

"TAKE IT AWAY, YOUTH!"

VISIONS OF CANADIAN IDENTITY IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS, 1925-1989

by

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ABSTRACT

Textbooks are a "cultural artifact" in that they are developed and approved for use in schools within particular sociocultural and educational contexts. As such, they offer a glimpse of those contexts.

This study examined 169 social studies textbooks approved for use in the schools of British Columbia following three educational turning points: the 1925 Putman-Weir Report, the 1960 Chant Report, and the 1970 establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation. The textbooks were examined to ascertain the views of Canadian identity which they conveyed and how those views were redefined over time.

In the Putman-Weir era, Canadian identity involved a sense of increasing independence within an enveloping allegiance to Great Britain and its empire. Textbooks encouraged the adoption of characteristics of good citizenship such as loyalty to country and empire through the use of heroic figures. The concept of Canadian identity was both inclusive and exclusive. It was a gendered concept, excluding women. It was inclusive of most immigrants because they were needed to people the land. It was exclusive of Oriental immigrants because they were viewed as unable to assimilate. It also excluded Native people, who were seen as being unable to contribute to national progress.

In the Chant era, Canada's independence from Great Britain began to be taken for granted. Textbooks were more concerned with Canada's relationship to the United States and its role on the world stage. Textbook authors saw a thriving anti-Americanism as an important part of what made Canadians Canadian. "Canadianness" included women only in peripheral roles. Immigrants, other than Oriental, received a joyous welcome in these

texts. These “new Canadians” were expected to contribute to the ongoing tide of progress in which Canadians were engaged. A negative tone pervaded discussion of Native peoples.

The Canada Studies era was characterized by two dominant movements. These were promotion of Canadian nationhood and a greater inclusiveness. Ironically, pride in Canada, as well as optimism for its future, was less evident in the Canada Studies era texts. Inclusion was the watchword of this era.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Since 1872, there has been in place in British Columbia a process for the official approval of textbooks. In fact, by 1875, in his fourth annual report, John Jessop, the Superintendent of Schools for British Columbia, reported that "the authorized text books are now exclusively used throughout the Province."¹ In spite of other materials which may have been available, these officially approved texts have formed the core of classroom instruction ever since.

Textbooks portray particular world views and perspectives. Both by what they include and by what is omitted, textbooks represent choices made from among many possibilities. Approved texts do not represent only the world views and perspectives of their authors and publishers. More importantly, because they have received official sanction for classroom use by those in authority, they represent what is deemed to be legitimate knowledge for students. Furthermore, textbooks are written, published and granted approved status within particular sociocultural contexts, which include "demographic, social, political, and economic conditions, traditions and ideologies, and events that actually or potentially influence curriculum."²

I examined 169 textbooks approved by the British Columbia Department of Education for use with British Columbia elementary and secondary social studies curricula in three identified periods between 1925 and 1989; 1925-1939, 1960-1975, and 1970-1989. The examination was conducted to ascertain views of selected aspects of Canadian identity implicit in the texts and how these views were redefined over time. Social studies

¹ Department of Education, *Fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1875-76* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1876), 88. Jessop may have been making an exaggerated claim. Nevertheless, the fact that the Superintendent of Education saw fit to make this claim illustrates the high status of approved texts in the eyes of those responsible for choosing them.

² Catherine Cornbleth, *Curriculum in Context* (Bristol, PA: Falmer, 1990), 6.

textbooks were selected for this examination because social studies is the curricular area which has been generally recognized as having "good citizenship" as its ultimate goal. Tomkins has said that "the goal of 'citizenship' probably comes closer than any other to identifying the purpose that Canadians have usually believed that the social studies should serve."³

Three turning points in twentieth century British Columbia educational history were chosen as foci for this study. These are *Survey of the School System*, the 1925 Putman-Weir Commission Report; *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, the 1960 Chant Commission Report; and the establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970. Each of these events heralded a time of intense curricular change in British Columbia social studies programs, resulting in the official approval of new textbooks. The first turning point, the Putman-Weir Commission Report, was the product of a British Columbia commission of inquiry. The second, the Chant Commission Report, was the work of a royal commission. Royal commissions, as Theresa Richardson reminds us, have a "special nuance of authority and prestige."⁴ British Columbia royal commissions and commissions of inquiry concerned with education have received a great deal of public attention and have generated a great deal of public reaction. The Putman-Weir and Chant Commissions were chosen from the almost fifty official inquiries which have examined aspects of education in British Columbia prior to the recent Sullivan Commission, for two reasons. First, they had the broadest mandates. Second, they each had a significant impact on public education in British Columbia. The Putman-Weir Report has been credited with shaping education in British Columbia until mid-century.⁵ The Chant Commission, which followed hard on the heels of public reaction in the United States and Canada to the

³George Tomkins, "The Social Studies in Canada," in *A Canadian Social Studies*, rev. ed., ed. Jim Parsons, Geoff Milburn, and Max van Manen (Edmonton: Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, 1985), 15.

⁴Theresa Richardson, "Social Change and the Structure of Royal Commissions: An Introduction," *Policy Explorations* 3 (Winter 1988): 2.

⁵F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Publications Centre, University of British Columbia, 1964).

launching of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957, also heralded a time of significant educational change in British Columbia. The creation of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970 is the third turning point of interest here. This turning point is not a royal commission or commission of inquiry. It is national rather than provincial in scope. However, like the other turning points, it had a significant impact on education in British Columbia, and its implications for education in this province, and textbooks in particular, are relevant to this study.

Each of the three turning points signifies the beginning of a period in which a new provincial social studies curriculum was implemented. In each case, textbooks were chosen and approved to support the new curriculum in British Columbia classrooms.⁶ The cutoff date for each period was the year by which new textbooks had been granted approved status and all textbooks which had been previously approved had lost that status.

Texts in the period prior to 1925 were not included as part of this study because studies by both Harro Van Brummelen and Timothy Stanley have examined texts approved in British Columbia in the 1872 to 1925 period. These studies will be described in the section of this chapter entitled, "Conceptualization of Textbook Studies."

One hundred sixty-nine textbooks were examined and a profile was created for each textbook. The profile was organized around categories formed from the research questions listed below. A sample profile for one text from each of the three periods in which textbooks were examined is provided in the Appendix.

The following questions provided a framework for analysis of the textbooks:

1. What is the conception of the ideal Canadian in the texts?
 - What is the view of gender?
 - What is the view of race and ethnicity?
 - What is the view of class?

⁶The social studies curriculum in British Columbia has been mandatory up to and including Grade Eleven. Elective courses such as History 12, Geography 12, and Law 12 have been offered in Grade Twelve. This study examined textbooks approved for the mandatory social studies curriculum.

- What is the view of age?
 - What is the view of disability?
 - What is the conception of virtue?
2. What is the conception of Canada as a nation in the texts?
- What part have cooperation and conflict played in the development of Canada as a nation?
 - What view of the relationship between Canada and Great Britain is portrayed?
 - What view of the relationship between Canada and the United States is portrayed?
 - In what do Canadians take pride?
3. What is the conception of the student reader?
- What pedagogical approaches does the text employ? Is the emphasis on passive acquisition of information or on its active use to shape one's environment?

Whether all of the above questions were relevant to a particular text depended on the text's topic and scope. If certain questions were irrelevant to a particular text they were omitted from its profile. In addition, the categories of class, age, and disability will not be discussed until the Canada Studies era. These categories yielded little data in the previous eras.

As can be seen, the view of Canadian identity was categorized in three ways: the conception of the ideal Canadian, the conception of Canada as a nation, and the conception of the student reader. In each category selected aspects of Canadian identity were examined. With regard to categories within the conception of the ideal Canadian, gender, race, ethnicity, and class have gained the interest of social historians in recent years because they are powerful aspects of identity. Therefore, it seemed important to examine how they

are presented in textbook discourse. Age and disability are aspects of identity which have received less attention. However, they too are defining characteristics of identity and it was of interest to me to determine if, and if so how, they are portrayed in texts. Social studies, and particularly the history component, has been viewed as the curricular area in which citizenship 'virtues' are inculcated.⁷ Therefore, it was important to consider the role of the teaching of virtue in the production of the ideal Canadian.

The conception of Canada as a nation was examined in terms of the themes of conflict and cooperation, relationship to Great Britain and to the United States, and sources of pride for Canadians. Events which centre around conflict are often viewed as major turning points in a nation's history. For instance, in our own history, the War of 1812, the Rebellions of 1837 and 1838, the Riel Resistances, our participation in the two World Wars, and the Quebec crisis of 1970, among others, are seen as defining moments in the journey toward Canada becoming what it is today. Cooperation is often less visible than conflict. However, it can be as effective in resolving disputes and is worthwhile examining as a counterbalance to conflict. The relationships between Canada and Great Britain and Canada and the United States were examined because each of these nations has, in different ways, acted as a foil against which our identity has been defined over time. Last, the qualities, accomplishments, and visions in which a nation takes pride, are an important window into that nation's identity.

The conception of the student reader was examined in terms of the pedagogical approaches explicit, and at times implicit, in the texts. These approaches reflected the dominant views about how students learn, in each period. They also reflected beliefs about how students become good citizens.

⁷ See, for example, Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, 1927-1928* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), 18-19. This document lists eleven "right ideals and attitudes" which should be inculcated through the social studies curriculum. These include "tolerance and respect for other nations and races," "appreciation of the dignity of labour and its part in the development of character," and "a whole-hearted love for Canada."

I do not claim to have examined all aspects of Canadian identity. I decided to forfeit the opportunity to explore all the major themes related to Canadian identity in depth for the opportunity to explore selected themes over time. One theme in particular, which I might have examined, and did not, at least as a separate theme, is that of the depiction of Quebec and French-English relations in Canada.

The dichotomy of the two founding nations has created a powerful tension in Canadian society dating from long before Canada became a nation. Although its treatment in the texts was not explored as a separate theme, it could hardly be avoided entirely. It appears in at least two ways. French-English relations following the Riel Resistances are explored under the theme of "Cooperation and Conflict in the Development of Canada as a Nation." In addition, the differing depictions of Canadian history presented in textbooks prepared for French-speaking and English-speaking students are discussed in the section entitled, "Conceptualization of Textbook Studies."

I chose not to explore this as a separate theme, because it probably warrants a thesis on its own. To give this topic its due, one could update Trudel and Jain's 1970 study,⁸ carried out for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and compare current Canadian history textbooks intended for French-speaking and English-speaking students. That is another study.

In reporting my findings, I have done what Ruth Miller Elson, author of *Guardians of Tradition*, described as "let[ting] the textbooks speak for themselves as much as possible, in the hope that their charm as well as their diction and sentiments will interest the reader."⁹

⁸Marcel Trudel and Genevieve Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study*. Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Staff Study No. 5 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

⁹Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964), ix.

Importance of Textbooks

Textbooks have been central to the quality and content of education since the inception of public schooling in Canada. They are ubiquitous in classrooms and have formed, and continue to form, the basis of instruction. Tomkins, in his extensive review of Canadian curricular history, has called the single authorized textbook "the norm and the major determinant of curriculum."¹⁰ As early as 1925, the authors of the Putman-Weir Report lamented the fact that schools in British Columbia were relying too much on textbooks as the single source of information in classrooms.¹¹ In his 1986 study of elementary schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s, Neil Sutherland points to the practice of having students read in sequence from history and geography textbooks during this period. Another common practice was to have students copy from the blackboard paragraphs which summarized sections from the textbook, placing correct words in "blanks."¹² A.B. Hodgetts reported in his 1968 book, *What Culture? What Heritage?* that the majority of the 850 secondary school history and civics lessons observed in a nationwide study "were trapped within the pages of a single textbook."¹³ A 1989 study in British Columbia found that the instructional strategy of choice for teachers of Grade Ten social studies was use of the single authorized text. For Grades Four and Seven social studies teachers, use of a single authorized text was second only to full classroom discussion as the most commonly used teaching strategy.¹⁴

¹⁰George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1986), 409.

¹¹J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, *Survey of the School System* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 94-95.

¹²Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s," in *Vancouver Past: Essays in Social History, Vancouver Centennial Issue of BC Studies*, ed. R.A.J. McDonald and Jean Barman, 175-210 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986).

¹³A.B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage? A Study of Civic Education in Canada* (Toronto: OISE, 1968), 116.

¹⁴Wanda Cassidy and Carl J. Bogner, *More Than a Good Idea: Moving from Words to Action in Social Studies* (Victoria: Assessment, Examinations and Reporting Branch, Ministry of Education, 1991), 75-76.

A number of American studies have examined the role of textbooks in classrooms as well. The 1983 national study of schooling, *A Nation At Risk*, points to the crucial role of textbooks in the way in which curriculum is experienced by students.¹⁵ De Silva concluded that texts determine seventy-five to ninety-five percent of classroom instruction.¹⁶ A. Graham Down described the situation graphically when he said:

Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and to reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary. And teachers rely on them to organize lessons and structure subject matter.¹⁷

As a Canadian writer once said about textbooks--"There were never any mistakes . . . because God wrote them; or if He didn't He most certainly knew the authors."¹⁸ The power of textbook messages was appreciated many years ago by Lord Durham. With regard to the influence of American textbooks on the students of British North America, he said that "tinctured as they are with principles which however fit for dissemination under the form of government which exists there [United States], cannot be inculcated here without evil results."¹⁹ More recently, distinguished British historian Arnold Toynbee, remarked that:

The most influential of the history books published are not the most advanced ones. . . . The really influential history books are the elementary ones. These are read by children who are still at an age at which they are likely to take for granted that anything printed must be true; and for the majority of these juvenile readers this is the last, as well as the first, account of history that comes their way. Accordingly it stays with them for life. It has a life-long effect on their behavior,

¹⁵National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1983).

¹⁶B. De Silva, "Better Textbooks: Dim Outlook Ahead," *Curriculum Review* 26 (1986): 8-11.

¹⁷A. Graham Down, "Preface," in *A Conspiracy of Good Intentions: America's Textbook Fiasco* (Washington, DC: The Council for Basic Education, 1988), viii.

¹⁸Lorne R. Hill, "Clio in the Classroom," *Books in Canada* 9 (March 1980): 21.

¹⁹C.J. Eustace, "Developments in Canadian Book Production and Design," in *Royal Commission on Book Publishing: Background Papers* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1972), 38-61, quoted in Rowland Lorimer and Patrick Keeney, "Defining the Curriculum: The Role of the Multinational Textbook in Canada," in *Language, Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook*, ed. Suzanne de Castell, Allan Luke, and Carmen Luke (London: The Falmer Press, 1989), 171.

both private and public. It plays a big part in making them either good or bad neighbors, and either wise or foolish voters.²⁰

Research makes clear that students do not question what is presented to them in texts. Peter Seixas quotes a high school student as saying, "You can't disagree with it [the text] . . . it's what you are supposed to learn." As Seixas pointed out, "this assumption relieved the student of any inclination to question or test that information against other standards."²¹ Samuel S. Wineburg prepared and then compared protocols of historians' and academically able high school students' comments as they read textbook passages about the American Revolution. His courtroom metaphor is an apt illustration of the differences between the two approaches to the texts:

Historians worked through these documents as if they were prosecuting attorneys; they did not merely listen to testimony but actively drew it out by putting documents side by side, by locating discrepancies, and by actively questioning sources and delving into their conscious and unconscious motives. Students, on the other hand, were like jurors, patiently listening to testimony and questioning themselves about what they heard, but unable to question witnesses directly or subject them to cross-examination. For students, the locus of authority was in the text; for historians it was in the questions they themselves formulated about the text.²²

Conceptualization of Textbook Studies

In recognition of the important role which textbooks play in the school curriculum, there is a lengthy history of textbook analysis both in Canada and in the United States. Social studies textbook studies can be conceptualized in terms of their dominant concerns, attendant methodologies, and sponsoring organizations (the 'why', the 'how', and the 'who'). There is a chronological component to this conceptualization, with different concerns and methodologies prevalent at different times during the twentieth century. This review will trace the evolution of textbook studies from early in the century to present-day. There will

²⁰Dr. Arnold Toynbee, "The Impact of Elementary History Books," *Montreal Star*, 6 October 1965.

²¹Peter Seixas, "Preservice Teachers Assess Students' Prior Historical Understanding," *The Social Studies* 85 (March/April 1994): 93, 94.

²²Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and Academy," *American Educational Research Journal* 28 (Fall 1991), 511.

inevitably be some overlap in the conceptual categories as some studies were 'ahead of their time' or conversely, continued to use a particular methodology beyond its period of common use. While the focus of this discussion will be on analyses which have been carried out in a Canadian context, key American studies will also be acknowledged.

Until the 1960s, social studies textbook studies had three predominant concerns. These were the degree to which the texts successfully represented citizenship goals; the way in which the United States was represented in Canadian textbooks and Canada in American texts; and the differing versions of Canadian history represented in the history textbooks of English and French Canada. These studies were mainly carried out under government sponsorship. Occasionally, a study was done under the auspices of a private organization, such as one by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which will be discussed here. Studies in this period generally used a descriptive approach with guiding questions.

During the 1970s and early 1980s there was a multitude of studies intended to determine whether, and in what ways, texts were biased toward particular societal groups.²³ The ultimate purpose of these studies was to remove texts from provincial approved lists if they were deemed to be too biased for student eyes. These studies were usually sponsored by provincial human rights commissions, provincial departments of education, or special interest groups such as native organizations, which had particular concerns regarding the depiction of their constituencies in the texts. The methodology of choice to assess texts for their bias was most often quantitative content analysis. This methodology was heralded as the answer to the subjectivity and nonreplicability of previous textbook studies.

²³These studies used the term "bias" to mean "distorted or missing information which causes the mind to incline toward or in favour of a particular group of people." Leela Mattu and Daniel Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks: A Study Conducted for the Human Rights Commission of B.C.," 1980, 4 [Microlog 82-0617].

During the last fifteen years there have been several different strands of textbook analysis. First, studies within a critical paradigm have emerged. Drawing on the work of such theorists as Bourdieu and Passeron, Bernstein, Bowles and Gintis, Williams, and Apple,²⁴ and often neo-Marxist in orientation, these studies look for the underlying societal structures inherent in the texts. These studies ask questions such as "What knowledge is presented as legitimate in the texts?" "Whose interests are being served through the presentation of this knowledge?" The view of these university-based researchers is "that the knowledge disseminated in schools is a highly selective representation of the totality of available knowledge and not simply neutral sets of facts and information as has been assumed by much previous educational research."²⁵ These studies reject quantitative approaches, viewing the concept of research objectivity as highly problematic. As Romanish points out in his discussion of the methodology used in his structural study of American secondary economics textbooks, "While the investigator is not free of certain value choices when setting up and conducting an analysis of texts, such a subjective process provides opportunities to examine, probe and analyze in a way purely quantitative and experimental methods cannot."²⁶

We cannot leave the critical paradigm without a brief mention of poststructuralism. In contrasting structuralism and poststructuralism, Cherryholmes points out that structuralism views meaning to be external to the individual, while poststructuralism "shows meanings to be shifting, receding, fractured, incomplete, dispersed, and deferred."²⁷ "Poststructuralists celebrate uncertainty."²⁸ The work of Foucault and

²⁴P. Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 1977); Basil Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control*, Vol. III, *Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977); S. Bowles and H. Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977); Michael W. Apple, *Teachers & Texts: A Political Economy of Class & Gender Relations in Education* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

²⁵Joel Taxel, "The Outsiders of the American Revolution: The Selective Tradition in Children's Fiction," *Interchange* 12 (1981): 207.

²⁶Bruce A. Romanish, "Modern Secondary Economics Textbooks and Ideological Bias," *Theory and Research in Social Education* XI (Spring 1983): 4.

²⁷Cleo H. Cherryholmes, *Power and Criticism: Poststructural Investigations in Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1988), 61.

Derrida, each in a different way, is seminal to poststructural thought. Michel Foucault's concern is with the influences which have produced a particular discourse rather than with interpretation of its meaning. His 'interpretive analytics' argues that knowledge is a product of the combined influences of history, power, and social interests. Textbooks, as a result of power, position, and tradition, represent a privileged way of viewing the world. Jacques Derrida's deconstructivism views words and meanings as indefinite and equivocal constructions. The implications of this view are that any discourse can be interpreted in multiple ways, all of which are valid.²⁹

A second strand is composed of a rather eclectic mix of 'other' contemporary studies. The emergence of studies from a conservative, often religious, perspective is noted, as well as studies from a feminist perspective. A study of how Canada is portrayed in American social studies textbooks, reminiscent of earlier studies, is discussed; as is a major American study which explores ideological management in the context of schools, radio, television, and movies. These studies use a variety of quantitative and qualitative approaches to data analysis.

