Canada has many nations within its borders, but the most prominent nations are English, French and Indigenous. From the mid nineteenth century to the late twentieth century, national identity was shaped through the use of school systems. There are historic moments where the Canadian school system experienced immense change, but it always continued to construct national identity. Since the creation of the public school system, education has always been provincially controlled.\(^1\) This resulted in federal acts and legislations, which were put in place to protected cultures and languages, not being enforced in schools. Both English Canada and French Canada used the school system as a tool to form specific identities within each nation. There is evidence that the provincial school systems not only promoted ideal national characteristics, but also attempted to eliminate minority nationalistic traits. By analyzing the history of the Canadian school system and the attempts made to construct identities through education, it is apparent that the Canadian school system was a tool used for constructing a nation’s identity.

There has been much debate on what constitutes as nationalism. This paper will argue that there are nations within Canada, and that a group of people who share a common language, history, or cultural background is determined a nation. Institutions, such as schools, are used by nations to either reflect or construct nationalism. Consequently, when attempting to construct a national identity, tensions may be created when the dominant nation places pressures on minority identities in order to conform to a homogenized identity. The mid nineteenth to late twentieth century is the best period to examine the shaping of nationalism through the use of schools. According to Robert Schertzer, there was an explosion of national conflict in the twentieth century when Canadian schools began to place pressures on minority identities.\(^2\) Schertzer also argued that Canadian schools did not understand nations and nationalism and that this caused

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tensions between minority nations. These ideas will be examined and explained in order to determine how schools were used to construct national identity.

English, French, and Indigenous nations have existed in Canada for centuries. By the 1760s, The British Royal Proclamation (1763) officially recognized First Nations peoples of Canada as a separate nation, which would thereby be under the protection, or control, of the King. This Proclamation recognized Native Canadians as an important partner in the development of Canada. There is evidence that First Nation peoples were in contact with European settlers since A.D. 1000. The British and French worked with the First Nations peoples to strengthen settlement through the use of missionaries, trading, and exploring. The British and French identified Indigenous territories and colonies within Canada and used these territorial boundaries for commercial trade. Yet, once European settlement was established, assimilation began. Separate school systems were later introduced to enforce Eurocentric ideologies and remove Indigenous identities from Aboriginal children.

Indigenous populations were not the only nation that was exposed to separate school systems. Prior to the Common School Act of 1850 there were distinctive schooling institutions that separated religious groups. The main groups included Irish Catholics, Scottish Catholic groups, and French-speaking Ontarians. These immigrant groups brought over education tools from their home countries, and implemented them in the Upper Canadian school institutions after they settled in Canada. For instance, many of the books used in Ontario schools were of American origin or were Irish National

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3 Schertzer, “Beyond Multinational Canada,” 196.
5 Takeda, “Pluralism, Identity, and the State,” 77.
6 Ibid., 77.
School books.\textsuperscript{9} These books were filled with political and social identity messages that were originally intended to be beneficial for the American and Irish home county, but once they were brought into Canada they were hindering the formation of the Canadian identity.\textsuperscript{10} The invasion of multiple identities caused anxiety among the political figures in Upper Canada. The American textbooks, in particular, were argued to be a threat to the British Canada self-identity.\textsuperscript{11} The Irish schoolbooks used in Ontario schools aided in promoting the ideology of British imperialism in Ontario.\textsuperscript{12} Meanwhile, French schools were promoting anti republican ideologies that were found in the United States, while also relying on the idea that the protection of the French language and culture would protect French identity.\textsuperscript{13} Once Upper Canada was united, between 1840 and 1867, both Ontario and Quebec had the majority of schooling focused around Catholic teachings.\textsuperscript{14}

American schoolbooks used in Ontario schools triggered anxiety that a loyalist-American identity would be promoted. In one particular example, found in a 1846 newspaper called \textit{The Tory}, the editor stated that “Every Canadian school book ought to be written by a Briton, printed by a Briton, and sold by a Briton.”\textsuperscript{15} The editor continued to argue that Canadian schoolbooks should be written and published by British publicists so that the British identity could be promoted.\textsuperscript{16} The editor also argued that Ontario children should be learning about Canadian and British history, geography and society in order to develop a British-loyal identity.\textsuperscript{17} It is apparent from these arguments that \textit{The Tory} wanted to support British people of Canada in order to make the British presence strong in Canada. Stephen Heathorn made a similar argument when he stated that

