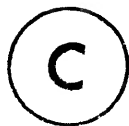


THE INDIAN IN TEXTBOOKS:  
A Content Analysis of History  
Books Authorized for Use  
in Ontario Schools

by



Patricia V. Ofner

Department of Sociology

Lakehead University

May, 1982

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Chapter 1 .....	1
Introduction	
"The Need for the Study"	
"The Problem"	
Chapter 2 .....	15
"Survey of the Literature"	
Chapter 3 .....	28
"Methodology of Study"	
Chapter 4 .....	44
"Analysis of Material"	
Chapter 5 .....	101
"Summary of Study"	
Appendix	
Bibliography of books in study .....	109
Form for Hypothesis I & II .....	114
Taxonomy of Concepts and Related Evaluative Terms.	115
Evaluative Terms Most Frequently Used in Reference to Indians .....	121
Frequency of Statements that Prove or Disprove Vogel's Theory .....	126
Bibliography .....	131

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In comic books, novels, films, television and bedtime stories, Indians have always been associated with feathers, teepees, the massacre of white settlers and the timely arrival of the R.C.M.P. The media have never challenged the images of Indians projected over the years: images of an uncivilized and savage race that fought, but without success, against the waves of progressive white settlers. "Such negative historical imagery showed great tenacity in part due to its entertainment value in the mass media and in part due to its reinforcement in school textbooks". (Ponting and Gibbons, 1980:68) This is significant, since

The growing child learns his social behavior primarily by following the modes and models of behavior around him. Indeed, he has little choice. He learns how to behave towards people of other racial and religious groups by seeing how other people behave, and by automatically participating in the behavior patterns which already exist. (Rose and Rose, 1965:368)

Because Indian people have remained an identifiable race in our predominantly Caucasian society, they have been viewed in a particular way by the rest of society. These stereotyped perceptions of Indian people have been transmitted by various methods, both purposely and accidentally, by films, television, books and cartoons.

These ideas about Indians are taught to children at a very young age. In Best in Childrens Books published by Doubleday, Inc. (1958) a story called "Val Rides the Oregon Trail" tells the tale of a young boy on a wagon train travelling to the American west. This book is suggested as a story-book for parents to read their children at bed-time. An excerpt from the story reads,

Then the old cannon let go with a roar.  
The leading pony caught the full blast of it,  
and the rider dropped with his steed... "Look  
at them redskins run" ...They hurriedly scalped  
the slain Indians, to the horror of the women  
in the train. (Tousey, 1958:148)

Children are taught at a very early age that the white man is the hero, using cannons against men who have never seen guns before and scalping dead bodies in front of the family to show braveness. The contempt shown for Indians will be imprinted on every young mind that hears this story.

During an era when laws are being made against using children's heroes to advertise products on television books are being read where ideas expressed by the heroes are not the ideas parents would like their children to have. In Trail Dust by Clarence E. Mulford, Hopalong Cassidy, the most praise-worthy of heroes, says, "I remember it because I thought that nobody but a half

breed or an Injun would wear a shirt like that. It reminded me of nightmare I once had." (Mulford, 1933:143)

Arthur C. Parker in The Indian How Book describes the terrible problem the government had after the Indians learned to use the guns they had bought with their trading money. "This made it so hard to hunt down and kill Indians that the Government found the cost reached the enormous sum of two million dollars per Indian." (Parker, 1927:331)

The American motion picture industry has perpetrated a vast body of ethnic stereotypes about North American Indians. Indians are portrayed as constantly fighting, murdering and scalping whites, sexually desiring white women and being more adversely affected by alcohol than whites.

We cannot dismiss the stereotypes as unimportant film portrayals because hundreds of millions of people the world over have acquired their beliefs about North American Indians through motion pictures. They were created as entertainment, but they cumulatively built a separate reality about Native cultures. The belief that there is an essence of general truth about Indians in these portrayals is pervasive and persistent in modern North America. (Price, 1973:154)

Think of the impressions gained by countless children sitting in movie theatres all over the country watching

the latest version of 'cowboys and Indians'. With the constant bombardment from movies, T.V. and books, children, by the time they go to school, already have a stereotyped idea of what Indians are like, and these ideas are reinforced in school.

"Perhaps most devastating is the image of the Indian as a savage, an image that has influenced the view of white society toward the Indian since the earliest days of contact". (Faherty, 1974:163) Denied the status of an equal person or a citizen, the Indian could be ignored, converted, removed and exploited.

#### THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Chief Dan George has identified the problem to be addressed in this paper:

You can stop discriminating against my people.  
You can stop patronizing them in your usual manner.

You can stop feeling awful good within yourself when you make a paltry offering in the form of some money.

You can stop feeling guiltless when you buy us textbooks and blankets and houses.

You can try to understand what cultural adjustments are demanded of our younger people, who are forced to think and to work and to accept the standards of your culture.

You can stop making us look ridiculous in your plays and on your television. Go and see how we have been degraded in your social study books.  
Chief Dan George. (Martinello and Evans, 1976:115)



Has the dominant group in Canada really presented a true and accurate picture of the Canadian Indian, or have our authors been guilty of prejudice and discrimination in their treatment of the natives? Many authors openly acknowledge the problem:

The existence of open prejudice against Native people in Canada is well known and well documented. (Stymeist, 1975:6)

Dallyn and Earle draw the conclusion:

The findings indicate that there is still a strong response to stereotypes about Indians; that they are dirty, lazy, unreliable, without skills, and so on. (Dallyn and Earle, 1957:25)

Faherty writes:

Misconceptions that have become deeply enrooted are difficult to eradicate. Perhaps most devastating is the image of the Indian as savage, an image that has influenced the view of white society toward the Indian since the earliest days of contact. Either a nomadic, hostile brute impeding the civilizing process of advancing settlers or a noble, unspoiled child of nature symbolizing freedom for Rousseau and others, the Indian was stereotyped as uncivilized, and mentally, culturally, and religiously inferior to the white. (Faherty, 1974:163)

James S. Frideres writes:

While it may never be possible to quantify the degree of racism (both individual and institutional), the evidence examined unmistakably reveals the same central theme. Its blatancy may have been disguised, but the impact has still been the same. People still believe that natives are biologically and socially inferior and as a result, discrimination against Indians at both the individual and institutional level still has

a sound, rational basis for most people.  
(Frideres, 1974:xiv)

Marlene Mackie' survey on the public perception  
of Indians shows that:

... the perception of the Indian which emerged  
... is an overwhelmingly negative image of an  
ostracized group that neither shares the work  
or success values of the surrounding society  
nor receives its material rewards.  
(Mackie, 1974:42)

Why do Canadians have this ingrained negative image  
of Indians? Why have Canadians developed a detrimental  
stereotype of native people? What has caused the racism,  
prejudice and discrimination directed at the Canadian  
Indians? This study is necessary in order to shed some  
light on the question of why this situation persists in  
Ontario.

#### THE PROBLEM

One form of literature that is used to teach per-  
ceptions to a large, impressionable, and often captive  
audience is the school history text. Using this medium,  
the dominant group (whites), and every other group that  
attends school, learns about the role Indian people have  
played in our society. Sometimes writers simply stated  
that Indians were savage, heathen, drunken, barbarous  
or murdering, at other times they used words that implied

the same moral judgments. The terminology points out a major problem. When Indians killed whites it was a 'massacre', but whites only 'fought' or 'battled' Indians. White people were depicted as peace loving farmers protecting their homes and families from the savage menace; but it is unusual to find a description of the Indian defending his family or his homeland against the ever encroaching white hoards.

In 1965 the Ontario Human Rights Commission initiated a study ... "after receiving complaints from members of the public taking exception to the manner in which certain groups were portrayed in Ontario textbooks."

(McDiarmid, 1971:vii).

In a statement presented to the Legislature in May 1965, William Davis said,

In cooperation with the Ontario Human Rights Commission we are about to make a thorough examination of all school textbooks, not just for the purpose of removing material which may be offensive to any of the groups which make up our multi-national family, but more important, to make sure that our textbooks do contain the type of material which does full justice to the contribution of many peoples to the development of our Province and Nation.  
(McDiarmid, 1971:vii)

This statement led to a study by the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the schools

of Ontario. This committee found that

... a prejudiced stereotype of the Indian is too often communicated in classrooms. This we must eradicate. The learning environment of Indian school children must be changed, to restore the dignity of the individual and his pride in family, home, and heritage. Only then can every Indian child in Ontario receive the benefits and opportunities for learning to which he has the right. (Ontario, Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the schools of Ontario, 1968:111)

The Committee suggested that the Ontario Department of Education review the learning material used in its schools to teach about Indians. To this date we know of no comprehensive study of this kind that has been carried out. A number of partial studies on this topic have been completed. (see "Survey of the Literature" for further information)

This study will assume that children learn from the books they read, and that since they spend a great number of their waking hours in school, school textbooks play a significant role in the children's learning process. There is solid evidence that reading can mould the attitudes of children. (Gray, 1947) (Wees, 1965) It is therefore imperative that the texts used in our schools be free of prejudicial material.

... As much as we may wish it were otherwise, the textbook is the de facto course of study for most classrooms and sometimes even the major

source of information for the teacher. The printed word, particularly in a school textbook, has great authority for most of us. (Elkin, 1965:507)

Elkin has pointed out another problem that has a bearing on this topic. Most teachers in the Ontario system were educated in Canada, and most probably in Ontario. What attitudes then will these teachers bring into the classroom? They were taught using the earlier textbooks and teaching methods. This study then should try to determine whether textbooks have changed over the years, and whether they contain more or less stereotypical imagery.

With this study's emphasis on textbooks, it is important to know whether textbooks are widely used in Ontario schools. When A. B. Hodgetts examined the teaching of history in Ontario he found that, "Eighty-nine percent of the classes we observed unquestioningly followed the gray, consensus version of the textbook, ..." (Hodgetts, 1968:24). These figures reinforce the necessity of examining the history texts used in Ontario schools.

The problem then is this: If people are prejudiced and hold negative stereotypical imagery of Canadian Indians, where do these opinions originate?

Ehrlich states that, "Children under five years of age begin developing ethnic attitudes even before developing the ability to correctly identify those to whom they are directed. (Ehrlich, 1973:114) He also states that "People develop attitudes similar to those of their primary agents of socialization". (Ehrlich, 1973:121).

Gordon Allport suggests that "If there is any foundation for group prejudice it lies in this hesitant response that human beings have to strangeness". (Allport, 1979: 130) Since humans have an instinct for survival, they are constantly aware of changes and abnormalities in their environment. A child learns at a very early age that when things look different, they usually are different. All humans look different from each other. "Hence there is nothing abnormal or prejudiced in the sheer expectation that black men will be significantly different from white men, or that people with slant eyes and yellow skin will be different from people with horizontal eyes and white skin." (Allport, 1979:131) Hence children look at someone who looks 'different' and expects that person to act differently. This may be a base for our future stereotypical images.

How then can we account for stereotypical images present in adults who should no longer accept the 'different theory'. It could be a generalized judgement based on past experience with someone from a certain class. It could be attributes transferred from knowledge or experience with someone similar in another class. Some stereotypes may be based on a kernel of truth that has been broadened to encompass all people of that class. Some stereotypes are totally unsupported by facts, and some may grow in defiance of all evidence.

Dallyn and Earle did a study of attitudes of people towards Indians and people of Indian descent. Only 9.5% of the people had never had contact with Indians, therefore 90.5% had personal, and sometimes continuous contact with Indians. The study showed:

49.7% were unprejudiced towards Indians

4.7% were definitely prejudiced

45.6% were evidently undecided

This is a significant group in that we can speculate that under unfavourable circumstances, their attitudes towards Indians could be less than charitable. (Dallyn and Earle, 1957:15)

The study concluded that, "Even in this center where we found the general evidence of prejudice to be not high, the stereotypes do persist." (Dallyn and Earle, 1957:18)

Allport defines a stereotype as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category." (Allport, 1979:191)

Stereotypes serve a multitude of purposes in our daily lives,

But there is an additional, and exceedingly important reason for their existence. They are socially supported, continually revived and hammered in, by our media of mass communication ... (Allport, 1979:200)

It is imperative that we examine the texts used in Ontario schools today to see whether we are creating or reinforcing negative stereotypical imagery of the Canadian Indian. It is also important that we examine the texts used in the past since the teachers attitudes will have been formed using these older books. The school textbooks, at all levels, from kindergarten to grade thirteen, are the primary learning tools in the classroom, and therefore what they say, what they imply and what they omit is extremely important.

Roberta Jamieson, a Mohawk woman of the Six Nations Reserve in Oshweken, Ontario "... encountered disturbing prejudice in history textbooks, when it came to Native people. Those people were cold, cruel ... a bloodthirsty lot; they were presented that way." (Toronto Native Times,



Dec. 1980:11) Evidence such as the examples presented below, seems to support the premise that Canadian Indians are prejudged according to previous beliefs about them, rather than the evidence of their present behaviour.

For example Stymeist in Ethnics and Indians reports the views of the townspeople:

I don't know exactly why it is so, but its true that Indians don't have the backbone of other races. Look at all of us here. Many of the people of our town came to Canada poor. Many of their fathers and mothers couldn't speak English or write. But where are they today? They worked hard for their money and got ahead. But look at the Indian ... I can't really feel sorry for him. He won't work and he's too dumb to learn very much. So he is where he is and we are where we are simply because we've worked hard for what we have. (Stymeist, 1975:7)

The Winnipeg Sun gives another indication of the problems faced by Canada's native population. Mr. Justice A. M. Monnin, an appeal court judge said,

If you eliminate all the evidence from drunken Indians I've heard in the past 26 years you would eliminate it all ... I practised up north in The Pas, and that's all we have. (The Winnipeg Sun, Wednesday, May 19, 1982)

The Pas band leader Chief Charles Constant stated that he was not surprised by this evidence of racial discrimination against natives. It is even more frightening to realize that The Winnipeg Sun conducted a poll of its readers, and 78 per cent of the 126 who answered believed that Judge Monnin was "only speaking the truth". (The Winnipeg Sun, Thursday, June 3, 1982:3)

For a very long time, textbooks, and particularly history textbooks, have been criticized for their biased content. This concern is intensified when it is realized that these books affect the formation of attitudes in the children who use them. This thesis will try to determine whether stereotyped thinking, which could lead to prejudice and discrimination, exists in our textbooks and is likely to be perpetuated by them.

Prejudice is hostile and downgrading, a device for putting a person in his place. (Simpson and Yinger, 1972:10) Prejudice tends to be perpetuated by simplifying assumptions called stereotypes. In stereotyping, a few characteristics are accepted as a complete description of a minority. These categorical judgments are then presented as considered evaluations by persons who have little or no experience with the stereotyped group. Many children in Ontario will never have any personal contact with Indians, and therefore will accept the view presented to them by their teachers and their textbooks.

CHAPTER 2  
SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Textbooks have been reviewed, analyzed and examined as far back as 1889 when the International Peace Conference urged "that textbooks be purged of false ideas about the nature and causes of war." (McDiarmid, 1971:7) But after the First World War definite steps were taken to revise textbooks and eliminate such expressions of bias.

Studies were financed by many groups including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1921, the Association of German History Teachers in 1927, and later a great many by UNESCO.

