of Schools" in *Seventy-Fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1944-45* (Printed by Authority of the Legislative Assembly), 89.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Arthur R.M. Lower's famous popular history, *A History of Canada: Colony to Nation* (Ontario: Longmans Canada Limited, 1964) was authorized for use in British Columbia in the post-war period. In the preface to the fourth edition of this book, Lower comments on why his work became so popular: "Canadians, like other peoples, want to understand themselves and find some foundation for their faith. They want to exist." Lower concludes his work by stating that "in every generation Canadians have had to rework the miracle of their political existence. Canada has been created because there has existed within the hearts of its people a determination to build for themselves an enduring home" (564). This chapter will demonstrate that legitimizing Canada's "existence" as an independent nation was a primary concern of the post-war education.

emerging Canadian nationalism, public education, and the textbook representations of indigenous peoples in British Columbia in the post-war period.

If the period between 1920 and 1945 in British Columbia represented the “best and worst of times,” then, according to historian Jean Barman, the period between 1945 and 1970 should be considered “the good life.”<sup>3</sup> After years of uncertainty, insecurity, and depression, British Columbia’s economy enjoyed a long period of prosperity and stability after the Second World War. Like other provinces in Canada, British Columbia continued to build on the growth of war-time production and the negotiated compromises between workers, capitalists, and the state to ensure the continuation of production into the post-war period.<sup>4</sup> In addition, the coming to power of the provincial Social Credit party under W.A.C. Bennett in 1952 supported the province’s booming economy.<sup>5</sup> Taking advantage of British Columbia’s economic growth, the Social Credit party initiated massive industrial development and provincial consolidation throughout the 1950s and 1960s. British Columbia’s population was also increasing rapidly during the post-war period, rising from 817,861 in 1941 to 2,184,625 in 1971.<sup>6</sup> Crucial to the Social Credit project of opening up and developing new lands and resources to support the growing province was the building of infrastructure, particularly the creation of transportation networks that linked British Columbia’s rural hinterlands with the

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<sup>3</sup> Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 270. Defining the “end” of the post-war period is difficult. Barman chooses to end her discussion of “the good life” in 1972. I have chosen to end my analysis in 1970 because in 1971 a different set of social studies textbooks were introduced in British Columbia. While future work is needed to trace the colonizing minds project into the twenty-first century, such an examination is beyond the scope of this thesis. Thus, I use the term “post-war period” to refer to the years between 1945 and 1970.

<sup>4</sup> For discussion of the double-edged nature of labour legislation for workers in Canada during the Second World War and beyond see Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992).

<sup>5</sup> For more on W.A.C. Bennett, the Social Credit party, and the economic policies of the post-war period in British Columbia see, for example, David J. Mitchell, *W.A.C.: Bennett and the Rise of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983).

<sup>6</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 363.

metropolitan trading and shipping routes. With the help of British Columbia's thriving export industry, Canada had become one of the ten major trading nations in the world by the end of the 1960s.<sup>7</sup> In short, the "good life" in British Columbia largely continued throughout the immediate post-war period and into the 1970s.

In addition to a changing economic and political structure, British Columbia's social framework also appeared to be shifting in the post-war period. Indigenous peoples in British Columbia renewed their efforts to be recognized within contemporary society. For example, in 1949 indigenous peoples in British Columbia officially received the right to vote and in the provincial election of that year Frank Calder, a Nishga'a leader and activist, was elected to the British Columbia legislature. At the same time, many other prominent indigenous leaders continued to organize and struggle for indigenous rights in the post-war period, including Kitty Carpenter, Len Marchand, George Manuel, Andrew Paull, and William Scow. While not always united in their views on the tactics and strategies of organizing, such groups as the Native Sisterhood of British Columbia, the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, the Nishga'a Tribal Council, and the Confederacy of the Interior Tribes of British Columbia continued to pressure the provincial and federal governments in Canada for better recognition of indigenous issues. The success of this political organizing was bolstered by the doubling of British Columbia's indigenous population from 24,882 in 1941 to 52,430 by 1971.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 271.

<sup>8</sup> *Twenty-First Annual Report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee and of the Director, Indian Advisory Act for the Year Ended December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1970* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1971), 8-9. Quoting numbers from 1969, the report stated that there were 243,427 indigenous peoples living in Canada and of this number 46,911 lived in British Columbia. Citing 1971 Canadian census numbers, Jean Barman claims that of British Columbia's total population of 2,184,625, 52,430 were indigenous peoples (Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 363). Note that by these numbers, indigenous peoples constituted approximately 2 per cent of post-war British Columbia's total population.

Indigenous peoples in British Columbia also drew from a strong system of alliances with non-indigenous peoples. For example, support came from various groups and organizations including the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society, the Mika-Kika Club, the Junior Red Cross, the Vancouver Labour Committee for Human Rights, the YWCA and YMCA, the East-Enders Society, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Provincial Council of Women, and the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts' Associations of Canada.<sup>9</sup> Even the provincial government mobilized support, establishing an Indian Advisory Committee in 1950 to look into and promote the greater welfare of indigenous peoples in the province.<sup>10</sup> According to this committee, the era following the Second World War in British Columbia was a "propitious period of integration."<sup>11</sup> As proof of the successful incorporation of indigenous peoples into settler society, the annual reports of the Indian Advisory Committee cite examples of indigenous peoples' active integration into the provincial economy, contributing to the overall progress of British Columbia.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See *Twenty-First Annual Report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee and of the Director, Indian Advisory Act for the Year Ended December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1970*. Note that there remained a paternalistic element in these organizations and the goal of assimilation continued to be promoted.

<sup>10</sup> I note that the Indian Advisory Committee increasingly encouraged indigenous leaders to join the committee and play an active role in helping the government address the needs of indigenous peoples. For example, Kitty Carpenter, William Scow, and George Manuel were all members of the committee board in the 1960s. Wilson Duff, UBC Anthropologist and author of *The Indian History of British Columbia: The Impact of the White Man* (Victoria: BC Provincial Museum of British Columbia, 1965), was also a member of the Indian Advisory Committee in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

<sup>11</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee and of the Director, Indian Advisory Act for the Year Ended December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1953* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1954), 15.

<sup>12</sup> One report claimed, "It is becoming increasingly apparent in British Columbia that the native Indian is adapting himself to all aspects of the Provincial economy. In order to make a living, he is a logger, trapper, mill-worker, master mariner, longshoreman, government official, cowboy, cattle-rancher, professional man, school-teacher [...], railroad-worker, farm-hand, miner and is responsible for approximately 40 percent of the catch in the British Columbia fishing industry. These occupations are being followed successfully by the native Indian in competition with his white neighbour, and as educational facilities improve, an increasing number of Indians will take a great part in the economic development of this Province." See *Fourth Annual Report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee and of the Director, Indian Advisory Act for the Year Ended December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1953*, 7.

In addition to private and public support, there were also many individuals supporting indigenous causes in post-war British Columbia. For example, politician, judge, and lawyer Thomas Berger was one of the most outspoken supporters of indigenous peoples. With the dropping of Section 141 from the federal Indian Act in 1951, Berger was able to help revive the indigenous land issue in British Columbia through legal channels by working with and representing indigenous peoples in provincial court cases.<sup>13</sup> Another prominent figure promoting the welfare of indigenous peoples in British Columbia and Canada more generally was anthropologist H.B. Hawthorn. In addition to helping organize a conference on Native Indian Affairs at the University of British Columbia in the spring of 1948, Hawthorn released a two-part federal report in the mid-1960s, known as the Hawthorn Report, which stated that in spite of the post-war rhetoric of freedom and equality, indigenous peoples in all parts of Canada continued to face extreme hardships including depressed economic conditions, inadequate housing, and poor health care.<sup>14</sup> As a result of these findings, Hawthorn called on the federal government to recognize indigenous peoples in Canada as “citizens plus,” possessing the same rights as other Canadians in addition to the special rights guaranteed to them through official treaties.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> For discussion of important court cases in the post-war period see Paul Tennant, “Interior Politics and Attempts at Province-Wide Unity, 1958-68,” in *Aboriginal People and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1990), 114-125.

<sup>14</sup> See Canada. Indian Affairs Branch, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, Vol. I & II, Ed. H.B. Hawthorn et. al. (Ottawa: S.N., 1966). Early in 1954, Hawthorn also contributed to a similar project looking at the conditions of indigenous peoples in British Columbia more specifically. See H.B. Hawthorn, C.S. Belshaw, and S.M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with University of British Columbia, 1960).

<sup>15</sup> Canada. Indian Affairs Branch, *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Report on Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies*, Vol. I, eds. H.B. Hawthorn et. al. (Ottawa: S.N., 1966), 6. While Hawthorn’s views can be criticized for promoting assimilation, his recognition of the hardships and inequalities facing indigenous peoples in Canada and his call for the federal government to take action did represent a subtle shift in thinking away from the “disregard” of the interwar period.