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{9} Walsh, “Education and the ‘Universalist,’” 653.
\item \textsuperscript{10} Ibid., 653.
\item \textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 653.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Ibid., 655.
\item \textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 655.
\item \textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 652.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 359.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 359.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 360.
\end{itemize}
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schools were a form of expressing propaganda of British culture.\textsuperscript{18} It is therefore clear that the structure of schools, curriculum, and books were created for the purpose of promoting imperialism.\textsuperscript{19}

Before 1840, schooling in Upper Canada was voluntary and informal.\textsuperscript{20} The household, community workshops, and the church were the primary source for childhood identity development.\textsuperscript{21} Children learned from their parents and family members, from their priests, and from community activities. Sunday schools and camps were also a source of education development.\textsuperscript{22} In larger towns, monitorial schools were organized by religious societies so that education would be available for children of lower status.\textsuperscript{23} By 1807, Upper Canadian legislature voted on funding for district grammar schools.\textsuperscript{24} These grammar schools provided children with the basics of religion and moral education.\textsuperscript{25} By 1816, legislation allowed for government aided local common schools, however these institutions were not well funded.\textsuperscript{26} It is apparent that these institutions attempted to teach children, from all social statuses, moral norms that the state deemed essential.

Language was a primary concern among different Catholic groups in Ontario. As stated previously, Irish Catholic groups, Scottish groups, and French-speaking Ontarian groups attended separate schools.\textsuperscript{27} The Catholic majority groups often questioned the

\textsuperscript{19}Heathorn, “Let Us Remember,” 396.
\textsuperscript{21}Prentice, \textit{The School Promoters}, 15.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., 15.
\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 16.
separation of schools. French Catholics were concerned that the French language would be lost with the separation of schools, but the Irish-Ontario Catholics were content with the Anglophone education system. The French and Irish tensions in Ontario festered within the dominating Anglican community. The tensions were created from the French-speaking Ontarians being aware that the French language was being supported in schools within Quebec and in France. As well, the rise of French-speaking citizens in Ontario along the border of Quebec posed a new challenge for the British cultural hegemony. These tensions escalated in the 1880s when Francophone politicians began to become angered by the lack of policy to accommodate French education needs. Schools in Ontario had gradually started to remove French in schools, and this led to an increase in schools joining the Catholic ‘separate school’ system. Therefore it is apparent that when Ontario schools did not properly support the French language, French-speaking peoples believed their French identity was at risk.

The mid nineteenth century was the point of immense change for the Canadian education system. Politically, Upper Canada and Lower Canada united to form the Province of Canada in 1841. Then Confederation in 1867 initiated the creation of the Province of Ontario. These transformations were accompanied by the formation of a provincial educational institution system. Voluntary schooling gradually became phased out, and legislation in 1847 encouraged municipalities to provide government grants to fun schools. The School Act of 1871 marked the point where free common school was offered and schooling became mandatory. This Act compelled all Ontario children

29 Ibid., 654.
30 Ibid., 654.
31 Ibid., 654.
32 Ibid., 655.
33 Ibid., 655.
36 Ibid., 16.
37 Ibid., 16.
between the age of 7 and 12 to attend public school for at least 4 years. The same educational development was happening in Quebec. Although, in Quebec mandatory school attendance was not legalized until 1940, there was still an increase in school attendance. The purpose of the school system was to create an education system that was uniform. At the corner stone of the new Ontario public school system was Reverend Egerton Ryerson. Ryerson was the founder of the Ontario school system, and the superintendent of Ontario schools from 1844-1876. Ryerson had strong political and religious goals for the Ontario school system. Based on these alternative aspirations, one may question the true purpose for the provincial school system. Historians, such as Marta Danylewycz, have argued that the creation of the school system in the 1840s may have been a product of mass ignorance of cultural minorities. The provincial school system was the ultimate tool for shaping Ontario’s youth into a desired citizen. The introduction of the Upper Canada school system allowed for the responsibilities of shaping nationalism to be passed from the parents to the Province. The introduction of the standardized school system triggered a dramatic increase in school enrollment. The average length that the schools stayed open increased, as did the size of the classrooms. By 1846, it was recorded that there was one teacher for every 35 students. Ryerson wrote many of the textbooks that were used in the school system. Within these textbooks, Ryerson outlined what he thought students ought to believe about man and

man’s obligations to society.\textsuperscript{45} Thus one can see that government controlled schools was a way for educators, preachers and priests to express their opinions about the moral needs and obligations of Upper Canadians.