In the United States, as early as 1911, there was concern about the treatment of slavery in textbooks, and after the First World War increased pro-British feeling led to a criticism of the treatment of Britain in American history texts. The growing respectability of analyzing bias in textbooks was indicated by the fact that at least four doctoral dissertations were written on the subject between the First and Second World Wars. (McDiarmid, 1971:13)

Research on the history text continued and in 1960 research began to concentrate more heavily on the treatment of Indians and, to a greater extent, blacks.

(McDiarmid, 1971:16)

A joint British-American investigating team was formed to examine the secondary-school history textbooks most widely used in the States and Britain today. The committee came to the conclusion that textbooks are still written with enough nationalistic bias to alter the minds of today's youths and to hinder international cooperation in the future.

Ray Billington, chairman of this committee, reported in his article "Bias in History Textbooks" that the subtle nationalistic bias that is present in today's books is more dangerous than the blatant forms of past generations because it is more difficult to detect.

Equally as important as the results of the study are the methods the authors used to present their biases. Billington explained three of the major types.

1. Bias by Inertia: Many authors were guilty of using old outdated material instead of researching modern historical scholarship.

2. Bias by Omission: Almost all the authors studied chose only information that reflected favourably for their own point of view.
3. Sense of Superiority: Many authors wrote with a feeling of group superiority, causing the historical facts to be distorted.

This analysis of how biased history books are produced seems to have prepared a base for a number of other American and Canadian studies.

#### UNITED STATES

Jeanette Henry (1967) reported in Indian Historian on a massive evaluation of texts in current use, and those considered for future use in California's elementary and junior high schools.

The committee of eleven Indians reported to the State Board of Education that "the textbooks are inaccurate". They felt that if the textbooks were inaccurate concerning the Indians, one could hardly believe any other information presented in the book.

The committee listed a number of areas it considered either omitted, distorted, misinterpreted or passed off as of no account. The report concludes with a number of examples of these problems taken from texts in the study.

In 1968 Virgil Vogel published the results of his study of more than a hundred books. He stated ... "that historians used four principal methods to create or perpetuate false impressions of aboriginal Americans, namely: obliteration, defamation, disembodiment, and disparagement" (Vogel, 1968:16). Full explanations and examples of these four terms are found later in this study, and therefore will not be expounded at this time.

Vogel goes on in his report to explain many Indian contributions to the present society, such as sites of present cities, influence of Indian art, Indian inventions and languages. The study ends with a list of recommended teaching material for all levels of education.

In 1977 Morgan Otis wrote an article called "Textbooks and the People Known as American Indians" in which he recalls the report prepared by Vogel. He repeats the four methods of writing false history books, with examples of each. At the end of the article Otis makes a list of six items one should consult when attempting to identify authentic and reliable materials in any subject.

Arlene Hirschfelder in "The Treatment of Iroquois in Textbooks" reports that "the treatment of individual Indian tribes, particularly the Iroquois, illustrates the inadequate, inaccurate, misleading and lackluster textbook writing on American Indians". (Hirschfelder, 1975:32)

Hirschfelder reports on a study done on twenty-seven American history textbooks that she feels are "representative of United States textbooks in secondary school use."

Hirschfelder's research revealed that a total of six authors ignored the Iroquois in their textbooks, while the remainder "presented an array of misinformation, misconceptions, omissions, and ethnocentricity". (Hirschfelder, 1975:33) Hirschfelder continues with an array of examples from the books to prove her conclusion that "textbook information is inaccurate, ethnocentric, misleading, insufficient, or altogether missing from the narrative". (Hirschfelder, 1975:38)

One of the latest studies done on Indians in American history texts was reported by Charles H. Swanson (1977). This study was designed to discover whether there have been any changes in the description of Indian-White relations written between 1961-1972.

Fifty-three texts were chosen and selected events were designated as search items. The researchers read each text to see if the authors dealt with the event. The results were placed in table form showing the percentage of books that dealt with the item.

In the conclusion to this study Swanson declares that "high school history texts have been considered as a

medium for conveying negative imagery and unfavorable stereotypes of American Indians." (Swanson, 1977:35) He considers that the selective editing practised by the textbook authors helps to develop and sustain, in the minds of young people, a less than accurate picture of the past and present role of minority groups in our society.

#### CANADA

The investigation of textbook treatment of Indians came much later in Canada and has been funded primarily by voluntary organizations and governmental bodies.

The Canadian Council of Christians and Jews published a study done by F. John Dallyn and Frazer G. Earle entitled "A Study of Attitudes Towards Indians and people of Indian Descent", (1957). In examining the results of the sample, it was shown that 46.3% of the people were prejudiced on at least one scale item.

In analyzing the scale items we found that there is a heavy prejudiced response to certain items graduating down to incidental prejudiced response to other items. It was observed that the items which lend themselves to stereotyping seemed to have a higher incidence of prejudiced responses than did others. (Dallyn and Earle, 1957: 17)



An example of this phenomenon shows that 21.8% of the sample agreed that:

Most people of Indian descent show complete disregard of the common standards of personal decency.  
(Dallyn, question no. 12)

Of interest to this paper is the fact that 2.7% of the sample recorded that they had learned their attitudes about Indians from school. (Dallyn and Earle, 1957:11)

In 1964 the Indian and Metis Conference presented a brief to the Manitoba Department of Education on the treatment of Indians and Metis in the Manitoba history texts. In support of the negative report on the texts "...it noted that textbooks contemptuously dismissed Indian religious beliefs, paid attention to Indian faults but not the Indian virtues, glossed over negative aspects of the white man's impact, discussed missionary endeavors among the Indians from only one point of view, ignored Indian contributions to Canadian history, and represented drinking, gambling, and fighting as specifically Indian habits." (McDiarmid, 1971:23)

Norma Sluman published an article called "The Text Book Indian" in 1967 in which Sluman states that:

In Ontario text books today we do not find such direct and patently false statements. But we still find many quotations and references that are highly objectionable because they give only one part of the picture and so leave a distorted impression.  
(Sluman, 1967:10)

Sluman suggests that Indian history must be presented in a way that makes children understand that those writing the information were often enemies of the Indians. She also states that some effort must be made to explain that the Indians' attitudes towards life are different from the white man's. Sluman also states that references to Indians' difference should not be eliminated from history texts, but "should be properly placed in their historical context." (Sluman, 1967:10)

The next major study of textbooks in Ontario was prepared for the University Women's Club of Port Credit, Ontario by Rosamond M. Vanderburgh in 1968. The study sought to answer the question, "What are children in Canada taught about Indians?" (Vanderburgh, 1968:1)

The scope of this study was to include all Social Studies books listed for use in Circular 14 (1966-67). The group chose three main topics and then searched each book for these topics. The topics were:

- I. The Original Culture of Canadian Indians.
- II. The History of Culture Contact between Indians and Non-Indians in Canada.
- III. The Situation of the Canadian Indian Today.

(Vanderburgh, 1968:2)

After studying over thirty texts the group concluded that "... there were some enormous omissions in the information on Canadian Indians that is presented to Ontario school children". (Vanderburgh, 1968:18)

In 1969 David Pratt wrote his doctoral thesis on the value judgments expressed towards certain minority groups in a sample of school history textbooks. This study was extended into a larger research project published under the title Teaching Prejudice (1971) by Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt.

These studies had two purposes:

- 1) to examine the value judgments presented in the textbooks.
- 2) to develop an instrument to measure such value judgments.

The study sought to examine the treatment given to Arabs, French Canadians, (North American) Indians, and Negroes. It did not concern itself with the truth of statements, but only with the intensity of the feeling projected.

Pratt pointed out some very interesting facts that he discovered when counting the evaluative words used to describe Indians.

Particularly noticeable, in this as in previous studies, was the use of the term "savage" as a description of or synonym for the Indian. This term was in fact the most frequent single evaluative term applied to any of the four groups.

It was also noticeable in the texts that white men killed their enemies, whereas Indians "murdered", "slaughtered", "massacred", or "butchered" their foes. (Pratt, 1969:138)

In conclusion Pratt stated that,

In Ontario history textbooks, Indians are a non-favored group. (Pratt, 1969:144)

In fact the Canadian Indian was the least-favored of the four minority groups studied. (Pratt, 1969:123) Pratt goes on to state that textbooks should be either improved or replaced, and he suggests that authors and editors must become more aware and self-critical of their use of value judgments. (Pratt, 1969:151)

Carol Fowler (1971) did a content analysis of three series of trade books (fifty-one books) in order to discover how Indians were portrayed by the authors. Fowler lists nine stereotypes currently held about Indians. These stereotypes were found in literary works, newspaper articles and taped interviews with twenty grade six students from Calgary.

In the conclusion of this study Fowler noted that there was a total of 2536 references that she judged to be potential reinforcers of existing stereotypes about Indian people. (Fowler, 1971:48) She also found the most frequently used reference towards Indians was 'that of

the savage barbarian with 1408 references'. (Fowler, 1971:48)

While avoidance of certain books may be neither practical nor advisable, an awareness on the part of teachers of the potential effects of these books might enable them to prepare their students to understand or at least to cope with references which may offend them or affect their self-image. (Fowler, 1971:49)

In 1974 the Textbook Evaluation and Revision Committee of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood published a study of social studies textual materials approved by the Department of Education for use by grades four, five and six in Manitoba classrooms. Because the content of grades four and five textbooks contained very little about Indians the study concentrated primarily on grade six material.

The study, "The Shocking Truth about Indians in Textbooks", prepared by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in 1974 examined the descriptive terminology that the authors used to describe different ethnic groups. They then used Dr. David Pratt's (1972) method for accurate measurement of bias in written materials.

The results of this study were stated very clearly.

It is apparent that the grade six social studies textual materials give a derogatory

and incomplete picture of the Canadian Indian. (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974:i)

Manoly R. Lupul of the University of Alberta wrote a paper analyzing the high school Canadian history and social studies textbooks and teaching materials required or recommended by Alberta's Department of Education since 1905, focusing on the manner in which minority groups within Canada were treated by the authors. Lupul divided the texts into three main groups: 1905-1936, 1936-1960, and 1960 to present.

The earliest books, Lupul found, were characterized by "...white, European, Christian supremacy", (Lupul, 1976: 2) with some authors being kinder, but usually displaying derogatory remarks when war or religion were discussed.

In the books used between 1936-1960 Lupul found more positive descriptions of the Indians, with even the Iroquois receiving faint praise as being 'democratic in some ways' (Lupul, 1976:12). But Lupul questioned whether the brevity of the treatment of the Indians was the only reason for the occasional lapses into the vocabulary of the early twentieth century". (Lupul, 1976:13)

In the modern era (1960 to present) Lupul found the history texts to be very 'matter-of-fact - almost scrupulously so'. (Lupul, 1976:19) He found that most descriptions seemed to be carefully balanced, but that 'the native peoples are handled in almost antiseptic fashion'. (1976:19)

Lupul's final conclusion was that the description of minority groups in Canada, including Indians, "... in history and social studies textbooks at the senior high school level in Alberta has been unfortunately most inadequate". (Lupul, 1976:29)

Every study, thesis, report, and paper examined by this author concluded that textbooks treat minority groups unfairly, and that Canadian Indians seem to get the worst treatment of all.

There has not been a comprehensive study of all the textbooks authorized for use in Ontario, but the limited studies that have been undertaken (Pratt, Vanderburgh, and Sluman) have shown that the Indians have been portrayed unfairly.

Studies in other provinces, such as Dallyn and Earle in Manitoba, Fowler in Alberta, Lupul in Alberta, and The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in Manitoba have shown that Indians in textbooks have been treated equally unfairly in these provinces.

All of these studies have shown that the terminology used and the descriptions of Indian life given, have painted a biased picture of the Indian in history. All of the studies have emphasized that often what is not said is as misleading as what is said.

CHAPTER 3  
METHODOLOGY

No one will dispute that:

Admittedly, textbooks alone are not sufficient.  
But as the most universally used teaching tool,  
what they say, what they imply, and what they  
omit is important.  
(Marcus, 1963:7)

This paper will examine 65 history and social studies books in order to evaluate the possible effect these texts have had on Ontario students. These books range from the first approved history text in 1857 to books approved for use in 1980. The method I plan to employ is a content analysis of the material in these books, because "there is probably no more convincing method to demonstrate the function of the stereotype than by a content analysis of the mass media of communication".  
(Barron, 1962:114)



Content analysis may be defined "... as a methodology by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken, or published communications by systematic, objective, and quantitative analysis". (Zito, 1975:27)

A researcher will set up a number of categories for analyzing the content of the material to be studied. These categories need not be universally agreed upon, as long as the rules and limitations have been set down clearly. Once this is done, any researcher could replicate the study regardless of his/her own personal values, beliefs or interests, simply by following the stated rules.

A systematic procedure must be established at the outset of the study that will be applied to all cases in the study. The established procedure will help the researcher avoid collecting only data that reinforces his/her own theoretical ideas.

Content analysis usually provides the researcher with a quantitative description of the material studies. The most common use of content analysis is to count the frequency with which certain items, symbols or themes appear in the material being studied. By counting certain words or themes, the researcher alerts the reader to cer-

tain themes that are present in the material, and the numbers presented would be clear to any reader. The danger **in** this counting process is when the overall feeling or impression of the communication is missed. Therefore it is important that the researcher interpret the material that is collected, "using all of his powers of imagination and intuition to draw meaningful conclusions from the data". (Williamson et al, 1977:290)

In order to use the content analysis method of research, a certain order of procedure must be followed. First it must be established that there is a question, or questions, to be answered. Secondly, the researcher must look at the sources of data that are available, and choose the appropriate source for the study to be undertaken.

Once the data source has been chosen, the researcher must now decide how the data will be collected, organized and presented.

Content analysis has a number of advantages over other methods of research. One advantage is the fact that researchers can study records and documents of a past era, and are not limited to the study of present events. Another advantage is that the investigator does not influence the data being studied. It might be difficult, or im-

possible, to gain information through direct observation or interview techniques without influencing the subjects of the researcher. The most important advantage of content analysis however, is that the material is always available for replication of the study by other researchers.

There are also disadvantages to the content analysis method. The most important disadvantage of this method is its limited nature. If a person is studying the past, often much of the pertinent information has been destroyed or what has survived is only what someone decided was important enough to write down. Since each new generation has different values, what we consider important today may have been of no consequence in the past. Another disadvantage is the fact that the written word often reflects cultural ideals rather than actual happenings. Finally, there is the danger that researchers would believe that the data collected from a content analysis were a cause of social phenomena rather than a reflection of them.

The purpose of this content analysis is to discover whether there has been any pattern to the treatment of Indians in texts and whether there has been any significant changes in the depiction of Indian-White relations over the years of the study. I also plan to examine the language used to describe Indians, searching for stereotypical images and prejudicial language.

McDiarmid observed the following about the content analysis of textbooks:

While several studies have observed little 'blatant' prejudice in texts and have noted a general improvement in their quality over time, textbook research has been based almost without exception on qualitative rather than quantitative analysis; consequently, these findings have not been put to the test. Even so, textbook researchers have tended to arrive at surprisingly uniform conclusions on certain general areas... The main sins of omission, the researchers suggest, are the failure to note the positive contributions and qualities, the contemporary condition, and the persecution of, or discrimination against, minorities. The main sins of commission identified are an excessively political approach, resulting in emphasis on war and conflict, the un-scholarly reproduction of stereotypes, and the casual use of emotive or pejorative terms to describe members of specific groups. (McDiarmid, 1971:25)

It would be impossible to compare the texts totally, therefore I have chosen certain selected themes for examination. These themes will be stated in the form of hypotheses, which I will first present and then test to check the validity of the statements.