On the surface, the post-war period indeed appeared to be a new beginning for indigenous peoples. According to Barman, “Equality of treatment, of opportunity, of access, of experience, of acceptance—all acquired credibility as the way things ought to be.”<sup>16</sup> Yet, in attempting to understand the social changes taking place in British Columbia in regards to indigenous peoples specifically, it is important not to confuse the ways things seemed or ought to have been with the way things really were. I argue that there was no pervasive “equality revolution” after the Second World War, as Barman does, because the changes being made provincially and nationally were quite conservative.<sup>17</sup> Despite appearances to the contrary, the struggle for settler hegemony continued. For example, in 1946 a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons was established by the federal government in an effort to overhaul the Indian Act. However, the committee’s final report—which was for the most part accepted and enacted in 1951—suggested that the coercive methods of the Indian Act be dropped, but that the goal of integrating and assimilating indigenous peoples into Canadian society continue.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, Hawthorn’s recommendation in the mid-1960s that indigenous peoples be recognized as “citizens plus” was completely ignored by the new federal government of Pierre Trudeau which came to power in 1969.

Symbolic of the conservative nature of the post-war social changes, Trudeau was elected on the promise of establishing a “just society,” but was firmly against giving

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<sup>16</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 298.

<sup>17</sup> Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 297.

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, R. Scott Sheffield, “Whither the ‘Indian?’ The Special Joint Senate and House of Commons Committee to Reconsider the Indian Act, 1946-1948” in *The Red Man’s on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” in the Second World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 148-176. Sheffield argues that continuity was the hallmark of post-war Indian policy in Canada.

special privileges to minorities and redressing past injustices.<sup>19</sup> In relation to Indian Policy, the Trudeau administration's philosophy was embodied in the White Paper, delivered on 25 June 1969 by Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien. This policy paper called for the abolition of the Department of Indian Affairs and all "special privileges" and status for indigenous peoples in Canada. Massive indigenous protest ensued.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the White Paper galvanized many indigenous peoples across Canada in protest in the 1970s and 1980s and forced them to re-evaluate the gains made in the post-war period. While the White Paper was never officially enacted, its recommendations were indicative of a federal Indian policy in Canada that continued to promote the goal of assimilation. Thus, rather than constituting a democratic equality revolution, the social changes taking place in the post-war period are better understood as conservative shifts in interwar attitudes and policies that aimed to maintain a rigid and hierarchical social order in Canada, what John Porter has famously called the "vertical mosaic."<sup>21</sup> The reactionary nature of post-war changes is clearly seen in the realm of indigenous education.

With the return of economic prosperity in most parts of the country the federal government of Canada slowly began to shift the financial responsibility for the schooling of indigenous peoples to the provinces. The perceived solution to the high costs of the residential schooling system was desegregated education—gradually phasing out separate schools and promoting the active integration of indigenous children into provincial public schools. Indigenous peoples in British Columbia voiced varying opinions on the subject

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<sup>19</sup> For a critique of the "just society" see Harold Cardinal, *Unjust Society: The Tragedy of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969).

<sup>20</sup> For a response to the White Paper see the Indian Association of Alberta's *Citizens Plus* (Edmonton: Indian Association of Alberta, 1970), also known as the "Red Paper."

<sup>21</sup> See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965); Roberta Hamilton, *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic: Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Society* (Toronto: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005).

of education. While many supported incorporation into settler society and saw desegregated education as an important step towards greater equality, others protested against it as the continuation of an official policy of assimilation. Nevertheless, integrated education was officially endorsed by the recommendations of the 1948 report of the Special Joint Committee, and in 1949 the *Public Schools Act* in British Columbia was amended so that indigenous peoples could, once again, attend provincial public schools. By 1961 there were over one hundred agreements signed between the federal government and provincial school boards throughout Canada for the provision of integrated education; by the mid-1980s there were over five hundred.<sup>22</sup> To support the process of integration, the provincial government enacted legislation in 1969 that established a perpetual fund of twenty-five million dollars known as the “First Citizens’ Fund.” This endowment was intended to encourage the cultural, economic, and educational development of indigenous peoples living in British Columbia. Partly as a result of the promotion of integrated education and partly because of the rising indigenous population in the province, the number of indigenous children in British Columbia’s public schools jumped from approximately 311 in 1945 to 8,160 in 1970.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See John Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 200-202. These joint agreements were made between the federal government and provincial school districts, and stated that the government would cover the costs of creating additional space to accommodate indigenous students, as well as the tuition fees for these students. The first of the joint agreements in British Columbia were signed in the early 1950s with such rural districts as Ashcroft, Alberni, Terrace, and Alert Bay. See British Columbia Archives, GR-0138, *Council of Public Instruction Orders-in-Council*, Vol. 10, Files 5-7.

<sup>23</sup> *Twenty-First Annual Report of the British Columbia Indian Advisory Committee and of the Director, Indian Advisory Act for the Year Ending December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1970*, 15. There is no agreement on the number of indigenous peoples in public schools at the beginning of the post-war period. For example, in *A National Crime*, Milloy cites a 1959 letter of R.H. Davey, an official of the Indian Affairs Branch, stating that as of 1947 only 137 indigenous students were in classrooms around the country. See footnote 67 on page 356. However, on an earlier occasion, Davey stated that there were 311 students in British Columbia public schools alone. See *Report of the Conference on Native Affairs at Acadia Camp* (Vancouver: B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society, 1948), 40. Regardless of the exact figure, the number of indigenous children in British Columbia public schools in the early post-war period was low.

The initial rhetoric surrounding integrated education promoted tolerance and called for the Department of Education to take an active stance against the potential prejudice and discrimination that indigenous children could face in desegregated schools. Hawthorn and the B.C. Indian Arts and Welfare Society had, as early as 1948, called on the Department of Education to authorize more sensitive teaching materials including social studies textbooks—for use in public schools.<sup>24</sup> Throughout the post-war period, however, these changes never materialized. For example, in 1967 when the Superintendent of Education Franklin P. Levirs asked the Assistant Superintendent of Instruction J.R. Meredith for a report on “any methods by which this Department assisted native Indian peoples during this year,” the latter had very little to report.<sup>25</sup> Meredith responded, “In reply to your memo...there were no particular actions taken that directly and immediately resulted in assisting native Indian peoples.”<sup>26</sup> Meredith then qualified his report by insisting that there were certain actions taken in regards to curriculum development that could result in increased assistance in the future. He claimed that Department of Education had entered into:

discussions with publishers of basic text-books with a view to having either alternative or supplementary books specially prepared to assist native Indian peoples attending regular schools using regular texts in the language arts. One of the publishers of a prescribed series of readers is actively at work on this problem and is expected to report early in the spring of 1968.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> For example, one of the recommendations of the 1948 Native Indian Affairs Conference was “that those responsible for preparing readers and textbooks in Social Studies for Canadian school children take pains to give a fair picture of past historical events regarding the Indians and present more material on their cultural achievements.” See *Report of the Conference on Native Affairs at Acadia Camp*, 51-52.

<sup>25</sup> British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction 1954-1970*, GR-0899, Letter Levirs to Meredith, 9 November 1967. There is a real sense of urgency in Levirs’s letter, “Get in touch with anyone not on the above list if it is necessary...I should have this report by Wednesday, November 15, at the latest. No implied threats, but note that is payday!”

<sup>26</sup> British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction 1954-1970*, GR-0899, Letter Levirs to Meredith, 14 November 1967.

<sup>27</sup> British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction 1954-1970*, GR-0899, Letter Levirs to Meredith, 14 November 1967.

There is no evidence to suggest that progress was made in procuring alternative textbooks for indigenous pupils before the 1970s. As a result, British Columbia's educational system was not radically changed to accommodate the teaching of indigenous children during the post-war period. Moreover, by acknowledging the need for alternative or supplementary texts for indigenous children yet refusing to change regular textbooks, the Department of Education further legitimized the textbooks already in use during the post-war period. Due to the government's reluctance to make substantive changes to the public school curriculum, many indigenous parents began to organize in the late 1960s and early 1970s to protest for greater control over education, particularly on reserves.<sup>28</sup>

While the Department of Education made little effort to accommodate the schooling of indigenous children, the public school system of British Columbia was adjusted to meet other needs of the post-war period. For example, in 1946 and 1958 the provincial government appointed official commissions headed by Maxwell Cameron and S.N.F. Chant respectively to look into the reorganization of the public school system. The Cameron report emphasized the importance of expanding access to secondary education to train future citizens to support and extend the booming war-time economy into the future. Yet, with the launching of the Sputnik satellite into space in 1957 and the perceived supremacy of Russian science, public concern across North America became more focused on the quality of secondary education.<sup>29</sup> In response, the provincial government established the Chant Commission in 1958. The commission's 1960 report

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<sup>28</sup> See Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill "The Legacy of the Past: An Overview," in *Indian Education in Canada: The Legacy*, eds., Jean Barman, Yvonne Hébert, and Don McCaskill (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1986), 16-17.