Third, are recent historical studies, usually carried out by historians of education, which either look at the texts in terms of continuity and change over time, or examine them within the sociocultural context of the period in which they were published. Few historical studies have been carried out in Canada. Historical research on textbooks has, for the most part, eschewed quantitative approaches. Most historians take an interpretive stance to

²⁸Norman K. Denzin, "The Art and Politics of Interpretation," in *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed., Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1994), 511.

²⁹M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), and J. Derrida, "Discussion: Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," in *The Structuralism Controversy*, ed. R. Macksey & E. Donata, 247-272 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1972).

historical data, viewing history as "constructed reality"³⁰ in the words of historian Joan N. Burstyn, and at least partly "an exercise of the imagination."³¹

This review will discuss studies of social studies texts (including history, geography, and civics). A few studies of reading texts will be included because they address similar themes or illustrate important points. The focus of this review will be on studies of textbook content. Studies of textbook production, textbook adoption, textbook reform, or the analysis of textbooks from the perspective of reading theory will not be discussed.

Early Textbook Studies

An example of an early textbook study carried out by a private organization to determine if its own objectives were being met in school texts is one done by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1933.³² This study analyzed forty history textbooks used in Canadian schools in order to determine if they promoted "peace, tolerance, non-militarism, and mutual understanding among peoples and governments."³³ Fifty-seven readers evaluated the texts using a checklist of questions designed to ascertain whether they conveyed those messages.³⁴ The conclusion of the final report was that texts were, for the most part, satisfactory, but dull. Ken Osborne likens reading the report to "viewing a long sought after beauty spot through a thick fog."³⁵ He attributes this problem to the researchers' efforts to keep the report as "objective" and "scientific" as possible.

³⁰Joan N. Burstyn, "History as Image: Changing the Lens," *History of Education Quarterly* 27 (Summer 1987): 167.

³¹W.H. Oliver, Letter to the Editor, *N.Z. Listener*, 24 March 1950, quoted in Robin Fisher, "Matter for Reflection: *BC Studies* and British Columbia History," *BC Studies* (Winter 1993-94), 70.

³²Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Toronto Branch, *Report of the Canadian School History Textbook Survey* (Toronto: The League, 1933), in Ken Osborne, "An Early Example of the Analysis of History Textbooks in Canada," *Canadian Social Studies* 29 (Fall 1994): 21-25.

³³Ken Osborne, "An Early Example of the Analysis of History Textbooks in Canada," *Canadian Social Studies* 29 (Fall 1994): 23.

³⁴Dr. Peter Sandiford, Director of Educational Research at the University of Toronto, designed the study. Dr. Sandiford had earlier conducted extensive I.Q. testing in British Columbia on behalf of the Putman-Weir Royal Commission on education. The commission report was published as *Survey of the School System* in 1925.

³⁵Osborne, "An Early Example of the Analysis of History Textbooks in Canada," 24.

Another early study was concerned with the effectiveness of history textbooks in embodying citizenship goals. This study was sponsored by the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association and published in 1941 under the title, *A Report on Text-Books in Social Studies in the Dominion of Canada and Their Relation to National Ideals*. It employed such western Canadian educational luminaries as A.R. Lord, principal of the Provincial Normal School in Vancouver and H.C. Newland, Supervisor of Schools in Alberta. The study operated on the premise that "history is to be used as an educational medium for the rearing of good citizens in a democratic state, . . . [and must] impress him [the reader] with the importance and dignity of citizenship in his own country."³⁶ Each text was examined by three readers using a questionnaire. Of the six questions provided on the questionnaire, four were concerned with appropriateness for intended students. The mere two which were about 'national ideals' leave no doubt as to the perspective from which the study was done:

1. Has the author tried to inspire his readers with a feeling of admiration for the achievements of great Canadians and great British leaders. . .
2. Has the author indicated a positive effort to develop in his readers a love of free institutions, for democracy and all its concomitants, for free speech, for free press, etc.³⁷

The study concluded that too often the elementary texts focused on the intrinsic merits of history as a study, forgetting the broader goals. The secondary texts neglected to indicate to students the importance of the privileges and responsibilities of each citizen to the proper functioning of a democratic state.

In 1947, the Canada-United States Committee on Education³⁸ published the findings of its examination of national history texts used in both countries, under the title, *A*

³⁶Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, *A Report on Text-Books in Social Studies in the Dominion of Canada and Their Relation to National Ideals* (Toronto: The Association, 1941), 87.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 1.

³⁸Some background information on this committee is provided in "The Canada-United States Committee On Education," *Canadian Education* I (October 1945): 44-48.

Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States.

This committee, which consisted of nine educators from Canada and nine from the United States, was set up in 1944 by the American Council on Education, the Canadian and Newfoundland Education Association, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, and the National Conference of Canadian Universities. The purpose of this study, which was funded by the Marshall Field Foundation, was to determine if each country's texts dealt adequately with the history of the other country. Teachers attending workshops at Harvard University and the Ontario College of Education recorded the amount of space devoted to the other country, excluding any pictorial or graphic content. They appraised the quality of the written information, noting the nature, organization, distribution, emphasis, and tone of all references. They also noted omissions. The Canadian content in the American texts was criticized for a lack of a clear conception of Canadian development and a failure to acknowledge the significance of Canada to the development of the United States historically. American content in Canadian texts was criticized for its undue emphasis on war and conflict in Canadian-American relations, omissions of important content, such as background information relating to the growth of cooperation and goodwill between the two countries. The study offered recommendations "for the improvement of national history textbooks as instruments of international goodwill between Canada and the United States."³⁹

A major finding of the early studies was that the French language history textbooks used in Quebec presented a different version of Canadian history than did the English language textbooks used in Quebec and the other provinces. In 1945, the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association published a report entitled *Report of the Committee for the Study of Canadian History Textbooks*. A major finding of this study was that "generally speaking, French-language texts tend to pass quickly over the history of the

³⁹The American Council on Education, The Canada-United States Committee on Education, "A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United States," *Canadian Education* II (June 1947), 2.

English provinces, while English-language books do not give sufficient attention to events or persons important in French Canadian history." The study concluded that "a foreigner would have an altogether different view of Canadian history according to whether he read a school textbook in the French language or in the English language."⁴⁰

Richard Wilson, in his 1966 Master's thesis, found a focus on the development of parliamentary democracy and nationhood within a Canadian frame of reference, in texts used in English-Canada. The frame of reference of texts used in French Canada was Quebec and the survival of French culture, language, and the Roman Catholic religion.⁴¹

In 1965, A.B.Hodgetts, a history master at Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario, began the National History Project, a two-year Canada-wide study of civic education, sponsored by his school. Hodgetts' report, published as *What Culture? What Heritage?*, was based primarily on observations of some 850 teachers in 247 schools in twenty cities across Canada. He also administered student questionnaires, carried out interviews with students and teachers, and examined courses of study, textbooks, and provincially set examinations for Canadian Studies courses in all provinces.⁴² Hodgetts found a "white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant political and constitutional history" in the schools and textbooks of English-Canada, while courses of study, textbooks, and instruction in French Catholic classrooms were "peopled with saintly, heroic figures motivated by Christian ideals and working almost exclusively for the glory of God." He concluded that "successive generations of young English- and French-Canadians raised on diametrically

⁴⁰Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, "Report of the Committee for the Study of Canadian History Textbooks," *Canadian Education* 1 (October 1945), 9, 10.

⁴¹Richard D. Wilson, "An Inquiry into the Interpretation of Canadian History in the Elementary and Secondary School Textbooks of English and French Canada" (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1966).

⁴²Hodgetts' study has been criticized for its methodology. See H. Brown, "Sometimes Fridays: The Secondary School History Program in Ontario 1962-1973" (Master's thesis, Carleton University, 1974) and Goldwin French, Robert M. Stamp, Margaret Prang, and Christian Laville, *The Canadian Historical Review* L (Sept. 1969): 300-302. Stamp mentions "the unscientifically designed questionnaires and the inadequately trained research assistants" (p. 301), although he points out that the value of the study outweighs these flaws. It is unfortunate that a handbook which was to contain the research instruments was never published, so others could form their own judgements.

opposed views of our history, each of which creates an entirely different value system, cannot understand fully each other or the country in which they live."⁴³

Twenty-five years after the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association study, a 1970 study commissioned by the Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism, and carried out by Marcel Trudel, a Professor of History at the University of Ottawa, and his assistant, Genevieve Jain, again found different realities being presented to Francophone and Anglophone students. This is evident in the focus on different periods of Canadian history. The period previous to 1663, the period of French colonization, receives very full treatment in the French-language textbooks, but is given little notice in the English-language texts. The 1663-1760 period receives about the same treatment in each. Beyond 1760 Trudel and Jain note that the texts "do not even seem to be talking about the same country! The English-speaking authors do their best to give an overall history of Canada, while the French authors. . . . hardly talk about anything but the history of Quebec and its expansion beyond its borders."⁴⁴ When these authors do refer to other regions it is primarily to deal with the role of French Canadians in those locations. Two prominent themes in the French-language texts do not enjoy equal status in the English-language texts. One of these themes is the survival of French culture.

This is the focal point of all their preoccupations. The survival of their group is repeatedly expressed in terms of resistance to a threat; as response to the challenge, they preach withdrawal into the collective shell and perpetuation of traditional structures, and they vigorously denounce any of their number who venture to offer a different, dynamic response.⁴⁵

The other prominent theme in the French-language texts is that of religion and the Roman Catholic Church. "The Church is everywhere; the study of its role, in the nineteenth century for example, supplants the consideration of other very important matters. . . . Protestantism is cast in the role of villain."⁴⁶ In the English-speaking texts religion is

⁴³Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* 20, 31, 117.

⁴⁴Trudel and Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study*, 124.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 125.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 126.

treated, for the most part, as something which does not bear directly on history. These researchers recommended that a national history textbook be developed by a team of French- and English-speaking historians, in order to counteract this situation. This "socialization into discord" was corroborated by researchers such as Lamy⁴⁷ and Richert,⁴⁸ as well as Conley and Osborne.⁴⁹

Studies Intended to Detect Bias

As newspaper headlines such as "Slanted Textbooks" and "Tell it the Way it Was"⁵⁰ attest, there was a great deal of public interest in the late 1960s in the way in which Canada's changing social reality was being portrayed in textbooks. Beginning at this time, a number of studies were conducted to determine the extent to which textbooks were biased against minority groups in Canadian society.

Prior to this period researchers in Canada used a primarily descriptive approach to textbook analysis. In the 1970s researchers began to employ more quantitative approaches, as part of a broader quest for greater rigour in educational research. An approach to quantitative analysis called Evaluative Coefficient Analysis (ECO Analysis), developed by David Pratt, a professor in the Faculty of Education at Queen's University, was viewed as a major step forward because its use of mathematical formulae enabled replication of research procedures.⁵¹ This instrument involved the determination of a percentage score

⁴⁷Paul Lamy, "Political Socialization of French and English Canadian Youth: Socialization into Discord," in *Values in Canadian Society*, Vol. 1, ed. E. Zureik and R.M. Pike, 263-280 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

⁴⁸J.P. Richert, "The Impact of Ethnicity on the Perception of Heroes and Historical Symbols," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* VIII (May 1974): 159-163.

⁴⁹Marshall Wm. Conley and Kenneth Osborne, "Political Education in Canadian Schools: An Assessment of Social Studies and Political Science Courses and Pedagogy," *International Journal of Political Education* 6 (1983): 65-85.

⁵⁰"Slanted Textbooks," *Toronto Telegram*, 18 January 1967, p. 6; and "Tell it the Way it Was," *Toronto Daily Star*, 15 October 1968, p. 6.

⁵¹Little replication has actually occurred. However, David Pratt found a .98 correlation between his analysis of five social studies textbooks using an earlier version of ECO Analysis called EARS, with the same five texts analyzed as part of a 1977 B.C. study which used ECO Analysis. (Glenys Galloway, Carol LaBar, and Joanne Ranson, "A Report on the Analysis of Prescribed British Columbia Textbooks for Racism," Submitted to the Human Rights Commission of British Columbia, 1977.) Personal communication, Dave Pratt to Carol LaBar, 27 July 1983.

for evaluative terms, ranging from zero for a totally negative affective treatment of a topic to one hundred for a totally positive treatment.

In its original form ECO Analysis was called evaluative assertion analysis⁵² and was used in *Teaching Prejudice*, Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt's 1971 landmark study of 143 authorized social studies textbooks in Ontario. This study began in 1965 and was carried out at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education by McDiarmid, a professor in the Department of Curriculum, and his doctoral student, David Pratt. Sponsors were the Ontario Human Rights Commission, in cooperation with the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. McDiarmid and Pratt analyzed what they called "evaluative assertions" about minority groups, scoring them according to frequency of use and also weighting them according to a predetermined set of numerical values from

-3 to +3. For instance, "eloquent" was given a +1 weighting and "primitive" a -2.⁵³

Evaluative Assertion Analysis evolved into the more sensitive measurement device called the Evaluative Assertion Rating System (EARS) devised by David Pratt in his doctoral study.⁵⁴ EARS was later modified to make it simpler to employ. This final instrument, called Evaluative Coefficient Analysis (ECO Analysis),⁵⁵ was used in a number of theses and other textbook analysis studies in the 1970s and early 1980s.⁵⁶

⁵²McDiarmid and Pratt obtained the instrument, evaluative assertion analysis from C.E. Osgood, S. Saprota, and J.C. Nunnally, "Evaluative Assertion Analysis," *Litera* 3 (1956): 47-102.

⁵³Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario* (Toronto: OISE, 1971).

⁵⁴David Pratt, "An Instrument for Measuring Evaluative Assertions Concerning Minority Groups and Its Application in an Analysis of History Textbooks Approved for Ontario Schools" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1969). Pratt examined the treatment of Arabs, French Canadians, Indians, and Negroes (Blacks) in sixty-nine history textbooks authorized for use in Ontario.

⁵⁵ECO Analysis is described in David Pratt, "Value Judgments in Textbooks: The Coefficient of Evaluation as a Quantitative Measure," *Interchange* 2 (1971): 1-14. It is described in even greater detail in David Pratt, *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technological Publications, Inc., 1972.)

⁵⁶See, for example, Hyacinth Irving, "An Analysis of Ontario's Junior Division Social Studies Textbooks in Relation to Multiculturalism" (Master's thesis, University of Ottawa, 1985); Galloway, LaBar, and Ranson, "A Report on the Analysis of Prescribed British Columbia Textbooks for Racism," 1977; and G. Patrick O'Neill, "Prejudice Towards Indians in History Textbooks: A 1984 Profile," *The History and Social Science Teacher* 20 (Fall 1984): 33-39.

Teaching Prejudice reports many examples of bias and prejudice against certain groups. While Christians and Jews were treated very positively, other groups were presented in a negative light. One of the conclusions was that "we are most likely to encounter in textbooks devoted Christians, great Jews, hardworking immigrants, infidel Moslems, primitive Negroes, and savage Indians."⁵⁷ McDiarmid and Pratt also found that the texts evaded sensitive issues. A recommendation of this study was that the Ontario Department of Education develop guidelines to assist textbook publishers and authors to present minorities fairly. Such a set of guidelines appeared in 1980 in the form of *Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers*.⁵⁸ Pratt greeted this document with the comment, "[It] virtually ensures the elimination of racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious bias in future Ontario textbooks."⁵⁹ This remark seems naive from the perspective of a decade later. It reflects the optimistic view, prevalent at the time, that first, bias-free texts were achievable; and second, this achievement was a simple matter of locating bias through quantitative content analysis and then rooting it out.

A major area of concern at this time was the portrayal of Native peoples in social studies textbooks. Studies such as *Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks*, published by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission in 1974,⁶⁰ *Textbook Analysis: Nova Scotia*, published the same year by the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission,⁶¹ and *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks*, by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in

⁵⁷McDiarmid and Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario*, 45.

⁵⁸Ontario Ministry of Education, *Race, Religion, and Culture in Ontario School Materials: Suggestions for Authors and Publishers* (Toronto: The Ministry, 1980).

⁵⁹David Pratt, "Bias in Textbooks: Progress and Problems," in *Multiculturalism in Canada: Social and Educational Perspectives*, ed. Ronald J. Samuda, John W. Berry, and Michel Laferriere (Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1984), 155.

⁶⁰L. Paton and J. Deverell, ed., *Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks* (Saskatoon: Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission, 1974).

⁶¹Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, *Textbook Analysis - Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Queen's Printer, 1974)

1977,⁶² found that many texts contained errors of fact, glaring omissions, and negative stereotyping about Native people. However, progress was made over time. The 1981 "Native People in the Curriculum" report, conducted for Alberta Education by faculty and graduate students in the Department of Educational Foundations at the University of Alberta, found "problems of factual error, stereotyping, contextual problems, errors of implication, the representation of theory as fact, and unclear and confused tribal distinctions."⁶³ Despite these findings, the researchers conceded that texts had improved over the decade since the McDiarmid and Pratt study. Two 1984 studies, both of which used ECO Analysis, compared the results of an earlier textbook study with a current one. Pratt compared the results of an earlier study in which he had examined Canadian history texts authorized in Ontario between 1952 and 1967, with texts from the 1981 authorized list. He found a significant improvement in the portrayal of Native peoples. For instance, the word "massacre" occurred seventy-six times in the earlier textbook sample and not at all in the 1981 set. He attributed this to increased scholarship and sensitivity on the part of authors.⁶⁴ The same year, O'Neill examined ten history textbooks approved in Ontario for their treatment of Native peoples, and compared his results to those of earlier studies. His results were encouraging, although he noted that authors and publishers could still do better. He attributed the improved treatment of Native people to "attitudinal changes, greater public awareness and increased native assertiveness."⁶⁵

Following the publication of the "Native People in the Curriculum" Report in 1981, Alberta Education conducted an assessment of all of Alberta's approved texts, as well as support materials, using what were called "tolerance and understanding" criteria. These criteria were used to determine depiction of people according to age, sex, race/ethnicity,

⁶²Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks* (Winnipeg: Textbook Evaluation and Revision Committee of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1977).

⁶³A.M. Decore, R. Carney, and C. Urion, with D. Alexander and R. Runte, "Native People in the Curriculum" (Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1981), 12.

⁶⁴Pratt, "Bias in Textbooks: Progress and Problems," 154-166.

⁶⁵O'Neill, "Prejudice Towards Indians in History Textbooks: A 1984 Profile," 37.

religion, handicap, socio-economic status and political belief. Of 328 social studies learning resources reviewed, five texts were deemed to be unacceptable and twenty received a "problematic" rating. Eight of these were removed from approved lists. Native groups were particularly influential in this process. Several texts were declared unacceptable or problematic due to their inadequate depiction of Native peoples. *Settlement of the West*, an elementary social studies text, was delisted "due to serious problems in the presentation of Native peoples and culture."⁶⁶ One of these problems was in the text's treatment of the Beringia Theory (the theory that Native people first crossed from Asia to North America by means of a land bridge where the Bering Strait is now) as fact.⁶⁷

In British Columbia, two reports submitted to the Human Rights Commission in 1977 and 1980⁶⁸ found racial bias in a great many of the texts examined. One study

⁶⁶Curriculum, Alberta Education, "Teacher Reference Manual for Learning Resources Identified as 'Unacceptable' or 'Problematic' during the Curriculum Audit for Tolerance and Understanding" (Edmonton: Alberta Education, April, 1985), I33 (ii).