Hypothesis I will be the major hypothesis in this study, while the subsequent hypotheses deal with other topics that arise naturally from the data presented.

Hypothesis I

History textbooks used in Ontario schools since 1857 have reflected a negatively stereotyped image of Indian people.

To test this hypothesis, I plan to count the number of words and phrases used to describe Indians in a negative stereotypical manner. At the same time I will count the words and phrases that give a positive image of Indians. (See Appendix, page 114 for a copy of the form used) By projecting a simple quantitative analysis on a graph, I will show the difference in the number of words appearing in each instance. The graph on page 75a will reflect the number of negative and positive notations divided by the number of books in the sample. This will result in an average number of references per book, which will be comparable for each decade.

Included in this section will be a list of the most frequently used negative and positive connotations. The decision as to whether a word is positive or negative will be decided by the word list published in "The Shocking Truth about Indians in Text Books." The Indian Brotherhood Committee, and this study has changed some words and added others to Pratt's original list. "An example of an addition was the word 'squaw'. This is a European distortion of the Indian word 'esquawo', meaning 'Indian

woman'. The terminology is derogatory, and several authors make no attempt to limit its use". (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1974:1)

### Hypothesis II

Writers of history texts have created and perpetuated a negative image of the Indian people by obliterating their existence, defaming their character, disparaging and belittling their culture and disembodimenting their continued existence as a separate culture.

The basis for my methodology in hypothesis II is a study funded by the Nuffield and Ford Foundations and initiated by the historical associations in England and the United States. The study itself is more important than the actual findings, because the authors attempted to classify the distortions they found in texts.

The heading they used were as follows:  
bias in use of inertia - the perpetuation of legends and half-truths and the failure to keep abreast of historical scholarships;  
bias by omission - the selection of information that reflects credit only on the writer's group; bias in use of language - the use of words with a favorable connotation to describe one group and words with an unfavorable connotation to describe another ...; and bias by cumulative implication - the tendency to give all the credit for positive developments to one side. The result, concluded one of the researchers, is to give the student reader "the impression that his own nation has monopolized progress,

singlehandedly turned back the enemies of civilization, and is alone equipped to lead the world along the path to a righteous future." (McDiarmid, 1971:10)

Virgil Vogel (1968) in his short text, "The Indian in American History", has stated that there are four principal methods that historians have used to create or perpetuate false impressions of Indian people. These methods have been namely: obliteration, defamation, disembodiment and disparagement. In order to elaborate on Vogel's statement, I have devised the following explanation of the terms.

OBLITERATION was manifested by ignoring the Indian altogether or by ignoring significant aspects of Indian history.

Examples: a) Text fails to mention the Native population of Canada before the Europeans arrive.  
 b) Text fails to mention the placement of Indians on Reserves.  
 c) Text fails to mention Indians in Canadian society since W. W. I.

DEFAMATION was indicated by calling attention to all the Indians faults and to none of his virtues and by misrepresenting his nature. The Authors try to justify all actions against Indians by stressing negative events.

Examples: a) Text offers themes of Indians being like children and unable to cope (mentally or physically) with Western culture and society.  
 b) Text stresses a mistrust of Indians because of savagery during Indian Wars and attacks on wagon trains.  
 c) Texts treat Indian religion as inconsequential and stress the necessity of Christianizing Indians.

DISPARAGEMENT was expressed by denial of Indian contributions to Canadian culture. Indians were never mentioned as being a race with a distinctive culture.

Examples: a) Texts mentions Native people only as they pertain to interaction with whites.  
b) Texts say that Native cultures were all the same, and depended upon nomadic hunting and gathering for subsistence.  
c) Texts indicated that there was no literature or science and only 'primitive' art flourishing before the Europeans arrived.

DISEMBODIMENT was shown in casual and depersonalized talk of "the Indian menace" or representation of the annihilation of Indian culture as part of "the march of progress". Texts suggested that the Indians are vanishing into the white culture and this is what both races want.

Examples: a) Texts state that Natives have been brought from a primitive social condition to a modern one in a short space of time.  
b) Texts state that most Natives aspire to become fully a part of the Canadian society, and with government assistance they are succeeding.  
c) Author says that differences between Indian and White societies are increasingly minimal and soon tribal groups will be totally assimilated, much to everyone's benefit.

In order to test this hypothesis, I will record every time one of these four techniques is used. The chart on page 92 will show the percentage of texts that exhibited the four characteristics described by Vogel.



Hypothesis III

History texts have changed their treatment of Indians since 1900, with the major change occurring during the 1960's.

By comparing the earlier books against the later, and using the graph on page 75a, I hope to see whether there was a change in the treatment of Canadian Indians.

I believe that during the 1960's Canadians became more aware of the social consequences of their actions, and allowed pressure groups to form that have forced society to examine and improve many of its practices. 1971 may also prove to be the turning point since Multiculturalism became the official government policy at this time.

Hypothesis IV

Pictures on the cover of History Texts changed as the attitude towards Indians changed.

To test the validity of this statement I will check the cover picture on each text. I will note (a) if there is a picture, (b) if an Indian is present, (c) whether he has equal billing with the other people present. (See Appendix, page 114, for a copy of the form used) The results of this test will appear as a table of percentages on page 96 .

The books for this study have been gathered from a great many sources. A large number of the earliest books were located in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (O.I.S.E.) historical collection in Toronto. Others were found in the Faculty of Education Library of the University of Toronto. A few selections were found in the Steele collection at the Ministry of Education, Thunder Bay. Sample books were also located in the Faculty of Education Library at Lakehead University, while still others were found in the libraries at Hillcrest and Hammarskjold high schools. A few were also borrowed from the private collections of Ross Babion (former History Consultant) and Lothar Bode (History Department Head).

It has been impossible to locate every history survey text used since 1857, but every effort has been made to include as many as possible in this sample. This sample, therefore, is made up of every book that could be located from the list published in Circular 1 through Circular 14, 1857 to 1980.

### Limitations

1. This study will examine only History and Social Studies textbooks that have been approved for use in Ontario schools. The Department of Education has been regulating the use of textbooks since the time of Ryerson.

...Egerton Ryerson's earlier writings suggest that he too had been struck by the lack of civilized culture encountered on visits to the United States. He blamed the disruptions of 1837 in part on the influence of American school books and also had disparaging comments to make about the effects of slavery and racial prejudice on the American national psyche. Indeed, a major motivation in gradually setting up provincial controls over text and library books in Upper Canada was the hope of eventually ridding the schools of republican, chauvinist and anti-British literature from the United States, which many teachers and superintendents believed had had a pernicious influence on the minds of young Canadians. (Prentice, 1977:53)

Ryerson convinced the Department of Education that it would be cheaper for schools if there were only one book in each subject area. He also used the argument that using one book would facilitate the removal of a pupil from a school in one county to a school in another county. "In 1876, when Dr. Ryerson retired from the position of Chief Superintendent of Education, there was a total of 55 books that were authorized for use in the public schools of Ontario." (White, 1922:11)

The Minister of Education under the Education Act publishes annually a list of textbooks approved for use in the schools of Ontario. (The Education Act 1974, section 8.(i) (e))

The Education Act, 1974

146. Every board shall, ...
12. provide, without charge, for the use of the pupils attending the school or schools operated by the board, the textbooks that are required by the regulations to be purchased by the board; ...
229. (i) It is the duty of the teacher, ...
- k) to use and permit to be used as a textbook in a class that he teaches in an elementary or a secondary school,
- i) in a subject area for which textbooks are approved by the Minister, and
- (ii) in all subject areas, only textbooks that are approved by the board.
- b) Texts to be chosen from Circular 14. In all subject areas for which books are listed in Circular 14, textbooks must be selected from those listed, unless permission for another selection has been granted by the Minister.

2. In addition to being included in Circular 14, every book examined in this study must be a survey text book. My definition of a survey text is one that deals with the history of at least four provinces for a period of at least 100 years. It is necessary to limit the texts in this way because literally hundreds of texts were produced in the 1960's and 70's dealing with one person or one event in history. These books would probably not

be used alone but be purchased as an enrichment of the regular survey text. Many of the less affluent boards in the Province would probably purchase only the survey text, and it would more closely reflect the information to which the students were exposed.

3. The bulk of this study will be concentrated in the textbooks used in grades 5,6,7,8,9 and 10. The texts used in grades 1-4 are social studies books that deal with a variety of local topics, such as the post office, sailing ships and building homes. These books do not meet the criterion proposed in limitation two. The subject studied in grade 11 is Ancient History, while in grade 12, the topic is European history. Neither of these two grades would have any Canadian history in the course. In grade 13 the topic reverts back to Canadian and American history, but the texts are only suggested and not compulsory as they are for the lower grades. Grade 13 texts are therefore eliminated from the working definition.

4. This study will not attempt to pass any judgment as to the worth of any of the texts examined. Words, phrases and concepts will be exhibited in order that each reader may judge for him or herself the relative value of the book.

5. No attempt will be made to judge the accuracy of the material presented in the books. In a few instances inaccuracies are pointed out when the example is too obvious to be passed over.

6. In doing the content analysis of these textbooks, the individual characteristics of men such as Brant, Tecumseh and Poundmaker have been ignored. This has been done because the authors tend to treat these individuals as exceptions rather than as individuals with characteristics general to many Indians.

7. I have treated original source material within the text as an integral part of the book. This was done because children reading the text will probably not differentiate between what the author wrote and what the author chose to be included in this book.

8. Certain words were not included in either the positive or negative column, since the words were not obviously either, examples are: ardent, bold, dependent, hard, mistaken, tough and zealous. Words such as these were given a zero rating by the Indian Brotherhood of Manitoba.

9. The terminology in the textbooks examined for this study refer only to Canadian Indians. All North American Indians are included until the American Revolution, and after 1783 only references to Indians in British held territories are used. When the 49th parallel was accepted

as the boundary between Canada and the United States, only references to Indians in Canada are considered. The reason for this distinction is the difference in the attitude towards Indians, and the difference in treatment of Indians in Canada and the United States.

10. References to Indians in Central America, Mexico, South America and the West Indies are never included in this study.

11. References to the Eskimos or Inuits, are also disregarded for the purpose of this study. If a reference is unclear and it is difficult to decide to whom the author is referring, the word is not included. An example of this is, "The northern savages were unfriendly". Both 'savage' and 'unfriendly' would be disregarded. Words with unknown meanings, such as 'Skraelings' (in reference to the first natives encountered by the Vikings) will be disregarded in this study.

CHAPTER 4  
ANALYSIS OF MATERIAL

Overview

A total of 65 books were examined in this study. The books were randomly chosen from the texts available to the writer. The books ranged from 300 to 500 pages each. If 400 were accepted as an average number, 26,000 pages (approximately) were examined.

A total of 4,913 descriptive words alluding to Indians were extracted from the texts. The highest number in a single text was 290 in book number 65, while 7 books had no references to Indians at all. In examining the references, it is interesting to note that there are 4,048 negative references to Indians, and only 865 positive ones. Only one book, number 15, had more positive than negative references. This book had one positive reference and no negative references.

The word most often used to describe Indians was "savage", used 359 times, while they were called "killers" 322 times and "warlike" 274 times. The most popular positive references were "ally" used 267 times and



"friendly", used 224 times. In all the texts there were 21.4% positive and 78.6% negative references.

### Results of Hypothesis Tests

#### Hypothesis I

History textbooks used in Ontario schools since 1850 reflect a negative stereotyped image of Indian people.

The 65 books examined were divided into decades, with the books published before 1900 grouped into one section.

#### Up to 1900

There are 6 books that were published before 1900, with 286 references to Indians in them, 236 negative and 50 positive. This makes an average of 39.3 negative and 8.3 positive references per book. The word most often used to describe Indians in this era was "savage" (22) the most often used positive term was "ally" (10).

None of the six texts in this section have much to say about Canada's earliest inhabitants. (Clement, in The History of the Dominion of Canada, says that "The history of the Indian prior to the discovery of America rests on mere tradition." (Clement, 1897:9) The others state the history and culture in a few short paragraphs. Buckley (Buckley, 1891:194) and Hodgins, (Hodgins, 1866:

124) state "In colour, form, temperament, religious belief, and pursuits, all were alike."

"Clement's white, European Christian supremacy"

(Lupul, 1976:2), is exemplified by statements such as:

Indian Religion was purest superstition...  
Of one God over all he seems to have had  
no idea, and his notion of heaven was of a  
happy hunting-ground where departed spirits  
would have full enjoyment of every sensual  
and savage desire. (Clement, 1897:13)

Buckely in Public School History of England and Canada dismisses the Indian with this statement: "Nor were the people now known as North American Indians the first to inhabit this Continent, as many remains exist of a more civilized race." (Buckley, 1891:193) Adams in Public School History of England and Canada was very succinct: "War and hunting were their principal occupations." (Adams, 1886:143)

#### 1901-1910

Two books are included in the 1901-1910 section. In these books there are 241 references, 216 negative and 25 positive. The average number per book is 108 negative and 12.5 positive. The most used words to describe Indians were "savage" (19) and "killer" (19). The most frequently used positive reference was "ally" (6).

During this period, Indian ideas about religion and action during fighting were discussed in very derogatory terms. Duncan states that Indians were "very superstitious, having strange ideas about nature", (Duncan, 1905:15). He says, "The Indian idea of a 'supreme being' was not a high one." (Duncan, 1905:17) Robertson describes the gallant missionaries who "attempt to civilize them and convert them to Christianity." (Robertson, 1902:196) Both books deal with the success the missionaries had with the Hurons. "It was not long before nearly all the Hurons became converted to Christianity and left off their heathen practices and habits." (Robertson, 1902:198)

The Indians, in Duncan's and Robertson's books, are described as "child-like", (Duncan, 1905:10:136:102; Robertson, 1902:203), relishing the freedom of roaming the forest and enjoying nature. (Duncan, 1905:10:136; Robertson, 1902:194) But in war, both authors relate the tortures used in gory details, with the "sensitive" and "frail" Lalément "tortured for seventeen hours before his sufferings were ended in death." (Robertson, 1902:199) The aspect of cannibalism is depicted by Duncan when he claims "one chief tore out and devoured his heart." (Duncan, 1905:80)

1911-1920

Between 1911 and 1920 there are two books in the study with 201 references of which 187 are negative and 14 are positive. The average number per book is 93.5 negative and 7 positive. The most used negative term is "savage" (20) and the most used positive terms are "attractive", "eloquent", and "happy" used twice apiece.

Both Grant's book Ontario High School History of Canada and the Ontario Public School History of Canada paint lurid pictures of the Indians' ingenuity in discovering new torture variations. One says, "the ground was strewn with dead bodies, and corpses were hanging where the Indians had tortured their victims the night before." (Ontario Minister of Education, 1912:60) While Grant writes, "The Sioux tore out the eye of the captives, cut off the hands of others, ...". (Grant, 1914:56)

The main desire of the explorers was made very clear;

Champlain's dearest object was to Christianize the Indians, who were living like brute beasts without faith, without law, without religion, without God. (Ontario Minister of Education, 1912:28)

1921-1930

Four texts representing the years 1921-1930 are included in this study. In these books were 583 references to Indians of which 534 were negative and 49 were positive.