<sup>29</sup> On public concern over the quality of education in post-war Canada see Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). On criticisms of Canadian education in the post-war period see, for example, Hilda Neatby, *So Little For the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953).

largely supported the recommendations of the Cameron Commission, calling for the expansion of secondary education as a means of ensuring a more intelligent citizenry. As a result of the continued support for secondary schooling, the total number of children attending public secondary schools in British Columbia—now including indigenous students—rose dramatically, from approximately 41,362 in 1945 to 194,976 in 1970.<sup>30</sup>

While the public school system in British Columbia was reorganized and expanded in the post-war period, continuing public demand for better education pressured the Department of Education to modify and adapt its secondary school curriculum. A changing society required a new kind of citizen and a new kind of citizen necessitated a new curriculum. As a result, the Curriculum Division of the Department of Education took on an increasingly active role in the post-war period, developing new courses and evaluating textbooks, ultimately authorizing over 170 new books between 1960 and 1966 alone.<sup>31</sup> Despite substantial revisions, however, like other adjustments made during the post-war period these curriculum changes did not constitute a radical break from the goals of the interwar period.

Throughout the post-war period, whatever its other aims, public education continued to meet the needs of British Columbia's hidden colonial curriculum. As in the interwar period, the colonizing minds project attempted to implement this curriculum by

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<sup>30</sup> See *Ninety-ninth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1969-70*, (Victoria: King's Printer, 1970). Note that of the 13,172 indigenous children receiving education in the province of British Columbia, 5,012 were still receiving residential or day school education. Of the 8,160 children enrolled in integrated education, between 3,000 and 4,000 were attending integrated secondary education. These students represented roughly 0.006 per cent of the approximately 500,000 students in public schools across the province. It would therefore be misleading to claim that providing indigenous students with improved education in secondary schools was a major concern for the Department of Education. Integrated education did not bring about substantive changes to the public education system in British Columbia.

<sup>31</sup> British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction Records, 1954-1970*, GR-0899, outgoing correspondence of J.R. Meredith, File 4, 14 October 1966. Note that during this period no new social studies textbooks looking at Canadian history were authorized for use in provincial secondary schools.

creating citizens and teaching them to take their place in settler society. Promoting good citizenship in the decades following the Second World War was intricately connected to making students of good character. For example, a document introduced in the early post-war period entitled “Aims of the British Columbia Educational System” stated that “the people of this Province have established schools for the primary purpose of developing the character of our young people, training them to be good citizens.”<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, the Department of Education held that citizens of good character could be made by meeting a series of objectives, some of which included:

To guide pupils in the development of such qualities of character and citizenship as good personal habits, willingness to work with others, honesty, obedience, and self-control....

To develop in all pupils an understanding of the responsibilities and privileges of life in a democracy....

To help all pupils to develop healthy minds and bodies.<sup>33</sup>

Although focused on the production of citizens with good character, the new curriculum of the post-war period continued to link this goal with the larger aim of maintaining settler society. This is evidenced in the “Aims of the British Columbia Educational System” which stated, “It follows that any adequate programme of education must merge the interests of the community with the development of the individual. The extent to which any system of education achieves this unification of interests is one indication of how adequately it is fulfilling its purpose.”<sup>34</sup> Therefore, similar to the interwar period, the colonizing minds project in the decades after the Second World War attempted to implement British Columbia’s hidden colonial curriculum: to justify colonialism in the

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<sup>32</sup> “Aims of the British Columbia Educational System,” included in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Education* (Province of British Columbia, 1960), 11.

<sup>33</sup> “Aims of the British Columbia Educational System,” 12.

<sup>34</sup> “Aims of the British Columbia Educational System,” 14.

interests of the province as a whole and thus legitimize the continued existence of settler society into the future as something to be taken for granted as common sense.

Although the colonizing minds project continued into the post-war period, it was subtly refashioned to reflect Canada's changing historical circumstances. As I discussed in the previous chapter, public education in interwar British Columbia told students that their identity as British subjects was the result of Canada's shared history of imperialism with Britain and membership in the glorious British Empire. However, during the post-Second World War period the British Empire was being dismantled and Canada was becoming increasingly independent. With the passing of the 1946 Canadian Citizenship Act Canadians were no longer solely subjects of the British Empire—they were also citizens of Canada. As such, a crisis emerged in Canada's national identity.<sup>35</sup> In fact, the immediate post-war period, during which English Canada shed its definition of itself as British, has been identified by historian José Igartua as the "Other Quiet Revolution."<sup>36</sup> As a result of Canadians' quest to define their new identity, the post-war period witnessed the emergence of a new and unique Canadian nationalism. For example, by 1965 the Canadian flag replaced the Union Jack as Canada's official flag and in 1967 the federal government of Lester B. Pearson recommended that "O Canada" replace "God

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<sup>35</sup> On Canada's identity crisis and education see, for example, George Richardson, "Nostalgia and National Identity: The History and Social Studies Curricula of Alberta and Ontario at the End of Empire," in *Canada and the End of Empire*, ed. Philip Buckner (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 183-195; Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal, 1997).

<sup>36</sup> José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 1. In drawing a comparison to Quebec's Quiet Revolution, Igartua argues that the 'Other Quiet Revolution' "took place roughly with the same speed and over the same period...and because it was of similar magnitude in the cultural changes it wrought. And it was even quieter than Quebec's Revolution: it was so quiet, in fact, that historians have not bothered to investigate it as a historical phenomenon" (1).



Save the Queen” as Canada’s national anthem.<sup>37</sup> Such events and changes in the post-war period represent the broader attempt to rationalize the existence of a newly independent Canadian nation, one not solely defined by its relationship to Britain.

In the realm of education, the colonizing minds project was modified to create citizens that would be loyal to the Canadian nation rather than to the British Empire. New ideas and images of an independent Canadian nation were introduced to serve as the ultimate source of legitimacy for settler society. To support this idea, the colonizing minds project was refashioned to promote Canadian nationalism—a belief in the legitimacy of an independent Canada. According to Leslie Peterson, British Columbia’s Minister of Education from 1956 to 1968, the most important aim of the Province’s public education system during the post-war period was the “building of a spirit of desirable Canadian nationalism.”<sup>38</sup> Instilling nationalism in the minds of students and the desire to further the greatness of Canada was thus “desirable” for the Department of Education because it fulfilled the need to safeguard the status quo and at the same time legitimize the continued existence of settler society in a fast-changing world.

In regards to social studies, the secondary school curriculum was adjusted and new textbooks were authorized by the Department of Education that reflected the new focus on Canadian nationalism. For example, the curriculum guide for the *Junior and Senior High School Social Studies, 1956*, suggested that a spirit of desirable Canadian

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<sup>37</sup> During this period there were also a number of government initiatives regarding national culture and identity in Canada such as The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences in the late 1940s and early 1950s and The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in the mid-to-late 1960s. For recent discussion of these and other defining post-war events see José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 2-15. Note that “O Canada” did not officially become Canada’s national anthem until 1980.

<sup>38</sup> British Columbia Archives, GR-0152, *Dept. of Education Executive Records*, 1060-1963, Box 5, File 2 – Curriculum 1961, Outgoing Letter, Leslie Peterson, Minister of Education, 27 January 1960.

nationalism could be achieved by helping students acquire the following traits of patriotism:

1. Reasoned affection for Canada, as distinguished from tribal prejudice.
2. Appreciation of national achievements—material, social, ethical.
3. Recognition of national and local shortcomings.
4. Sympathetic understanding of national powers and ideals.
5. Critical fairness in partisan politics.
6. Understanding of the use and misuse of patriotic phrases and labels.
7. Discrimination between special and national interests.<sup>39</sup>

One of the ways in which the Department of Education tried to inculcate traits of nationalism in students was to authorize new social studies textbooks that would stress the importance of the process of Canadian nation-building, textbooks with such names as *This New Canada*, *Canada in the World Today*, and *Our Canada* [See Figures 7 & 8].<sup>40</sup> In total 19 social studies textbooks were authorized for use in British Columbia during the post-war period: two civics texts, three geography books, and 14 history textbooks. There was some overlap between textbooks authorized in the interwar and post-war periods. In fact, nine post-war textbooks were originally authorized in the years between 1937 and 1944. In these “in-between” texts, the emergence of a new perspective on Canada’s past is evident, but it was not until after 1950 and the subsequent authorization of 10 new textbooks that the importance of Canadian nationalism was vigorously

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<sup>39</sup> Department of Education. Curriculum Division. *Junior and Senior High School, Social Studies, 1956* (Victoria: Queen’s Printer, 1956), 11. Note that while #3 seems to suggest that Canadian nationalism would potentially acknowledge the shortcomings of xenophobic nationalism, #1 and #7 speak to the idea that special or tribal interests (such as those of French Canadians and indigenous peoples) were the national shortcomings that had to be overcome in order to create a strong and unified nation.