⁶⁷A.M Decore, et. al., "Native People in the Curriculum," 37. It should be noted that the "Native People in the Curriculum" report referred to the problems with *Settlement of the West* as "minor difficulties" (p. 37). However, in a letter to Alberta school principals, dated April, 1983, Frank Crowther, Associate Director of Curriculum, Social Studies, for Alberta Education, announced that *Settlement of the West*, *Life in New France* (also published by Fitzhenry & Whiteside), and *Flashback Canada* were no longer to be authorized provincially as of June 30, 1983. Crowther stated that this decision was in response to the findings of the "Native People in the Curriculum" report. On September 9, 1983, Crowther sent elementary principals a letter stating that *Settlement of the West* and *Life in New France* would now be delisted as of the end of the 1983-84 school year because they had been identified in the "Native People in the Curriculum" report as "particularly offensive in their treatment of Native people and culture." This seems odd. However one does not have to look far to see a possible link between this particular decision and other events on the education scene in Alberta at the time. This decision was made during the trying period when James Keegstra was prominent in the national news. Keegstra was an Eckville high school social studies teacher whose contract was terminated because for many years he had been using teaching materials which conveyed the message that there was a Jewish conspiracy to take over the world. Keegstra had appealed and the judicial decision which upheld his termination was handed down in April of 1983, the same month as the first letter notifying principals of the text delisting. This was clearly a time when public sensitivity to issues related to the depiction of racial minorities was very high. Dr. Crowther, the Alberta Education official who had written the letter notifying principals of the delisting, had earlier reviewed curricular materials used by Keegstra and concluded that they were inappropriate. After declaring that Keegstra's materials were inappropriate, Alberta Education was in a rather vulnerable position as to its own provincially authorized materials. A point in support of a conclusion that the Keegstra affair was a major impetus in the decision to delist the resources is the fact that the "Native People in the Curriculum" report was published in September of 1981 and the first delisting letter was not sent out until April of 1983 when the Keegstra affair was at its height.

⁶⁸Galloway, LaBar, and Ranson, "A Report on the Analysis of Prescribed British Columbia Textbooks for Racism," 1977; and Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks," 1980 [Microlog 82-0617].

concluded that "social science school textbooks are becoming more polite in their teaching of prejudice,"⁶⁹ indicating that the bias had simply gone underground. The British Columbia Ministry of Education did not conduct a formal analysis of its approved social studies texts at the time. Texts were simply subject to wholesale removal from approved lists and replaced by newly approved texts to accompany the 1983 and 1985 curricula.

In a 1975 study carried out for the Ontario Ministry of Education, Patrick Babin, an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa, examined 1 719 textbooks listed in Ontario's *Circular 14* for bias. Babin, and his Research Officer, Robert Knoop, also of the University of Ottawa, employed 211 readers to assess the texts for their treatment of the aged, labour unionists and political minorities. Babin's choice of research groups was quite unique. Previous Canadian research had been concerned with Americans, English Canadians, French Canadians, and Native peoples. This study was carried out in response to David Pratt's call for research on political minorities, social class, and ethnic groups. However, Babin rejected Pratt's call for quantitative evaluation of bias because feedback from the three minority groups whose representation in the texts was to be examined, indicated that bias by omission might be the dominant form of bias found. Babin decided that, if this was the case, it would be difficult to employ a quantitative approach. Therefore, he made the decision to use checklists of specific criteria, supplemented by evaluators' comments and examples, as the means of analysis. Babin found some bias against the aged and political minorities in texts, but the strongest bias was found in the treatment of labour unions and unionists. Unfavourable features of labour unions were stressed, while their contributions to society were rarely mentioned.⁷⁰

It is odd, in view of societal developments, that there was little consideration of gender in the major studies of Canadian social studies textbooks carried out during the

⁶⁹Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks," 18.

⁷⁰Patrick Babin, "Bias in Textbooks Regarding the Aged, Labour Unionists, & Political Minorities: Final Report to the Ontario Ministry of Education" (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 20 January 1975).

1970s and 1980s. This category of analysis has been mainly confined to readers and children's literature.⁷¹ One exception was the 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*. This Commission, under the leadership of author, broadcaster, and later senator, Florence Bird, examined elementary reading, social studies, mathematics and guidance texts. This study concluded: "This analysis of sex role imagery in a representative selection of elementary school textbooks clearly indicates that a woman's creative and intellectual potential is either underplayed or ignored in the education of children from their earliest years."⁷² A second exception was the 1985 Alberta Education application of "tolerance and understanding" criteria to all its approved texts.

Evaluative Assertion Analysis and variations of Pratt's ECO Analysis were used in several American studies. One such study, carried out in 1972 by Fox, examined ways in which social conflict associated with racial, economic, political, and ecological policies was presented in social studies texts in wide use in Grades Three, Five, and Seven.⁷³ A study by Garcia and others used a version of Pratt's ECO Analysis (identified as such), as well as other techniques, to examine five eighth-grade United States history textbooks with regard to their treatment of both white and nonwhite ethnic groups. The study reported an increase in the proportion of ethnic content in textbooks after 1956.⁷⁴

The use of such quantitative approaches as ECO Analysis has never been sufficient to provide a thorough analysis of textbooks. This can be seen in various studies which

⁷¹See V. Wright, "Hidden Messages: Expressions of Prejudice," *Interchange* 7 (1976-1977): 54-62; Elaine Batcher, Alison Winter, and Vicki Wright, *The More Things Change. . . The More They Stay the Same* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1988); S.W. Pyke, "Children's Literature: Conceptions of Sex Roles," *Socialization and Values in Canadian Society*, vol. II, *Socialization, Social Stratification and Ethnicity*, ed. Robert M. Pike and Elia Zureik (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 51-73; and Rowland Lorimer and Margaret Long, "Sex-Role Stereotyping in Elementary Readers," *Interchange* 10 (1979-80): 25-45.

⁷²Canada, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), 175.

⁷³Thomas F. Fox, "Using Evaluative Assertion Analysis for Social Studies Research," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Boston, MA, November, 1972, ERIC, ED 073 963.

⁷⁴Jesus Garcia, Walter Stenning, and Peggy Cooper-Stenning, "Images of Named and Non-White Ethnic Groups as Presented in Selected Eighth Grade U.S. History Textbooks," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Interamerican Congress of Psychology, Miami Beach, Florida, December, 1976, ERIC, ED 145 379.

were carried out following the landmark work of McDiarmid and Pratt. The 1974 Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission analysts decided after a year of using ECO Analysis that it was not yielding the data required. The researchers then began again at the beginning and spent a further year analyzing each text using a descriptive approach which focused on general ideas rather than particular words. The researchers concluded that the "new approach was . . . more satisfactory in that it discussed specific texts more fully in its evaluation."⁷⁵ The 1977 Galloway, LaBar, and Ranson study for the Human Rights Commission of British Columbia also used ECO Analysis, but supplemented each text's analysis with a set of general comments, as well as, where appropriate, comments pertaining to the way in which the text approached the issue of ethical relativism. These authors point out that there are issues for which a subjective analysis is more suitable. "For example, in most textbooks, Indian history begins with the coming of Europeans to North America, and ends approximately when the reservation system is established. The ECO analysis could not deal with this type of prejudicial attitude."⁷⁶

By the 1980s many researchers were deliberately abandoning quantitative approaches to textbook analysis, finding these approaches inadequate to their purposes. The 1981 Alberta "Native People in the Curriculum" report, for instance, rejected quantitative approaches on the basis that its purpose of examining the adequacy of the portrayal of Native people in the curriculum required statements of overall impression as well as specific examples. The evaluators took the position that, since they were not intending to rank materials according to their faults, they did not require a quantitative rating system. Also, in their view, written comments allowed for the emergence of observations which would not have appeared had they restricted their analysis to predetermined categories.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission, *Textbook Analysis - Nova Scotia*, 8.

⁷⁶Galloway, LaBar, and Ranson, "A Report on the Analysis of Prescribed British Columbia Textbooks for Racism," vii.

⁷⁷A.M. Decore, et. al., "Native People in the Curriculum," 9-11.

Recent Studies

In the last ten to fifteen years the topics of textbook studies have been many and varied. They can be visualized in terms of three dominant strands. The first strand consists of studies done in a critical research paradigm. These studies are concerned with determining the ways in which knowledge is selectively represented in texts. Structuralist and poststructuralist work will be discussed in this context. A second strand is an eclectic mix of studies based on new concerns such as the portrayal of women or whether the texts adequately promote conservative values. Historical studies are the third strand.

Another change of note in recent years is that textbook studies have become the purview of university based researchers. Private organizations, provincial human rights commissions, and provincial Ministries of Education have lost their place at the forefront of text studies after their flurry of activity in the 1970s. This relates to purpose. Most studies no longer have the immediate purpose of locating biased texts in order to have them removed from provincial approved lists. In the last ten to fifteen years textbook studies have become more sophisticated in nature. It is generally accepted that texts cannot be unbiased and that perspective permeates discourse. These studies go beyond attempts to determine numbers of biased statements, and the presence or absence of various groups. They attempt to determine the broader vision of society which is presented to the reader.

Recent Studies from a Critical Research Perspective

A seminal structural study is George Orwell's examination of boys' twopenny weeklies in England, published between approximately 1910 and 1939. Orwell concluded that these 'penny dreadfuls', published by corporate conglomerates, were intended to present messages to their young readers of submission to the status quo. "There is being pumped into them the conviction that the major problems of our time do not exist, that there is nothing wrong with *laissez-faire* capitalism, that foreigners are unimportant comics and that the British Empire is a sort of charity-concern which will last for ever."⁷⁸

⁷⁸George Orwell, "Boys' Weeklies," chap. in *Selected Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin

An early Canadian structural study is Ken Dewar's 1972 examination of six popular Canadian history texts published between 1960 and 1962. Dewar concluded that the texts romanticize Canadian history, with the purpose of socializing the reader with conservative nationalist values. Imperialism is ignored as a major factor in Canadian history. There is an assumption of European superiority over Native peoples. Finally, "by their portrayal of Canada as [the] best of all possible worlds they constitute, in effect, a defence of the essential features of the present status quo in Canadian society, and thereby uphold the interests of the contemporary ruling classes."⁷⁹

The purpose of Bailey's 1975 doctoral thesis examination of 123 Canadian elementary school social studies textbooks, carried out at the University of Oregon, was to determine their contribution to the socialization of Canadian students. This socialization process was examined in terms of the development of a sense of Canadian identity. Findings were that textbooks presented the physical parameters of social experience--for instance, defining community only in terms of its geographic features--rather than social dimensions. Dominant assumptions about technology, environment, and progress were taken for granted rather than explored.⁸⁰

A 1986 Master's thesis by Murray is a structural study using critical theory to analyze five elementary social studies textbooks currently prescribed in British Columbia. The study developed a conceptual framework employing three dimensions of content: social conflict, social discourse and social knowledge. Murray concluded that the texts supported a consensus view of society. They did not adequately promote citizenship education because they did not reflect the societal tensions that result from a plurality of interests and value positions.⁸¹

Group, 1957), 104.

⁷⁹Ken Dewar, "The Road to Happiness: Canadian History in Public Schools," *This Magazine is about Schools* 6 (Fall 1972): 127.

⁸⁰Gordon Archibald Bailey, "Education and the Social Construction of Reality: Canadian Identity as Portrayed in Elementary School Social Studies Textbooks" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1975).

⁸¹Valerie Mary Murray, "Ideology of Content in Social Studies Texts" (Master's thesis,

Gilbert's 1984 structural study examined the images of human nature and society and the disciplinary knowledge and perspectives presented in 180 British textbooks published in the decade after 1969. Gilbert concluded that an impression of social equality is created by the lack of discussion of inequalities in wealth and power.⁸²

Jean Anyon has examined the role of social studies and history textbooks in legitimating knowledge in the United States. In a 1978 study, Anyon examined four commonly used elementary social studies textbook series. She concluded that the knowledge that "counts" in elementary social studies tends to be that "which sanctions and justifies prevailing institutional arrangements."⁸³ In a 1979 study Anyon examined seventeen American history texts. Beginning with the idea that "textbooks are social products that can be examined in the context of their time, place, and function," she considered their treatment of economic and labor union developments during the period from 1865 to 1917. She was interested in the groups not represented in the texts as well as those represented, since the omissions reveal the groups which are marginal in society. "Omissions, stereotypes, and distortions that remain in 'updated' social studies textbook accounts of Native Americans, Blacks, and women reflect the powerlessness of these groups."⁸⁴ According to Anyon, these textbooks promoted the belief that a working class does not exist, and the impoverished deserve their poverty.

Textbook studies have been criticized for their discussion of textbooks in isolation from the classroom context.⁸⁵ Jean Anyon has conducted one of the few studies involving texts in the classroom setting. Anyon conducted a case study of five elementary schools

University of British Columbia, 1986).

⁸²Rob Gilbert, *The Impotent Image: Reflections of Ideology in the Secondary School Curriculum* (London: The Falmer Press, 1984).

⁸³Jean Anyon, "Elementary Social Studies Textbooks and Legitimizing Knowledge," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 6 (September 1978): 50.

⁸⁴Jean Anyon, "Ideology and United States History Textbooks," *Harvard Educational Review* 49 (August 1979): 361, 382.

⁸⁵See James Anthony Whitson, "The Impotent Image: Reflections of Ideology in the Secondary School Curriculum," *Educational Studies* 17 (Summer 1986): 290-297 and Carmen Luke, James Cook, Suzanne de Castell, and Allan Luke, "Beyond Criticism: The Authority of the School Textbook," in *Language, Authority, and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook*, ed. Suzanne De Castell, Allan Luke, and Carmen Luke (London: The Falmer Press, 1989), 245-260.

situated in contrasting social class settings in two school districts in New Jersey. Two were labelled working-class, a third middle-class, a fourth was called affluent professional, and a fifth executive elite. She investigated curriculum, pedagogy, and pupil evaluation practices in order to gather data on the nature and distribution of school knowledge. The fifth-grade social studies texts used in the working class schools, "contained less information, fewer inquiry or independent research activities, and more of an emphasis on social studies knowledge as facts to be remembered than the texts used in any other school of this study." The affluent professional and executive elite schools used the same text series, one which "emphasizes what it calls 'higher concept' learning. Unlike the series in the working-class and middle-class schools, it discusses at length such topics as social class, the power of dominant ideas, and 'competing world views.'"⁸⁶ Anyon concluded that there were profound differences in the curriculum and views of knowledge in the schools. Teachers viewed students' curriculum needs as differing according to the future lives they were expected to lead. These expectations were based on social class.

Poststructuralism is new to social studies and no extensive analyses of social studies textbooks have been carried out in this tradition. However, Cherryholmes, influenced by Foucault, has analyzed the effects of power on social studies rationales and textbooks. He concluded that social studies practitioners behave as though social studies education is an autonomous enterprise; whereas, in fact it is profoundly affected by external social and economic forces.⁸⁷

Recent Studies from Eclectic Perspectives

Recent textbook research has been eclectic in nature. There has been far more such research in the United States than in Canada. For instance, a 1975 bibliography by Uribe and Aaron listed approximately 200 American textbook studies.⁸⁸ A 1987 review by

⁸⁶Jean Anyon, "Social Class and School Knowledge," *Curriculum Inquiry* 11 (1981): 8, 19.

⁸⁷Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Knowledge, Power, and Discourse in Social Studies Education," *Journal of Education* 165 (1983): 341-358.

⁸⁸O. Uribe, Jr. and J.V. Aaron, *Sourcebook: A Compilation of References Related to the Content Analysis of School Books for Racism/Sexism* (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational

Larkins, Hawkins, and Gilmore covered 154 articles concerning textbooks. Eighteen dealt with readability, twelve with procedures for evaluating texts, thirty-seven with topics other than text content, thirty-two looked at biases such as gender and race, seventeen examined the treatment given other countries, and twenty-two considered the way values were handled.⁸⁹ Marker and Mehlinger, in a review of American textbook studies, found two common threads. First, many studies focus on social concerns of the times such as the Vietnam War, propaganda, terrorism, global interdependence and heroes and heroines. Second, textbooks do not meet the researchers' beliefs as to what they should contain. Using the presentation of women in texts as an example, Marker and Mehlinger point out that it is predictable that textbooks won't measure up to the standards of the researcher. These reviewers also point out that studies almost always conclude that texts "are bland, lack controversy, cover too much material superficially, and are written too simplistically."⁹⁰

In a 1990 collaborative project reminiscent of earlier bilateral studies, Marion Salinger of Duke University and Donald C. Wilson of the University of British Columbia sought to determine how Canada is portrayed in American social studies textbooks. Salinger and Wilson sent questionnaires to a group of Canadians and Americans who were knowledgeable about Canada in order to determine what they considered to be important understandings American students should have about this country. A set of "idea statements" was developed based on the questionnaire responses. Twelve American textbooks were then analysed in terms of these major desired ideas. A written profile of each text was developed, as well as a bar graph which charted the various ideas in terms of their intensity in the text. Four major themes were found to highlight the portrayal of

Research and Development, 1975), ERIC, ED 191 953.

⁸⁹A.G. Larkins, M.L. Hawkins, and A. Gilmore, "Trivial and Noninformative Content of Elementary Social Studies: A Review of Primary Texts in Four Series," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 15 (Fall 1987): 299-311.

⁹⁰Gerald Marker and Howard Mehlinger, "Social Studies," in *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, ed. Philip W. Jackson (Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992), 835.

Canada. These were: Canada as a diverse landscape; Canada as a world player; Canada as a cultural mosaic, and Canada as a unique society. One important conclusion of this study was the predominant conceptualization of Canada as 'neighbour' in the texts; a concept which, because it implied a particular political stance, inhibited any focus on issues which might be controversial.⁹¹

Several studies, both Canadian and American, are worthy of note here because they examine texts from a conservative perspective, quite different than the structural studies discussed above. In spite of the concern, often voiced, that textbooks promote conservative values, conservative critics do not find that such values are promoted to their satisfaction. Harro Van Brummelen examined the perception of society and its ideals portrayed in elementary school readers, mathematics, science and social studies texts used in British Columbia in 1989. He used a quantitative content analysis approach making notes on verbal and pictorial content in each of twenty-eight predetermined categories. These notes were with regard to "the knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, and dispositions described in the textbooks." From the notes made, recurring or prominent themes were determined. Frequency counts of quantifiable items such as types of families and homes portrayed; the number of situations involving adults, children, or both; and the number of portrayals of members of minority groups were used to verify the prevalence of the identified themes. He concluded that current texts used in British Columbia give almost no attention to moral issues and dilemmas, nor to the place of religion in Canadian society. They portray an incomplete view of social reality, due to an inappropriate degree of emphasis on the power of individuals to achieve their goals without the help of other members of society or the support of social institutions. Being a Canadian means being "mutedly patriotic within a multicultural setting." "A saccharine version of Canada's multicultural experience"⁹² is

⁹¹Marion Salinger and Donald C. Wilson, *The Portrayal of Canada in American Textbooks* (Durham, NC: Center for International Studies, Duke University, 1990).

⁹²Harro Van Brummelen. "The World Portrayed in Texts: An Analysis of the Content of Elementary School Textbooks," *Journal of Educational Thought* 25 (December 1991): 205, 211, 211.

presented because the conflicts and tribulations experienced by immigrants are not depicted. Van Brummelen also found what he considered to be far too much emphasis on the power of technology. The benefits of a technologically-advanced, materialistic society are depicted without a counterbalancing emphasis on the responsibilities of its members both to the community itself and the environment in which it exists.

Other studies from a conservative perspective are two by Vitz and O.L. Davis and colleagues. With funding from the United States federal government, Paul C. Vitz's 1986 study examined eighty-eight elementary and secondary social studies texts, as well as twenty-two elementary readers. Vitz found that religion, traditional family values, and conservative political and economic positions are absent from textbooks. He considered and rejected the notion of a conscious conspiracy, attributing these results to a widespread secular and liberal educational leadership.⁹³ An examination of thirty-one Grade Eight and Nine United States history texts by O.L. Davis and others, in a study sponsored by People for the American Way, also revealed an absence of any emphasis on religion as an important part of an individual's value system or as a way of deepening students' understanding of American culture.⁹⁴

In recent years there has been greater interest in the portrayal of women in social studies texts. Beth Light, Pat Staton, and Paula Bourne examined sixty-six Canadian history textbooks and reported their findings in a 1989 article which formed part of a special edition on women's issues of *The History and Social Science Teacher*, the premier journal for social studies educators in Canada. These texts, published in 1980 or after, displayed a range of less than one percent women's content to just over forty-three percent. A less serious tone was evident when describing women's activities. Also, there was a

⁹³Paul C. Vitz, *Censorship: Evidence of Bias in Our Children's Textbooks* (Ann Arbor, MI: Servant Books, 1986).