The most used word referring to Indians was "savage" (97), while "ally" (23) was the most used positive reference.

The texts of this era are most vehement in their attacks on the character, life style and intelligence of the Indians.

Three of the books begin the history of Canada with the coming of the Europeans while Wallace in A First Book of Canadian History (1928) devotes three and a half pages in the first chapter to "The Indians". Wallace, in A History of the Canadian People (1930), sums up the attitude of the texts in this era:

A vast literature has grown up about the Indians, and much might be written about their history before the discovery of America. But the truth is that this history has little practical importance. The conquest of America by Europeans drew a red line across American history; and the civilization of America to-day owes very little to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. (Wallace, 1930:10)

Wrong depicts the Indians "howling like wolves", (Wrong, 1921:18) and "more like hogs than men". (Wrong, 1921:215). Indian children are "dirty, neglected, and half-starved", but "from contact with their dirt and squalor the nuns did not shrink". (Wrong, 1921:49) Grant speaks of "the daily nausea of life in an Indian village". (Grant, 1922:53)

Wrong describes his view of the "drunken" Indian when he says, "An Indian, with the craze upon him for drink, would sell anything he had for brandy - his cabin, even his wife and children". (Wrong, 1921:64)

Wallace relates the fate of the Beothuks:

In Newfoundland were the Beothuks, a very primitive race, the last survivor of which disappeared over a century ago. (Wallace, 1930:9)

No mention is made of how or why these natives "disappeared".

Wallace calls the natives of Canada "backward" and "savages of a primitive type" (Wallace, 1930:7-8), while Wrong depicts Indians as having "dim minds", and colourfully describes "the wild dancing of their naked women". (Wrong, 1921:31)

The authors of this era have a very condescending attitude towards the Indians. Wrong describes "The pagan Indians as they looked on in wonder" (Wrong, 1921:47), and says that "for long years they remained, in spite of Christian teaching at heart still savages". (Wrong, 1921:29). But the ultimate gift is to have a white man "show his missionary zeal by standing as godfather to an Indian convert of the Jesuits". (Wrong, 1921:49) Wallace states his belief on the origin of the Indians saying, "that they had been inveigled to America by the devil". (Wallace, 1930:4)

#### 1931-1940

Daniher's Britain and the Empire (from 1603) is the only text located that was published during this time span. Indians were mentioned only twice in passing, and the only evaluative reference was the word "friendliness".

In Parvin's book Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950 (1965), the only authorized Canadian History text is Stewart's book A First Book of Canadian History (1928). This text was authorized from 1928 until 1949. (Parvin, 1965:137). This book was authorized for use in Ontario schools for 21 years and it has 96 negative references and only 5 positive references to Indians.

1941-1950

There are seven authorized texts representing the 1941-1950 time span. These books have 531 references to Indians, 447 negative and 84 positive. The most used word is "savage" (39) and the most used positive reference is "friendly" (29).

This time period seems to be the first in which we see more than one authorized text per grade. The era of multiple resource materials has arrived. From this time on the teacher may choose the book s/he wishes to use in the classroom.

Brown, in Building the Canadian Nation and Lower and Chafe in Canada - A Nation practise some 'selective history' in relating the story of Canada's beginning. Brown writes that Cartier "found the natives friendly and eager to trade ..." (Brown, 1942:4) But of the third voyage Brown writes, "The Indians became hostile", "Brown, 1942:5) and Lower and Chafe note that "six years later Cartier came out again, ... but the experience was a hard one and the Indians turned unfriendly, killing a number of his men". (Lower and Chafe, 1948:28) These authors seem to have forgotten the kidnapping and subsequent death of the kindly Donnacona and other members of his tribe.



Brown does much to give the students a somewhat positive view of the Indian with statements about the Indians' "great cleverness in making use of their resources", (Brown, 1942:14) and helpfulness towards the pioneers "which made life in the New World easier". (Brown, 1942:18). But all the authors destroyed any positive image of the Indian by their descriptions of

The Indian drunkard... who does not resist the drinking craze when brandy is at hand. But afterwards, when he sees himself naked and disarmed, his nose gnawed, his body maimed and bruised, he becomes mad with rage against those who caused him to fall into such a state. (Brown, 1942:57)

Dickie writes,

The Indians, crazed by the whiskey, killed parties of white men and fought with each other. Scalps fell on every side. Drunkenness, robbery and murder became the order of the day in the camps. (Dickie, 1950:337)

The prime object of the European was, once again, to bring religion to the Indians. "They made up their minds to build a new mission, which would mend the bodies and souls of the poor savages". (Brown, et al, 1950:61) They waited for a time when "missionaries might be brought out to teach them [Indians] a better way of life". (Lower and Chafe, 1948:36) The missionaries encountered problems because "The Indian was attached to his super-

stitutions, to his belief in magic, to his feasts and ceremonials which were often no better than wild orgies". (Brown, 1942:39)

Authors in this decade disregarded the Indians as unimportant impediments to the real Canada with statements such as, "Europeans were forced to conquer the Americas slowly", (Brown, 1942:9) and, "Remembering the courage and the suffering of our forefathers in winning Canada for us makes us better Canadians". (Dickie, 1950:84)

Other authors such as McInnis (1945), Taylor (1945), and Rogers (1950), simply chose to ignore the fact that Indians existed. In Rogers' history of Newfoundland, there is not one word about the existence of Indians in that province, even though genocide was committed on the Boethuk Indians. In Canada and her Neighbours, Taylor managed to tell the whole story of Jacques Cartier's discovery of Canada and have "Indian village" (Taylor, 1947:9) the only mention of the word Indian.

Donalda Dickie made classic statements such as, "These first Canadians all looked more or less alike". (Dickie, 1950:12) Or perhaps the whole era could be summed up with another quote from Dickie:

The ships of all the sea-going nations met there, fought, rammed each other, killed Indians, made them crazy with brandy so that they killed each other. The long, adventurous, romantic story of the Canadian fur trade had begun. (Dickie, 1950:49)

### 1951-1960

The affluent society is reflected in the 19 choices offered to teachers in this decade. There were 1540 references to Indians with 1246 being negative and 294 positive. The word most often used to describe Indians was "killer" (142), with "friendly" (122) the most used positive reference.

It is important to note that of the 19 books examined in this section, four have no references to Indians, and one has only a single reference word. The average negative and positive words are 65.6 and 15.5 respectively. If these 5 books were removed, the averages would be all the way up to 89 negative and 21 positive references.

It is amazing to find a history of Canada from Cabot to World War 2 that does not include any references to Indians. Brown's Canada and the Commonwealth (1953) is such a book. Hodgetts' Decisive Decades (1960) and Lambert's The Twentieth Century (1960) are histories of Canada post-confederation to the 1950's that manage to cover Canada's story in great depth and detail without

mentioning the natives of Canada. Ricker, Saywell and Rose in The Modern Era (1960) ignore completely the presence of Indians in Canada. The index does not contain the words "Indian", "native", "Iroquois" or "Algonquin". In a section called "Colour Prejudice at Home", Ricker, Saywell and Rose show their complete lack of concern for the native population by saying, "In Canada the problem [colour prejudice] is a slight one, because the coloured population is so small". (Ricker, et al, 1960:373)

Indicative of many of the books in this era is Deyell's Canada: The New Nation. In the chapter called "Overview of Canada" the only mention of Indians is "The Iroquois had been quelled". (Deyell, 1958:6) With this one statement Deyell dismissed the colourful history of the many tribes of Canadian Indians.

In this decade we see the first signs that authors are trying to show something positive about the Indian way of life. Nine of the books have sections on the different Indian cultures (#3, 11, 14, 16, 23, 24, 26, 58, 60) and six of the books mention the many Indian contributions that made life easier for the pioneers. (#3, 24, 26, 41, 58, 60). Four of the books even mentioned Indian art. (#16, 23, 24, 26).

One book, Canada: The Struggle for Empire by Creighton, created a first for Canadian history by

writing a positive description of Indian religion. Most of the other books were true to form with denigrating statements such as:

There was no happiness or hope in the religion of these Indians. (Chatterton, et al, 1954:176)

His eyes fell upon an ugly, wooden idol, known to the Indians as "Manitou". (Tait, 1960:452)

They are savage and heathen who must be shown the way to heaven. (Deyell, 1958:7)

They were living without faith or law, without God, without religion, like brute beasts. (Deyell, 1958:107)

... it was a center of Christianity in a land of savages. (Field and Dennis, 1960:81)

... many of them sacrificed their lives in their heroic attempt to save the souls of the Indians. (Garland, 1960:78)

Another positive attribute in this era's books is the tendency to acknowledge the fact that there are still Indians alive today. Three books (#3, 11, 58) mention the establishment of reservations and state that this is "where most of their descendants live today". (Brown, 1953:132) Garland records that, "Many of them fought bravely for their country during the world wars". (Garland, 1960:15) Garland also sets a new precedent in Canada Then and Now when she includes a section called "Indians today"; a page and a half on modern Indians. (Garland, 1954:11-12)

The depiction of the Indian character though, has not changed much. The authors are condescending, saying, "They learned that the Indians must be regarded as human beings, and that they must have land of their own". (Creighton, 1960:331), or "The great white mother wants her children to be safe". (Deyell, 1958:387) The emphasis on lurid descriptions of torture is continued. Garland describes the torturing of Brébeuf, "pouring boiling water over his head and throwing a necklace of red-hot tomahawks around his neck". (Garland, 1954:65) Garland also paints a picture of Indian warfare, recording that "men, women and children were massacred and scalped by the Indians, or dragged away captives". (Garland, 1960:191)

The pictures used in Garland's book Canada Our Country Part 1 also reinforce the negative Indian stereotype portrayed in the text. Note the look of glee on the Indians' faces as they torture their victims in picture 1.

When the Huron Indians learned that the Iroquois were coming to attack St. Louis, they begged Father Brébeuf and Father Lalemant to flee to Ste. Marie, where the Indian women and children had taken refuge. The brave priests refused to go. Ten years before, Brébeuf had made a vow that he would not shrink from death. Even the Iroquois were impressed by his courage under torture.



Picture 1

(Garland, 1960:79)

Picture number 2 reinforces the idea of Indians killing helpless women and children. Pictures such as these, and statements by McDougall and Finn saying, "Needless to say, these four were burned to death in the victory celebration", (McDougall and Finn, n.d.:151) would convince any reader that Indians had little regard for human life.



The Iroquois massacre of the defenceless citizens of the Huron town of St. Joseph.

Picture 2

(McDougall and Finn, n.d.:149)

George Tait in Fair Domain described the Indians in this way, "Rushing forward, the Iroquois cut open his body, dipped their hands in his blood and rubbed it on their faces". (Tait, 1960:104) Deyell describes the Indians, "Shrieking with joy they murdered all the Hurons they could find". (Deyell, 1958:111) Hardy describes the



Indian method of fighting,

As the whites inside, startled and only half awake, began to shout and struggle, a blast of rifle fire blazed. Knives, stabbing through the canvas, finished the work ... The canvas was pulled aside. The killers mutilated the corpses. (Hardy, 1960:247)

In Canada in North America to 1800, Brown et al sum up the white opinion of the relationship between Indians and whites.

... New France was attacked by the English Colonists in the same way. It was sad to see white men acting like their Indian allies. (Brown, et al, 1960:210)

Descriptions of Indians drinking show up during this decade. Five texts (#6, 23, 26, 29, 58) mention the effects of alcohol on Indians. Garland mentions that, "A group of drunken Indians could be very dangerous". (Garland, 1954:323), while Hardy notes that alcohol "crazed the Indians into wild orgies and killings". (Hardy 1960: 287)

In Canada in North America to 1800, Indian drinkers are described in this way:

When they set about drinking...the women go into the woods, afar off, where they hide with all their children. After that the Indians have a fine time, beating, injuring, and killing one another. (Brown, et al, 1960:49)

While Tait, in Fair Domain writes:

They become intoxicated very quickly and are then maddened. They run about naked, and with various weapons chase people day and night. (Tait, 1960:164)

There are some instances in the texts of this decade where extremely negative ideas are proposed. Brown, Harman and Jeanneret write,

... and some of the British leaders even said that the Indians should be hunted down with dogs if necessary, and their whole race done away with. (Brown, et al, 1960:255)

Creighton also expresses the same idea when she writes:

Some people suggested that they should be given all the rum they wanted, to kill them off. "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" seems to have been their idea. (Creighton, 1960:325)

But the *pièce de résistance* is quoted from Hardy:

...to select twenty-five men to go "Indian hunting", and setting "for every buck scout ... \$100, and for every squaw \$50, and \$25 for everything in the shape of an Indian under ten years of age". (Hardy, 1960:71)

### 1961-70

The decade between 1961 and 1970 is the first, and only, time when a positive word "ally" (83) is the most used reference to Indian. "Attackers" (75) is the most

used negative word, and suprisingly enough "savage" is still used forty-four times. There are a total of 920 references in this section, 736 negative and 184 positive. There are fourteen books in the study, but four of the books have no references to Indians. (#2, 3, 10, 11)

In this era, there seems to be an increased tendency to include some mention of the Indians' contributions to Canadian culture. Willows and Richmond in Canada: Colony to Centennial (1970) include a section on different Indian cultures and their contributions of the likes of snowshoes, canoes and pottery. Field and Dennis mention the poetry of Pauline Johnson, the daughter of an Indian chief, in their section on "Canadian Literature".

Moir and Saunders mention that Indians showed the whites how to survive, but then destroy this positive aspect by lumping all Indian cultures together with statements such as, "The American Indians of the prehistoric age can be divided into three main cultures", (Moir and Saunders, 1970:14) "All Indians were fond of their children and seldom desciplined them", (Ibid, 1970:14) and, "Most Indians believed in one supreme spirit, Manitou, ...". (Ibid, 1970:16)

MacEwan and Foran in West to the Sea write five pages on Indian life. Suprisingly, in Chapter Two, "Furs - the West's First Industry", and Chapter Three, "Pioneers and Adventurers", Indians are mentioned in passing only. There is no mention of what they are doing or where they are living at the time. For example the authors say,

A few thousand people lived in and around Fort Garry, with the French-speaking Metis outnumbering all others. A few hundred people lived in and around Fort Edmonton. Apart from these two, no settlement between the Red River and the Rockies had more than a few dozen inhabitants. (MacEwan and Foran, 1968: 68)

It is interesting to note that MacEwan and Foran include a great deal more information on the life and demise of the buffalo than they do on Indian culture, and that Indians are never mentioned again after they are placed on the reserves.

Besides the four books that do not mention Indians at all, a number of books ignore the existence of Indians, except when they cause a problem for the whites. "For many years the people of the east had thought of the west as a land suitable only for the Indian and the fur-trader". (Garland, 1961:280) George Tait wrote an entire chapter on "Canada in 1900", but he did not mention the Indians. (Tait, 1962:406-13) Herstein and Kirbyson (1970) wrote one paragraph on the origin of Indians.