Ontario schools in the 1860s educated students on man’s physical and psychological nature. The \textit{Journal of Education} declared in April 1860 that man’s was an animal and that “sensuality is the greatest enemy to human progress.”\textsuperscript{46} The \textit{Journal of Education} mimicked many perspectives as Ryerson in regards to the common schooling of children. Ryerson also preached to parents and students about the sins of the body, and ones moral duty. For instance, Ryerson gave a speech at John Street School in Toronto in 1860 cautioning students about the demands of the body and how sensuality “was the grave of all social progress.”\textsuperscript{47} One can see from these teachings that the school system was used as a tool to create the ideal, moral, citizen in society. Other educators supported this trend of thought as well. For example, John Strachan, the Anglican Bishop of Toronto in 1853, argued that the “Body and the Soul must be united” in order to create the perfect man.\textsuperscript{48} He also preached that education had to include both teachings of religion and knowledge.\textsuperscript{49} Therefore, one can see that the school system was used as a tool to properly distribute the teachings of Eurocentric morals, values, and ethics. The education system in Ontario provided the ideal environment to mold students into the ideal English citizen.

During the Ryerson Era, many minorities were becoming exposed to the new, standardized, education system. When Canada formed Confederation in 1867 and legislature of the United Canadas Act of 1857, it determined the gradual assimilation of Native peoples with the purpose to remove all legal distinctions between Native

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., 21.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 29.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 29.
Canadians and other Canadians.\textsuperscript{50} The Successive Indian Act (1876) issued the abolition of Native self-government, and implemented federal control of all social services and educational institutions.\textsuperscript{51} Residential schools were the primary tool for assimilating Native youth. Both the removal of traditional education practices of First Nations, and the introduction of Federally run educational institutions increased the European cultural influence onto Native children. The goal of federally run schools was to create “civilized” life through education.\textsuperscript{52} By removing Native children from their parental influences, local communities, and society, assimilation had a higher success rate. Residential schools and assimilation continued to develop throughout the early twentieth century. Canada was very public in their intentions to use schools as a way to shape Canadian nationalism, and remove First Nations nationalism. For example, a newspaper called \textit{Chilliwack Progress} (1901) reported, “[in the First Nations schools] the boys and girls are trained to be good citizens.”\textsuperscript{53} One can see that the Canadian society of 1900s was enforcing public obligations onto Indigenous peoples through separate schools. As well Duncan Campbell Scott, who was the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, stated to the House of Commons Committee in 1920 that the purpose of residential schools was to ensure that Indigenous peoples would be included in Canadian citizenship status so that they may support themselves in Canadian society.\textsuperscript{54} He continued to state that the objective of separate schools was to “continue [working] until there [was] not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into body politic.”\textsuperscript{55} One can see that the intentions of the Canadian Government in the 1900s were to deconstruct Native identity and force Indigenous conformity into British nationalism. By the 1950s, the federal government issued the Indian Act (1951) that enabled

\textsuperscript{51} Takeda, “Pluralism, Identity, and the State,” 78.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 78.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 81.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 81.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., 81.
indigenous children from attending regular public schools that operated in each province.\textsuperscript{56} This was done in order to keep Native children in a specialized institution so that more attention could be placed upon removing Indigenous culture and identity from the children. It is apparent that this was done in order to create a centralized focus on changing Indigenous nationalism.