<sup>40</sup> Like the scholars who produced the textbooks authorized in the interwar period, those who wrote the textbooks authorized in post-war British Columbia tended to be fairly well-known English-Canadian historians, such as George M. Wrong, Arthur Currie, W.N. Sage, Arthur Lower, and Edgar McInnis. Feminist and prominent interwar activist Margaret McWilliams also authored an official social studies textbook used during the post-war period. For the most part, these historians were interested in nation-building and promoting the development of a Canadian national identity. The desire to make Canadian history interesting and important shaped their narratives and, as I illustrate, reflected the post-war needs to rationalize the continued existence of Canada in a fast-changing world. For more on the politics of history-writing in the early to mid-twentieth century see Donald A. Wright, *The Professionalization of History in English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

promoted to students. Overall, the textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia between 1945 and 1970, as part of the refashioned colonizing minds project, sought to instil in students a spirit of Canadian nationalism that would rationalize the existence of a newly independent nation as inevitable and natural—even destined.<sup>41</sup>

Figure 7: Textbooks Authorized by Subject, and Total Page Breakdown Showing Number and Percentage of Pages Mentioning British Columbia, “Indians,” and “Indians” in British Columbia.

| Period   | History | Civ. | Geo. | Tot. - Tot. Pgs. | BC     | “Indians”  | BC “Indians” |           |
|----------|---------|------|------|------------------|--------|------------|--------------|-----------|
| 1920-45  | 19      | 4    | 2    | 25               | 8,452  | 539 (6.4%) | 588 (7.0%)   | 55 (0.7%) |
| 1945-70  | 14      | 2    | 3    | 19               | 7,024  | 299 (4.3%) | 457 (6.5%)   | 37 (0.5%) |
| 1920-70* | 25      | 6    | 3    | 34               | 12,411 | 641 (5.2%) | 769 (6.2%)   | 60 (0.5%) |

\*Totals with consideration given to overlap between the interwar and post-war periods.

Figure 8: Textbooks with Canadian Content Authorized for Use in British Columbia, 1945-1970.

- George Cornish, *Canadian School Geography* (Authorized: 1927-46)
  - A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada* (1937-50)
  - Arthur Anstey, *British Columbia in The Romance of Canada* (1937-50)
  - V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord, *A World Geography for Canadian Schools* (1937-50)
  - H.B. King, *A History of Britain* (1937-1950)
  - George M. Wrong, *The Canadians: The Story of a People* (1940-49)
  - Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada* (1940-56)
  - George Brown (ed.), *Readings in Canadian History* (1942-50)
  - A.W. Currie, *Canadian Economic Development* (1943-50)
  - W.N. Sage, *Canada From Sea to Sea* (1944-70+)
  - R.M. Lower, *A History of Canada: Colony to Nation* (1949-50, also strongly recommended for school libraries)
  - Lester Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today* (1950-70+)
  - John Hodgdon Bradley, *World Geography* (1950-70+)
  - Louise I. Capen, *Across the Ages: The Story of Man’s Progress* (1952-55)
  - George Brown, *Canadian Democracy...in Action* (1952-66)
  - Margaret McWilliams, *This New Canada* (1952-70+)
  - Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada* (1952-70+)
  - Platt & Drummond, *Our World* (1956-70)
  - Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (1956-70+)
- Note: For full bibliographic information see pages 112-114

<sup>41</sup> In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that, indeed, “it is the magic of nationalism to turn change into destiny” 12.

While post-war textbooks told students that Canada's relationship to Britain was changing, the British Empire did not completely disappear. Textbooks like *Canada in the World Today* and *This New Canada* told students that although the saying that the sun never sets on the British Empire "is no longer quite true," Canada and Britain continued to be linked by "'tough' if intangible bonds."<sup>42</sup> In *World Geography*, John Bradley claimed that "although both economically and politically Canada has developed a strong sense of its own individuality, most Canadians do not find this incompatible with allegiance to the Crown."<sup>43</sup> Bradley's claim that maintaining some form of connection to Britain was both "profitable and pleasant" for Canadians was supported by H.B. King's *A History of Britain*.<sup>44</sup> Included in this textbook as an appendix was "A Message to Youth of the Empire," a speech given by British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in 1937. In his speech, Baldwin reminded the children of the British Empire that they were the trustees of the imperial spoils: "The accumulated wealth, material and moral...is a trust that you hold, as we have tried to hold it, for future generations, and unless you rise to that trust, there will be little benefit for you or for your children to enjoy."<sup>45</sup> But would students in British Columbia be taught that it was their responsibility to uphold and defend the British Empire in the post-war period?

By the early 1950s, authorized textbooks no longer promoted Canada's shared history of British imperialism or membership in the British Empire as the ultimate source of pride and loyalty for students. Yet as George Brown stated in *Canadian*

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<sup>42</sup> Lester B. Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1945), 4 and McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 32.

<sup>43</sup> John Bradley, *World Geography*, (Toronto: Ginn and Company, 1950), 325.

<sup>44</sup> Bradley, *World Geography*, 325.

<sup>45</sup> "A Message to Youth of the Empire," in H.B. King, *A History of Britain* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1937), 553.

*Democracy...in Action*, while the British Empire was being dismantled, “imperialism cannot be replaced by nothing.”<sup>46</sup> Canada’s shared history with Britain could not simply be erased. Thus, post-war textbooks made it clear to students that while they would indeed continue to guard the spoils of British imperialism, they would increase them in the name of the Canadian nation. As a result, social studies textbooks introduced a new narrative that shifted the focus from the story of British imperialism to that of creating the Canadian nation, what Carl Wittke in *A History of Canada* called the “slow but continuous growth of Canadian nationality.”<sup>47</sup> Indeed, *Canada in the World Today* explained to students that “much of our country was settled from Great Britain; many of the founders of our nation were British. The story of Great Britain, then, is especially interesting to Canadians. It gives us an understanding of the conditions that led to the forming of our own nation.”<sup>48</sup> Post-war textbooks thus manipulated Canada’s historical connection to Britain and refashioned the history of British imperialism as the basis for the more important story of Canadian nation-building. Students were told that the road to Canadian nationhood was cleared by the British but ultimately built by Canadians.

To instil in students the desire to defend and further the progress of their country, textbooks authorized for use in the post-war period vigorously promoted Canadian nationalism. In *This New Canada*, McWilliams defined nationalism as “the belief that the national interests should be the dominant concern of each country.”<sup>49</sup> Specifically, McWilliams identified a spirit of desirable nationalism as the “Love of one’s country” which “makes [...Canada’s] citizens willing to serve her best interests, eager to see the

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<sup>46</sup> George Brown, *Canadian Democracy...in Action* (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1953), 119.

<sup>47</sup> Carl Wittke, *A History of Canada* (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1928), 339.

<sup>48</sup> Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 4.

<sup>49</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1948), 35.

condition of all her people become better and better, and willing to subject individual interests to the common good.”<sup>50</sup> To make Canada a great and unified nation, McWilliams claimed that Canada would need “more and more citizens possessed of knowledge and understanding, animated by love of and pride in their country and eager to enter into her service.”<sup>51</sup> McWilliams stated that without this “good form of nationalism no nation can become great.”<sup>52</sup> It was her hope that:

When Canadians gain a true picture of their country in their minds and hearts, when they realize what she can do for them and they for her, they will stand erect, heads high and eyes flashing, and in ringing tones sing those words, “O, Canada, we stand on guard for thee” and they will mean them. Those words will live in their hearts and in their minds betokening that Canadians are determined to guard the liberties and privileges their fathers won for them, to make those liberties and those privileges grow even greater...<sup>53</sup>

By explaining the historical process of Canadian nation-building as an “achievement that should stir the loyalty and arouse the admiration of every Canadian,” textbooks played an extremely important role in manufacturing and promoting Canadian nationalism.<sup>54</sup>

Arthur Dorland explained that the goal of his textbook, *Our Canada*, was to “tell the story of Canada’s development in a way that will permit every Canadian reader to feel

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<sup>50</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 36.

<sup>51</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 44.

<sup>52</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 36. Note that *This New Canada* was officially authorized in British Columbia secondary schools for over eighteen years, a fact picked up by one concerned citizen writing to the Minister of Education in 1969: “Naturally, one expects the title of any text to represent its contents. Obviously, this does not hold true, as ‘This New Canada’ was last revised in June, 1952, 17 years ago!” British Columbia Archives, *Council of Public Instruction 1954-1970*, GR-0899, Box 15, File 2, Letter to Brothers, 7 January 1969.