A new trend seems to be emerging in the 1961 to 1970 books. A few of the books mention treachery on the part of the white men towards the Indians. The method of acquiring Indian land is described by Field and Dennis,

In 1827 Chisholm bought from the government of Upper Canada 960 acres of the Mississauga Reserve at the mouth of Sixteen-Mile Creek. It was good land, level and fertile, for it was covered with magnificent trees. (Field and Dennis, 1962:53)

Needless to say, the Indians were moved to a new village.

Willows and Richmond make a startling revelation when they state that the Boethuk Indians in Newfoundland were "persecuted by the white man". (Willows and Richmond, 1970:3) In the decade before, Chatterton et al followed the usual explanation saying, "The Newfoundland Indians seen by Cabot were probably Boethuks. All members of this tribe were killed soon after 1800". (Chatterton, et al, 1954:106)

Many of the books of this decade seem to try to justify the placement of Indians on reserves. (#7, 30, 36, 53, 59, 64). Johnson writes that reserves were to protect Indians,

Government policy concerning Indians have changed over the years. The original intention, principally, was to protect Indians from unscrupulous persons and from themselves. (Johnson, 1968:69)

George Tait describes the reason for reserves in One Dominion under the name of Canada,

It was obvious that something had to be done to assist the Indians and to prevent dangerous disturbances. Eventually, it was decided that the Indians should sign treaties in which they gave up claim to much of their old hunting-grounds and agreed to live on reservations. (Tait, 1967:361)

The usual blackening of the Indian character continued unchecked in this era. Descriptions of savage Indian attacks and cruel methods of torture are found in many of the books that mention Indians. Brock tried to get Hull to surrender by saying that the Indians would be "beyond control the moment the contest commences". (Field and Dennis, 1962:24) MacEwan and Foran state that,

Even after the introduction of guns, many Indians continued to use bows and arrows because such weapons allowed for noiseless hunting and, sometimes, more slaughter. (MacEwan and Foran, 1968:13)

Willows and Richmond state that Indians would, "... pick one or two prisoners for extreme torture at a victory celebration". (Willows and Richmond, 1970:5), while Moir and Saunders describe "unspeakable tortures" and "barbaric cruelty". (Moir and Saunders, 1970:52,91)

Herstein and Kirbyson surpass all with their story of the death of a young woman at the hands of the Indians.

The shrieks and groans of the poor expiring wretches were truly dreadful; and my horror was much increased at seeing a young girl, seemingly about eighteen years of age, killed so near me, that when the first spear was stuck into her side she fell down at my feet, and twisted around my legs... As two Indian men pursued this unfortunate victim, I solicited very hard for her life; but the murderers made no reply till they had stuck both their spears through her body and transfixed her to the ground... the Indians paid not the smallest regard to the shrieks and agony of the poor wretch, who was twining around their spears like an eel! (Herstein and Kirbyson, 1970:142)

The "drunken" Indian receives a great deal of attention in this era. Statements such as, "The Indians got drunk continually", (Herstein and Kirbyson, 1970: 56), "... drunk and disorderly Indians", (Moir and Saunders, 1970:84) "drunken brawling Indians", (Tait, 1967:360) and, "A group of drunken Indians could be very dangerous" (Garland, 1961:297) are found in many books.

Garland and Brown, et al warn what happens when Indians start to drink:

Many of the Indians craved liquor and would barter anything they had for it. (Garland, 1961:297)

When the Indians drank whiskey, they became very dangerous. Often after they had been drinking whiskey, they would begin to fight with one another and sometimes they were badly hurt or even killed. (Brown, et al, 1961:287)

The main aim of the Europeans, according to these texts, seems to be the Christianizing of the Indians.

Lord Selkirk's object was the good of the natives, and theirs alone...civilizing and evangelizing the natives. (Herstein and Kirbyson, 1970:146)

Moir and Saunders speak of "trying to raise the moral and physical standards of the Indians". (Moir and Saunders, 1970:18), while Willows and Richmond state that, "... their main objective was the conversion of the Indians". (Willows and Richmond, 1970:44)

Some of the authors became very subtle in expressing their ideas. The results are some of the most damning statements about Indians in this decade.

Willows and Richmond insinuate a great deal about the cleanliness of Indians when they write, "but unfortunately the area swarmed with mice and lice. An old Indian camp had once been located there". (Willows and Richmond, 1970:225)

Moir and Saunders seem to endow the Christianization of Indians with some sort of mystical force. They write, "Champlain had always opposed the sale of firearms to Indians unless they became Christians". (Moir and Saunders, 1970:51)

The parallelism used by Garland in this statement seems to deny humanism, or bravery, to Indians. "The



American army lost many brave men and thousands of Indians were killed". (Garland, 1961:216)

MacEwan and Foran make numerous questionable statements, but two are sure to create negative ideas in young minds.

The way native people engaged in inter-tribal warfare showed how lightly they regarded killing.  
(MacEwan and Foran, 1968:80)

Montana people were not ready to let any of their citizens be taken to another country for trial and, perhaps hanging, just for killing a few Indians.  
(MacEwan and Foran, 1968:82)

#### 1971-1980

The word most used in this decade to describe Indians is "attacker" (62), while the most used positive reference is "ally" (48). There were 612 references in 10 books, with 425 negative and 167 positive in connotation.

This last decade seems to show a difference, by most authors, in their treatment of the Indian segment of Canadian history. On an average there are more positive references per book than any other decade in the study, and the negative references, on an average, are lower than any period except the pre-1900 era.

The greatest differences show up in the references to Indian activities in the texts. Many authors have inter-

jected a distinctly positive view of Indian religion, culture and contributions to Canadian history.

Evans and Diachun referred to the Alberta Indian Chiefs "Red Paper" which suggested, "That the stereotype of the Indian as a drunk or savage be ended". (Evans and Diachun, 1976:303) This reference to the actual stereotype of Indians is the first that this author has encountered. In Call Us Canadians, there is a section on prejudice and stereotyping that states, "In this unit you will be studying the treatment of the Indian over the centuries". (Martinello and Evans, 1976:44) By alerting the students to the presence of prejudice, the texts then take on a whole new meaning.

Many of the texts in this decade have a distinctly different attitude towards Indian religion. One author writes,

Father Brébeuf faced the realization that most Indians preferred their own religion and had little desire to be converted. (Stewart and McLean, 1978:80)

In Canada: Discovering our Heritage, Smith tells the stories of Indian spirits with honour and respect, quite different from Kirbyson, who writes, "An Algonkin lovingly preserved a hair, which he worshipped as a little divinity". (Kirbyson, 1977:48) But other authors, such as Martinello and

Evans, exhibited respect for Indian beliefs, saying,

Although the Indians were called "pagans" by the first Europeans, they had a deep religious life of their own. (Martinello and Evans, 1976:69)

Students reading books written in this decade are told, quite convincingly of the Indian contributions to the growth of this continent. Smith speaks of "learning how to grow Indian crops" and "learning from the Indians". (Smith, 1977:56:65) He suggests that "many settlers were totally dependent on them [Mohawk Indians] for their food supply". (Smith, 1977:204) Evans and Diachun mention that "the Europeans learned many useful and even life-saving things from the Indians". (Evans and Diachun, 1976:299)

To illustrate the difference in attitude from even one decade ago, examine the following statement:

They had not discovered the wheel, that simple but essential tool which had been known in Asia and Europe for several thousand years. (Moir and Saunders, 1970:13)

Compare this to Stewart and McLean's statement of 1978:

The first people who came to this northern land developed a technology based on the level of their scientific understanding and suited to a land of long winters and heavy snows. (Stewart and McLean, 1978:145)

Five of the books in this era contain a section on Indian culture (#44, 50, 54, 55, 56). Herstein and Kirbyson in 1970 said that the Indians "had little time to develop an art or a literature". (Herstein and Kirbyson, 1970:25), but Stewart and McLean in 1978 said, "their art literally soared into the skies". (Stewart and McLean, 1978:33 One statement showing the great change from the earlier texts was found in Call Us Canadians:

The Europeans who first had contact with the Indian tribes of North America were amazed at the richness and variety of the cultures they saw.  
(Martinello and Evans, 1976:49)

In earlier decades most authors over-emphasized the torture scenes. In this decade, it seems to be a mixture of both over-emphasis and under-playing. Riddoch describes an Indian attack in these words:

In 1648-49 they [Iroquois] swept down on the Huron settlement and killed almost everybody, including missionaries Brébeuf and Lallement. (Riddoch, 1979:40)

While Kirbyson describes an Iroquois attack in this way:

... they [Iroquois] throw themselves upon the old men and the children and the women ... they wrench, they cut, they gash, they burn, they tear out the nails of those whom they wish to lead in triumph into their country. (Kirbyson, 1977:72)

David Smith tries to show the feelings of the Indians when he writes, "Our concepts of value differ from those of the descendants of European settlers". (Smith, 1977:3) While Kirbyson ridicules with a statement such as this: "Bodies were anointed with oil, the more rancid the better; as a young buck stalked past his smell was as exciting as his finery". (Kirbyson, 1977:47)

The attitude towards reserves changes in some of the 1971-1980 texts. In earlier books the reserves were for the protection of Indians, but Martinello and Evans write, "Their [settlers] greed for land eventually pushed the Indians into small corners of a land that once belonged only to them". (Martinello and Evans, 1976:94)

This decade of authors produced a variety of controversial, enlightening and sometimes tragic statements. The story of the Beothuks comes full circle, when finally one book admits what really happened. "They suffered badly at the hands of the newcomers. They were hunted, and killed as though they were wild animals". (Stewart and McLean, 1978:11) No euphemisms, no vagueness, just straight fact; the Beothuks were killed, to the last child, by the white settlers.

The word "half-breed" shows up in every decade of writing, but it is amusing to note the explanation of "half-breed" given by some authors. Howard, Riddoch and

Watson say, "These people were of mixed blood, the descendants of fur-trading men and native people". (Howard, Riddoch and Watson, 1976:46) Most probably the "native people" mentioned were women, and perhaps some of the Métis were even born from white women and Indian men.

A reversal of word choice shows up for the first time.

When a group of whiskey traders...  
slaughtered a large number of children,  
women and men of an Assiniboine (Stoney)  
Band. (Stewart and McLean, 1978:67)

Part of their assignment was to find a  
gang of Montana renegades who had mas-  
sacred a band of innocent Assiniboine  
Indians... (Martinello and Evans, 1976:222)

Most of the authors up until this time had the Indians "slaughtering", while the whites "killed" or "wiped out" their enemies.

Most encouraging in the authors of this decade is their ability to expose what is good and bad about all the participants in Canada's history. Smith writes, "Father says that the leaders are to blame for the trouble we have had with the Indians". (Smith, 1977:54). Kirbyson writes concerning scalping that:

...it seems to be the white people  
who carried the idea west and in-  
troduced it to the people of the  
prairies. (Kirbyson, 1977:45)

Instead of showing the Indians 'all bad' and the whites 'all good', the authors are far more realistic about human nature.

Also encouraging is the authors' statements about the future and Indians. In earlier books the Indians seem to cease to exist after the rebellion in 1885, but in these books of the 70's, McDevitt, Scully and Smith write,

The Native People are increasingly concerned with the loss of their traditional life style. They are also questioning the values of the new industrial society. (McDevitt, Scully and Smith, 1979:56)

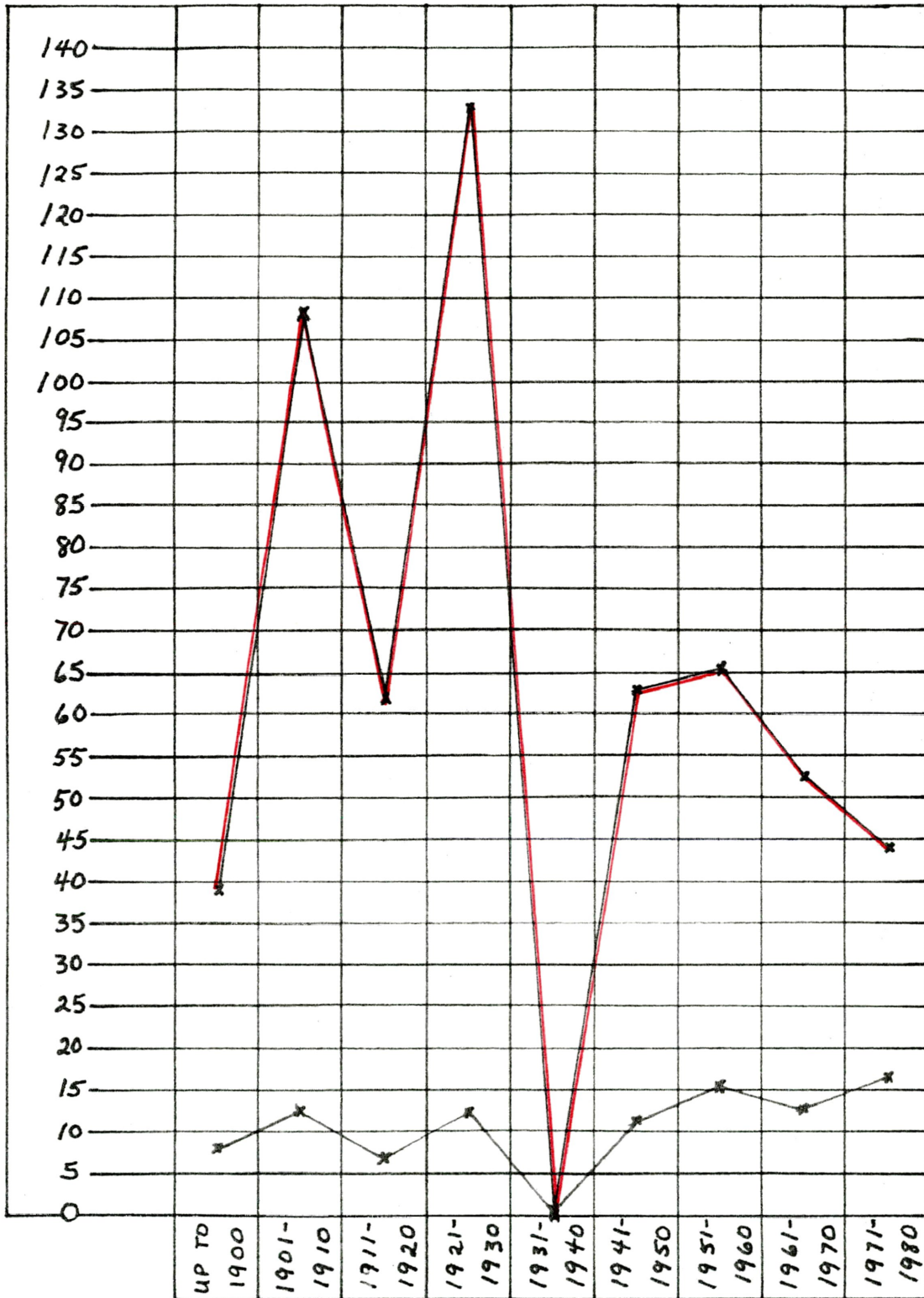
It is expected that a new policy towards the Native Peoples will emerge in the 1970's. (Evans and Diachun, 1976:303)

If not the 1970's, perhaps the 1980's.