The suppression of minority identities within public school systems can be identified in Canadian textbooks throughout the twentieth century. There is evidence of Historical racism found in Canadian history textbooks dated back to the Ryerson Era and early 1900s. English schools presented history textbook information by connecting racial identity to Canadian identity in order to construct Canadian nationalism.\textsuperscript{57} Textbooks that were authorized during the years of the Second World War until the 1960s were usually survey textbooks that taught children about European exploration, as well as a European view of Aboriginal peoples history and culture.\textsuperscript{58} Black and white illustrations of historic moments were found within these textbooks to contextualize the chapters.\textsuperscript{59} The vocabulary used in these textbooks consisted of “Negros”, “Indians”, and “half-breeds”, and the historical figures that were at the centre point of the History textbooks were primarily European.\textsuperscript{60} The overall perspective of political, economic, and historical Canadian events were centred on British and French contributions in the creation of Canadian nation.\textsuperscript{61} The dominant presence of European history, as well as the depictions of minorities, supported the construction of a Canadian identity.

Textbooks in the 1940s often highlighted the importance of blood and nationalism. Textbooks often linked individuals of a particular nation to the idea of blood ties through a racial kinship. For example, in a book used from 1948 to 1960 called \textit{Canada: A Nation and How it Came to Be} argued that Americans and Englishmen

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{56} Ibid., 79.
\item \textsuperscript{57} Ken Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thinking: Ties of Blood, Canadian History Textbooks and Ethnic Nationalism,” Paedagogica Historica. 41, no. 3 (2005): 310.
\item \textsuperscript{58} Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thinking,” 321.
\item \textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 321.
\item \textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 321.
\item \textsuperscript{61} Ibid., 321.
\end{itemize}
were “blood brothers” and that the Irish, Scottish, and English “races” were tied together by blood.\(^\text{62}\) Specifically, the textbook stated, “white settlement had not yet begun and except for a scattering of half-breads, the area was populated only by wandering tribes of Indians.”\(^\text{63}\) This description of First Nations Peoples created a derogatory image of a disorganized and undeveloped civilization. The use of the term “half-breads” leads to the notion that there was such as thing as a ‘pure bread’. In this context, it can be assumed that the English textbooks believed that Europeans were racially purity. Also, it is apparent in these textbooks that Canadian identity and nationalism was based on European and United Kingdom blood ties when the textbook referred to a group called “half-breads.” Since the European identities were primarily white, the idea that blood and race separated groups of nationalism created a sense of racism towards skin colour.

In another example, a textbook used from 1945 to 1959 called *Building the Canadian Nation*, presented stories of how Canada came to be.\(^\text{64}\) The stories often began with “white man’s early efforts at settlement” and frequently used narratives of Canadian expansion.\(^\text{65}\) Specifically, the textbook stated, “the Canadian west, with little more than 200,000 white people beyond Lake Superior, was still almost empty.”\(^\text{66}\) It is apparent that by calling the land north of Lake Superior “empty” they were disregarding the millions of First Nations Peoples that were settled there. The terminology used within Canadian public school textbooks in the early twentieth century support the claim that nationalism was created, and supported, by the education school system.

Textbooks in the 1940s also used colours, such as “red”, “yellow” and “brown”, to depict cultural groups in Canada.\(^\text{67}\) They would often compare these colours to white

\(^{62}\) Ibid., 322.
\(^{65}\) Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation*, 448.
\(^{66}\) Ibid., 413.
in order to reinforce the idea of European domination of Canadian land.\textsuperscript{68} Besides the red, yellow, and brown racial identification, there was also a “non-white” group that was given to identify immigrants within Canada.\textsuperscript{69} Ontario textbooks in the 1940s rejected immigrants as a Canadian national group, and argued that was impossible to assimilate immigrants into the Canadian nation.\textsuperscript{70} It was difficult for English textbooks to label immigrants with a uniform identity, and thus textbooks did not include them in the classification of Canadian nationalism. Based on this observation, it is apparent that racist colour identification was associated with the concept of nations. First Nations peoples were often labeled as a “red” nation. An example where colour was used to identify the Aboriginal nation within Canada can be seen in Our Canada textbook, which was published in 1949.\textsuperscript{71} This textbook was used from 1952 to 1959 in Ontario classrooms.\textsuperscript{72} When referring to Aboriginal chefs, Our Canada argued that the Aboriginal peoples terrorized the “white” settlers in Canada, and the “red men” threatened the development of “white” civilization and nationhood.\textsuperscript{73} It is apparent that the description of the Canadian Aboriginal peoples in Our Canada was described as an antagonizing force against European settlement. One can determine that the identity of non-native Canadians in the 1940s was developed based on the ideas presented in several school textbooks.