⁹⁴O.L. Davis Jr., Lynn M. Burbaw, Maria Garza-Lubeck, Alfred Moss, and Gerald Ponder, "Looking at History: A Review of Major U.S. History Textbooks" (Washington, DC.: People for the American Way, 1986), ERIC, ED 326 474.

tendency to blame female family members for men's faults and failures.⁹⁵ Patricia Baldwin and textbook author, Douglas Baldwin, in a 1992 article in the same journal (now called *Canadian Social Studies*), analyzed four Grade Seven Canadian history textbooks. They concluded that women are relegated to minor roles of supporting men's endeavours. They suggested that traditional categories and periodization of history be abandoned in favour of new formats which allow for a fairer portrayal of women. In addition, both teachers and students should be taught to recognize bias and how to counteract it.⁹⁶

In a 1986 article in the American journal, *The History Teacher*, Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault proposed a sophisticated schema for thinking about women in history, which she applied to twelve American history textbooks published between 1979 and 1981. The stages in Tetreault's schema range from a male history where the absence of women is not noted, at one end, to a multi-focal, relational history, which fuses women's and men's experiences into a holistic view of human experience, at the other. She pointed out that "the anomalies of women's history push us not only to challenge our historical paradigms but also to challenge the way we conceptualize knowledge and what we consider worth learning." She suggested a structural perspective which would acknowledge the French historians' concept of the '*longue durée*', "the slow glacial change which represents paradigmatic shifts in the way people think that require hundreds of years to complete."⁹⁷ This approach would allow for incorporation of such structural changes as the transition from a patriarchal to an egalitarian perspective.

Another important American study is Joel Spring's *Images of American Life*, published in 1992. Spring links textbooks to the wider society, exploring ideological management in the context of schools, radio, television, and movies. He defines

⁹⁵Beth Light, Pat Staton, and Paula Bourne, "Sex Equity Content in History Textbooks," *The History and Social Science Teacher* 25 (Fall 1989): 18-20.

⁹⁶Patricia Baldwin and Douglas Baldwin, "The Portrayal of Women in Classroom Textbooks," *Canadian Social Studies* 26 (Spring 1992): 110-114.

⁹⁷Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault, "Integrating Women's History: The Case of United States History High School Textbooks," *The History Teacher* 19 (February 1986): 249, 249.

ideological management as both propaganda--the manipulation of information for the purpose of ideological control-- and the attempts by various public and private groups to influence the ideas and information conveyed to the public. A major point of interest which Spring discusses is the way in which the inclusion of racial and ethnic minorities, women, and other political minorities in recent textbooks has not changed the vision of an idyllic society, lacking conflict and controversy, which has always been portrayed in texts.⁹⁸

Recent Historical Studies

Two historical studies of a structuralist nature are worthy of note. The earlier one was carried out by Kenneth Osborne, a professor of history education at the University of Manitoba. Osborne used what he called a "determinedly impressionistic"⁹⁹ approach to examine twenty-nine Canadian history textbooks published between 1886 and 1979 to determine how Canadian workers were portrayed. Osborne concluded that textbooks have little to say *about* the working class as a class, but much to say *to* workers. Their ideological message is one of acceptance of the status quo. The texts transmit a clear moral message, emphasizing the inter-related virtues of perseverance and determination, hard work, moderation and restraint, and cheerfulness. Particularly in earlier texts, missionaries and Loyalists are held up as exemplars of these virtues. Fur traders are not idealized because they are less concerned with the growth of Canada as a nation and more with personal gain. Finally, texts either minimize or completely omit the existence of conflict within Canadian society, past or present. For instance, very little content is provided

⁹⁸Joel Spring, *Images of American Life: A History of Ideological Management in Schools, Movies, Radio, and Television* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

⁹⁹Kenneth Osborne, "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable"--*The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*. Monographs in Education Series, ed. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1980), 3.

whereby students can understand working class militancy in the early twentieth century. In terms of continuity, these aspects of textbooks did not change in important ways over the period examined. In terms of change, texts have become visually more attractive, contain more social history, and the moralizing is less overt.

Robert J. Graham has examined the Irish Readers in their historical context of nineteenth century Upper Canada. Graham places his research firmly in the structuralist camp. He examined representative lessons that dealt with issues of gender and race, as well as with political economy and its relationship to class structure. He concluded that these lessons were meant to reproduce the society of the time on fixed lines of race, class, and gender.¹⁰⁰

In another "determinedly impressionistic" study, Nancy Sheehan has examined reading series authorized in Alberta in terms of the vision of the world they present to young readers. The three reading series authorized consecutively prior to World War II, the Alexandra Readers, the Canadian Readers, and The Highroads to Reading Series, contained selections with a moral message, had stories from countries around the world, and stories about heroes from British and European history. Many of the stories were excerpts from literature by well-known British and Canadian authors such as Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Stephen Leacock. The "hidden curriculum" of the texts promoted Judaeo-Christian traditions and veneration for the British Empire and its ideals. What the readers did not promote was "creativity, originality, and anything that would upset the planned scheme of things."¹⁰¹ With the advent of progressive education in the 1930s, these texts were no longer suitable. New textbooks were authorized, which

¹⁰⁰Robert J. Graham, "The Irish Readers Revisited: The Power of the Text(book)," *Canadian Journal of Education* 14 (1989): 414-426.

¹⁰¹Nancy Sheehan, "Character Training and the Cultural Heritage: An Historical Comparison of Canadian Elementary Readers," *The Curriculum in Canada in Historical Perspective*, ed. G. Tomkins, Canadian Society for the Study of Education 1979 Yearbook, 6 (May 1979), 79.

had immediate appeal for children, with their colourful illustrations and stories which centered around common childhood experiences. However, the good literature of the previous texts was sacrificed for a controlled vocabulary intended to promote technical mastery of vocabulary and concepts. Sheehan concludes that, as a result of this changed emphasis, and with the profusion of new resources available to students and teachers, the authorized reader lost its influence in terms of teaching about life beyond the formal curriculum.

Two studies have examined textbooks approved for use in British Columbia in the 1872 to 1925 period. Timothy Stanley describes how school readers, history, and geography texts used in British Columbia prior to 1925 "fostered an 'ideology of difference' which legitimated the white occupation of the province as both natural and morally necessary, at the same time that it rendered First Nations people and Asians as 'Other.'" According to Stanley, imperialism was central to this process of indoctrination. Imperialism was presented as a moral enterprise in which British Columbia students had a role to play. Subject peoples were presented as genetically inferior to the superior imperialists in terms of both intellect and character. Thus the Empire "was really a moral crusade bringing civilisation and enlightenment to millions."¹⁰²

Few studies have examined continuity and change in textbooks over time and considered the texts within the sociocultural contexts in which they have been written and published. One such study is described in Harro Van Brummelen's 1986 article entitled, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925." Van Brummelen traces the world view represented in British Columbia texts from the year when textbooks were first prescribed in this province until the year of publication of the

¹⁰²Timothy J. Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995), 39, 44.

Putman-Weir Report. Van Brummelen used all the readers, many of the history and geography books, and a selection of the science, health and mathematics texts prescribed during this period to analyze "the extent of change in the views of religion and morality, of Canada as a nation, of science, culture and progress, and of the child and his society."¹⁰³ Van Brummelen found that the content of the textbooks changed from an unquestioned acceptance of traditional Christian beliefs to a much more secular orientation, although an emphasis on the teaching of morality remained evident. He also found an implicit faith in Canada's continuing economic progress. In the early years of the study the concept of Canadian nationhood was presented in terms of the British heritage. In later years, links to the mother country were not forgotten, but a focus on Canada as an independent nation was beginning to develop.

Ahsan used a quantitative content analysis to examine selected primers used in British Columbia between 1880 and 1980 to determine the extent to which British Columbia school texts "reflect the changing character of British Columbian society, the altering sense of how it was to be viewed by its members, and the shifting manner in which patterns of behaviour and attitudes deemed acceptable in it disintegrated and re-formed." He examined three themes: "first, the extent to which an egalitarian message found increasing expression in school texts; second, the extent to which, over time, texts encouraged acceptance of ethnic and racial pluralism; and, third, the extent to which they suggest British Columbia society was becoming increasingly secularized." Unfortunately, his limited sample (twelve texts) and use of trivial measurement devices make it difficult to credit his findings. For instance, his first hypothesis is that "B.C. Primers Will Picture An

¹⁰³Harro Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872-1925," in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 17.

Increasingly Egalitarian Society."¹⁰⁴ One of the measures of egalitarianism was the percentage of children, adults and animals in both text and pictures.

If children appear increasingly in peer groups, rather than with adults, the inference is that both family and society are becoming less hierarchical. Animals are considered to represent an inferior group. Therefore an increase in the appearances of animals is likely to indicate a trend towards egalitarianism in the sense of an increased mingling of superior and inferior groups.¹⁰⁵

In a 1989 article dealing with theories and attitudes towards political education in Canada, Marshall Conley provided a number of examples from Canadian history texts used throughout the century to support his conclusion that these texts have the political function of promoting a national Canadian identity. History is viewed as a vehicle to inculcate national ideals. An idealized picture of Canadian life and culture is presented. This picture does not include conflict because this would detract from the view of national unity which the texts portray. There is a focus on the hardships which Canadians have faced, and overcome, in building their nation. The picture of the ideal Canadians which emerges is one of "people who intend to better themselves, who will work hard without complaint, who can make a virtue out of necessity, who are moderate, self-reliant, respectable and temperate."¹⁰⁶

Two American studies which I rank as classics are *Guardians of Tradition*, Ruth Elson's elegant discussion of nineteenth century schoolbooks, and *America Revised*, Frances FitzGerald's examination of twentieth century American history texts. No comparable work of the magnitude of these studies has yet been done in Canada. Elson makes the point that the nineteenth century schoolbooks selected what they considered

¹⁰⁴Syed Aziz-Al Ahsan, "School Texts and the Political Culture of British Columbia, 1880-1980," *BC Studies* 63 (Autumn 1984): 56, 56, 58.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, 58.

¹⁰⁶Marshall W. Conley, "Theories and Attitudes Towards Political Education," in *Canada and Citizenship Education*, ed. Keith A. McLeod (Toronto: Canadian Education Association, 1989), 147.

most essential to preserve in America and offered this as an image for students to guide their future. Elson concluded that the world created in nineteenth-century schoolbooks was a fantasy one peopled by ideal characters; a simplistic world on a journey to material and moral perfection. The fact that it was an unrealistic, and for most readers, unattainable, picture of reality was of no importance.¹⁰⁷ Frances FitzGerald's pithy discussion of continuity and change in twentieth century American history textbooks is essentially a political economy of textbooks. FitzGerald discusses the broad contexts of changing educational, political, and societal expectations, and their effects on the textbook publishing industry and, in turn, the texts themselves.¹⁰⁸ Although neither researcher describes methodology, both studies seem to be "determinedly impressionistic," in the sense in which Osborne uses this phrase.

James Barth and Samuel Shermis take issue with other researchers such as FitzGerald, who have concluded that texts are dull and vacuous. These researchers reject the "textbooks-are-dull-and-dumb-no-they-are-not debate."¹⁰⁹

It is not, we argue, that one is right and the other wrong, that social studies texts are or are not bland, neutral, homogenized, objective or what have you. It is rather that if one wishes to understand how social studies texts came to be what they are, one must understand the 19th century historical background. One must understand the persistence of a set of assumptions from philosophical Positivists, social scientists, and social studies educators. And if this is the more important reality, then the present debate is beside the point.¹¹⁰

Barth and Shermis compared a set of United States history and civics textbooks written between the years 1874 and 1927 with a set written between 1960 and 1980. They found

¹⁰⁷Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the Nineteenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964).

¹⁰⁸Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1979).

¹⁰⁹James L. Barth and S. Samuel Shermis, "Nineteenth Century Origins of the Social Studies Movement: Understanding the Continuity Between Older and Contemporary Civic and U.S. History Textbooks," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 8 (Fall 1980): 30.

¹¹⁰Barth and Shermis, "Nineteenth Century Origins of the Social Studies Movement," 47.

that authors of each cohort group shared fundamental assumptions. History "is a series of events, in linear order, revolving around major political, military, and diplomatic events and featuring individuals who tend to function as exemplars, idealized, bigger-than-life heroes. History texts are therefore not analysis or interpretation but rather celebrations of great men, great events and a great destiny."¹¹¹ According to Barth and Shermis, the reason the perspectives of the nineteenth century have persisted in the social studies texts of the 1960 to 1980 period is because the celebratory nature of the early texts was not disturbed by the addition of logical positivism. The certitude of the social sciences merely added legitimacy to the existing structure of the texts.

In a 1980 doctoral thesis at Columbia University, carried out under the supervision of Hazel Hertzberg, Micheline Fedyk examined high school American history textbooks published during the period, 1913-1977, for their conceptions of citizenship and nationality. The study used both direct and indirect evidence of these concepts. Explicit clues were drawn from format, style, words, phrases, relative amount of space, student questions and activities, illustrations, and captions. Implicit clues were found in comparisons, analogies, metaphors, inferences, allusions, and omissions. Fedyk found that textbook conceptions of citizenship and nationality were surprisingly stable over the sixty-four year period. Second, the way in which these concepts were presented made them difficult to distinguish, one from another. Third, an ideal representation of the "good" citizen and the "typical" American is created in the texts. Moreover, there is an undercurrent of optimism and progress in the texts and authors attempt to nurture in students a sense of pride in American citizenship. Finally, as authors representative of formerly marginal groups write more texts, there is an increasing lack of consensus regarding the nature of American nationality.¹¹²

¹¹¹Barth and Shermis, "Nineteenth Century Origins of the Social Studies Movement, " 45.

¹¹²Micheline Fedyck, "Conceptions of Citizenship and Nationality in High School American History Textbooks, 1913-1977" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1980).

Conclusion

This study will demonstrate what Cherryholmes has referred to as the "unremarkable but unduly ignored idea"¹¹³ that "textbooks are social products that can be examined in the context of their time, place, and function."¹¹⁴ The preceding review of textbook studies over time has shown that they too represent their time, place, and function. The types of concerns expressed by educators, as well as members of the society-at-large, to which textbook studies are a response, change as society changes. Hence, early studies, prior to the onset of greatly increased ethnic and racial diversity, concern themselves with the 'dual' nature of Canadian society. There was a proliferation of textbook analyses in the 1970s and early 1980s in response to Canada's changing demographics and concerns about how various racial and ethnic minorities were being represented in the texts. Next, as society became more aware of inequities related to 'structural' characteristics such as class and gender, these concerns began to form the basis of textbook analyses. Certain concerns have retained their place, such as the representation of Canada in American textbooks.

Researchers have examined texts from different perspectives, with different purposes in mind, and using different methodologies. Perspectives and purposes have determined methodological decisions. However, quantitative methodologies have tended to dominate the field.

¹¹³Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Critical Research and Social Studies Education," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, ed. James Shaver, (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 44.

¹¹⁴Jean Anyon, "Ideology and United States History Textbooks," 361.

Research Method

Primary and Secondary Sources

The major primary source used in this study is the provincially approved textbook. 'Approved' is a general term I have chosen to indicate an official status granted by the British Columbia Ministry of Education. Various terms have been used over the years to indicate different levels of approval. These terms are 'prescribed', 'authorized', 'recommended', and 'supplementary'. The meanings of these terms vary from one period to another. Thus, Ministry of Education definitions, if it has made such definitions available, will be provided in each period under discussion.

This study did not analyze teacher guides. First, they are not a factor until the mid-1980s. Prior to this, the few that were written were very brief and did not receive approved status. Second, they do not include the subject matter content that is of greatest interest here. Rather, they are primarily collections of objectives and teaching and assessment strategies.

Other primary source materials include the Putman-Weir and Chant Royal Commission Reports; pertinent Canada Studies Foundation documents; social studies programmes of study and curriculum guides; and Department of Education annual reports, bulletins, and lists of officially approved textbooks. Newspaper articles; as well as articles from pertinent journals such as *Exploration* (later *Horizon*), the B.C. social studies teachers' journal; *BC Teacher*; and *The History and Social Science Teacher* (later *Canadian Social Studies*), the national social studies educators' journal, were also consulted.

Methodology

According to Gilbert, quantitative content analysis is the most frequently employed approach to textual analysis in the social sciences.¹¹⁵ In an effort to achieve objective,

¹¹⁵Rob Gilbert, "Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content," in *Language*,

systematic and statistically reliable findings from textual analysis, researchers using this approach engage in frequency counts, and categorize in various ways, particular semantic units such as words, phrases, or sentences, or items in illustrations. This method can be highly reliable, given use of techniques designed to encourage objectivity, such as specific rules of classification and adequate training of coders. However, it has serious limitations. For instance, in a study discussed earlier, of Grade One readers used in British Columbia, Ahsan calculated percentages of non-Anglo-Saxon names or other references to non-Anglo-Saxons and the frequencies of pictorial representations of non-whites in the texts, in order to test the hypothesis that the texts would depict an increasing tolerance of ethnic diversity over time. Presumably a greater number of references to non-Anglo-Saxons would indicate greater tolerance.¹¹⁶ A limitation of this, and some other studies using quantitative content analysis, is that mere frequency of reference to a particular topic is inadequate to indicate the nature of those references. In this example, the texts could have a greater number of references to non-Anglo-Saxons over time, but in a negative context. For instance, the texts might consistently depict them in one set of economic circumstances or engaging in antisocial acts. A quantitative content analysis, on its own, cannot bring out, or interpret, such information.

In addition, the general tenor of a passage can be very different than quantitative content analysis would indicate. The following passage from George Tait's 1973 text, *One Dominion*, a Canadian history text used extensively in Canada, illustrates this point:

Authority and Criticism: Readings on the School Textbook, ed. Suzanne de Castell, Allan Luke, and Carmen Luke (London: The Falmer Press, 1989), 62.

¹¹⁶The methodology used in this study was criticized in a letter to the editor of *BC Studies*:

His statistical analyses do not go beyond dealing with the number of occurrences of certain types of references. Yet, what is more significant than the number of occurrences is the way in which specific descriptions reveal beliefs and attitudes. For example, the ways in which children address parents, how the role of the church and religion is discussed, and whether non-whites are referred to as "savages" or "natives"--all these tell us more about commonly-held conceptions than the frequency of reference to such situations. (Harro Van Brummelen. "Correspondence," *BC Studies* 65 (Spring 1985), 90-91.

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 [*sic*]. In return for these promises, the tribesmen would receive farming tools, seed, food stores and annual gifts of money. Before the end of the 1870's, the Indians had given up their claims to a great belt of land running through the southern part of the North-West.

In the difficult task of persuading the Indians to adopt a new way of life, the Police played an important part. They succeeded because they were respected and admired by the tribesmen of the plains.¹¹⁷

This passage reveals a paternalistic attitude toward Native peoples in its praise of the North-West Mounted Police and in its underlying tone of pride at having solved a difficult problem in a way that met the best interests of all concerned. There is no mention of the way of life which is being forfeited in exchange for the goods and money received, nor of the hardships which were to ensue. Both what is implied and what is omitted are more important than what is actually stated here. Again, these aspects would not be revealed by means of a quantitative content analysis.

Mattu and Villeneuve use the example of the treatment of women in texts to elaborate on the inability of quantitative content analysis to deal with omission of information. They point out that women are discussed primarily in terms of physical attributes, with the use of words such as "attractive," "graceful," and "lovely." ECO Analysis would yield a positive score, failing to take into account the condescending implications of such terms and the omission of other characteristics of women.¹¹⁸

Other limitations to quantitative content analysis have been discussed by Gilbert, who has called this approach "reductionist and methodologically superficial."¹¹⁹ Gilbert points out that the process of choosing a unit of analysis, such as a word or phrase,

¹¹⁷George E. Tait, *One Dominion*, 2ed (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1973), 245. (Note that 'reservations' is the American term for land set aside for Native people. The Canadian term is 'reserve'.)

¹¹⁸Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice," 18.