CHART 1

75a

GRAPH SHOWING FREQUENCY OF STEREOTYPED TERMINOLOGY



Black - positive  
Red - negative

Simple count -  
Average number of words per text



CHART 2

POSITIVE EVALUATIVE TERMS MOST FREQUENTLY  
USED IN REFERENCE TO INDIANS

(Reference must appear at least 5 times)

<u>Up to 1900</u> (5 books)	<u>1900-1910</u> (2 books)
ally            10	ally            6
<u>1911-1920</u> (2 books)	<u>1921-1930</u> (4 books)
none	ally            23
	friendly       9
<u>1931-1940</u> (1 book)	<u>1941-1950</u> (7 books)
friendly       1	friendly       29
	ally            21
	clever          7
	proud          6
<u>1951-1960</u> (19 books)	<u>1961-1970</u> (14 books)
friendly       122	ally            83
ally            76	friendly       35
clever          5	courageous    6
happy           5	loyal           6
intelligent    5	helpful        5
<u>1971-1980</u> (10 books)	
ally            48	
famous         10	
peaceful       8	
happy           7	
helpful        6	

Note: For a complete list of terms used in this study in reference to Indians see Appendix pages 121-125.

CHART 3

NEGATIVE EVALUATIVE TERMS MOST FREQUENTLY  
USED IN REFERENCE TO INDIANS

(Reference must appear at least 5 times)

<u>Up to 1900</u> (5 books)		<u>1900-1910</u> (2 books)	
savage	22	savage	19
cruel	14	killer	19
fierce	12	enemy	13
half-breed	12	murderer	10
massacre	12	half-breed	9
<u>1911-1920</u> (2 books)		<u>1921-1930</u> (4 books)	
savage	20	savage	97
torturer	16	half-breed	46
warlike	13	torture	34
half-breed	13	massacre	33
cruel	10	warlike	32
<u>1931-1940</u> (1 book)		<u>1941-1950</u> (7 books)	
none		savage	39
		attack	38
		killer	33
		warlike	31
		enemy	24
<u>1951-1960</u> (19 books)		<u>1961-1970</u> (14 books)	
killer	142	attackers	75
savage	98	warlike	59
warlike	91	killer	48
massacre	65	savage	44
raiders	56	half-breed	40
<u>1971-1980</u> (10 books)			
attackers	62		
killer	43		
warlike	33		
raiders	24		
half-breed	23		

### Hypothesis II

Writers of history texts have created and perpetuated a negative image of the Indian people by obliterating their existence, defaming their character, disparaging and belittling their culture and disembodimenting their continued existence as a separate culture.

### Results

Virgil Vogel showed in the "Indian in American History Textbooks" that historians writing American history textbooks have used "obliteration", "defamation", "disparagement" and "disembodiment" to create a false impression of American Indians; this study shows that Canadian historians have done exactly the same thing.

The use by historians of "obliteration", "defamation", "disembodiment", and "disparagement" to create or perpetuate false ideas about native Indians, is very clear. It is difficult to separate each of these concepts completely since they often overlap.

Their use does not necessarily flow from conscious malice. More probably, they result from confinement within the narrow limits of the discipline, unfamiliarity with the other social sciences, and the mindsets and assumptions imposed by the historian's own cultural background.  
(Vogel, 1968:16)

This study has already proven that these methods have been used against the Canadian Indians with varying degrees of intensity over the years. Now this author will show examples from textbooks that illustrate "obliteration", "defamation", "disembodiment" and "disparagement". Virgil Vogel wrote "The Indian in American History Textbooks" in 1968, and since that time there seems to have been a change in Canadian textbooks. Perhaps it was coincidental to other changes in Canadian society, or maybe Vogel drew attention to a serious flaw that historians had not been conscious of.

#### Obliteration

Perhaps the most serious flaw in Canadian textbooks is not the biased presentation, but rather the complete blackout of the Indian population. History seems to start at the arrival of Europeans to North America and the word "Indian" disappears from texts when reserves are fully established and the Rebellion of 1885 is quelled. Many texts predict the early extermination of Indians, and some even advocate extermination as the quickest, neatest method of solving 'the Indian problem'.

Conscious falsification of material is unacceptable in school textbooks, but to ignore unpleasant happenings is just as deplorable. If a historian is selective in

his/her choice of material for a book, s/he could be writing historical fiction.

Many authors simply ignore the existence of Indians. Keep in mind that to qualify for this study, a book must cover the history of at least four provinces, for at least one hundred years. Yet seven textbooks did not mention Indians at all, and ten texts mentioned Indians between one to ten times. Two of the latter books are in the 1971-1980 era.

Many of the earlier history books started with statements such as:

When the white man first came to our country, over the greater part of it ranged small bands of dark-skinned men of good features and athletic form. (Grant, 1914:9)

or,

The inhabitants of Canada, when the first Europeans found their way to its shores, were what we now call Indians. (Wallace, 1930:4)

Some books give token recognition to the fact that Indians had been present in North America for countless years before the Europeans arrived. Brown, et al devoted one paragraph in The Story of Canada to the history of the Indian race. Canada - A Nation reads, "The story of America begins on that morning, October 12, 1492, ...". (Lower and Chafe, 1948:24)

In 1960 Garland in Canada Our Country Part 1 devoted the entire first chapter to the history of Indians before the whites arrived. It wasn't until the 1970's that books such as Call Us Canadians went back to 7000 B.C. and traced the history of the Indians to the present. (Martinello and Evans, 1976:23)

Another method of obliterating the history of Indians was simply to cover up any episodes that reflected ignominiously on the author's race. The most obvious of these episodes is the extermination of the Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland. In 1930:

In Newfoundland were the Beothuks, a very primitive race, the last survivor of which disappeared over a century ago. (Wallace, 1930:9)

In 1954:

The Newfoundland Indians seen by Cabot were probably Beothuks. All members of this tribe were killed soon after 1800. (Chatterton et al, 1954:106)

In 1978:

They suffered badly at the hands of the newcomers. They were hunted, and killed as though they were wild animals. (Stewart and McLean, 1978:11)

At last, an explanation of how a tribe could "disappear", or who "killed" them.

Some authors actually change historical data so that the facts fit their own version of what took place.

Edith Deyell writes:

Cartier showed, however, that he intended to come back, because he took with him Donnacona, the Chief of the Indians at Quebec. (Deyell, 1958:53)

In New World Social Studies the story goes like this:

Just as they were leaving, Cartier invited several Indians on board. Before the astonished natives knew what was happening they were on their way to France. (Chatterton, et al, 1954:98)

These fabricated stories of Donnacona's "trip" to France was quite different from the actual facts. Donnacona and his people were kidnapped to lend colour and credence to Cartier's plea for more money to travel back to the New World. None of the Indians lived to see North America again.

In their effort to obliterate the presence of the Indians, some authors predicted and even advocated the extermination of the Indians.

McDougall and Finn note that "Starvation during the next winter killed the Indians more effectively than knives or bullets". (McDougall and Finn, n.d.:151), while Creighton advocated a more painless method:

Some people suggested that they should be given all the rum they wanted to kill them off. (Creighton, 1960:325)

The extermination plans were never successful, but Indians were effectively obliterated from textbooks for quite a few decades.

### Disembodiment

The view of the Indian as a wild beast in the path of civilization has never died. It was a dominant theme in the treatment of Indians by historians until quite recently. It still lurks in history books in phrases like "Indian menace", "Indian peril", "savage barrier", and "obstacle to settlement". (Vogel, 1968:19)

This pattern is followed by many authors in this study, using such phrases as: "Iroquois Scourge", (Brown, 1942:Chapter VI), "Iroquois menace", and "Iroquois peril", (Lower and Chafe, 1948:55:57), "the Indian menace," (Moir and Saunders, 1970:68:82:83:173), "the Indian threat", (Stewart and McLean, 1978:186), "the Indian threat", (Riddoch, 1979:99), and Evans and Martinello, as late as 1978 saying:

Many towns and villages had been built and farms cleared, in spite of many obstacles. These included a harsh climate, thick bush and, at times, the hostility of local Indian tribes. (Evans and Martinello, 1978:201)

Many authors show disembodiment of the Indians by acknowledging them only as sub-human nomads, part of the animal world of the wilderness yet to be conquered.



Duncan describes the Indian life as, "... a wretched existence, often in a state of starvation which drove them to cannibalism". (Duncan, 1905:6-7) Wrong says the white man changed the Indians from "... living more like hogs than men ...". (Wrong, 1921: 215) Lower and Chafe in Canada - A Nation speak of the Indians as inanimate objects or animals, saying:

... for when the beaver of one area had been trapped out, and the local Indians used up (whether through English rum or French brandy, the result was much the same), there was nothing else to do but go farther west, after untouched supplies, both of beaver and Indians. (Lower and Chafe, 1948:98)

Creighton expresses the disembodiment theory when she writes:

They [British] did not seem to be able to think of the Indians as human beings, but rather as some kind of wild and dangerous animal of which they had better be rid. (Creighton, 1960:325)

Field and Dennis show the Indians as "unpersons". "In the colony of Quebec there were at that time three groups of people, excluding Indians". (Field and Dennis, 1960:245) Hardy likens the Indians to animals, saying, "Soon the Indians were being herded like cattle onto reservations". (Hardy, 1960:308) Aileen Garland expresses the same sentiment saying:

For a long time the western plains were left to the jack rabbit and the prairie dog, to the wolf and the coyote, to the Indian and the buffalo. (Garland, 1961:176)

Kirbyson mentions that "... bounties were paid for dead Indians", (Kirbyson, 1977:45) just as bounties were paid for wolves.

Besides being likened to animals, many authors perpetuated the belief that all Indians were hunters and developed few other skills. Buckley and Robertson, as early as 1891, say that the earliest inhabitants were

... followed by a fiercer and ruder people that cared for little except hunting and fishing, making war and roaming the forests. Very little interest was taken by them in tilling the soil, a few tribes growing small quantities of maize or Indian corn. (Buckley and Robertson, 1891:194)

Adam and Robertson remark that, "War and hunting were their principal occupations". (Adam and Robertson, 1886:143) In 1928 it was noted that "The men spent their lives in hunting, fishing and fighting". (Wallace, 1928:3) Again in 1942, Brown wrote, "Those throughout almost the whole of present day Canada lived by hunting and fishing". (Brown, 1942:15) McDougall and Finn perpetuate the myth into the 1950's saying:

The Indians living in that part of the continent lying north of the Rio Grande never progressed much past the nomadic (wandering) life of their Asian ancestors.

(McDougall and Finn, n.d.:63)

As late as 1968 MacEwan and Foran still wrote, "All the Canadian tribes were more or less nomadic".

(MacEwan and Foran, 1968:15)

It wasn't until the 1970's that books such as Forming a Nation included chapters on the varied cultures of the Indians. Included in these chapters were sections on Art, Lifestyle, Traditions and Changes. (Stewart and McLean, 1978)

#### Defamation

Defamation is the practise of denigrating the Indian by drawing attention to his faults, but not to his virtues. This denigration took the form of describing Indians as having inferior intelligence and powers of adaptability. Also it shows the Indian as an idle, shiftless savage who is perpetually at war. Defamation points out the extreme cruelty used against an enemy, and finally it depicts Indian religion as inconsequential, and points out the necessity of Christianizing them.

In 1858 George Hodgins wrote: "War was the chief occupation of the Indians", (Hodgins, 1858:45-6), and

Robertson continued in 1902, "the men when not hunting, fishing, or fighting, lived a lazy life, and spent their spare hours sleeping, gambling, and storytelling". (Robertson, 1902:194) Grant mentions "his love of inflicting torture", (Grant, 1914:18), continued by Wrong in 1921, when he wonders how "to soften the savagery of these terrible natives. (Wrong, 1921:51)

References to the savagery and cruelty of Indians continued right up to 1980, but more and more often the reasons for these actions were explained, and references were also made to the beneficial actions of the Indians. Smith reports that, "The first settlers would likely have all died if these Indians had not given them food". (Smith, 1977:54) Riddoch points out a fact ignored in many earlier books. "The help that Indians gave to Cartier when his men were dying of scurvy is widely known". (Riddoch, 1979:41)

In earlier books the Indians were referred to as "pagans" and "heathens" who must be converted to Christianity. The authors wrote that, "Indian religion was purest superstition". (Clement, 1897:13) "Missionaries of the Cross were done to death at a nearby village with every torture which the cruel minds of the Iroquois

could devise". (Wallace, 1930:84) In 1954 Chatterton et al wrote that, "The Jesuits fought bravely against the rude beliefs of the Indians". (Chatterton et al, 1954:112) Willows and Richmond were still saying in 1970 that, "the priests had to overcome the strong superstitions of the Indians". (Willows and Richmond, 1970:46)

It was not until 1978 that Stewart and McLean wrote, "Father Brébeuf faced the realization that most Indians preferred their own religion and had little desire to be converted". (Stewart and McLean, 1978:80)

#### Disparagement

Disparagement occurs when authors deny the extensive contributions the Indians have made to the Canadian culture. The most prevalent statements made by authors are that Indians did not have any culture; neither art, nor literature, nor science, and that Indians were so primitive that they would not offer anything to the highly developed newcomers.

Wallace says "They had no knowledge even of such a simple invention as the wheel ... On the whole, it is clear that the original inhabitants of Canada were of a somewhat primitive type ... Only a few of them cultivated

the soil; and these grew almost nothing but Indian corn or maize". (Wallace, 1928:3) In 1942, Brown acknowledged that, "they [Europeans] found in America potatoes, Indian corn, and other useful plants which they had previously not known". (Brown, 1942:11) He does not mention that the Indians had domesticated more than forty plants, (Vogel, 1968:22) which they shared with the newcomers. McDougall and Finn are harsher in their judgment:

Whereas the North American Indian became almost extinct, and have failed to exercise much influence on the development of Canada and the United States ... (McDougall and Finn, n.d.:74)

After 1970, some of the texts began to acknowledge and describe some of the Indian inventions. (Stewart and McLean, 1978:145)

Indian medicine, literature, art or scientific knowledge was denied any recognition for many decades.

Jeffers simply states, "They had no books", (Jeffers, 1879:6) while finally in 1976, Martinello and Evans state:

Despite their lack of a developed system of writing, the Indians were able to develop a fine oral tradition. (Martinello and Evans, 1976:57)

Stewart and McLean include two chapters of the Art, Lifestyle and Traditions of the Indians. This seems more

logical, since, "Indian mythology constitutes our most authentic American folk-lore". (Vogel, 1968:24)

When speaking of a cure for scurvy, Lower and Chafe say, " they had not heard of Cartier's simple remedy, ...", (Lower and Chafe, 1948:32) No mention is made of the fact that Cartier's men had almost all died before an Indian told him how to cure scurvy. David Smith in 1977, included a story on how Indians healed wounds and relieved pain, in his text Canada: Discovering our Heritage. (Smith, 1977:6:10)

Herstein and Kirbyson state in 1970 that Indians had " little time to develop an art or a literature". (Herstein and Kirbyson, 1970:25), while eight years later Stewart and McLean remark that " their art literally soared into the skies". (Stewart and McLean, 1978:33)

Many decades passed while history textbook authors obliterated the existence of Indians, defamed them by misrepresenting their natures, disparaged Indians by denying their contributions to Canadian society and disembodied Indians by referring to them as a sub-human race that must be incorporated into the greater Canadian society. There is some evidence that this situation is changing.