Social Studies and Civics classes were the product, and centre point, of the twentieth century school system in Ontario. The United States National Education Association first created the Social Studies program in 1916 based on the American School System model.\textsuperscript{74} It was the first time that the term Social Studies had ever been

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\textsuperscript{69} Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thining,” 324.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid., 327.
\textsuperscript{71} George Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 334.
\textsuperscript{72} George Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1946), 334.
\textsuperscript{73} Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, 101.
\end{flushright}
used in an educational context. Social Studies was unique in that it blended history, civics class, language studies, and the social sciences into one group. By the 1920s, Social Studies was offered in the Western provinces of Canada, and later moved across to Eastern Canada.  

The primary goal was to implant mainstream civil norms into young English Canadian minds. Ideas of Canadian laws, civic duties, and Canadian values were taught in all Social Studies programs. By 1970, Social Studies were used to educate Canadian youth on the idea of multiculturalism and bilingualism. In 1971, racial diversity was educated in Canadian textbooks across Canada, and by 1980s the idea of multiculturalism had brought an increased interest in Civic Studies. Educators taught students on how to become good Canadian citizens based on what the Ministry of Education expected of Canadian citizens. However, the ideas of Canadian citizenship were fabricated based on collective beliefs, which were typically comprised from people of European descent with upper to middle class status. Minority nations, such as First Nations, may have had a different idea of what were civil duties and responsibilities. In many cases, English Canadian schools used Social Studies to create English nationalism, and suppress French nationalism. For instance, Calixte Savoie was a teacher in New Brunswick in 1926 that fought a dispute involving the French language being represented in English schools. Calixte Savoie wrote to the Chief Superintendent of Education demanding that Acadian children should be schooled in their native language. Other French Acadians argued that the French language and religion was the basis of their separate identity. For example, Maud Hody argued in 1964,

Acadian sentiments are based on special attitudes towards the Roman Catholic Church and the French Language… [A]n Acadian who has left the Roman Catholic Church is no longer considered an Acadian, and the ‘real’ Acadian must

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75 Hardwick, “Education and National,” 256.
76 Ibid., 256.
77 Ibid., 257.
78 Ibid., 257.
79 Ibid., 257.
be of Acadian descent, speak French, and be of Catholic Faith.\textsuperscript{81}

It is apparent from this quote that identity can be composed of religious beliefs and linguistics, and when these two things are threatened ones identity may be at risk. Canadian schools in the 1920s promoted specific elements of identity that had put Acadian French minority identities at risk.

Besides French nationalism being threatened by English Canada, the 1950s brought a new threat within the borders of Quebec. The most recent evidence of conflict within French nationalism can be found in the results of the Quebec Quiet Revolution in the 1950s and 1960s. During this time, the province was entering the point of becoming a welfare state, and the French speaking Quebec intellectuals and political leaders were determined to find a new direction for Quebec.\textsuperscript{82} This is apparent when examining \textit{Le Devoir}, which was a Quebec nationalist newspaper in the 1960s.\textsuperscript{83} Hubert Aquin argued that French Canadians would have to fight for their identity against the English.\textsuperscript{84} The new nationalist approach at French nationalism created a divide between many French-speaking Quebecers. The French education model reflected the ideas of French philosopher Rousseau and the French Revolution in that a nation was recognized as a political and territorial entity.\textsuperscript{85} It was also argued that nationalism could only be found in a centralized state that had to be homogeneous within determined borders.\textsuperscript{86} The province enforced that citizens had civic rights and duties, which they had to value and respect.\textsuperscript{87} In the 1970s, when Canada recognized multiculturalism, French Canada struggled with the balancing of citizenship and ethnicity. There was an idea of

\textsuperscript{81} Helyar, “Acadian Teacher Identity,” 37.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 38.
\textsuperscript{84} Schertzer, “Beyond Multinational Canada.” 208.
\textsuperscript{86} Takeda, “Pluralism, Identity and the State,” 82.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 82.
separatism among French citizens that reflected in some schools, resulting in inter-racial conflicts.\(^{88}\)