<sup>53</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 307.

<sup>54</sup> Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1949), v. Textbooks also pointed out that there were many threats to Canada’s national unity. For example, McWilliams claimed that when individuals or groups living within the borders of a nation seek to “aggrandize themselves” at the cost of other citizens then “the force of the true and greatly to be desired nationalism is lessened” (30). McWilliams provided two such examples: “The great struggle which goes on between labour and capital in almost every modern country is an example of the separating force which hinders the growth of a fine nationalism. Conflicts between different races within a country of which there are numerous cases in all parts of the world, afford another example” (30). Ultimately, McWilliams suggested to students that supporting the struggles against capitalism and colonialism would only lessen the greatness of their nation.

the high adventure that is experienced by all who further and strengthen their country's nationhood."<sup>55</sup> Building a spirit of desirable Canadian nationalism was viewed as essential if Canada was to emerge as a great and unified nation in the post-war period.

The building of the Canadian nation, as it was presented to students in authorized textbooks, was not without obstacles. In *This New Canada*, McWilliams stated that "if one is to understand the Canada of today and the foundation upon which its further progress is based, it is necessary to have in mind the road by which its peoples have travelled and the obstacles which they have overcome."<sup>56</sup> In addition to a vast and unforgiving geography, the existence of two "founding" cultures—French and English—as well as the threat of American expansion, indigenous peoples were represented by post-war textbooks as potential barriers to the making of a great and unified Canadian nation.<sup>57</sup> This is seen in W.N. Sage's textbook *Canada From Sea to Sea*. In drawing upon the work of influential American historian Frederick Jackson Turner, Sage claimed that the struggle between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples during the process of nation-building was fought out on what was identified as the Canadian frontier, "a meeting point between savagery and civilization."<sup>58</sup> Instilling in students the desire to

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<sup>55</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, Forward, v.

<sup>56</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 49.

<sup>57</sup> The representations of Quebec and the United States in the authorized textbooks of the post-war period and how such depictions are manufactured and manipulated to support an emerging spirit of Canadian nationalism are outside the scope of my work and merit their own separate projects.

<sup>58</sup> W.N. Sage, *Canada From Sea to Sea* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1940), 17. Sage is drawing upon Turner's *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, which argues that the history of the United States—as an independent nation separate from Britain and the British Empire—was defined by its western expansion and the experiences on the American frontier. More specifically, Turner argues that by the 1890s the process of conquering the wildness of the frontier and taming the savagery of the frontier's indigenous inhabitants was complete and through that colonizing process, a unique American identity was forged. See Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894). Note also that Sage's textbook, *Canada From Sea to Sea* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1940), is actually a collection of two articles he wrote, originally published by the Canadian Historical Association in 1928 and 1937 respectively. At the insistence of the Department of Education in British Columbia, these articles were reprinted and presented as a textbook.

strengthen their country's nationhood required a history that explained the conquest of original inhabitants in the name of nation-building as common sense.

Like those of the interwar period, the textbooks authorized for use in post-war British Columbia were not primarily concerned with indigenous peoples nor, for that matter, were they focused on justifying colonialism. Approximately 6.5 per cent of the total pages of all post-war authorized texts mentioned indigenous peoples and only 0.5 per cent mentioned indigenous peoples living in British Columbia [See Figure 7]. But to tell the story of Canadian nation-building textbooks had to rationalize the history of dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands as natural and necessary. The rest of this chapter will show how, similar to the strategies of interwar texts, textbooks in the post-war period justified colonialism—intentionally or not—by using descriptions of indigenous peoples to establish the setting, downplaying the existence of original inhabitants, generalizing all indigenous peoples as the Textbook Indian, and generally representing the Textbook Indian as fundamentally uncivilized and potentially violent.

There was, however, one important difference between the interwar and post-war social studies textbooks. Unlike the narrative of British imperialism, which justified the dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands as part of the responsibility of civilizing ignorant and backward peoples, the national narrative found in post-war textbooks was much less tolerant. This is particularly true of the three most prevalent Canadian history textbooks of the post-war period, Rogers et. al.'s *Canada in the World Today*, Arthur Dorland's *Our Canada* and Edgar McInnis's *Canada: A Political and Social History*.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Note that after 1950, Rogers et. al, Dorland, and McInnis's textbooks were the only traditional histories of Canada, in that they focused on a chronological history of Canada, authorized for use in British Columbia classrooms. The latter two were also the only textbooks to discuss indigenous peoples at length after 1950.



Such post-war textbooks suggested to students that the very existence of the uncivilized and violent Textbook Indian in Canadian history embodied the presence of a threat to the growth of Canadian nationalism and thus the greatness of Canada. Colonialism was not inevitable; it was said to be absolutely necessary if the Canadian nation was to be built. In short, the Textbook Indian was constructed as an obstacle that needed to be overcome on the road to nationhood.

By describing indigenous peoples as part of the landscape and downplaying the extent of their existence before the coming of Europeans, post-war textbooks presented students with an image of early Canada as largely unpopulated and open to settlement. Like many of the textbooks of the interwar period, the explanations and descriptions of indigenous peoples in post-war textbooks were located in introductory chapters. For example, in *Canada: A Political and Social History* McInnis included his description of “The Aborigines” in a chapter entitled “The Setting.” After explaining “The Face of the Land” and “The Natural Resources” that shaped the story of Canada’s nation-building process, McInnis stated that “the Indian was of salient importance in the early development of Canada”<sup>60</sup> According to McInnis, because indigenous peoples were able to help newcomers survive they were not like those indigenous peoples living in the United States, who were considered by some to be “not only useless but an active menace

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<sup>60</sup> See Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (New York: Rinehart, 1947), 12.

whose speedy extermination would be an unqualified boon.”<sup>61</sup> That indigenous peoples played a subsidiary role in helping to establish a settler society on the Pacific North Westcoast was illustrated in the image of indigenous labourers who were given the opportunity to work and support Governor James Douglas in founding Victoria, included in *Canada in the World Today* [See Figure 9]. Thus, post-war texts told students that although eventually becoming “economically dependent” on the newcomers, the indigenous peoples living in Canada were lucky in that they were initially useful to Europeans in helping them to lay the foundation for the future Canadian nation.<sup>62</sup>

Figure 9: “The Founding of Victoria,” Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 133.



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<sup>61</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 12. Other textbooks did acknowledge a more complicated situation. For example, Dorland’s *Our Canada* stated, “We are only too likely to forget that the Indian taught much to the white man who came to his shores” (19). Furthermore, indigenous peoples were said to have helped Europeans survive by providing them with food and medicine and even introduced them to such inventions as the canoe and the snowshoe, which made further European exploration of North America possible. Towards the end of his discussion, Dorland posed the following question: “Which race, white or Indian conferred the greater benefits on the other?” (20). In the end, however, Dorland claimed that eventually a “‘hunters’ society’ was crowded out by a ‘farmers’ civilization’ brought to America by early European settlers” (20). Ultimately, “civilization’s” triumph over savagery was presented as natural, and indigenous peoples were said to have been given the chance to adapt rather than be violently exterminated, like indigenous peoples in the United States.

<sup>62</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 12.

Although textbooks acknowledged the presence of indigenous peoples in Canada, they often downplayed the size of the population to justify the eventual dispossession of indigenous lands in the process of nation-building. While textbooks authorized during the interwar period also deemphasized the existence of original inhabitants, post-war textbooks more consistently promoted an image of Canada to students as being empty and ready for the nation-building process to begin. For example, textbooks like V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord's *A World Geography for Canadian Schools*, Dorland's *Our Canada*, and Carl Wittke's *A History of Canada* informed students that while the total native population of North America was approximately 1,148,000, the indigenous population living in Canada "did not greatly exceed 200,000."<sup>63</sup> To further downplay the significance of this number, *Our Canada* stated that at the time of contact with Europeans the indigenous population in Canada was roughly comparable to the population of a city like Winnipeg, ultimately concluding that "this seems a very small number of inhabitants for this vast territory."<sup>64</sup> To give students a visual image of Canada as an empty and largely uninhabited land, Dorland included a map [See Figure 10] which significantly misrepresented the size of the indigenous population in North America. This map implied that indigenous peoples in British Columbia, save the Haida, had either become

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<sup>63</sup> Wittke, *History of Canada*, 6 and Dorland, *Our Canada*, 18.