Bernard De Voto says:

Most American history has been written as if history were a function of white culture - in spite of the fact that well into the nineteenth century the Indians were one of the principal determinants of historical events ... American historians have made shockingly little effort to understand the life, the societies, the cultures, the thinking, and the feeling of the Indians, and disastrously little effort to understand how all these affected white men and their societies.  
(Vogel, 1968:17)

The negative image of Indians perpetuated by obliteration, defamation, disparagement and disembodiment has continued to dominate history textbooks until the 1970's. After 1971, texts seem to continue, to a lesser degree, to promote a negative image, but to temper this image with a variety of positive images. (See chart 4, page 92) For a complete chart on all the books in the study, see Appendix, page 109-113.



## CHART 4

FREQUENCY OF STATEMENTS THAT SUPPORT  
OR DENY VOGEL'S THEORY

YEAR	OBLITERA- TION		DEFAMA- TION		DISPARAGE- MENT		DISEMBODI- MENT	
	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
Up to +	33	2/6	0	0/6	0	0/6	0	0/6
1900 -	100	6/6	100	6/6	100	6/6	16	1/6
1901 +	50	1/2	0	0/2	50	1/2	0	0/2
1910 -	50	1/2	100	2/2	50	1/2	0	0/2
1911 +	0	0/2	0	0/2	50	1/2	0	0/2
1920 -	100	2/2	100	2/2	50	1/2	50	1/2
1921 +	50	2/4	0	0/4	50	2/4	0	0/4
1930 -	100	4/4	100	4/4	75	3/4	25	1/4
1931 +	0	0/1	0	0/1	0	0/1	0	0/1
1940 -	100	1/1	0	0/1	0	0/1	0	0/1
1941 +	57	4/7	14	1/7	57	4/7	0	0/7
1950 -	100	7/7	86	6/7	43	3/7	85	6/7
1951 +	37	7/19	11	1/19	58	11/19	5	1/19
1960 -	68	13/19	74	14/19	21	4/19	32	6/19
1961 +	57	8/14	0	0/14	29	4/14	0	0/14
1970 -	86	12/14	64	9/14	21	3/14	43	6/14
1971 +	60	6/10	50	5/10	60	6/10	30	3/10
1980 -	60	6/10	20	2/10	10	1/10	70	7/10

+ positive references that support Vogel's theory

- negative references that deny Vogel's theory

Note: Percentages overlap sometimes because both positive and negative imagery is present in one book.

Hypothesis III

History texts have changed their treatment of Indians since 1900. I suggest that the major change occurred during the 1960's.

According to the evidence presented in Chart 1 on page 75a, Chart 2 on page 76, and Chart 3 on page 77 , this hypothesis is false. The attitude towards Indians showed no measurable change until the 1971 to 1980 texts were examined. The average number of negative words compared to positive words describing Indians up to 1970 was 66:13. After 1971, the average changed to 43:17. The number of books containing references used to promote a negative image of Indians decreased from a high of 100% in the 1800's to a low of 60% in the 1971-1980 era; while the books containing positive images of the Indians went from 33% in the 1800's to 60% in 1971-1980. Why did this change take place?

The books used in this study provide an answer to this question.

Canada, in the late 1800's needed immigrants, especially hard working farmers to fill up the prairies so that the Americans would not annex our territory.

British traditions prevailed everywhere in Canada outside of Quebec, and therefore it was logical that immigrants from the British Isles and Americans were the most sought after. These two groups were followed by northern, western, central, southern, and eastern Europeans, Jews, orientals and blacks, in that order.

Between 1896 and 1914, Canada accepted about three million immigrants, and as a result the non-British and non-French minority grew to be approximately 22 per cent of the population. Naturally, the newcomers were encouraged to adopt Anglo-Saxon values. Ethnic food, customs, language and folklore were frowned upon as backwards.

After World War I, another wave of immigrants reached Canada, and the 'melting pot' idea was born. The Anglo-Saxon, French culture would fuse with the immigrant culture, and a Canadian culture would emerge.

World War II brought about many changes in Canadian thinking. The all-out war effort caused Canadians to work together as they never had before, (except for the Japanese in British Columbia, who had a whole new set of problems to deal with). In 1951, the federal government created a Nationalities Branch to look after the interests of Canada's ethnic groups. The Nazi atrocities

served to discredit racism and racists the world over. Post-war prosperity, combined with a war-torn Europe, encouraged another wave of immigration to Canada.

This was fertile ground for a new policy of multiculturalism introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on October 8, 1971. This policy accepts that in Canada many cultures co-exist, and have a right to do so. This policy pledged government help to preserve the culture and identity of Canada's many ethnic groups. The federal program has two basic aims:

1. to help the ethnocultural groups to keep their identity
2. to persuade the rest of society to accept them as Canadians. (Taylor, 1980:5)

Multiculturalism was designed to include all ethnic groups under the umbrella of Canadian culture, and this policy brought a new awareness to the Canadian people. Immigrants from other lands benefited from this new policy, but so did another group present in Canada. Suddenly, "Indian" became another ethnic group. Authors became aware of derogatory stereotypical imagery, and tried to write books from a more objective point of view. This change in Canadian policy had widespread effects on the attitudes of Canadians to "other" people.

This change seems to be reflected in the textbooks published after 1971. A nine year span is hardly enough to project a new awareness on Canadian authors, but a further study in twenty years would indicate whether this trend continues.

Hypothesis IV

Pictures on the cover of History Texts will change as the attitudes towards Indians change.

This hypothesis turned out to be impossible to prove or disprove for a number of reasons.

The vast majority of texts did not have pictures of people on the cover. Forty-one out of sixty-five or 63%, did not have humans on the cover. There were six books in the study that had been rebound. The rebound books had non-descript covers, either plain or gold embossed, but there were no clues as to the original picture.

Two books (3%) had only Indians on the cover, while 11 (17%) had only whites present. Four books had the Indians in a subordinate position, while one had Indians in a dominant position. Four books, two in 1951-60, and two in 1971-80, had Indians in equal positions on the cover.

An example of an Indian in a subordinate position would be an Indian kneeling at the feet of a white man, or an Indian carrying a heavy burden while the white man walks unfettered. Indians in an equal position was considered as a picture showing an Indian having equal status with a white man, either standing side by side, or doing work of equal value.

The chart on page 98 shows that no pattern seems to emerge from the use of pictures on text books.

CHART 5PICTURES ON COVER OF TEXTBOOKS

YEARS	NO PEOPLE PRESENT	ONLY INDIAN PRESENT	ONLY WHITE PRESENT	INDIAN SUBOR- DINATE	INDIAN DOMIN- ANTE	EQUAL STATUS
Up to 1900	5		1			
1901 to 1910	2					
1911 to 1920	2					
1921 to 1930	4					
1931 to 1940	1					
1941 to 1950	4			2	1	
1951 to 1960	11	2	2	2		2
1961 to 1970	6		6			
1971 to 1980	6		2			2

This study has demonstrated that textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools do have an overwhelming excess of negative descriptions of Indians. Overall there are more than four times as many negative references as there are positive. (Hypothesis I)

Virgil Vogel's allegations that writers of history texts have perpetuated a negative image of Indians by the use of obliteration, defamation, disparagement and disembodiment, is proven by this study. It is not until the 1971-80 era that this practice seems to change and the Indian's contributions to Canadian society are recognized. (Hypothesis II)

It was suggested that there would be a change in the treatment of Indians in textbooks, and that this change would take place in the 1960's. A change was discovered, but not until the 1971-80 textbooks were examined. Depending on the amount of time taken to write and publish a book, this may have reflected a change that took place in the 1960's, but was not reflected in textbooks until the 1970's. (Hypothesis III)

The pictures used on the face of the textbooks in the study do not seem to fit any discernible pattern.



No trend seems to emerge in the use of the various peoples, therefore this study has concluded that pictures used on the covers of these books have no significance in the study of Indians. (Hypothesis IV)

CHAPTER 5SUMMARY OF STUDY

Not long ago Frideres claimed:

Walker (1971) characterized Canadian historians in their analysis of Indians in Canada as ignorant, prejudiced and in some cases, dishonest. While one could argue that the positions taken in history books are idiosyncratic and simply reflect any individual viewpoint, when one analyzes the content of all history books, a common theme emerges. (Frideres, 1974:xvi)

This study has proved Frideres correct, a common theme has emerged. From 1850 to 1970, textbooks in Ontario have depicted Indians as "savage", "pagan", "killers" who have contributed nothing except "bloodshed" and "cruel methods of torture" to our society. The trend seems to have changed after 1970, but it is far too soon to tell whether texts have actually changed or this is simply a passing phenomenon.

After 120 years of biased textbooks, every person educated in Ontario has been affected in some way by the books used in the classroom, or in the case of the students that have been educated since 1971, by the teachers that have guided their learning.

Our educational system is based on the premise that people are influenced by what they read ... (Fisher, 1968:130)

Implications for Education

The results of this study will affect a number of aspects of Education. Teachers and department heads who order books should be aware of the quality of books already present in their school. Authors and publishers must become aware of what is unacceptable to Ontario Schools. All educators must become aware of the implications of this study on Indian and non-Indian students in our schools.

Therefore all teachers must become aware of their own educational background with its inherent biases and prejudices. Once this awareness has been achieved, the teacher may then guide his/her pupils through the maze of stories and history texts, pointing out the obvious mistakes and misrepresentations.

Teachers could also lobby for the removal of the worst of the texts, in favour of some of the newer, more representative books.

The stereotypical language and ideas depicted in the study books are not necessarily prejudicial in themselves, but are primarily rationalizers.

They adapt to the prevailing temper of prejudice or the needs of the situation. While it does no harm (and may do some good) to combat them in

schools and colleges, and to reduce them in mass media of communication, it must not be thought that this attack alone will eradicate the roots of prejudice. (Allport, 1979:204)

What can educators do to attack, at least the roots of prejudice?

Authors and publishers need to write and publish books that will sell. That means that no-one could expect the colour and vitality to be taken from the stories presented.

While it is highly probable that the savage, war-like image is appealing to children and therefore contributes to the readability of books it may be that the frequency and potency with which this image and others appeared in the three series under investigation could disadvantageously affect both inter-cultural relations and the self-image of Indians. (Fowler, 1971:50)

Billington wrote that "history is a dangerous subject to be handled with caution". (Billington, 1966:40) Authors must realize that objective writing can only be achieved by placing historic events in their proper prospective. They must make children aware of the prejudices and hostile feelings of the persons who reported what the Indians said and did. It is imperative that children, especially the impressionable young people in grades 7, 8 and 9, know that the Indian way of looking at life is very different from theirs.

Textbooks are an integral part of the teaching situation. Until man invents some other medium more precise and more able to express and explain ideas, textbooks will remain as the principal teaching tool; "... what they say, what they imply, and what they omit is important". (Marcus, 1963:7)

Authors and textbook publishers must search their souls to find a way to meet the challenge of producing exciting, readable history.

They must train themselves to select from the multitudinous records of the past the exact facts and interpretations needed to present an accurate, not a distorted image of the events they are describing. (Billington, 1966:40)

History is only a reflection of the bias and prejudices of the writer.

As an Indian it has been very difficult for me to begin thinking about my place in society. It's very difficult because I have been told since early childhood by white teachers and clergymen and community development officers that my background is one where people are stupid. (Frideres, 1974:101)

Judith Kleinfeld in "Positive Stereotyping: The Cultural Relativist in the Classroom" poses a question about what effect a 'teachers stereotyped cultural role expectations' may have on Indian students. Allport

writes that stereotypical ideas develop in the very young child (age 4), and are firmly in place by the time a child is 15 years old. (Allport, 1954:303:310)

A teacher who is 60 years old today would have his/her prejudices well defined by 1935, this means that the books in use between 1925 and 1935 helped form his/her biases and prejudices. If one examines the history textbooks of this era, it becomes obvious that the predominant ideas relating to Indians were, that they were "savage", they were "obstructions to progress", or else they were non-existent. This teacher would be working in the classroom between 1940 and 1980, using the textbooks available and teaching, probably without being aware of his/her own prejudices.

Each decade towards the present, the teachers becomes younger but the content of Ontario history books remained the same. It stands to reason that every teacher in the system today (who was educated in Ontario) received the same message, from older teachers and from flawed books.

A textbook remains in the classroom for a number of years, but even when it is retired as the principal text, it usually remains in the library for reference purposes.

A department head and librarian should, therefore, be aware of this problem and constantly review the reliability of the books present.

Teachers must also be aware of the conflicting views of different authors. Historical writing cannot avoid being subjective, but if the teacher is aware of this fact, the potential damage to the students can be averted. To avoid certain texts would not be a practical solution, but a teacher could include a variety of different material, expressing a number of opinions, and in this way, show the students that even authors can disagree on historical facts.

Using textbooks that are biased against one race of people will have grave consequences not only for the race that is maligned, but also for the rest of the students present. If an Indian reads derogatory material about his own race, the result may be bitterness and a negative self-image that may affect the child's whole life. Since "our educational system is based on the premise that people are influenced by what they read ..." (Fisher, 1968:130), when non-Indian students read the remarks and descriptions in most of the textbooks before 1971, they will undoubtedly adopt some of these attitudes, probably for life.

The Indian has lost a great deal, perhaps irrevocably, but deserves to retain his/her racial pride and dignity. Educators must be sensitive to the needs of the Indian student, so that school will be a rewarding and meaningful experience.

#### Conclusion

The textbooks in Ontario have been proved to be prejudicial and biased against Indians. Since 1971 the books seem to have changed somewhat to a more balanced presentation of the Indian place in Canadian history, but it will take two or three more decades until it is possible to draw a definite conclusion as to the improvement of the texts. More research is needed to discover the effect on the Indians themselves of over one hundred years of textbooks that describe Indians as "savage", "heathen", and "uncivilized killers".

The learning environment of Indian school children must be changed, to restore the dignity of the individual and his pride in family home, and heritage. Only then can every Indian child in Ontario receive the benefits and opportunities for learning to which he has the right. (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1968:111)



In April of 1982 Jim Fleming, Minister of Multiculturalism, released the results of a Gallup poll, which suggests that fully one-third of the 2,000 people polled across the country support the idea of an all-white society in Canada. This poll suggests that we must attack first the stereotypical language in our history texts in order to eradicate the building blocks of prejudice, and then make a concerted effort to destroy the racial prejudice that seems to be present in our society.

A P P E N D I X

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Picture on Cover	No Picture of People	Indian Present	Indian Subordinate	Indian Dominate	Equal
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Author \_\_\_\_\_

Title \_\_\_\_\_

City: Publisher, Date \_\_\_\_\_

Authorization \_\_\_\_\_ Level \_\_\_\_\_

Themes \_\_\_\_\_ for each time mentioned  
 x for opposite theme

OBLITERATION (Ignore fact Indians exist)

1. Before Europeans Arrived \_\_\_\_\_
2. Indian Solution (Reserves) \_\_\_\_\_
3. Since W. W. I \_\_\_\_\_

DEFAMATION (Purposely attack character of Indians)

1. Indians are Child-like \_\_\_\_\_
2. Savagery of attacks \_\_\_\_\_
3. Religion Inconsequential \_\_\_\_\_

DISPARAGEMENT (Belittle Indian Accomplishments)

1. Indians only in relation to whites \_\_\_\_\_
2. Indian cultures all same \_\_\_\_\_
3. No literature or science before whites \_\_\_\_\_

DISEMBODIMENT (Indians wish to be lost in Can. culture)

1. Natives becoming modern \_\_\_\_\_
2. Natives want Can. Society \_\_\_\_\_
3. Soon Natives assimilated \_\_\_\_\_

Pontiac's Uprising \_\_\_\_\_

Destruction of Beothuks \_\_\_\_\_

Stereotype - Write words in appropriate column.