There were many federal attempts at creating a homogenized Canadian identity within the past century. These failed attempts include the Constitution Act of 1982, the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, and the 1995 Quebec Referendum.\(^{89}\) The nineteenth and twentieth century school system was arguably another attempt at forming a national identity. However, due to the undecided resolutions of constitutions and referendums, there was no standardized national identity taught across Canada. As a result, the provincial school system represented individual forms of nationalism. By the 1990s, Canadian schools attempted to identify Canada as multinational, and identify the multiple nations within Canada’s borders.\(^{90}\) Yet, by supporting pan-Canadian-nationalism, English Canadian schools inadvertently placed their own national identity at the centre point of Canadian identity and promoted English collective interests.\(^{91}\) English Canadian schools assumed that the nations within Canada were limited within provincial boundaries, for instance French Canadian identities being limited within only Quebec.\(^{92}\) From the 1990s onward, Canadian schools were ignorant to the national conflicts within Canada.

By the 1980s, the Government of Canada attempted to support Canada as a country with multiple heritages by creating The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (1988).\(^{93}\) This Act gave full citizen rights to cultural minorities who had ancestral roots to Canada.\(^{94}\) Based on this Act, citizenship and nationhood were defined on the bases of

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\(^{88}\) Ibid., 87.
\(^{90}\) Schertzer, “Beyond Multinational Canada,” 204.
\(^{91}\) Ibid., 206.
\(^{92}\) Ibid., 207.
\(^{94}\) Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thinking,” 311.
ethnic principals, also known as civic nationalism.\textsuperscript{95} Canada also embodied the ethnic nationalism that supported the identification of a nation based on blood ties, common origin and traditions.\textsuperscript{96} The History textbooks of the mid 1900s educated students on specifically chosen leaders and warriors who helped shaped Canada. The History textbooks reminded students what it meant to be Canadian and the civic responsibilities that they had, and they also laid out moral conceptions of national rights and wrongs.\textsuperscript{97} Many History textbooks consisted of racist terms and stereotypes well into the 1960s.\textsuperscript{98} There was an unfair representation of national groups found in textbooks during the 1900s. Social groups, such as First Nations, were portrayed inaccurately and would foster racist ideas in young, non-native children.\textsuperscript{99} Textbooks often referred to cultural minorities as “others” and would teach a European perspective on historical accounts.\textsuperscript{100} Therefore, one can see that the History textbooks in the early to mid 1900s projected a Eurocentric view of the nation.

Throughout the 1980s English textbooks continued to construct their image of the Canadian identity. Susan Hardwick and her colleagues conducted a study to determine how national identity was represented in English Canadian education. By gathering primary data from English textbooks across Canada, it was determined that words that were frequently found in 1980 textbooks included “civic identity”, “individual conquest”, “multiculturalism”, “citizenship” and “the importance of common good.”\textsuperscript{101} Key words, such as the ones listed, show the terminology used to construct the Canadian identity. It is apparent that since Canada was established as a multicultural country in 1970, English school textbooks attempted to teach young Canadians about this new determined

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., 313.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid., 313.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid., 314.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid., 315.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 316.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 317.
identity. Therefore one can see that the Ontario education system used specific terms to construct national identity based as political and social beliefs changed.

Although educational racism was being noticed in the mid twentieth century, educational institutions in English Canada and French Canada continued to segregated indigenous children into separate schools. This segregation was an act of civic assimilation of indigenous culture. Education was used as a tool for Canadian nation building by removing indigenous traditions, culture, and language from First Nations children and enforcing Eurocentric culture upon them. Educational institutions would prohibit cultural ceremonies, such as sun dances and potlatch feasts, which were once used to create community cohesion among indigenous tribes. Even though Canada was regarded as a multicultural country in 1971, with the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act following shortly after, separate schools for First Nations continued to exist up until the 1990s.