<sup>64</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 18. There is continuous and contentious debate over the estimated pre-contact population of indigenous peoples. Recent sources estimate the pre-contact population of the Americas as high as 112.5, and 70 million for the beginning of the sixteenth century. Other sources claim that the population of indigenous peoples living in North America reached 18 million in the early sixteenth century. For more on these debates see Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1983); Russell Thornton, *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1987); Bruce G. Trigger and William R. Swagerty, "Entertaining Strangers: North America in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of the Peoples of the Americas* eds. Bruce Trigger and Wilcomb Washburn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). In *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, Paul Tennant argues that there were approximately 400,000 indigenous peoples living in British Columbia alone (3). Note that it is also ironic that Dorland is justifying the dispossession of peoples' lands based on the size of population to territory ratio, seeing that Canada's overall population was, and remains, quite small in comparison to the United States.

extinct or simply never existed at all. Therefore, in addition to being represented as part of the setting for the nation-building process, many textbooks attempted to justify colonialism to students as natural by downplaying the extent of Canada's original inhabitants that had to be dispossessed of their lands.

Figure 10: "Native Peoples of North America," Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada*, 14.



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The textbooks authorized for use in post-war British Columbia also continuously emphasized the fact that the Textbook Indian in Canada was inherently uncivilized. Like the majority of interwar textbooks, the social studies textbooks continued to focus on what the Textbook Indian lacked, describing him—and “he” was still most often gendered male—in terms of uniform deficiency. For example, in *Across the Ages: The*

*Story of Man's Progress*, Louise Capen briefly stated that “the *Indian* or red race” is fundamentally uncivilized in comparison to other races because his “culture in art, science, and literature is backward and primitive.”<sup>65</sup> Similarly, in *Our Canada* Dorland supported the idea that the Textbook Indian was inferior to Europeans by sarcastically entitling his description of the character and habits of indigenous peoples in Canada, “Indian ‘civilization.’”<sup>66</sup> Edgar McInnis’s *Canada: A Political and Social History*, supported Dorland’s views, arguing that in addition to living in the “Stone Age,” “the Indians of Canada were almost totally ignorant of the art of agriculture” and “almost totally devoid of political organization.”<sup>67</sup> In short, the Textbook Indian of the post-war period continued to be represented in terms of deficiency, as lacking all the characteristics of modernity and civilization.

The inherently inferior nature of the Textbook Indian was clearly seen in Dorland’s brief discussion of the Haida in British Columbia. Roughly 4.3 per cent of the total pages of all authorized post-war textbooks referenced British Columbia and only 0.5 per cent mentioned indigenous peoples living in the province [See Figure 7]. In addition to Figure 10, that showed the Haida to be the only indigenous group in British Columbia, Dorland also included Figure 11. Figure 11 is revealing because the illustration’s caption stated that the Haida were “one of the most civilized tribes in Canada.”<sup>68</sup> Dorland went on to explain that the Haida were actually “clever artists” and were famous for their “totem poles’—great carved pillars of wood.”<sup>69</sup> While talking about the intricacies of

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<sup>65</sup> Louise I. Capen, *Across the Ages: The Story of Man's Progress* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1954), 59. It is symbolic that in a textbook describing the story of “man’s progress” the Textbook Indian merits less than a page of description.

<sup>66</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 17.

<sup>67</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 12.

<sup>68</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 17.

<sup>69</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 17.

this art form, Dorland qualified his praise: “It is interesting to note, however, that some historians doubt whether the Haida were able to produce carved totem poles until they had secured the necessary metal tools from the white man.”<sup>70</sup> While indigenous peoples on the Pacific Northwest Coast undoubtedly adopted and adapted non-indigenous instruments in their art work, Dorland suggested to pupils that the civilized nature of the Haida was contingent on their access to the superior tools of non-indigenous peoples.

Figure 11: “The Haida,” Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada*, 17.



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In addition to describing the Textbook Indian in terms of what he lacked, many textbooks also emphasized the uncivilized nature of the Textbook Indian and focused on examples of his inherently savage disposition. For example, textbooks like *Across the Ages* quoted the accounts of non-indigenous peoples to provide students with a sense of the “barbarous and beastly manners” of the “wild, godless, and slavish Indians” living in

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<sup>70</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 17.

North America.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, *Our Canada* used the accounts of Jesuit missionaries in New France to present students with an image of Canada before the coming of Europeans as a desolate place “swarmed with dogs, children, and half-naked savages.”<sup>72</sup> Dorland quoted the following account to help students visualize “uncivilized” Canada:

One must expect to have all his senses martyred daily; the sight, by the smoke—I have almost lost my eyes from it; the hearing, by their annoying yells and wearisome visits; the smell; by the stench that is incessantly exhaled by the oiled and greased hair of both men and women; feeling, by the cold; and finally taste, by the unsavoury and insipid food of the savages, of which it is enough to say that the daintiest and most delicate of it would be refused by dogs in France.<sup>73</sup>

While on the topic of food and eating, Dorland quoted another missionary who stated that “as [...Textbook Indians] live only from day to day they do not desire much, and all their wishes end in having something to eat.”<sup>74</sup> Drawing his own conclusions from these records, Dorland stated that “accustomed to long periods of privation with little or no food, the Indian, when he feasted, ate like a famished animal in an orgy of gluttony.”<sup>75</sup> While textbooks of the post-war period explained that the diet of the Textbook Indian consisted mostly of the spoils from the hunt, Dorland also reminded students that “most of the Indian peoples at one time or another in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries practiced cannibalism either as a religious sacrificial observance or as a war custom.”<sup>76</sup> Again, while qualifying this statement by reminding students that “we must be careful not to apply—even to the Indians—the standards of right and wrong of our

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<sup>71</sup> Capen, *Across the Ages*, 149. Here Capen quotes a pamphlet of King James I of England calling on “decent British subjects” to refuse the indulgence of tobacco.

<sup>72</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 14.

<sup>73</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 14.

<sup>74</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 19. Note the similarity this account shares with George M. Wrong’s description in *The Conquest of New France*: “Once Montcalm had to give some of them, at his own cost, a feast of three oxen roasted whole. To his disgust, they gorged themselves and danced around the room shouting their savage war-cries” (183).

<sup>76</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 18.

own time,” Dorland’s reference to cannibalism in a section entitled “Indian ‘civilization’” was an attempt to represent the Textbook Indian to students as an uncivilized obstacle that needed to be overcome on the path towards creating a civilized settler society.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to emphasizing the Textbook Indian’s uncivilized nature, textbooks also represented the Textbook Indian as a threat to the process of nation-building. Specifically, textbook illustrations represented the Textbook Indian as potentially violent. For example, consider Figures 12 and 13. Figure 12 was included in Dorland’s explanation of the missionary enterprise in New France and depicted a group of feather-headed, loin-cloth wearing Iroquois attacking a priest. The caption accompanying the illustration described how the apparently bloodthirsty Iroquois “scourge” let out “a shrieking triumph” as they fell upon the French missionary and “massacred him.”<sup>78</sup> Figure 13 depicted Thayendanegea or Joseph Brant in a similar pose to the violent savages in Figure 12. However, Dorland introduced Brant as a “gifted chief” of the Mohawk nation as well as a British Loyalist. The illustration’s caption claimed that while in London representing his people, Brant was invited to attend a masked ball. At this event, a high-ranking diplomat mistook him for wearing a costume and apparently pulled on Brant’s nose as if to remove his mask. In response, it was said that “the haughty chief drew his tomahawk and brandished it above the diplomat’s head, at the same time shouting a blood-curdling warwhoop which struck terror into the hearts of all present.”<sup>79</sup> Apparently Brant was just having fun with the diplomat, whose life was indeed spared. Yet such an example is representative of the fact that even the most

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<sup>77</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 18.

<sup>78</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 55.

<sup>79</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 128.



civilized Textbook Indian was perceived to be a potentially violent and bloodthirsty savage who could, at any moment, revert to a primitive state.

Figure 12: "The Iroquois Scourge," Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada*, 55.



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Figure 13: "A Mohawk Chief in Mayfair," Arthur Dorland, *Our Canada*, 128.



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Textbooks authorized for use in post-war British Columbia also emphasized the violent nature of the Canadian frontier and the potential for conflict during Canada's western expansion. As Sage reminded students in his textbook, *Canada From Sea to Sea*, the Canadian frontier was, after all, "a meeting point between savagery and civilization."<sup>80</sup> Wittke stated that the frontier in Canada was "in an almost continual state of excitement," and Dorland claimed that in his conflicts on the frontier with non-indigenous peoples, the Textbook Indian was fighting for "living space."<sup>81</sup> While textbooks maintained that in comparison to the United States, Canada had been "relatively free from serious Indian troubles," the Canadian frontier was nevertheless depicted as an unsafe place for settlers.<sup>82</sup> For example, *Canada in the World Today* explained to students that after the Hudson's Bay Company's 1869 sale of Rupert's Land to the newly formed Dominion of Canada, the vast western wilderness was perceived by many settlers and potential investors as being inhabited by "roving bands of restless and suspicious Indians."<sup>83</sup> Moreover, these unfriendly figures were said to be "hostile to the white men and who could be depended upon to oppose the building of the railway."<sup>84</sup> As the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was historically important for ensuring the future success of the Dominion of Canada, textbooks represented the indigenous peoples occupying these western lands as barriers to the nation-building process. Textbooks claimed that the most obvious obstacle inhibiting Canada's western expansion was the rebellious "half-breeds," the Métis led by Louis Riel, who students were told had

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<sup>80</sup> Sage, *Canada From Sea to Sea*, 17.