¹¹⁹Gilbert, "Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content," 63.

oversimplifies the way a reader produces textual meaning. First, this approach ignores the way the reader progressively constructs meaning through processes such as repetition and anticipation. Second, this approach does not take into account the way in which a text is sequenced and organized, aspects which are as important to meaning construction as are individual elements of the text. Another weakness is the assumption that the meanings of semantic units do not vary according to context, that they will be the same regardless of their location within a continuous discourse. This assumption is also applied across texts. Gilbert cites a study by de Charms and Moeller in which the values expressed in American children's readers from 1800 to 1950 were examined.¹²⁰ "Identities of meaning are . . . taken to be timeless, so that comparisons are made across documents spanning a century and a half, ignoring the complex ways in which meanings change in history." Finally, Gilbert points out that the fact that the categories for analysis must be chosen by the researcher detracts from the much touted objectivity of this approach. "The apparent 'objectivity' of content analysis is, even on its own terms, spurious, as the highly controlled frequency counts can be based only on earlier arguments of interpretation."¹²¹

Pratt has pointed out that a quantitative approach, such as he used in his studies of social studies texts, is useful only when evaluative terms which can be subjected to classification and counting, are present. He cautions that this approach "does not analyze every component of textbooks through which attitudes may be communicated. . . . For these other elements, a subjective critical technique may be appropriate."¹²²

For the reasons discussed above, this study used a descriptive analysis approach or "a subjective critical technique," as Pratt calls it. It will be, to use Osborne's term, "determinedly impressionistic." This approach has been used successfully in many of the

¹²⁰R. DeCharms and G. Moeller, "Values Expressed in American Children's Readers: 1800-1950," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 64 (1962): 136-142, in Gilbert, "Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content," 61-73.

¹²¹Gilbert, "Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content," 62, 63.

¹²²Pratt, *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks*, 14.

studies discussed earlier, including Osborne's study of the portrayal of workers in Canadian history texts and Ruth Elson's study of nineteenth century American textbooks.

Limitations of the Study

It is evident that much of classroom experience has been in the past, and still is, determined by an approved text or texts. Nevertheless, I did not consider the complexities of text-in-use. This study was concerned with the discourse in the texts themselves--texts as 'cultural artifacts'--rather than with texts in the classroom context.

There is no doubt that individual experiences with written texts differ. In the case of classroom textbooks, the teacher's role as mediator between text and student is an important one. Tone of voice, level of enthusiasm, examples and anecdotes provided to elaborate on points made in the texts, and the time the teacher chooses to spend on various segments of the text, are all examples of ways in which the teacher mediates. Teachers' subject matter knowledge also has an effect on use of textbooks.¹²³ As Gilbert put it, "readings given to texts vary with the discursive practices of different social sites."¹²⁴ In addition, even in the context of a single classroom, each individual student's experience with a text is unique.¹²⁵ These are important areas of investigation. However, they are not the focus of this study. As Francis FitzGerald said:

No matter what degree of influence the texts actually have on children, they have their own intrinsic interest as historical documents. . . . they are tailored to please a public that extends even beyond the vast educational

¹²³See Suzanne M. Wilson and Samuel S. Wineburg, "Peering at History through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History," *Teachers College Record* 89 (Summer 1988): 525-539.

¹²⁴Gilbert, "Text Analysis and Ideology Critique of Curricular Content," 68.

¹²⁵See Isabel L. Beck and Margaret G. McKeown, "Substantive and Methodological Considerations for Productive Textbook Analysis," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, ed. James P. Shaver, (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 496-512. Beck and McKeown, reading researchers at the University of Pittsburgh, have investigated ways that readers interact with social studies texts. Two foci of their investigations have been the role of prior knowledge in understanding new material and characteristics of texts that promote or impede comprehension. See Ruth Garmer and Patricia A. Alexander, ed. *Beliefs About Text and Instruction With Text* (Hillsdale NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1994) for discussions of the influence of both teacher and student beliefs on interaction with text.

establishment. Consensus documents, they are themselves a part of history, in that they reflect the concerns, the conventional wisdom, and even the fads of the age that produced them.¹²⁶

¹²⁶FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 20.

CHAPTER II

PUTMAN-WEIR ERA, 1925-1939: BACKGROUND

Putman-Weir Commission Report

The year, 1925, was a landmark year for education in British Columbia, in that it marked the presentation to the legislature and the public of the *Survey of the School System*, a comprehensive review of education in the province carried out by two nationally prominent educators, J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir. Weir was a former principal of the Saskatoon Normal School and had recently been appointed a professor of education at the University of British Columbia. Putman was a former normal school instructor in psychology and English, and was currently the senior inspector of schools for the city of Ottawa. Both men had doctoral degrees in education. The *Survey* was a response to concerns expressed by a variety of community groups such as the B.C. Union of Municipalities, the B.C. Trustees' Association, the B.C. Teachers' Federation, the B.C. Parent-Teachers' Federation, and the Property-Owners' Association of Vancouver. The commissioners held over 200 public hearings and visited 150 schools around the province, logging almost 10 000 miles in order to do so. They also administered I.Q. tests to the province's students, with the help of Peter Sandiford of the University of Toronto, an international expert in educational psychology and student of Edward Thorndike. The *Survey of the School System*, or the Putman-Weir Report, as it is more commonly known, has been called the most thorough examination of any Canadian school system undertaken to that time.¹²⁷

The 1925 *Survey of the School System* is an interesting blend of two strands of the progressive education movement; the child-centered strand and that of social efficiency. The commissioners made a number of recommendations for curricular revision and for

¹²⁷C.E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1957), 263.

reorganization of the school system. In keeping with their concern that "the doctrine of formal discipline has influenced either consciously or unconsciously, the academic and professional side of the educational system" the commissioners recommended that greater emphasis be placed on subjects such as domestic science and manual training. The history of Canada and of British Columbia was to have an important place in the curriculum, but with a "less 'factual' and more thought-stimulating"¹²⁸ approach, involving greater stress on civics, current events, and projects.

Another major recommendation of the report involved the creation of junior high schools, with reorganization of the school system into 6-3-3 grade groupings, to coincide with the three major developmental stages of childhood and youth. This recommendation was implemented immediately, with a new *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools* appearing in the 1927-28 school year, and for high and technical schools in 1930.

Major curricular recommendations took longer to implement. This may well have been related both to a change of government in 1928, and to the onset of the Depression in 1929, with the ensuing difficulties with educational finance. In any event, curricular reform received impetus from the election, in 1933, of T.D. Pattullo's Liberal government. Weir was appointed Provincial Secretary and Minister of Education. As such, he supervised a major process of curricular revision, producing new curricula for elementary, junior and senior high schools between 1936 and 1939.

Social, Economic, and Political Context

Jean Barman calls the period from the end of World War One to the end of World War Two in British Columbia, "the best and worst of times."¹²⁹ The period rocketed back and forth from economic recession following World War One, to prosperity in the mid to

¹²⁸J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, *Survey of the School System* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 42, 150.

¹²⁹Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 236.

the late 1920s, to disaster with the stock market crash of October, 1929, and finally, to prosperity again with the coming of World War Two. Hence, the Putman-Weir Commission operated during a time of prosperity, but the onset of the Depression in 1929 was operative in slowing down the implementation of its curriculum recommendations. This will be discussed later.

There was much political activity as well, with three governments in power during this period. The Liberal party held power for a decade, from 1918 to 1928; first under Premier John Oliver, who died in 1927, and then under John Duncan MacLean. In 1928 the Conservatives, under Simon Fraser Tolmie, were elected. In 1933 the mantle of power went back to the Liberals under Duff Patullo.

This period also saw the creation in 1932 of a socialist federal political party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, under the leadership of James Woodsworth. The CCF was able to mount candidates in British Columbia's provincial election of 1933 and elected seven members, becoming the official opposition--much to the surprise of many British Columbia citizens.

The percentage of Asians in the population of British Columbia was 7.6 percent in 1921 and 7.3 percent in 1931. This was down from a high of 10.9 percent in 1901.¹³⁰ This drop was due both to an increase in the white population and to an exclusion act passed in 1923 which reduced Chinese immigration to a trickle. By the 1920s the Chinese had a monopoly on market gardening near Vancouver and Victoria. Many others worked as small-scale merchants, running grocery stores and other small shops, laundries, and restaurants, both for the Chinese community alone and for the white community. The Japanese were prominent in the fishing industry, both on the boats and in canning. Many farmed in the Fraser and Okanagan valleys. Oriental economic success and the increasingly high levels of education of the Japanese were seen as a threat by many white British Columbians. Racism was blatant and resulted in much anti-Oriental agitation.

¹³⁰*Census of Canada* statistics cited in Barman, *The West Beyond the West*, 363.

Educational Context

Curriculum Change

The Putman-Weir commission was at work during a time when the ideas of the American progressive education movement were becoming prevalent in Canadian educational discourse. Both Putman and Weir were known as progressive educators. Weir has been called "the province's most authoritative voice on the theory and practice of progressive education."¹³¹

The 1930s witnessed Canadian provincial Department of Education officials, curriculum developers, and Normal school instructors embrace features of the American progressive education movement. During this decade every province in Canada initiated major curricular revision reflecting this progressive philosophy. Saskatchewan, in 1931, was the first to begin this process, followed by Nova Scotia in 1933, Alberta and British Columbia in 1936, Ontario in 1937, and Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Protestant Quebec over the next three years.

The new child-centred approach implied correlation of subject matter around the needs and interests of the child. Emphasis was on the "whole" child, not simply intellectual functioning. Each child was to be helped "to develop mentally, morally, physically, and spiritually to the most of his¹³² capacity."¹³³ The curricula which were being developed at this time were "activity" oriented, with a focus on group investigations, which were intended to promote cooperation, communication, and democratic decision-making skills. Some provinces chose to call these group investigations "enterprises," a term taken from the British Hadow Report of 1926. British Columbia used the American

¹³¹Jean Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State," in *Schooling and Society in Twentieth Century British Columbia*, ed. J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1980), 92.

¹³²Historical quotes use the masculine pronoun to refer to both genders in a way that is unacceptable today. I have chosen not to insert "sic" after each use of the masculine pronoun due to the frequency of its use.

¹³³R.S. Shields, "Schools of the City of New Westminster," *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1938-39* (Victoria, BC: King's Printer, 1939), H 60.

term, "project"¹³⁴ taken from William Kilpatrick's project method in the 1920s and 1930s. It was not until the 1940s that the term "enterprise" began to appear in educational literature in this province.¹³⁵ This was following publication of "the bible of the activity program in Canada,"¹³⁶ *The Enterprise in Theory and Practice* by Alberta educator, Donald Dickie.¹³⁷ The term "unit of work" was also used in this province. The 1943 *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia* devotes six pages to discussing the organization of instruction around (it hedges its bets) "a new unit of work, project or enterprise."¹³⁸ The enterprise approach is described in *The Rural School*, a journal sent by the Ministry of Education to all rural teachers in the province, as "a thrilling experience for both teacher and pupils."¹³⁹

The enterprise approach was described most succinctly in the Alberta 1936 *Programme of Studies for the Elementary School*. This document defined an enterprise as:

a definite undertaking; teacher and pupils agree upon it and tacitly promise to carry it through as agreed. An enterprise is an undertaking chosen, after consideration, for its interest and value; carefully planned in advance, carried out according to plan, and brought to a definite conclusion, after which some reckoning of gains is made. . . . A well chosen enterprise--

Is centred in the interests of the pupils.
Is within the range of their ability.
Suggests several kinds of work to be done.
Provides different types of social experience.

¹³⁴Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 120-121.

¹³⁵The term "enterprise" appears occasionally in school inspectors' reports and in articles in the *B.C. Teacher* journal in the early to mid-1940s. A course entitled "Activity or Enterprise in Elementary School" was offered as late as 1952 at the Summer School of Education in Victoria. Sample enterprises appeared in copies of *The Rural School* and *British Columbia Schools*, journals sent by the Department of Education to teachers in British Columbia. *The Rural School* was sent to teachers in rural schools from December, 1944 to December, 1945. It proved to be so popular that it was replaced by *British Columbia Schools*, Elementary Edition (Feb., 1946 - Sept., 1952) and *British Columbia Schools*, Secondary Edition, (Oct., 1946 - Oct., 1952), which were sent to every teacher in the province.

¹³⁶Nancy Sheehan, "Education, the Society and the Curriculum in Alberta 1905-1980: An Overview," in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 44.

¹³⁷Donald James Dickie, *The Enterprise in Theory and Practice* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1940).

¹³⁸Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1943): 14-19.

¹³⁹Gladys M. Hogg, "The Enterprise," *The Rural School* 1 (February 1945): 26.

Ic (sic) capable of being completed within a reasonable length of time.¹⁴⁰

There was more emphasis on an activity approach in the elementary schools than there was in the secondary. H.B. King, Chief Inspector of Schools, lamented this situation in his 1942-43 *Annual Report*, saying that the overdepartmentalization of the junior high schools stood in the way of the implementation of an enterprise program.¹⁴¹

However, it was in the junior high schools that the integrated curricular area of social studies first appeared. The creation of social studies in British Columbia, with its integration of history, geography, and civics, was a direct product of the progressive reform initiated by the Putman-Weir Report. The term "social studies" first appears in the 1927-28 *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools*. It is described as "a unified course in geography, history, and citizenship [and] a new departure in curriculum-making."¹⁴² Its introduction into the high school curriculum followed in 1930 and the elementary in 1936.

According to the 1927-28 *Program of Studies for the Junior High Schools*, the purpose of social studies was citizenship education--"to develop intelligent, responsible, and socially conscious citizens."¹⁴³ To achieve this end the "right ideals and attitudes to be developed" included "love for the other nations of the British Empire and for our constitutional monarchy," "an appreciation of the necessity for government; the meaning of liberty, of citizenship, and of co-operation," and "recognition of the fact that the British and Canadian tradition is to abide by the law," "a reasoned but deep-seated patriotism, and that a Canadian can best serve the other nations of the British Empire and the rest of the world by doing what it is in his power to do towards making Canada greater and nobler."¹⁴⁴ The

¹⁴⁰Department of Education, Alberta, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary School* (Edmonton: King's Printer, 1936), 288.

¹⁴¹H.B. King, "Inspection of Schools," *72nd Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1942-43* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1943), B 34.

¹⁴²Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools, 1927-28* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927), 18.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools*, 18-19.

1936 *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools* continues this theme, stating that, while the training of good citizens is not limited to any one particular subject, "the field of the Social Studies does, however, offer especially suitable opportunities for training in citizenship." The history portion of the social studies program was viewed as especially appropriate; the use of biographical stories as the best vehicle. Students "should be told stories of the great men of the past, their struggles and achievements, their success and failures; stories of action and romance, of discovery and invention. By this means we translate the realm of the legendary (literature) into the realm of the real (history)."¹⁴⁵ This is in keeping with the Putman-Weir Report, which advocated inculcation of the ideals of manly citizenship through the study of history.

Rhetoric and Classroom Practice: Role of Textbooks

The progressive orientation of the Putman-Weir Report had a major impact on the perception of the role of textbooks in curriculum and instruction. Teachers were encouraged to abandon their traditional reliance on the single, authorized text, and to make use of a variety of resources. Texts were viewed as information sources useful in providing data for dealing with problems under investigation rather than as a source of facts for all students to memorize. The result of this view was a profusion of textbooks listed as supplementary readers or reference books, rather than only a few designated as authorized or prescribed, in the programmes of study which followed the report. For instance, between 1925 and 1939, only twelve social studies texts were listed as prescribed for Grades One to Eleven, and only two were authorized. The remaining texts were referred to as, "supplementary readers," "reference books," or listed under the heading of "bibliography."

Neither the programmes of study nor the textbook catalogues provide definitions of these textbook categorization labels. Definitions must be inferred from the way in which

¹⁴⁵Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia Bulletin II* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 58, 57.

the categorizations are used and from information found in other sources. For instance, the 1936 *Manual of School Law* is instructive in this regard. The Council of Public Instruction was "to prescribe courses of study and select, adopt, and prescribe a uniform series of text-books and authorize supplementary readers for the public schools and normal schools of the Province."¹⁴⁶ It seems clear from this statement that certain textbooks, those deemed to be "prescribed," enjoyed the same exalted status as courses of study. Since courses of study were mandatory, it can be inferred that these textbooks were as well. Other textbooks, deemed "supplementary," were of a lesser rank. The term "authorize" also denotes a lesser rank, since it is the supplementary texts which are authorized. The Act further instructs teachers that they are "to use or permit to be used as text-books in the public schools only such books as are prescribed or authorized by the regulations"¹⁴⁷ and school districts are threatened with a reduction of grant funds if any other books are used.¹⁴⁸ All of the prescribed, authorized, and supplementary texts, were made available to schools through the Department of Education. From 1931 the Text-Book Branch purchased prescribed texts from publishers and then made them available to schools, either by selling them to local booksellers or to the schools directly. The local booksellers were bound to sell the books at the same price, whether in "the most remote village of the province [or in] the largest centre."¹⁴⁹ In addition, certain texts were provided free of charge to the schools.

The "laboratory method" was recommended as the approach to be used with textbooks.

The laboratory will consist of a small class-room library; the apparatus, of books, pictures, magazines, etc. A well-selected collection of general histories, monographs, biographies, magazines, etc; portraits of historical personages, pictures of groups and scenes, modern imaginative pictures

¹⁴⁶Department of Education, *Manual of School Law* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 13.

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 86.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁴⁹Department of Education, British Columbia, *Educational Movements and Changes, 1936-38* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1938), 4. Prior to 1931 prices varied considerably from place to place.

portraying historical scenes are indispensable"¹⁵⁰

The programmes of study urged teachers to "socialize" the daily work, to have students work together to prepare reports. "Learn[ing] by doing"¹⁵¹ was to be the order of the day. Department of Education Curriculum Advisor, H.B. King, spelled out the role of textbooks in his list of "Instructions to Members of the Junior and Senior High School Curriculum Committees," who were undertaking the major curriculum revisions produced in the late 1930s. In this document he clearly states that "a textbook is not a Course of Study but is one of the means whereby the aims of a course or the units within a course may be achieved. The aim is not the mastery of the content of a textbook, but the mastery of the principles, concepts, generalizations which constitute the heart of the unit."¹⁵²

It should be noted that, while there may have been teachers who implemented the Department of Education's recommendations regarding the employment of texts in the classroom, indications are that the textbook remained the major determinant of classroom practice during this period. School inspector, H.H. MacKenzie, in 1923, deplored the reliance on the textbook in the majority of the schools in his Inspectorate, which consisted of both urban and rural schools in Vancouver and the Fraser Valley.¹⁵³ Putman and Weir, in 1925, refer to "soul-dwarfing, Gradgrind methods of instruction," where teachers "slavishly relied on the book--generally the prescribed text--as a substitute for [their] own selection and organization of the materials of instruction."¹⁵⁴ They found this approach to be particularly noticeable in history and geography instruction. The Canada and

¹⁵⁰Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia, 1925-26* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 49-50

¹⁵¹Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia, 1930* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1930), 72.

¹⁵²H.B. King, Curriculum Advisor, "Instructions to Members of the Junior and Senior High School Curriculum Committees," Unpublished, n.d.

¹⁵³H. H. MacKenzie, "Elementary Schools--Inspectorate No. 5," *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1923-24* (Victoria, BC: King's Printer, 1924): F 29.

¹⁵⁴J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir. *Survey of the School System*, 43, 325.

Newfoundland Education Association, in a 1945 report on history textbooks used in Canada, stated:

The textbook is the most important aid in teaching and learning history. It determines the facts to be taught and the manner of teaching them. If well prepared, fair, complete, and adapted to the abilities of the pupils, it contributes greatly to a better knowledge of history. Both teachers and pupils rely upon it and it is hard for them to overcome its deficiencies.¹⁵⁵

Research on classroom practice during the period indicates that most teachers continued to rely on the approved textbooks. Sutherland, in his discussion of the "formalism" of elementary schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s, based on interview data from adults who had attended school during this period, mentions children reading in sequence from history and geography textbooks and filling in blanks in notes taken by the teacher from the textbook.¹⁵⁶ Patterson, based on questionnaire data obtained from retired teachers in the four western provinces, concludes that the activity approach, the projects and the enterprises, were more a matter of official rhetoric than actual classroom practice.¹⁵⁷

What is also clear, is that it was not just teachers who spurned the activity approach. Many in the upper echelons of the education system were sceptical as well. Particularly compelling are remarks by former school inspectors who, once the bonds of occupational obligation were removed, felt free to criticize government policy. Enlightening in this regard are the reminiscences of former Vernon School Inspector, A.S. Towell, in which he confesses that he was torn between departmental edicts and classroom realities during his time as an Inspector:.