English universities in the twentieth century also supported English nationalism, and threaten French nationalism. There was the issue of linguistic loyalty when French Canadians attend English schools. As French Canadians moved from their homes to English dominated areas, they faced challenges in the linguistic transition. Since linguistics was one of the main components of national identity, concerns about language protection were usually found in post-secondary institutions. The Official Languages Act (1969) recognized that there were two official languages in Canada, French and

104 Takeda, “Pluralism, Identity, and the State,” 75.
105 Ibid., 78.
106 Ibid., 76.
English, but it was only applied to federal institutions.\textsuperscript{109} Since the education system was controlled and governed provincially, the Official Languages Act was sometimes not considered. However, there were other forms of government language protection for elementary and secondary education. In the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Section 23, it states:

Those who have received their primary school instruction in Canada in English or French and reside in a province where the language in which they receive that instruction is the language of English of French linguistic minority population of the province, have the right to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in that language.\textsuperscript{110}

Thus, it is apparent that if a French citizen was attending school in an English majority area, they had the right to have their children taught in French. It is also apparent that Canadian laws had attempted to place nation identities within certain categories in order to distinguish between nations. Many university students in the late twentieth century felt as though English society was restricting their development of the French language, even though schools legally had to support them. In one example, a woman named Maia was pursuing a nursing degree in Ontario.\textsuperscript{111} Her family was fluently French, yet she was forced to speak English in her classes.\textsuperscript{112} As a nurse in training, she noticed that Francophone patients were suffering because they could not understand Anglophone nurses. She stated in an interview, “patients who are francophone [did not] know [what was] going on. So you tell them in French [what was] wrong with them, why [they were] here, and calm them down and all that.”\textsuperscript{113} It is apparent from this account that Francophone minorities suffered when in an Anglophone hospital because of a language barrier. Post-secondary institutions did not enforce bilingualism in Anglophone universities, and this sometimes led to a language conflict. There is evidence that students in the late 1990s also felt a loss of French identity at English universities when

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 153.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 153.
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 158.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 158.
\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 158.
they did not fit ideal French identity characteristics. In one case, a woman named Emma Brown was studying pure mathematics in an Ontario University.\textsuperscript{114} Her parents were not French, but she had been educated her entire life in a French school.\textsuperscript{115} When she was offered a scholarship for being French, she had to defend her French identity because she did not have a French name.\textsuperscript{116} Emma stated that the admissions officer argued that she was not French because her name was Emma Brown and she did not sound French, nor did she live in Quebec.\textsuperscript{117} One can see from this example that French nationalism is difficult to identify when French-speaking people live in Anglophone areas. Schools attempted to categorize nations in order to protect national identity, but by doing so French individuals who were extraordinary felt repressed.

By the year 2000, textbooks in both French and English Canada entered an era of new curriculum standards that aimed to be anti-racist. Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier encouraged “Canadians of different races and creed should understand each other, and should not emphasize not the things which divided them but those they had in common.”\textsuperscript{118} It is apparent that this view pushed for a more unified approach for Canadian nationalism, one that would be accepting of all identities in Canada. Textbooks during this time included glossy pictures of Canadian history and the textbooks themselves would discuss historical racism.\textsuperscript{119} The use of the word “race” was less commonly used in early twenty-first century textbooks in order to remove the idea of a biological difference between Canadian nations.\textsuperscript{120} However, the use of the words “their” languages and “their” beliefs was still used to educate Canadian youth on the history of nations in Canada.\textsuperscript{121} Therefore, it is apparent that the textbooks in the early

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 161.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 161.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 161.
\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 161.
\textsuperscript{119} Montgomery, “Banal Race-Thinking,” 321.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 327.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 330.
twenty-first century were still disconnected from minority nations by only re-tell Canadian history through a Eurocentric view. An alternative approach that may have been more appropriate would be to have the minority groups describe their own version of Canadian History, and include multiple versions of Canadian History within one textbook.

One can see based on considerable evidence that the Canadian education system had been used to shape nationalism since the nineteenth century. Nationalism is typically hard to categorize because each individual is unique. When the Government of Canada attempted to place nations within categories, racist prejudice beings to form. However, it was difficult to protect a nations survival when the Government did not identify characteristics of a nation. Although schools evolved as an institutional system throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century, prejudice and racial conflicts continued to exist. The educational school system in both English and French Canada were used as political tools to shape their image of the ideal Canadian citizens, and conform minority nations. One must understand the risks of inter-cultural conflicts in order to truly represent all of Canada’s nations in a school system.
Bibliography


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