Positive

Negative





TAXANOMY OF CONCEPTS AND RELATED EVALUATIVE TERMS

able .....	efficient
admirable .....	excellent
afraid .....	lost courage
ally .....	allegiance, allies
ambush .....	ambuscade, lying in wait, trap
angry .....	wrath
animalistic .....	bawling, brute beasts, creatures, creeping, debauchery, forest tigers, hogs, human wolves, like bears, like wolves, mules, pounce, screeching, slinking, snaked, swooping, wasps, whooping
attractive .....	good features, well proportioned bodies
bitter .....	embittered
blood-thirsty .....	eager for blood, lust for blood, sanguinary
bold .....	audacious, boldness, daring
capture people .....	kidnap
clever .....	subtle
conspirator .....	cunning, guile, intrigue, schemers, sly, stealthy, wily
corrupt .....	demoralize
courage .....	courageous, fearless, heroic, fortitude, spartan, unflinching, valiant
cruel .....	battered, beating, brutal, cruelty, demon, devil, fiendish
dependent .....	protected

destroy .....	devastate, extirpate, ravaging, raze, smashing, wreck
determination .....	determined, dogged, stalwart, staunch
dirty .....	filthy, fleas, foul, greasy, lice, mice slovenly, smoke filled, squalid, squalor, unclean, untidy, unwashed bodies
disgruntled .....	cranky, difficult, discontented, dissatisfied, irritable, unhappy
distinguished .....	dignified
drunk .....	degrading intoxication, wild with liquor
eloquent .....	good speaker, grandeur of language
enemy .....	foe
famous .....	prestigious, renowned
false .....	faithless
fearful .....	alarmed, awesome, dreaded, nervous
fine .....	acute, keen, rare
free .....	democratic
friendliness .....	affectionate, befriend, companion, friend, friendly, sociable
glorious .....	spendour
good .....	better, best, moral, virtues
greatness .....	great
greedy .....	covetous, gluttony
happy .....	cheerful, good natured, joking, joy, laughing, not jealous, un- complaining, witty

harass .....	molest, persecute, thorn in side
hated .....	despised, disgusting, loathsome
healthy .....	robust
helpful .....	co-operative, sharing, willing
honour .....	esteem, eulogized, honoured, respected
horrible .....	grim, hideous, horror
hospitable .....	neighbourly
hostility .....	battler, brawler, conflict, feuding, fighter, hostile
humble .....	degraded
ignorant .....	dim minds, know little, knowledge gap, lack of education
immoral .....	depraved, naked women, vices
independent .....	individualistic, self-reliant
industrious .....	initiative
infidel .....	unbeliever
intelligent .....	astute, brilliant, good sense, knowledgeable
kind .....	sympathetic
killer .....	cut down, cut throats, deadly, eliminate, execute, extinction, pick off, slayer, spiller of blood
lawbreaker .....	lawless
lazy .....	lack industry, loafer
loving .....	caring
lurking .....	skulking

massacre .....	annihilate, decimate, exterminate, lay-waste, obliterate, wipe out
mean .....	nasty
merciful .....	clemency, compassion, humane, spared
murder .....	martyred, pierce with arrows
mutilate .....	burn people, cut people to pieces, eyes torn out, hack a body, lop pieces off, maim, mangle a corpse, nails torn out, stabbing
pagan .....	idolatry
pillage .....	loot, plunder, sack
pitiful .....	contemptible, human misery, refugee from starvation, sad condition, sorry, suffering, wretched
pitiless .....	relentless, ruthless, unrelenting, unsparing
poor .....	beggars, (people from) depressed areas, living from hand to mouth, poverty, relief
primitive .....	backwards, culturally deprived, illiterate, uncivilized
proud .....	arrogant, lordly
prowl .....	roam, roving
raider .....	invader, marauder
rebel .....	defiant, revolt
renown .....	famous, reputation
revengeful .....	reprisals, retaliation, vengeful
rioter .....	disorderly, eruption, outburst, uprising

rough .....	coarse, crude, harsh, rude
sad .....	unhappy
savage .....	savagery, sauvage
scalpers .....	scalping knife, scalp-lock, scalp-snatching
servitude .....	slave
skilful .....	adroit, craftsmen, dextereous, expert, good at, highly developed
smelly .....	reek, stink
strong .....	formidable, powerful
terrifying .....	blood curdling, frightful, terrible, terrorist
thief .....	robber, stealer, thievery
threat .....	alarm, dangerous, dread, frightening, need protection from
torture .....	excruciating, tormenter
trickery .....	lure, ruse
troublesome .....	intruder, irritating, meddlesome, scourge
ugly .....	ill looking
unable .....	incapable
unattractive .....	bad teeth, deformed, grotesque, peculiarly shaped, sickly looking
undisciplined .....	disorder, disorganized, confused
unselfish .....	generous, lavish
unreliable .....	undependable
useless .....	deserved destruction
vicious .....	malignant

violent .....	difficult to handle, enraged, frenzy, hot-headed, inflamed, infuriated, insane, mad, rage, run amuk, violence, wild-eyed
warlike .....	battle maddened, battle cries, eager for battle, fight perpetually, lust for war, war, warcloud, wardance, warfare, war-party, warpath, war route, warwhoop
weak .....	inconstant
welcome .....	pleasant
wild .....	revelry, untamed
wise .....	far sighted

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## EVALUATIVE TERMS MOST FREQUENTLY USED IN

## REFERENCE TO INDIANS

<u>Up to 1900</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>1900-1910</u>	<u>No.</u>
savage - .....	22	savage - .....	19
cruel - .....	14	killer - .....	19
fierce - .....	12	enemy - .....	13
half-breed - .....	12	murderer - .....	10
massacre - .....	12	half-breed - .....	9
ally + .....	10	torture - .....	9
destroyer - .....	10	cruel - .....	8
conspirator - .....	9	mutilate - .....	8
hostile - .....	9	warlike - .....	8
killer - .....	9	hostile - .....	7
murderer - .....	9	ally + .....	6
harass - .....	8	massacre - .....	6
torture - .....	7	raiders - .....	6
warlike - .....	7	revengeful - .....	6
enemy - .....	6	scalpers - .....	6

<u>1911-1920</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>1921-30</u>	<u>122</u> <u>No.</u>
savage - .....	20	savage - .....	97
torture - .....	16	half-breed - .....	46
warlike - .....	13	torture - .....	34
half-breed - .....	13	massacre - .....	33
cruel - .....	10	warlike - .....	32
vengeful - .....	8	ally + .....	23
scalpers - .....	8	killer - .....	21
killer - .....	7	cruel - .....	18
hostile - .....	6	vengeful - .....	12
wild - .....	6	scalpers - .....	12
massacre - .....	5	hostile - .....	11
animal - .....	5	murderer - .....	10
		animal - .....	9
		capture prisoners - ..	9
		cannibals - .....	9
		friendly + .....	9
		mutilate - .....	9
		barbarian - .....	8
		drunk - .....	8
		menacing - .....	8
		wild - .....	8
		enemy - .....	7
		dirty - .....	6
		horrible - .....	5
		raiders - .....	5
		terrifying - .....	5
		threatening - .....	5



<u>1931-40</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>1941-50</u>	<u>No.</u>
friendly + .....	1	savage - .....	39
		attack - .....	38
		killer - .....	33
		warlike - .....	31
		friendly + .....	29
		enemy - .....	24
		ally + .....	21
		half-breed - .....	21
		massacre - .....	16
		hostile - .....	15
		torture - .....	15
		capture prisoners - .....	14
		threatening - .....	13
		destroyer - .....	12
		raiding - .....	11
		squaw - .....	10
		murderer - .....	9
		terrifying - .....	8
		cruel - .....	8
		scalpers - .....	7
		hated - .....	7
		clever + .....	7
		dirty - .....	6
		menacing - .....	6
		proud + .....	6
		revengeful - .....	6
		unfriendly - .....	6
		fierce - .....	5
		thief - .....	5

<u>1951-60</u>	<u>No.</u>		<u>No.</u>
killer - .....	142	lurking - .....	11
friendly + .....	122	skillful - .....	9
savage - .....	98	treacherous - .....	9
warlike - .....	91	destroyer - .....	8
ally + .....	76	fearful - .....	8
massacre - .....	65	hated - .....	8
raiders - .....	56	rough - .....	8
attackers - .....	51	troublesome - .....	8
torture - .....	51	violent - .....	7
enemy - .....	43	ambushers - .....	7
hostile - .....	39	smelly - .....	6
scalpers - .....	37	blood-thirsty - .....	5
murderers - .....	32	clever + .....	5
fierce - .....	28	happy + .....	5
burned - .....	27	heathen - .....	5
unfriendly - .....	24	intelligent + .....	5
drunk - .....	24	kind + .....	5
half-breed - .....	23	loyal + .....	5
dirty - .....	22	merciless - .....	5
animals - .....	21	orgies - .....	5
thief - .....	20	proud + .....	5
cruel - .....	20	swarm - .....	5
threatening - .....	19		
capture prisoners - .	18		
squaw - .....	16		
mutilate - .....	15		
revengeful - .....	15		
slaughter - .....	15		
terrifying - .....	15		

<u>1961-70</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>1971-80</u>	<u>No.</u>
ally + .....	83	attackers - .....	62
attackers - .....	75	ally + .....	48
warlike - .....	59	killer - .....	43
killer - .....	48	warlike - .....	33
savage - .....	44	raiders - .....	24
half-breed - .....	40	half-breed .....	23
hostile - .....	39	savage - .....	20
friendly + .....	35	hostile - .....	19
raiders - .....	32	friendly - .....	18
threatening - .....	28	destroyer - .....	17
massacre - .....	23	capture prisoners - ...	14
capture prisoners - ...	22	enemy - .....	14
enemy - .....	20	famous + .....	10
destroyer - .....	19	peaceful + .....	8
scalpers - .....	19	threatening - .....	8
thief - .....	19	torture - .....	8
torture - .....	15	drunk - .....	7
slaughter - .....	14	happy + .....	7
murderer - .....	13	fearful - .....	6
revengeful - .....	9	helpful + .....	6
troublesome - .....	9	massacre - .....	6
ambushers - .....	7	pitiful - .....	6
burned - .....	7	rioter - .....	6
fierce - .....	7	strong + .....	6
menacing - .....	7	thief - .....	6
pillagers - .....	7	troublesome - .....	6
rioter - .....	7	ambush - .....	5
squaw - .....	7	angry - .....	5
courageous + .....	6	dirty - .....	5
cruel - .....	6	rebel - .....	5
drunk - .....	6	revengeful - .....	5
loyal + .....	6		
primitive - .....	6		
rebel - .....	6		
terrifying - .....	6		
fearful - .....	5		
helpful + .....	5		
harass - .....	5		

FREQUENCY OF STATEMENTS THAT PROVE  
OR DISPROVE VOGEL'S THEORY

	<u>BOOK</u>	<u>OBLIT.</u>	<u>DEFAM.</u>	<u>DISP.</u>	<u>DISEMB.</u>
Up to 1900	1+	✓			
	1-	✓	✓	✓	
	12+				
	12-	✓	✓	✓	
	32+				
	32-	✓	✓	✓	
	33+				
	33-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	35+	✓			
	35-	✓		✓	
	9+				
9-	✓	✓	✓		
1901-1910	19+	✓		✓	
	19-		✓		
	51+				
	51-	✓	✓	✓	
1911-1920	27+				
	27-	✓	✓		✓
	47+				
	47-	✓	✓	✓	
1921-1930	28+	✓		✓	
	28-	✓	✓		✓
	62+	✓			
	62-	✓	✓	✓	
	63+				
	63-	✓	✓	✓	
	65+			✓	
	65-	✓	✓	✓	

		<u>OBLIT.</u>	<u>DEFAM.</u>	<u>DISP.</u>	<u>DISEMB.</u>
1931-1940	15+				
	15-	✓			
1941-1950	2+			✓	
	2-	✓	✓		✓
	8+	✓		✓	
	8-	✓	✓		✓
	18+	✓	✓	✓	
	18-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	39+	✓		✓	
	39-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	43+				
	43-	✓			✓
	52+	✓			
	52-	✓	✓	✓	
	61+				
	61-	✓	✓		✓
1951-1960	6+			✓	
	6-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	5+				
	5-	✓	✓	✓	
	4+				
	4-	✓			
	3+	✓		✓	
	3-				✓
	11+	✓	✓	✓	
	11-		✓		✓
	14+			✓	
	14-	✓	✓		
	16+			✓	
	16-	✓	✓		
	17+				
	17-	✓	✓		

		<u>OBLIT.</u>	<u>DEFAM.</u>	<u>DISP.</u>	<u>DISEMB.</u>
1951-1960 continued	23+	✓		✓	
	23-		✓		
	24+	✓		✓	✓
	24-		✓		✓
	26+	✓		✓	
	26-		✓		✓
	29+	✓			
	29-	✓	✓		
	31+				
	31-	✓			
	38+				
	38-	✓			
	41+			✓	
	41-	✓	✓		✓
	49+				
	49-	✓			
	57+				
	57-		✓	✓	
	58+	✓		✓	
	58-	✓	✓		
60+			✓		
60-	✓	✓	✓		
1961-1970	7+	✓			
	7-	✓	✓		✓
	10+				
	10-	✓			
	13+				
	13-	✓			
	22+			✓	
	22-	✓	✓		
	25+	✓			
	25-	✓	✓		

		<u>OBLIT.</u>	<u>DEFAM.</u>	<u>DISP.</u>	<u>DISEMB.</u>
1961-1970 continued	30+	✓			
	30-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	36+				
	36-	✓	✓		✓
	42+	✓			
	42-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	45+	✓		✓	
	45-		✓	✓	✓
	46+				
	46-	✓			
	48+			✓	
	48-	✓			
	53+	✓			
	53-	✓			
	59+	✓			
	59-	✓	✓		
	64+	✓		✓	
64-		✓		✓	
1971-1980	20+			✓	✓
	20-				
	21+	✓			
	21-	✓			✓
	34+				
	34-	✓			✓
	37+	✓	✓		
	37-	✓	✓	✓	✓
	40+	✓			
	40-				✓
	44+	✓	✓	✓	✓
	44-		✓		
	50+		✓	✓	
	50-	✓			✓

		<u>OBLIT.</u>	<u>DEFAM.</u>	<u>DISP.</u>	<u>DISEMB.</u>
1971-1980	54+	✓	✓	✓	✓
continued	54-				
	55+		✓	✓	
	55-	✓			✓
	56+	✓		✓	
	56-	✓			✓

+ positive references that disprove Vogel's theory

- negative references that prove Vogel's theory



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