<sup>81</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 18.

<sup>82</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 335.

<sup>83</sup> Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 173.

<sup>84</sup> Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 173.

just “a dash of Indian blood.”<sup>85</sup> In addition, textbooks like *Our Canada* told students that Riel “attempted to inflame” other indigenous groups, the “redmen of the prairies,” and was successful in gaining alliances with groups led by Poundmaker and Big Bear.<sup>86</sup> In short, if Canada was to become a strong and unified nation, these virulent indigenous peoples would have to be neutralized and overcome.

Yet, the social studies textbooks authorized for use in post-war British Columbia emphasized to students that the Canadian frontier was conquered peacefully. Textbooks explained that when violence erupted on the plains, the conflict was quickly defused with little bloodshed. This relatively peaceful conquest was due to the coming of the “red-coated riders of the plains,” the North West Mounted Police, who, students were told, effectively “localized the rebellion and prevented a general Indian uprising” by imposing a “restraining yet beneficent control over Indians.”<sup>87</sup> Textbooks stated that the federal government’s desire to neutralize the threat of further armed indigenous conflict and guarantee safety for settlers and stability for investors justified the further extension of the North West Mounted Police’s jurisdiction and the spread of law and order over the entire Canadian frontier. According to Burt’s *The Romance of Canada*, one of the “miracles” of Canada history was that the police had “won the confidence of the Indians,” and as a result were “able to help the Dominion government clear the country for settlers.”<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the coming of law and order to the Canadian West guaranteed that the process of nation-building could be completed.

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<sup>85</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 144 and McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 309.

<sup>86</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 318.

<sup>87</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 316 and McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 338 and 335.

<sup>88</sup> A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1948), 316 and 318.

Textbooks also told students that the North West Mounted Police helped the federal government carry out a “generous” treaty process with indigenous peoples.<sup>89</sup> Burt claimed that in creating a police force to check the “savage passions” of the indigenous peoples, “the government took great precautions to prepare the country for the arrival of these settlers.”<sup>90</sup> McNinnis stated in *Canada: A Political and Social History* that during this process there was “little forcible intrusion” on indigenous lands and that the government helped to relocate indigenous peoples onto reservations.<sup>91</sup> Neglecting to mention that this process did not occur in British Columbia, McNinnis went on to claim that indigenous reservations in Canada were designed to help “prepare the Indian for the transition from a hunting to a farming mode of life.”<sup>92</sup> In *A History of Canada*, Wittke explained that “in return for the Indian’s pledge to preserve the peace and accept the jurisdiction of the white man’s government, Canada undertook to provide schools and to furnish agricultural implements.”<sup>93</sup> For Wittke, these negotiations were completed and subsequently interpreted “in a spirit of liberality and fairness.”<sup>94</sup> Textbooks made it very clear to students that indigenous peoples had lost out in their struggle for “living space.” In *Canada: A Political and Social History*, the “defeat” of the Textbook Indian was symbolized by an image depicting the surrender of Poundmaker in 1885 [See Figure 14]. In the end, the initiation of the reserve policy, combined with the defeat of the Métis and the surrender of their indigenous allies, marked the end of armed indigenous resistance to

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<sup>89</sup> Burt, *The Romance of Canada*, 318.

<sup>90</sup> Burt, *The Romance of Canada*, 318.

<sup>91</sup> McNinnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 335.

<sup>92</sup> McNinnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 335. For a brief discussion of reserve policy and assimilation in Canada see J.L. Tobias, “Indian Reserves in Western Canada: Indian Homelands or Devices for Assimilation,” in *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Métis* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 148-154.

<sup>93</sup> Wittke, *A History of Canada*, 206.

<sup>94</sup> Wittke, *A History of Canada*, 206.

the western expansion of the Canadian nation. Textbooks told students that the obstacles blocking the process of nation-building into the twentieth century had been removed and a nation from sea to sea had been created.

Figure 14: “The Surrender of Poundmaker,” Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 318.



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Similar to the textbooks of the interwar period, post-war textbooks suggested that indigenous peoples could participate in the nation-building process if they could accept the dispossession of their lands and integrate into settler society. George Cornish’s *Canadian School Geography* claimed that having been “reduced by war and disease” and “deprived of most of the land,” those indigenous peoples living in the present were forced to adapt and seek out new ways of making a living.<sup>95</sup> In *A History of Canada*, Wittke told students that since the early years of the frontier many indigenous peoples had become “peaceful and law abiding people” and now “find work in the lumbering and

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<sup>95</sup> Cornish, *Canadian School Geography* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931), 142.

canning industries, on farms, and in the mines.”<sup>96</sup> In addition, Cornish suggested that indigenous peoples could also “act as guides for the white man during his hunting, fishing, or exploring expeditions.”<sup>97</sup> In essence, textbooks told students that indigenous peoples, having been dispossessed of their lands, had been given the opportunity to make a living and contribute to the progress of the Canadian nation.

The perception that indigenous peoples had successfully accepted the dispossession of their lands and become civilized was powerfully suggested in a set of images provided in McInnis’s *Canada: A Political and Social History* [Figures 15 & 16]. Figure 15, “Mask Dance by West Coast Indians by Paul Kane,” portrayed a secret ceremony performed by an indigenous group from Vancouver Island, circa 1846. The appearance of Figure 15 in McInnis’s textbook presented students with a visual representation of Canada’s primitive past. Indeed, in *Our Canada*, Dorland told students that while Kane’s work was not “great art,” it was “a priceless documentary record of the Indian life that has now vanished.”<sup>98</sup> In contrast, Figure 16 depicted modern, civilized, and ambiguous figures, identifiable as indigenous peoples only by the title “Indians Fishing Off the Coast of British Columbia.” Although labelled “Indians,” these characters were not distinguishable as such and were thus exactly what McWilliams was pushing for in *This New Canada*: “Too many Canadians are described as belonging to a certain race or group...What is needed badly is that we shall think of ourselves as Canadians.”<sup>99</sup> In accepting the dispossession of their lands and casting aside their primitive ceremonies, McInnis’s image of “Indians” living in the present suggested to

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<sup>96</sup> Wittke, *A History of Canada*, 57.

<sup>97</sup> Cornish, *Canadian School Geography*, 142.

<sup>98</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 468.

<sup>99</sup> McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 300.

students that the assimilation of indigenous peoples was not only desirable, but possible. The juxtaposition of these two images thus served as a compelling testament to the final triumph of the colonial project in Canada in general and in British Columbia in particular.

Figure 15: "Mask Dance by West Coast Indians by Paul Kane," Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 30.



© 1947, Royal Ontario Museum.

Figure 16: "Indians Fishing Off the Coast of British Columbia," Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 30.



© 1947, National Film Board.

In the end, social studies textbooks authorized for use in British Columbia between 1945 and 1970 made it very clear: the dispossession of inferior, uncivilized, and potentially violent indigenous peoples was justified in the name of making a great Canadian nation. This thinking is exemplified by McInnis's statement that:

The Europeans who came to the shores of North America regarded it as a vacant continent, which lay completely open to settlement from the Old World. In the final analysis this assumption was justified. It is true that the continent was already inhabited by tribes who claimed the land as their own. But in the whole of Canada there were probably no more than 220,000 Indians, and in neither numbers nor culture nor political organization were they strong enough to hold their vast hunting grounds against the land hungry-Europeans.<sup>100</sup>

In justifying colonialism and the subsequent process of Canadian nation-building, McInnis added, "The Aborigines made no major contribution to the culture that developed in the settled communities of Canada...Even when the advance of settlement pushed them out of their accustomed hunting grounds, the Indians failed to adapt themselves to the new situation and resisted absorption into the new society."<sup>101</sup> As a result of their continued resistance, McInnis concluded that indigenous peoples in Canada "remained a primitive remnant clinging to their tribal organization long after it had become obsolete."<sup>102</sup> In *Our Canada*, Dorland made the future path for indigenous peoples abundantly clear: "Adaptation or extinction seems to be the hard alternative facing the North American Indian to-day."<sup>103</sup> Ultimately, the extinction or assimilation of indigenous peoples ensured the continued existence of settler society.

This chapter has shown that despite the post-war rhetoric of equality, the shifts taking place in British Columbia in regards to indigenous peoples did not represent an

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<sup>100</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 11.

<sup>101</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 11.

<sup>102</sup> McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History*, 11.