He [H.B. King] strongly advocated . . . much greater use of the 'Activity' or 'Enterprise' method. In respect of these I found myself in a

¹⁵⁵Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, "A Report of the Committee for the Study of Canadian History Textbooks," 9.

¹⁵⁶Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s," in *Vancouver Past: Essays in Social History*, ed. R.A.J. McDonald and Jean Barman, (Vancouver: UBC Press), 175-210.

¹⁵⁷R.S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," in *Essays in Canadian Education*, ed. N. Kach, K. Mazurek, R.S. Patterson, and I. De Faveri (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 79-96.

rather unhappy position. As a loyal servant of the Department I felt bound to urge my teachers to use the techniques which the Department officially favoured, but as a realist I was sure that successful use of these techniques required a degree of skill, ingenuity, industry, and background which only a minority of teachers possessed. I saw a very few 'Enterprises' which were well planned and well carried out, and which therefore produced admirable results; but most teachers seemed reluctant to attempt the technique, and when they did try the results were far short of satisfactory. These people were much happier and much more successful when they stuck to the more traditional and more conventional methods.¹⁵⁸

The influential, A.R. Lord, School Inspector in the Cariboo and Chilcotin areas, textbook author, and Vancouver Normal School Principal, revealed a bias against ideas that smacked of "progressive" influences in his journals. Lord referred to the "objectionable educational jargon"¹⁵⁹ used to describe these ideas.

There is no doubt that the textbook retained its prominent place in the classroom experience of children during this period in spite of the rhetoric about projects, units of work, and enterprises.¹⁶⁰

Choosing Texts: Contemporary Concerns

The major, over-riding concern of the day was that texts be written and published by Canadians. The educational ministry was particularly sensitive to criticism regarding use of American texts. In 1925, Dr. J.D. MacLean, Minister of Education, was forced to explain at length in the legislature that the fifteen American textbooks which the government had been found to be using were "minor texts, some of which could not be

¹⁵⁸A.S. Towell, "A Report on Curriculum Developments in British Columbia," Presented to the Royal Commission on Education, June 2, 1959. PABC, GR 683, Box 16, File 12.

¹⁵⁹John Calam, ed., *Alex Lord's British Columbia: Recollections of a Rural School Inspector, 1915-36* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 114. See p. 22 for a brief discussion of this comment by editor, John Calam.

¹⁶⁰A microcosm of rhetoric versus reality in the context of progressive education in Canada is described in Brian Low, "Lessons in Living: Film Propaganda and Progressive Education in British Columbia, 1944," (Paper presented at "New Directions in British Columbia History Conference," University of Northern British Columbia, May, 1995). Low describes how the National Film Board of Canada, with the cooperation of the British Columbia Ministry of Education, filmed the implementation of progressive education practices in the Lantzville, B.C. elementary school. The changes depicted, although presented as authentic, were actually contrived for purposes of filming. Following the filming, the school returned to its original state.

secured here, and others which were used only by a few students in highly-specialized subjects"¹⁶¹ and that his department used Canadian texts whenever possible.¹⁶²

Contemporary authors capitalized on this concern. George Cornish, author of *A Canadian School Geography*, declared in the Preface to his text, that "Canadian schools have been too long tied down to United States text-books in Geography, either adapted or made over. . . . To write a text-book from the Canadian standpoint has been the purpose of the present author. The subject matter, the comparisons, the maps, and the illustrations have the Canadian atmosphere."¹⁶³ Publishers, too, were not shy about using this angle to promote their products.¹⁶⁴

The concern regarding the use of American texts did not carry over to British texts. A text such as *Highroads of History, Book IV--Other Days and Other Ways*, a book of stories about British history, must have been written for British school children. It refers to "our great writers," "our British liberties," and "our island."¹⁶⁵ In fact, at least part of Cornish's later text, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, must have originally been written for British readers. At one point the author refers to France as "our neighbour across the Channel."¹⁶⁶ This is particularly interesting upon examination of the Preface of his earlier text, *A Canadian Geography*, in which he states that "every paragraph of a good text-book in geography is permeated with the atmosphere of the country in which it is to be used. To

¹⁶¹"MacLean Plans Big Reforms in Schools; New Officials to be Named Immediately," *Times*, 13 Nov. 1925.

¹⁶²Only two of the social studies texts examined here, *The Story of World Progress and Civilisation in Europe and the World*, were American in origin. Both were revised for Canadian editions by Canadian historians. See "B.C. Pupils Are Better Than American," *The Evening Sun*, 13 November, 1925.

¹⁶³George A. Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1923), v.

¹⁶⁴See Advertisement, *BC Teacher* V (May 1926): 196. Ginn and Company, located in San Francisco at this time, declares that their *New Geography* text is "a truly Canadian edition [which] maintains the Canadian point of view."

¹⁶⁵*Highroads of History Book IV--Other Days and Other Ways*, The Royal School Series (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1929), 222, 222, 223.

¹⁶⁶George A. Cornish, *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, B.C. ed. (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), 206.

adapt or make over such a book for another country quenches its fire, and it becomes lifeless and uninteresting."¹⁶⁷

There was also concern that the printing of texts take place in British Columbia.¹⁶⁸ That the government listened to this concern is evident in correspondence from P.B. Barr, Officer In Charge of the Text-Book Branch, to Dr. S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education, in which Barr reports on a trip to Montreal and Toronto where he called on educational publishers. According to Barr, "The object of the trip was to obtain their co-operation in the Department's policy, which is to have as much of the printing and manufacture of text-books done in British Columbia as is consonant with sound business and educational policy."¹⁶⁹

The texts could hardly be reasonably criticized for being anti-monarchical, although, on one occasion, a legislator did try. In February 1927, the Hon. Joshua Hinchcliffe, stood up in the legislature and moved to have *English Prose Selections* altered or eliminated because of a selection therein which he deemed to be anti-British in nature.¹⁷⁰ It turned out to be an example of Stephen Leacock humour, in which the author described members of the House of Lords as visiting a bar "where they sipped dry sherry, nibbled a biscuit and then went into the Upper Chamber; rejected such bills as were before them, and adjourned for two years." According to Hinchcliffe, this passage struck "at the very foundations of the British parliamentary system." In response, Captain Ian Mackenzie "moved a resolution condemning Mr. Leacock's foul libel on the House of Lords particularly in its statement that the members of that Chamber 'nibbled' their biscuits when in reality they gobbled them outright." The response of the Minister of Education, the Hon. J.D.

¹⁶⁷Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography*, v.

¹⁶⁸A.V. Lofting, "Our School System," *Labor Statesman*, 4 Dec. 1925, 4. The article refers to "Patronize Home Industries," which indicates greater concern with job creation than Canadian nationalism.

¹⁶⁹P.G. Barr to S.J. Willis, 19 May 1939, PABC, GR 451, Vol. 29, File 5.

¹⁷⁰"Says School Books Casts [sic] Reflection on British System," 10 Feb. 1927, PABC, B-363, B.C. Legislative Assembly Clipping Books. [Newspaper not identified.]

MacLean, was to launch into a potentially "lengthy and academic discussion of what really constitutes humour,"¹⁷¹ which had to be cut short by the Speaker.

The lists of texts remain remarkably consistent throughout this period. For instance, *Canadian Geography for Juniors* by Cornish was prescribed for use in Grades Five and Six for a period of almost twenty years, from the 1928-29 school year until the mid 1940s.

The criteria for textbook selection are not made explicit. However, two such criteria are evident in a letter from Dr. H.B. King to a textbook publisher in which he criticizes Copp Clark for not concerning itself with the attractiveness of its publications and allowing them to become out-of-date. He concludes that "naturally the compant [*sic*] [company] lost out."¹⁷² It seems from this comment that visual appeal and currency of content were two criteria for textbook selection then as now.

It does not seem to have been particularly difficult for a text to obtain a supplementary listing. In a letter to a Miss Sonia Coffin, H.B. King advises her that he saw no "reason why a book on the Minoan civilization could not be put on the supplementary reading lists authorized for the Department of Education if you should write such a book."¹⁷³

Authorship of texts chosen for use in schools during this period was limited to a narrow segment of humanity. Authors were, for the most part, either Canadian university historians or employees of a provincial Department of Education. A.L. Burt, I. Gammell, Duncan McArthur, George Wrong, Mack Eastman, and Frederic Soward were Canadian historians. Schapiro and West were American historians. Eastman and Soward were historians at the University of British Columbia. H.F. Angus was an economist there. Of

¹⁷¹"Members Laugh at Hinchcliffe's Fears of School Heresy," 3 Mar., 1927, 55, 55, 55, 55, PABC, B-363, B.C. Legislative Assembly Clipping Books. [Newspaper not identified.] The passage is taken from Stephen Leacock, *My Discovery of England* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, Ltd., 1922).

¹⁷²H.B. King to C.R. Green, J.C. Winston & Co., 3 Jan. 1939, PABC, GR 452, Box 1, File 11.

¹⁷³H.B. King to Sonia Coffin, 30 March 1939, PABC, GR 452, Box 1, File 9.

Department of Education employees, most were Normal School instructors (Donalda Dickie and Arthur Anstey) or principals (V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord). H.B. King worked for the Department of Education under several titles, including Curriculum Advisor and Chief Inspector of Schools. George Cornish was somewhat of an exception in that he was an Associate Professor in the College of Education at the University of Toronto.

CHAPTER III

PUTMAN-WEIR ERA, 1925-1939: CANADIAN IDENTITY THEMES

Texts Examined

I examined thirty-three textbooks approved in this era. This list includes all elementary, junior and senior high (to junior matriculation) history, geography, civics, and social studies texts prescribed or authorized between the 1925-26 and 1939-40 school years. Also included in this list are texts in the following categories: where the purchase of fifteen or more copies was recommended; where the text was in a supplementary listing at three or more grade levels; or where a strong recommendation was made; i.e., "may be used as a basis for the course."¹⁷⁴ In addition, at least one text from the Supplementary List or Bibliography at each grade level was examined.

It was common practice for publishers during this period to provide the date of each printing of a text, in addition to the first copyright date and the dates of various revised editions. The decision was made to use the copyright date of the latest edition here, rather than the date of the last printing. Using the last printing date would be misleading since it would cause the reader to believe that the text came into use later than may have been the case. (It was not uncommon for a text in this period to have four or five printings.) Also, in some cases, only one date appears, although it is not the first date of publication. In this case I used the date in the version of the text which I had in hand.

¹⁷⁴Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia, Bulletin II* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 67.

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender: "*The women at home*"¹⁷⁵

Women are virtually invisible in most texts, history or geography. They simply are not a presence in the geography texts. In Canada's early history, the texts concentrate primarily on the exploits of European males, European women being present in very small numbers. After European women do arrive, their tasks are not acknowledged as contributing to the building of the nation (the ongoing theme of the texts). Native women receive short shrift as well. Exceptions can be found in history texts by female authors.

In Cornish's *A Canadian Geography for Juniors*, prescribed for Grades Five and Six from 1928 until the mid 1940s, women play no role. Children ask their fathers for information on topics of interest. Father and son discuss the merits of mountain passes. Father takes his children to visit a dairy farm in Chilliwack. Mother packs the lunch basket and stays home, presumably to do household chores. In the history texts, only a few time-honoured heroines such as Laura Secord, Madeleine Verchères, and Marguerite Bourgeoys appear quite regularly on the pages. The King's "Daughters" ("filles du roi") embark from their ships into the eager arms of young male habitants, and then fade away, while the texts move on to the more important affairs of the male fur traders and explorers.

When pioneer women are visible, they are often presented as weak and dependent or as onlookers. This is the picture presented of one female pioneer. She took one look at her new home and "leaned her head against a tree and wept despairingly, 'Oh, Robert,' she cried, looking at her children, 'take me back! take me back!'"¹⁷⁶ During a logging bee whenever a giant log had to be pulled, "word was passed to the women, who flocked out and, perched upon convenient log piles, watched their men with admiring eyes."¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵I. Gammell, *History of Canada*, B.C. ed., Gage's New Historical Series (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1921), 271.

¹⁷⁶D.J. Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book Six (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), 115.

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 218.

Women's invisibility in the texts is understandable in the case of Canada's very early history, since women were present in very small numbers. However, by early settlement times, although women were not involved in political affairs, they were obviously an important part of pioneer life. For the most part, this is not acknowledged in these texts. References are made to "the pioneer and *his* [italics added] family"¹⁷⁸ as if, somehow, other family members are not also pioneers. The men's work of clearing land and planting crops is the central core of the story. The rest of the work occurs around this. This other work seems to just happen. The texts do not make clear that this work involves the day-in and day-out toil of women. For instance, McArthur mentions that, following a logging bee, "the women took great pride in providing a sumptuous feast as reward for the strenuous labours of the men."¹⁷⁹ McArthur is not acknowledging the "strenuous labours" involved in putting together a "sumptuous feast" for a large number of people, with no electricity, no running water, and no grocery stores.

Tasks carried out by women are simply not acknowledged as work. The tasks of Native women living on the prairies prior to European contact are described by Burt in *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* as "very light, except when the village struck or pitched camp, and then she had to be house mover and builder." At the same time he describes the women as having "to be on duty constantly,"¹⁸⁰ presumably gathering food and fuel, preparing food, caring for children, tending the sick, making clothing, and sundry other 'light' duties!

There are some exceptions. George Wrong's *History of Canada* is one such exception. Wrong points out that while the men "cleared the ground and tilled the fields, . . . most of what was used within, the women had to make--the daily bread, the candles, the soap, not least the clothing, for the spinning-wheel was in every household. When there

¹⁷⁸Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1927), 210.

¹⁷⁹McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 214.

¹⁸⁰A.L. Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1931), 18, 18.

was illness the doctor was often remote."¹⁸¹ Many of Donald Dickie's texts are also somewhat of an exception. Here is her description of the female experience of pioneer life in New France:

the housekeepers spent their lives in crushing toil. They were usually married at sixteen and brought up families ranging from twelve to twenty in number. Remember, they not only cooked and washed for their families, but spun, wove, and made everything they wore as well. The dairy and garden work was always done by the women. In summer, during the busy season, they helped the men in the fields; in winter, they knitted caps, mits [*sic*], scarfs, sashes, and wove homespun linen and flannel for sale.¹⁸²

In another text, Dickie says, "women had to have steady hands and level heads as well as brave hearts in those days."¹⁸³

In Dickie's text, *In Pioneer Days*, fourteen of ninety-three chapters are about females. This may seem scanty, but when placed against other texts, it becomes significant. As an example, Gammell's *History of Canada* lists three women in its index, Laura Secord, Queen Elizabeth, and Princess Louise, only one of whom is a Canadian. Perhaps, as a female, it seemed only natural to Dickie to include female experience, where it was missing from other texts. It is illuminating to compare Dickie's treatment of the King's "Daughters" ("filles du roi") with that of Gammell. In the Dickie text, *When Canada Was Young*, the reader is taken into the minds of these young women who are embarking on a new life:

Often they were daughters of men with very large families who could hope to do little for them at home. Sometimes they were orphans brought up in homes or convents. Strong, healthy girls were chosen. They must have had brave hearts as well as strong bodies to dare, all alone, the ocean, the wilderness, the savages, and a land of strangers. . . . Very lonely they must have been as the ship put out to sea, and the pleasant shores of France faded from their sight forever. It was indeed forever, for well they knew they were never likely to return. No doubt they wept long and sadly, comforting one another

¹⁸¹George M. Wrong, *History of Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1921), 214.

¹⁸²D.J. Dickie, *When Canada Was Young*, rev. ed., Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book Five (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), 211.

¹⁸³Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, 244.

as best they could, while the nuns reminded them that the good God was as near to Canada as to France.¹⁸⁴

Under a subtitle called "Increase of Population," Gammell says that "shiploads of girls were then dispatched, also at the king's expense, to provide them with wives."¹⁸⁵ Nothing more is said on the topic. The text might as well have been referring to shiploads of seed to provide the settlers with wheat as to young women with thoughts and feelings! Gammell's treatment is the more typical of the two.

Dickie includes topics which are not touched in other texts. These include contributions of Women's Institutes to "inculcating Canadian ideals and principles,"¹⁸⁶ and experiences of women teachers. In one text she includes a rather strange story entitled, "The Blue Silk Dress,"¹⁸⁷ which lovingly, and in immense detail, describes a dress made as part of the trousseau of a young bride. It is difficult to imagine such a story in one of the other texts.

Another difference one notes in the Dickie texts is a tendency to be slightly more explicit about sexual matters. For example, Dickie is the only author to mention the Scottish woman who was the first white woman in western Canada.

She was a young woman from the Orkney Islands who, in 1806, disguised herself as a man and came out in a Hudson's Bay ship to join her lover. Her baby, a fine boy, was born in December 1807 at Henry's post, Pembina. The Scottish woman took her little son home the following summer and nothing more is known of them.¹⁸⁸

She also deals more explicitly with the topic of inter-racial sexual relationships than do other authors. This point will be discussed in the next section. Whether this was a

¹⁸⁴Dickie, *When Canada Was Young*, 104.

¹⁸⁵Gammell, *History of Canada*, 45.

¹⁸⁶D.J. Dickie, *How Canada Grew up*, rev. ed., Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book Eight (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), 324.

¹⁸⁷Dickie, *How Canada Grew Up*, 264.

¹⁸⁸D.J. Dickie, *The Canadian West*, rev. ed., Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book Seven (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1927), 88. Dickie does not name this woman. She was Isabel Gunn [aka Mary Fubbister].

characteristic of Dickie herself, or generally of female textbook authors, it is impossible to say since so few women wrote textbooks at this time.

In spite of the fact that Dickie seems somewhat of an anomaly among all of the male authors, she was a woman of her time. In her supplementary reader for primary students, *All About Canada For Little Folks*, the little girls help their mothers clean and cook; they are polite and obedient. Boys pretend to be farmers, while girls pretend to be their wives. Boys do not cry, at least "not very much."¹⁸⁹

Another interesting anomaly is found in a very early text by Alexander McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents*, published in 1911, but still used in B.C. schools until the mid 1920s. In a discussion of manufacturing, this text makes the point that women, in the course of their daily homemaking duties, may well have invented such common domestic appliances as the churn, the spinning wheel, and the weaving loom.¹⁹⁰

The paucity of females in these texts, and the belittling of the roles they play, indicate that citizenship was predominantly a concept applicable to males. Males built the country and male figures provide the role models for emulation. It was the public arena which 'counted'.

Race/Ethnicity: "These little strangers among us"¹⁹¹

This section will consider the texts' treatment of two groups--immigrants to Canada in the late nineteenth century or later and Native peoples. Immigrants, other than those from the Orient, are presented in a positive light. Native peoples of the past are viewed either from a paternalistic perspective or with undisguised repugnance. Contemporary Native peoples are, for the most part, ignored. When present, they are viewed from a negative perspective.

¹⁸⁹D.J. Dickie, *All About Canada for Little Folks*, Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book One (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1926), 37, 47, 35, 36.

¹⁹⁰Alexander McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents: An Elementary Geography for the Junior and Middle Grades of the Public Schools* (Toronto: The Educational Book Co., 1911), 45.

¹⁹¹Stella Macklin, "Daughters of the Empire: I.O.D.E. Educational Work Amongst Foreign Districts in Canada," *The School*, VII (1919): 582.