<sup>103</sup> Dorland, *Our Canada*, 20.



equality revolution. While it is true that many indigenous peoples, supported as they were by various non-indigenous allies, persisted in their fight for political survival, it is also true that the struggle for settler hegemony continued. As a result, the new “Indian” policy that was put in place during the post-war period marked the continuation of the assimilationist goals of the interwar period. The repackaging of assimilationist ideals to meet shifting post-war needs was evident in the realm of education, and as I have demonstrated, in authorized textbooks and in the representations of indigenous peoples more specifically. Therefore, between 1945 and 1970 the colonizing minds project in British Columbia was refashioned to support Canadian nationalism and to promote the Canadian nation as the ultimate source of continued legitimacy for settler society into the future.

## 4. CONCLUSION: NEW PATHWAYS

By the 1970s textbooks in Canada had become intense sites of controversy. Such groundbreaking studies as *Teaching Prejudice* and *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks!* brought the racist representations of indigenous peoples in Canadian textbooks into the public spotlight.<sup>1</sup> More importantly, these textbook analyses mobilized public and governmental support in calling for the elimination of biased content in textbooks authorized for use in Canadian classrooms. While these publications represented a watershed moment in the writing of Canadian educational history, they did not move beyond criticizing the racist images and phrases of textbooks. Not only did these works fail to grapple with the complicated relationship between textbooks and the objectives of the curriculum, but by doing so their analyses also ignored the ways in which changing historical circumstances shaped the curriculum and in turn the representations found in textbooks. In short, textbook analyses in Canada failed to, in Ken Osborn's words, "dethrone and demystify" the textbook.<sup>2</sup>

In British Columbia specifically, leading intellectuals such as H.B. Hawthorn expressed concern over education and textbook content as early as the 1940s. For example, Hawthorn helped organize the 1948 Native Indian Affairs Conference at the University of British Columbia which produced a report recommending that the

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario* (Ontario: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971); Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks!* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974).

<sup>2</sup> Ken Osborn, "Teaching History Through Source Materials," in *In Defence of History: Teaching the Past and the Meaning of Democratic Citizenship* (Our Schools/Our Selves Monograph Series No. 17) (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Foundation, 1995), 155.

government authorize textbooks that presented a more “fair picture” of indigenous peoples and their history in Canada.<sup>3</sup> Yet this same report recommended that indigenous students being integrated into the public schools of British Columbia be taught from the same curriculum as non-indigenous children. While implementing a standard curriculum may seem progressive, this thesis has argued that the fundamental aim of British Columbia’s curriculum between 1920 and 1970 was to legitimize and ensure the continued existence of settler society. Officials within the Department of Education chose to authorize history and social studies textbooks—consciously or not—based on their ability to satisfy the objectives of British Columbia’s hidden colonial curriculum. To meet the needs of this curriculum the textbook representations of the past in general and of indigenous peoples in particular sought to justify colonialism in ways that reflected changing historical circumstances surrounding the struggle for settler hegemony. Therefore, the idea of calling for fairer textbooks without changing the fundamental aims of the curriculum—be it in the 1940s, 1970s, or beyond—represents a crucial misunderstanding of the educational system in British Columbia and its connection to the colonial project.

In examining more closely the relationship between public education, the textbook representations of indigenous peoples, and the struggle for settler hegemony in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970, my thesis has moved beyond simply calling for the condemnation of historical representations of indigenous peoples in textbooks. Attacking the racist depictions in textbooks is an important tactic, but it is not a radical strategy of analysis—it does not critique the very root of what these textbooks were

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<sup>3</sup> See *Report of the Conference on Native Affairs at Acadia Camp* (Vancouver: B.C. Indian Arts & Welfare Society, 1948), 51-52.

attempting to do and *why*: justify the dispossession of indigenous peoples' lands to legitimize the subsequent development of settler society and rationalize the continued existence and progress of that society as something to take for granted as common sense.

I argued that in order to teach children—both indigenous and non-indigenous—to take their place in settler society, the legitimacy of that society, as presented to students in their textbooks, needed to be continuously adapted to reflect changing historical circumstances. For example, the period between 1920 and 1945 in British Columbia was defined by struggle: workers fought to subsist and find jobs in depressed conditions, indigenous peoples battled for existence and political recognition, and the government desperately tried to maintain order and control. This context shaped the colonizing minds project which sought to instil in the minds of students the desire to ensure the safety, stability, and perpetuity of settler society.

As part of the colonizing minds project, authorized textbooks legitimized the continued existence of settler society by connecting the story of the Dominion of Canada to the more important history of British imperialism and the creation of the great and virtuous British Empire. In promoting the history of Canada as the history of British imperialism, textbooks justified the dispossession of indigenous peoples and their lands by constructing the original inhabitants of North America as the Textbook Indian—inferior, violent, and uncivilized. The idea that it was the responsibility of the agents of the British Empire to bring civilization, enlightenment, and progress to the backward peoples of the world—the White Man's Burden—was invoked to explain the dispossession of indigenous peoples and the subsequent creation of a Dominion of the British Empire as natural and inevitable.

In the years following the Second World War, public education was altered by the Department of Education to reflect the changing historical circumstances of the post-war period. On the surface, the period of 1945 to 1970 in British Columbia appeared to be an era of increased equality and social change. In addition to economic growth and political realignment, indigenous peoples were granted the right to vote and encouraged to participate in the provincial economy. During this time, indigenous peoples were supported by a variety of public, private, and even government organizations. As well, many indigenous children were integrated into an expanding provincial public school system. Thus, in order to capture the hearts and minds of a new generation of students the state refashioned the colonizing minds project.

As the retreat of the British Empire led to a crisis in Canadian national identity, an emerging spirit of Canadian nationalism was promoted by the Department of Education to support the idea that the Canadian nation was now the new and ultimate source of settler society's legitimacy. Instead of promoting the shared history of British imperialism, the state authorized social studies textbooks for use in post-war British Columbia classrooms that presented students with the new narrative of nation-building. These textbooks explained to children that the dispossession of indigenous peoples' land was not inevitable, but was necessary for the successful building of the Canadian nation. Therefore, although public education in British Columbia was remade in the post-war period, in the form of subtle changes to textbook narratives and the representations of indigenous peoples, the colonizing minds project continued to legitimize the existence of settler society to students as commonsensical.

What are the implications and the larger significance of these conclusions? In a special edition of *BC Studies* published in the late 1990s, co-editors Cole Harris and Jean Barman spoke to the continuing legacy of the colonial project in British Columbia into the twenty-first century. While the editors are hopeful that peaceful co-existence between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples can be achieved, they remind readers that “at the same time, we should not forget that British Columbia has been, and largely remains, a highly successful colonial society, one that has generated such self-congratulatory stories about its past that colonialism has been invisible to most people who live here.”<sup>4</sup> Harris and Barman continue by explaining that “for most of us, colonialism happened elsewhere, and the recognition of it here, and of ourselves as its agents, suddenly qualifies our fulsome accounts of the progress and development of an immigrant society while connecting us with a much less comfortable past.”<sup>5</sup> In his own book, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia*, Harris proposes a particularly enlightening strategy of moving forward, namely that we must learn to be aware of how we are all, in unique and unequal ways, the “continuing beneficiaries” of the colonial project in British Columbia.<sup>6</sup>

Karl Marx once wrote that while the philosophers have interpreted the world in a variety of ways, the point is to change it.<sup>7</sup> In building on Marx’s ideas, the work of Antonio Gramsci makes clear that a critique of the commonsensical ways in which we

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<sup>4</sup> Cole Harris and Jean Barman, eds., “Editorial,” *BC Studies: Native Peoples and Colonialism*. 115/116, Autumn/Winter. 1997/98. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Harris and Barman, “Editorial,” 4.

<sup>6</sup> Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2002), xxxi.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Marx, “Theses on Feuerbach” in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 173.

have been taught about our past and ourselves is the very basis for changing the world.<sup>8</sup> In short, there is a dialectical—if not revolutionary—relationship between action and reflection, theory and practice. We are all philosophers. We all have the ability to challenge what, why, and how we have been taught about our past, present, future, and ourselves. We must become the change we want to see in the world. What this thesis suggests, then, is that we must not allow the selective understandings of our history—like those found in our school textbooks—to continue to blind us to the fact that colonialism did happen here, and that education played an important role in justifying the historical dispossession, redistribution, and resettlement of indigenous lands in British Columbia.

The goal of this thesis has been to illustrate how education was implicated in the colonial project in British Columbia between 1920 and 1970. In achieving this goal, this thesis has also cleared new pathways for future research. New ways of thinking are needed that continue to challenge our perception of education and its relationship to the colonial project in British Columbia. More importantly, this research will need to connect the relationship between education and colonialism to the history of capitalism and the larger process of making British Columbia in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. The history of British Columbia was and must continue to be the history of struggle.

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<sup>8</sup> See Antonio Gramsci, “The Study of Philosophy” in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 323-377.

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