Immigrants to Canada are viewed quite positively for the most part in texts during this period. One text comments that

each band of settlers has had some special gift to offer to the country of their adoption gift of music or of art splendid folklore. . . . handicraft of a much older civilisation than that of Canada. Added to these gifts are others of endurance, thrift and honesty, all of which grace and strengthen a nation.¹⁹²

H.B. King credits immigrants with "doing their part in building a prosperous and happy Canada."¹⁹³ Wallace points out that "some mistakes were made in the types of immigrants obtained. The Doukhobors, for example, a kind of Russian Quaker, have proved especially unreceptive to Canadian ideals."¹⁹⁴ He concedes, however, that "on the whole the settlers were of an excellent type, with a high percentage of people of British and American origin. Their industry and success has been phenomenal."¹⁹⁵ *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* refers optimistically to "the greatest romance of all. It is the romance of a multitude of people who have left for ever their homes in other parts of the world, and commenced life all over again in a new country which they are making and which is making them."¹⁹⁶

This would seem far removed from J.S. Woodsworth's hierarchy of immigrants in *Strangers Within Our Gates*, published in 1909, in which he ranked immigrants according to their desirability as citizens of Canada. Immigrants from northern Europe were considered superior to immigrants from southern or eastern Europe because of their perceived ability to assimilate easily into Canadian society. Oriental immigrants were at the bottom of the list. Their lowly status was because: "they constitute an entirely distinct class

¹⁹²D.J. Dickie and Helen Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, rev. ed. (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931), 448.

¹⁹³H.B. King, *A History of Britain* (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1937), 15.

¹⁹⁴W. Stewart Wallace, *A New History of Canada* (Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1928), 102. This text is actually called *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*. It is two texts bound together, each of which is numbered separately. Therefore, when footnoting quotes from this text, the note will refer to *A New History of Great Britain* or *A New History of Canada* to avoid confusion regarding page numbers.

¹⁹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 256.

or caste. They have their own virtues and vices; their own moral standards and religious beliefs. The Orientals cannot be assimilated."¹⁹⁷

Closer examination of the texts, however, reveals a perspective which is not all that far from that of Woodsworth. It is clear that Anglo-Saxon immigrants are still perceived to possess the highest value. Wallace says that "on the whole the settlers were of an excellent type," only because a high percentage of them are of British and American origin. King points out that "immigrants from the British Isles and from other countries bring with them very often a culture and skill valuable in the making of a new country."¹⁹⁸ It is interesting that immigrants from the British Isles are singled out in this way. In earlier texts, the author would not have bothered to add "and from other countries," but the message is much the same.

When immigration and immigrants are discussed, Oriental immigrants are seldom mentioned. This is because they were a presence only in British Columbia in this period, and the texts were not written solely for British Columbia students. They were authorized in other provinces as well. Usually Asian immigrants receive mention only in texts which have a segment devoted to the history of British Columbia tacked onto the end in order to pass the approval process in this province. The Oriental presence in B.C. is presented as a problem. Anstey, in his add-on section to Burt's *Romance of Canada*, calls it "a social and economic problem [which] will need to be solved by wise and patient effort."¹⁹⁹ In his own text, *The Romance of British Columbia*, Anstey says the situation "bristles with difficulties."²⁰⁰ In *Lessons on the British Empire*, written under the auspices of the Department of Education, the reader is told that East Indian immigrants in Natal have created an economic problem because they sell their goods and services at a lower price

¹⁹⁷J.S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972; orig. ed., 1909), 154-155.

¹⁹⁸King, *A History of Britain*, 14.

¹⁹⁹Arthur Anstey, "British Columbia," in A.L. Burt, *Romance of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1937), 63.

²⁰⁰Arthur Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1924), 206.

than the white people. It is pointed out that "this problem in Natal resembles the Oriental problem in British Columbia."²⁰¹ British immigrants, on the other hand, are "jolly-looking people. . . . We are glad they have come. We hope they will like it here."²⁰²

In *All About Canada For Little Folks*, a text intended for primary students, Donald Dickie introduces her readers to William and Wilhelmina from Holland, who are "New Canadians." However, Tar-Lee and Har-mee from Japan and Poy from China are merely "visitors in Canada."²⁰³ even though their parents, like those of William and Wilhelmina, are engaged in agricultural production here in Canada (growing strawberries). Through her descriptions of Tar-Lee, Har-mee, and Poy, Dickie captures two aspects of the social reality of the Oriental presence in British Columbia at this time. First, is the important place which Orientals had assumed in the production and distribution of fruits and vegetables in B.C. By the early 1920s, the Chinese exercised control over market gardening and the distribution of fresh vegetables; while the Japanese controlled thirty-nine percent of the acreage devoted to small fruit growing in the Fraser Valley by 1924.²⁰⁴ The second point conveyed by Dickie is the vehement desire of many white British Columbians for the Orientals to turn around and go back to whence they had come. This desire was communicated through almost constant anti-Asian agitation in the inter-war years, resulting in laws limiting Asian employment opportunities and numbers allowed into the country.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹Department of Education, *Lessons on the British Empire* (Victoria: Department of Education, 1936), 71.

²⁰²D.J. Dickie, *The Book of Wonders*, Dent's Canadian Geography Readers (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), 45.

²⁰³Dickie, *All About Canada For Little Folks*, 37, 42.

²⁰⁴British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, *Report on Oriental Activities Within the Province* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927).

²⁰⁵See W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy Toward Orientals in British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1978). Also see Harold Keith Hutchinson, "Dimensions of Ethnic Education: The Japanese in British Columbia, 1880-1940" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1972).

While these texts portray a more positive attitude toward immigrants, on the whole, than did earlier texts, it is evident that some immigrants are preferred to others.²⁰⁶ British immigrants get top preference, with those from western Europe and the United States coming next. Then we proceed on down to the Orientals. Within the Oriental group, there is some evidence that the Japanese were preferred to the Chinese.²⁰⁷ Certainly, in the texts the Chinese are referred to more frequently in the context of being a problem than are the Japanese.

According to Patricia Roy, the hostility toward Asians lay primarily in a fear of Oriental intellectual superiority and the economic gains which could be achieved by it.²⁰⁸ This fear found official voice in the Putman-Weir report. The student intelligence testing that formed part of the information gathering for this report had interesting results. Japanese students earned the highest intelligence scores. The Chinese were second in line, with Caucasian students, a somewhat distant third. Within the Caucasian group, students from the British Isles outscored students from continental Europe. The commissioners attempted to rationalize the high scores of the Oriental students with the explanation that self-selection was a factor, since only the best of the lot would have had the "cleverness, resourcefulness, and courage [to] emigrate to British Columbia; the dullards and less enterprising are left behind."²⁰⁹ It is interesting to note, that while this conclusion was trotted out to explain Oriental superiority, it is not at all useful in explaining the inferior scores of the children of continental European immigrants.

²⁰⁶See Tim Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination," for a discussion of racism toward Chinese in British Columbia textbooks prior to 1925.

²⁰⁷J. Donald Wilson has found evidence that teachers in B.C. appreciated their Japanese students. See J. Donald Wilson, "The Visions of Ordinary Participants: Teachers' Views of Rural Schooling in British Columbia in the 1920s," in *A History of British Columbia: Selected Readings*, ed. Patricia E. Roy (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1989), 239-255. Also see J.E. Brown, "Japanese School Children," *The B.C. Teacher* VII (June 1928): 8-11. J.E. Brown was the principal of Strathcona School in Vancouver, which enrolled over 550 Japanese children. His article has high praise for these students.

²⁰⁸Patricia E. Roy, "British Columbia's Fears of Asians, 1900-1950," in *British Columbia: Historical Readings*, ed. W. Peter Ward and Robert A.J. McDonald (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1981), 656-670.

²⁰⁹Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 508.

Although the *Survey* commissioners were frantically looking for explanations, they acknowledged that Oriental superiority was a problem, one "which calls for the highest quality of statesmanship if it is to be solved satisfactorily."²¹⁰ This was a common concern of the times. A newspaper article published the same year as the Putman-Weir report pointed out that "the 'yellow peril' is not yellow battleships nor yellow settlers, but yellow intelligence."²¹¹

J. Donald Wilson has pointed out that, with the exception of their attitude toward Japanese immigrants, rural teachers of the 1920s reflected the society as a whole in their views regarding ethnic background.²¹² Wilson drew this conclusion from School District Information Forms filled out by rural school teachers in 1923 and 1928. Certainly, comments such as, "The redeeming feature in this district is that there is a nice class of children. They are all white and fairly well brought up;" or "Most of the children are either Ukranians or half-breed Indians and their standards of living are somewhat lower than that of the few white people,"²¹³ speak volumes. Between the textbooks and their teachers, racist attitudes were instilled in students throughout their day-to-day experiences at school.

Class consciousness is yet another way of creating 'otherness'. With reference to early English settlers in Upper Canada, Wallace, in his 1928 *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, states:

Not a few of them were retired naval and military officers who took up land in the Upper Canadian "bush," and tried to supplement their pensions by farming. They did not, as a rule, make a great success of their farms; but they proved a valuable element in the life of both Upper and Lower Canada. Their high ideals and superior education marked them off from many of the immigrants. . . . Settlers of this type helped to lift life in Upper Canada out of the level of a mere struggle for existence.²¹⁴

²¹⁰Ibid., 508.

²¹¹"The Real 'Yellow Peril,'" *The Vancouver Sun*, 24 July 1925, 8.

²¹²J. Donald Wilson, "The Visions of Ordinary Participants," 239-255.

²¹³School District Information Form, Bonaparte Valley District, 1928, PABC 461, Box 2, File 1, and Kitwanga Public School, 1928, PABC 461, Box 2, File 6.

²¹⁴Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 77-78

Wrong, in his *History of Canada*, is no less elitist in his outlook. He notes that "more than the ignorant, the educated man showed an adaptability for these new conditions. He used his reason, and he had a wider range of ideas."²¹⁵

It is not evident why this class of settler necessarily had higher ideals than other immigrants who did not have their level of education. It would seem that high ideals and superior education were presumed to go hand in hand. W. Stewart Wallace, the textbook author, was certainly not alone in this assumption. G.M. Weir claimed that intelligence tests served as a fairly reliable if not infallible guide to an individual's moral worth. Weir wrote that "dullness and moral delinquency are related almost as closely as twin brothers. The investigation of numerous cases has proved this statement beyond reasonable doubt. The converse also, with certain exceptions, appears true. Intelligent people usually have the greatest moral worth."²¹⁶

Native peoples were the other "strangers among us" in these texts. In contrast to the light treatment received by Orientals in the texts, Native peoples play an important role, at least during the European exploration, fur trade, and early settlement periods. From then on, the phenomenon of the "disappearing Native" comes into play. There was no particular reason for the readers of the texts to wonder what had happened to them. They were not a factor in their own lives. For the most part, Natives lived on reserves, physically far removed from urban centres. Even in those cases where the reserves were located in close proximity to white settlement, interaction was limited. Schools did not provide opportunities for mingling of the races since Native children almost always attended reserve day schools or residential schools funded by the federal government. Native adults took little part in the white economy, preferring for the most part to carry on traditional occupations such as hunting, fishing, and trapping.

²¹⁵Wrong, *History of Canada*, 213.

²¹⁶G.M. Weir, *Survey of Nursing Education in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1932), 210.

When contemporary Native people do find their way into the texts, the depictions have a negative tone. Their totem poles are referred to as "strange-looking pillars."²¹⁷ Differences rather than similarities are pointed out. A caption for a photograph of Inuit children at Great Slave Lake directs the reader to "notice their dark complexion and long, coarse black hair."²¹⁸ In Dickie's, *All About Indians*, a supplementary reader for primary students, only two of sixty-seven stories and poems are about contemporary situations. One describes a sawmill run by Natives. "It takes a long time to cut logs in this way, but Indians have plenty of time. They are seldom in a hurry."²¹⁹ The second little vignette describes a group called Rabbit Skin Indians, who, when they are cold and hungry in the winter, "go to the Mission. It is near their camp. A Minister and his wife live at the Mission. They bring the Rabbit Skin children in and make up a big fire to warm them. They make soup and cocoa for them. They give them warm coats and caps."²²⁰

Two predominant attitudes toward Native peoples of the past are prevalent in these texts. These are paternalism and repugnance.

The paternalism is not a matter of 'reading between the lines'. It is blatant. Native peoples were "curious as children."²²¹ They sometimes went without food, not because of the harsh climate, but because "they were very improvident children."²²² They "were like troublesome children but the Hudson's Bay Company was a wise father to them."²²³ They were "almost child-like in their simplicity."²²⁴ Champlain "knew that Indians are like children who do not know very much yet, and so must be treated gently."²²⁵ The poem, "Who Calls?" epitomizes this paternalistic attitude toward Native people.

²¹⁷Dickie, *The Book of Wonders*, 73.

²¹⁸Cornish, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, 7.

²¹⁹D.J. Dickie, *All About Indians*, rev. ed., Dent's Canadian History Readers, Book Two (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1926), 34.

²²⁰*Ibid.*, 65.

²²¹Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 154.

²²²Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 18.

²²³*Ibid.*, 181.

²²⁴Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 50.

²²⁵D.J. Dickie, *The Long Trail*, rev. ed., Dent's Canadian History Readers Book Four (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1928), 27.

Who calls?
The Red man, poor and sick,
He calls.

Who comes?
The White man, rich and strong,
He comes.

Who watches?
To see that pity reigns,
God watches.²²⁶

The perception of North American aboriginal people as children had its roots in the late nineteenth century biological theory of recapitulation, which was based on the idea that the physical development of a human embryo repeats the evolutionary stages of development of the human race. This theory influenced the new science of psychology, with the idea that the social and intellectual development of an individual replicates the developmental stages through which the human race as a whole has passed. 'Inferior' groups represented an earlier stage in the evolution of adult white males. It is not much of a leap to conclude that adult members of 'uncivilized' groups must be like children of 'civilized' groups. America's leading psychologist at the time, G. Stanley Hall, said in 1904 that, "Most savages in most respects are children, or, because of sexual maturity, more properly, adolescents of adult size."²²⁷

E.D. Cope, the American paleontologist, identified four adult groups of lower human beings: races other than Caucasian, all women (who were emotionally like children), southern European Caucasians, and lower class Caucasians. It was this thinking which formed the basis of J.S. Woodsworth's ranking, in *Strangers Within Our Gates* (1909), of immigrant groups according to their desirability as contributors to Canadian society and breeding stock. It also provided the pseudo-scientific basis for the ranking of

²²⁶D.J. Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, Dent's Canadian History Readers Book Three (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1925), 110.

²²⁷Quoted in Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1981), 116-117.

racism in texts such as McIntyre's *World Relations and the Continents*, published in 1911. This type of blatant categorization was abandoned in texts published in the 1920s. However, one of the remnants which remained was in the likening of Native peoples to children. In this, the texts reflected the prevailing view of the greater society.²²⁸

This paternalistic attitude toward Native peoples is evident in the texts' treatment of the Métis Resistances of 1869 and 1885. Burt's *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* says, "No one explained to them [the Métis] that Canada intended to treat them fairly."²²⁹ According to Gammell's *History of Canada*, the Indians "had always been treated justly and kindly by the Dominion government." The Métis "thought [union with Canada] meant the coming of settlers, the decrease of game, and the imposition of taxes. Canadian surveyors were already at work running lines through their settlements and the ignorant occupants feared that the loss of their lands would follow."²³⁰ If one is to believe these texts, the rebellions were based on an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of Native people. If someone had only explained to these "ignorant occupants" that Canada intended to treat them fairly and that union with Canada would not mean the coming of settlers, the decrease of game, and the imposition of taxes, a lot of unnecessary fuss could have been avoided.

The Gammell text presents the Métis as being naive pawns in the hands of a clever Louis Riel. Gammell says, "Their excitement was fanned into rebellion by the craft and ambition of Louis Riel. He had received more education than his half-breed²³¹ countrymen, but his judgement was weak, and his temper violent."²³² Riel's violent

²²⁸For a discussion of recapitulation theory and its implications, see Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, 112-122.

²²⁹Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 169.

²³⁰Gammell, *History of Canada*, 235, 223.

²³¹The term "half-breed," was commonly used in texts at this time as a label for people of European and Native descent. This term was generally abandoned in texts by the 1950s and the term, "Métis," used in its place. It is interesting to note that Jean Barman has chosen to return to the use of the term, "half-breed," in her 1991 book, *The West Beyond the West*. She states that her reason for choosing to use this term is due to the fact that Métis was a Prairie term and almost never used in British Columbia (p. 170). Barman has a book-length manuscript on this subject in preparation.

²³²Gammell, *History of Canada*, 224.

temper led him to order Thomas Scott's execution while "in a rage" at Scott's defiance of his authority, and to carry the execution out "in a most barbarous manner."²³³

Some of the authors are willing to recognize the role the Canadian government played in allowing events to go as far as they did. They point out the legitimate land title grievances of the Métis. Wallace, in his 1928 text, says "This rebellion [1885] arose from the failure of the government and its surveyors to respect the claims of the half-breeds who had settled on the banks of the Saskatchewan River, and who feared that they would be dispossessed of their lands."²³⁴ Burt, in *Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, makes his condemnation of the government's choice of William McDougall as lieutenant-governor prior to the 1869 Resistance, clear with his statement that, "If Canada had desired to stir up a rebellion in the North-West, she could not have picked a better man." He denounces the government of Canada as "really very stupid." With regard to the 1885 Resistance, Burt says that "once more the Canadian government was very stupid." He goes so far as to declare that "the government away off in Ottawa was deaf to the cry of the half-breeds for justice."²³⁵

Repugnance is the second attitude toward Native peoples conveyed in these texts. Repugnance is evident in phrases such as "like veritable demons,"²³⁶ "worthless Indian,"²³⁷ "unreasonable savages,"²³⁸ "savage hearts,"²³⁹ "blood-thirsty nature,"²⁴⁰ "ignorant savages,"²⁴¹ and "savages stood round in gaping wonder."²⁴² Living with native peoples qualified white men for sainthood. Burt, in *Romance of Canada*, says,

²³³Gammell, *History of Canada*, 224.

²³⁴Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 88.

²³⁵Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 171, 169, 221, 222.

²³⁶Dickie, *In Pioneer Days* 36.

²³⁷Ibid., 122.

²³⁸Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 77.

²³⁹Gammell, *History of Canada*, 37.

²⁴⁰McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 66.

²⁴¹Celesta Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937), 149.

²⁴²Wrong, *History of Canada*, 13.

"Worse than travelling with the Indians was living with them. Only beasts or saints could survive being cooped up in a birch-bark hut with unclean savages, half-tamed dogs, and myriads of fleas, eating filthy food, and having their eyes continually blinded by smoke. These missionaries were heroic saints."²⁴³

The paternalism does not change, but the repugnance softens somewhat in later texts of this era. For instance, Anstey, in *Romance of British Columbia*, published in 1934, points out to the reader that "knowing them better, we shall understand them better. We shall sympathize with them, and perhaps think more highly of these 'lords of the lake and the forest' of the days before the white man."²⁴⁴

Ethnocentrism sometimes prevents textbook authors from seeing value in the practices of Native cultures, or in fact, from seeing these practices for what they were. Anstey, in *The Romance of British Columbia*, states with all sincerity that the Native people of the west coast had little or no religion "*apart from their belief in the spirit world and its influence on their lives* [italics added]."²⁴⁵

The topic of inter-racial sexual relationships is generally avoided or dealt with in passing.²⁴⁶ Burt's *Romance of the Prairie Provinces* and Gammell's *History of Canada* are two where the topic of cohabitation between white male fur traders and native women is dealt with briefly. Burt is disapproving. "Away off in the wilds, they only too commonly cast off the customs and restraints of civilized society. There were no white women; therefore, the great majority of the traders found Indian wives."²⁴⁷ Gammell is more understanding. He says, "It is not surprising that these exiles sought society among the Indians and sometimes took wives from among the daughters of the forest."²⁴⁸ Dickie, too, is somewhat of an exception. She devotes an entire play to the topic. The play

²⁴³A.L. Burt, *The Romance of Canada* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1937), 47.

²⁴⁴Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 37.

²⁴⁵Ibid., 50.

²⁴⁶For a discussion of this topic, see Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980).

²⁴⁷Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 113.

²⁴⁸Gammell, *History of Canada*, B.C. Supplement, 21.

is about the arrival of fur trader, Henry Kelsey, and his native wife, Wind-of-Dawn, at Fort Nelson. Kelsey is invited to speak to the Governor, but refuses to enter the fort until his wife is allowed to accompany him. Eventually, she is invited in as well.²⁴⁹ However, even Dickie does not always present these relationships in a positive light. She says that many *coureurs de bois* "sank quickly to the level of the savages with whom they hunted. They married Indian wives, lived in filthy huts, never washed; they drank, gambled, and fought like the savages."²⁵⁰

None of the texts examined reveal the information that Governor James Douglas' wife, Amelia Connolly, was the mixed race daughter of William Connolly, the chief factor in New Caledonia, and a Native woman. Anstey mentions that she was familiar with an Indian custom, but does not say why this is the case.²⁵¹ Dickie, in *The Canadian West*, says, "Young Douglas had not been long at the fort when he fell in love with . . . the chief factor's daughter. It was looking high for a clerk; most of the men had to be content with Indian wives."²⁵²

It is interesting to note the intriguing references made to Douglas's physical appearance. Two texts mention that he was known as "Black Douglas"²⁵³ among his companions in the fur trade. A text refers to him as having a "dark, proud face."²⁵⁴ Another text calls him a "huge, bronzed man."²⁵⁵ A third text says that his father had "lived for some years in British Guiana, where he had a sugar estate."²⁵⁶ It is generally accepted now that Douglas was born of a relationship between a Scottish merchant and a

²⁴⁹Dickie, *The Long Trail*, 126-128.

²⁵⁰Dickie, *When Canada Was Young*, 143.

²⁵¹Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 128.

²⁵²Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 134.

²⁵³Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 346. (This quote is from the section of the text written by Palk.) Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America*, 294. Both Palk and Hamer-Jackson attribute the source of the nickname to a famous Scottish ancestor.

²⁵⁴Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America*, 294.

²⁵⁵Wrong, *History of Canada*, 319.

²⁵⁶Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 126.

woman of Demarara, now Guyana. He was born in Demarara and received his schooling in Scotland. The racial origins of Douglas' mother are not definitely known.²⁵⁷

The Teaching of Virtue: "brave, determined hearts"²⁵⁸

Jean Mann has argued that the interest in social reform in the mid-thirties by educational leaders such as Minister of Education, G.M. Weir, can be interpreted as a means of ensuring the smooth running of the state, rather than as evidence of concern for the progressive goal of self-realization of the individual. The means to social reform was the socialization of the individual, to be "accomplished by inculcation of the 'right' social values by means of the curriculum, teachers, principals, indeed by the whole social structure of the school."²⁵⁹ Textbooks played a major role in this process.

Van Brummelen has made the point that texts in the period between 1872 and 1925 were a vehicle for the teaching of morality. He noted a transition from a religious basis for moral teaching to a secular one. Rather than a result of serving God and a means to avoid the wrath of God, virtues became characteristics of good citizenship.²⁶⁰

Throughout the 1925 to 1939 period, characteristics of good citizenship such as loyalty, patriotism, honesty, self-sacrifice, justice and courage continued to be promoted through the texts. The moral adages found in earlier textbooks were no longer considered appropriate in this period, but textbook authors had their means of compensating. Two primary means were used. The first was the use of authorial voice intervening to make a point and the second was the use of heroes (and the occasional heroine) as role models exemplifying the desirable qualities..

²⁵⁷For discussions of Douglas' origins and early life, see W. Kaye Lamb, "Some Notes on the Douglas Family," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* XVII (Jan.-Apr. 1953): 41-51; Charlotte S.M. Girard, "Sir James Douglas' School Days," *BC Studies* 35 (Autumn 1977):56-63; and Charlotte S.M. Girard, "Sir James Douglas' Mother and Grandmother," *BC Studies* 44 (Winter 1979-80): 25-31. The Lamb article quotes from contemporary documents that refer to Douglas as a mulatto and to his mother as a Creole (a term which does not necessarily indicate race).

²⁵⁸Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, 184.

²⁵⁹Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State," 115.

²⁶⁰Harro Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," 17-38.

Authorial intervention occurs to emphasize the point that virtue is rewarded and evil receives its just deserts. Pioneer women may have worked hard, but they had their reward in the appreciation of their husbands and sons.²⁶¹ (The appreciation of daughters is not mentioned, but presumably it is not important because they, like their mothers, are, or perhaps will be, the fortunate recipients of appreciation rather than the ones to do the appreciating.)

At one point Dickie ends a tale of transgressors with the comment, "One almost feels like saying 'Serves them right.'"²⁶² The tale of Henry Hudson's evil crew provides a perfect scenario to teach the moral lesson that evil receives its just deserts; and several of the authors take full advantage of it. Although the mutineers on Henry Hudson's ship turned him and the faithful crew members out to certain death, "the mutineers paid dearly for their crime. . . . Juet, like Greene before him, came to a fitting end. He died of starvation."²⁶³ In another text we are told that "all the ringleaders of the mutiny had paid the supreme price."²⁶⁴ Dickie assures the reader that "the wicked men in the big ship did not come to any good, you may be sure."²⁶⁵ Dickie and Palk expound on this point again in another text, where they explain to the reader that "those who reached home were ever after looked upon as shameful men by all the people. No one would ever have anything to do with them. No doubt they often wished that they had died with poor Hudson in Canada."²⁶⁶ It is not clear where these authors would have found historical evidence to support this point. It would seem it has been included solely to teach a moral lesson.

The primary means of teaching morality during this 1925 to 1939 period was through the use of heroes and occasionally, heroines. These "hardy and fearless"²⁶⁷ men and women were used as role models to emulate. The relationship between heroes and

²⁶¹Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, 151.

²⁶²Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, 114.

²⁶³Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 31.

²⁶⁴Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America*, 115.

²⁶⁵Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, 126.

²⁶⁶Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 53.

²⁶⁷Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, 116.

citizenship goals is made explicit in McCaig's *Studies in Citizenship*. He says stories of the past

teach us valuable lessons which bear directly on our own lives and conduct. They teach us how to depend upon ourselves, how to get along with our neighbors, and how to live better and more wisely. In the lives and in the actions of the really great men and women of history, we have splendid examples of the great virtues--courage, unselfishness, loyalty, patience, and justice. The lives of such men and women fill us with admiration, and inspire us with the desire to play a similar part in our own world of to-day.²⁶⁸

McCaig provides students with a list of heroes such as Achilles, Leonidas, Laura Secord, and Champlain (only three of thirty-two are women) and asks students to name the qualities of citizenship which are illustrated in their lives.²⁶⁹

The heroes in these texts exhibited at least one, and often more, of four predominant characteristics: loyalty, both to Great Britain and its empire and to Canada itself; physical bravery, demonstrated in battle or in exploration; the ability and willingness to work hard; and a firm belief in God.

Loyalty to Great Britain and its empire was cherished above all else. It hurt Lord Selkirk's "loyal heart to see British men and women settling down under an alien flag"²⁷⁰ in the United States. In spite of the fact that many of his 'soldiers' "were ragged and without shoes" during the War of 1812, Sir Isaac Brock did not despair because "most of them were of United Empire Loyalist stock, and their devotion to their flag was unquestioned."²⁷¹ The Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, who was an ally of the British during the same war, is lauded in these texts as the epitome of brave and virtuous manhood. Gammell says "he was a warrior of great courage and skill, and had remarkable influence over his own and other tribes. Humane and honourable himself he set his face sternly

²⁶⁸James McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, B.C. ed. (Toronto: The Educational Book Co., 1930), 1-2.

²⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 5.

²⁷⁰Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 98.

²⁷¹Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 278.

against the usual cruelties of Indian warfare."²⁷² One wonders if he actually possessed all of these qualities or if he was simply assumed to possess them because he was loyal to Great Britain.

The texts are very explicit about the use of role models to instil both nationalist and imperial sentiments:

The spirit which these heroes displayed was the spirit of Canada, the same spirit that animated the pioneers as they laboured to build up this great Dominion. It is for us, as we read the story of the fur-traders, prospectors, and road-builders of by-gone days, to emulate their spirit, if not their deeds, and to uphold the traditions which have been wrought into the fabric of both the Dominion and the Empire.²⁷³

Connected with loyalty to the mother country is loyalty to Canada, itself. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was "in the first rank of great Canadians. . . . his great object in life was the welding together of the people of every section, race, and creed in Canada in the spirit of common patriotism."²⁷⁴ Such loyalty could quite nicely compensate for other character flaws. Wrong says of John A. Macdonald, "in spite of his faults, some of which he freely acknowledged, Macdonald was a great patriot."²⁷⁵ Dickie characterizes him as "not a man of high principle. . . . [However] to his one professed principle, that of keeping Canada within the British Empire, he remained true. . . . Undoubtedly he earned the place which he holds in the front rank of Canadian statesmen."²⁷⁶

These heroes and heroines "were young and brave" and accomplished great deeds through "courage and industry." ²⁷⁷ Bravery in battle is particularly important because it is coupled with love of country. In Power's *Great People of the Past, Book II*, which, with Book III, was the basic text for Grade Four from 1936 on, six of the eleven "great people" show exceptional courage in battle. It is interesting to see that the one woman chosen for

²⁷²Gammell, *History of Canada*, 134-135.

²⁷³Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 207.

²⁷⁴Gammell, *History of Canada*, 279.

²⁷⁵Wrong, *History of Canada*, 337.

²⁷⁶Dickie, *How Canada Grew Up*, 270.

²⁷⁷Dickie, *The Long Trail*, 168, 67.

inclusion is Joan of Arc, who is noted for her accomplishments in battle. In *Highroads of History* Book IV, five of the seven poems intended for recitation by students, focus on courage displayed in battle. Wolfe and Montcalm were "two great soldiers and gallant gentlemen. . . . Their names shall ever be linked in close association, not as enemies but as great patriots, who gave their lives in the service of Canada."²⁷⁸ The contribution of Canadian men in World War I is marked out for special tribute. Of these men, one text points out that "the records are full of their fearless heroism, their splendid valor."²⁷⁹ Another says, "they covered themselves in glory."²⁸⁰

Courage in exploration is also held up for emulation. Sir John Franklin "was a man who did not know the meaning of fear."²⁸¹ "No survivor remained to tell of the courage and endurance of Franklin and his brave companions, of their sacrifice of life itself that knowledge of our country might be extended."²⁸² The foolish risks which he took with the lives of his crew members, as well as his own, are not mentioned.

The virtue of hard work is extolled. In a discussion of Dr. Banting's discovery of the use of insulin to treat diabetes, the reader is told, "When you grow up, if you study hard, you too may find out some great thing, just as he did."²⁸³ Father Lacombe was hard working. "His strong body was built for the work, his soul keyed to it. Never did knight of old ride forth more joyously to his adventure; never did paladin more gloriously achieve it than did Father Lacombe his mission."²⁸⁴

There is another virtue which can be found in the majority of the heroes and heroines held up for emulation, but is not necessarily made explicit in the texts. Heroes are Christians. Their love of God is often the chief motivator for their actions. For instance, in

²⁷⁸McArthur, *History of Canada For High Schools*, 137.

²⁷⁹*History of England for Public Schools*, The Western Canada Series (Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada, 1923), 326.

²⁸⁰Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 193.

²⁸¹*Ibid.*, 32.

²⁸²McArthur, *History of Canada For High Schools*, 289.

²⁸³Dickie, *The Book of Wonders*, 41.

²⁸⁴Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 201.

Powers' *Great People of the Past, Book II*, seven of the eleven heroes chosen for inclusion in the text, act on the basis of religious motives--Mohammed, Richard the Lion Heart, Charlemagne, St. Francis of Assisi, Louis IX of France, Joan of Arc, and Martin Luther. The missionaries in New France were heroes;²⁸⁵ as was Champlain. "He was faithful to his Church, his country, and his work. The name of Samuel de Champlain is written in golden letters on the frontispiece of Canadian history."²⁸⁶ Pasteur was "a simple, devout man"²⁸⁷ and Livingstone was "a devout Christian."²⁸⁸

This emphasis on the inculcation of certain citizenship values may, in part, have been a reaction to a prevailing (and surprisingly strong if one can judge by the number of newspaper editorials concerned with the matter) concern that the schools could become "hotbeds of political propaganda as they are in Russia."²⁸⁹ This concern received impetus from comments made by C.C.F. candidates in the 1933 provincial election. Jean Mann, in her Master's thesis, "Progressive Education and the Depression in British Columbia," describes how some C.C.F. candidates predicted that if the C.C.F won the election, children would be "generally trained from an early age to socialist theories and ideals, and teachers would be trained in socialism and textbooks revised to include socialist teachings."²⁹⁰ A 1937 editorial in *The Daily Colonist* accused the Department of Education of embarking "upon a Socialistic adventure"²⁹¹ in the major curricular revisions which it was undertaking. The editorial referred to Dr. Weir as someone who "is commonly supposed to hold advanced views upon some subjects" and, in the next breath, stated that "the standpoint of some very advanced Liberals is not far removed from that of

²⁸⁵Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 74-75.

²⁸⁶Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America*, 143.

²⁸⁷J. Salwyn Schapiro and Richard B. Morris, with Frederic H. Soward, *Civilisation in Europe and the World*, Can. ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Co., 1936), 611.

²⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 549.

²⁸⁹"An Educational Survey," *The Daily Colonist*, 10 July 1924, 4.

²⁹⁰*Victoria Daily Times*, 2 October, 1933, quoted in Jean Mann, "Progressive Education and the Depression in British Columbia" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1976), 83.

²⁹¹"The New School Programme," *The Daily Colonist*, 13 July 1937, 4.

the Socialists."²⁹² Presumably in response to public concern, the teacher is cautioned in the 1937 *Programme of Studies for the Senior High Schools* to "watch his own attitude. . . . On no account should the discussion on propaganda become propaganda itself."²⁹³

Regardless of particular concerns, it is not surprising that social studies texts during this period emphasize the teaching of social values. When social studies was introduced as a school subject in the 1927-28 school year, its purpose was stated as citizenship education. According to the 1936 *Programme of Studies for Elementary Schools*, "biography forms an approach to citizenship. . . . This affords opportunity for developing appreciation of the necessity for social regulation and the benefits which follow from it. This appreciation modifies social conduct, and intelligent social conduct is citizenship."²⁹⁴ Concepts such as "sharing of privileges and responsibilities," "right and wrong," "social approval and disapproval," "co-operation," and "personal and social conduct"²⁹⁵ were to be developed through the study of historical incidents and people. Since social studies was intended to teach social values, the texts chosen to implement the social studies curriculum would be those which were seen as carrying out this purpose.

This idea that using heroes as role models was a valuable way to promote good character, and ultimately citizenship, was shared by members of the public. Constance Laing, the education secretary of The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE), made this same point:

Let the boy roam with Hiawatha, sail the seas with Sinbad, build stockades with Crusoe, fight dragons with Jason, let him play at quoits with Odysseus and at football with Tom Brown. These playmates will never quarrel with him or bully him, but from whom [*sic*]he will learn to be brave, self-reliant, manly, thoughtful of others, straightforward, with his face toward the light.²⁹⁶

²⁹²Ibid.

²⁹³Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Senior High Schools of British Columbia, Bulletin I* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1937), 146.

²⁹⁴Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia Bulletin II* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 59.

²⁹⁵Ibid.

²⁹⁶Vancouver City Archives, 255 Vol. 191, *IODE in B.C. 1900-1925*, 24, quoted in Nancy M. Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945,"

Conception of Canada as a Nation

The Part Cooperation and Conflict Have Played in the Development of Canada as a Nation

Cooperation: "*the kindly help of neighbours*"²⁹⁷

Cooperation is a concept which receives little attention in the textbooks of this era. Four aspects of cooperation will be discussed here. These are cooperation between Europeans and Native peoples in Canada's early history; the pioneer practice of organizing work 'bees'; international cooperation; and the conception of citizenship duties presented to students in this era. The first two aspects of cooperation are discussed more to note their absence than their presence. These two aspects appear more prominently in the Chant and Canada Studies eras.

These texts do not emphasize cooperation between Native peoples and European explorers and fur traders in the way that later texts do. For instance, few texts even give Native peoples credit for the saving of Cartier's men from death by scurvy.²⁹⁸ Gammell's *History of Canada* states that, "they were attacked by the dreadful disease of scurvy, which carried off many of their number until a cure was found in a medicine made from the leaves and twigs of the spruce tree."²⁹⁹ Wallace refers to "the chance discovery of the Indian remedy of a medicine made from the bark of the white spruce."³⁰⁰ Burt's *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, and Gammell's *History of Canada*, point out that explorers and fur traders used the paths previously broken by Native peoples in their travels.³⁰¹ However, this is not really an example of cooperation since it was not through a 'by-your-leave' that these actions were taken. Dickie's *The Canadian West*, is an exception

Historical Studies in Education, 2 (1990): 309.

²⁹⁷McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 215.

²⁹⁸See Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, 111.

²⁹⁹Gammell, *History of Canada*, 17.

³⁰⁰Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 9.

³⁰¹Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 8; Gammell, *History of Canada*, 14.

in that this text mentions numerous examples of help provided by Native peoples to Europeans in need.

Again, the pioneer practice of having 'bees' in order to accomplish tasks which would have been tedious, if not impossible, for individual families is not discussed as frequently as in some later texts. Most authors in this era ignore this aspect of pioneer life entirely. As Osborne says, the texts emphasize individual rather than collective efforts. He points out that "much could be made of the value and rewards of collective effort with one's neighbours [in frontier conditions]. One can only speculate as to why textbooks choose not to do so."³⁰²

Dickie and McArthur are exceptions. Collective efforts receive attention in Dickie's texts. She was always ready to discuss cooperative activities.³⁰³ She devotes the better part of four pages in her text, *In Pioneer Days*, to building and logging bees. According to Dickie, the good of the community as a whole was very important to pioneers. She says that at the conclusion of the bee, people "looked about cheerfully upon the now tidy clearing. . . . They were as proud of their neighbour's new land as if it had been their own."³⁰⁴ McArthur, too, refers to the fact that "the hardships and limitations of pioneer life tended to create a strong feeling of friendliness and loyalty. Few families could perform, unaided, all the work which was required on the farm. The necessity for co-operation created an admirable spirit of loyalty to the neighbourhood."³⁰⁵

Some attention is given to cooperation on an international level. International cooperation is focused on the formation and operation of the League of Nations. The high hopes for the League have not yet been tarnished in these texts, written in the two decades after the League's formation following World War One. Not only is the League seen as the

³⁰² Osborne, "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable"--*The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, 23.

³⁰³ This becomes more evident in the emphasis she gives to the development of the union movement in her Chant era texts.

³⁰⁴ Dickie, *In Pioneer Days*, 219.

³⁰⁵ McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 215.

hope for world peace and prosperity, the absence of the United States is viewed as an opportunity for Canada to shine on the world stage. Wallace ends his *A New History of Canada* on this note, proudly stating that Canada "has come to play in the reconstruction of the world after the war a part no less conspicuous than she played in the war itself."³⁰⁶ Canada's ability to cooperate internationally, in the forum of the League of Nations, is a source of pride for Canadians.

Although the textbooks are not replete with examples of cooperation, the vision of citizenship in these texts involves the subjugation of the individual to the greater good of society as a whole--cooperation stretched to its limits. This vision of cooperation is in *Studies in Citizenship* by McCaig, the civics text approved for the junior and senior high school grades for most of the 1930s. This text declares that "the most valuable training for citizenship which the school can give . . . is that which helps boys and girls to put the general good before their own selfish preferences." The text goes on to ask, "Is not our patriotism just the feeling which enables us to give up even our lives for the good of our country and of humanity?"³⁰⁷ This message is reinforced in *A History of Britain* by H.B. King, Chief Inspector of Schools in the Ministry of Education. In a list of the Seven Cardinal Principles of Education King reminds students that a good citizen cooperates "with other people for the general good of the community."³⁰⁸ This message, then, was an important part of citizenship training.

Conflict: "a curse"³⁰⁹

It has become practically a truism to state that textbooks present a bland, consensus version of history.³¹⁰ However, it is not that the texts fail to describe acts of resistance over which the government triumphed. For instance, the Riel Resistances of 1869 and

³⁰⁶Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 196.

³⁰⁷McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 64, 64.

³⁰⁸King, *A History of Britain*, 30.

³⁰⁹Wrong, *History of Canada*, 354.

³¹⁰See FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 1979; Osborne, "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable"--*The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, 1980; Murray, *Ideology of Content in Social Studies Texts*, 1986.

1885 are not ignored. Many texts are even willing to assign some of the blame for this trouble to the Canadian government. What is often not discussed, in this case, are the deep divisions between English and French Canada following these events.

This discussion will focus on how three points of conflict in Canadian history are treated in Putman-Weir era textbooks--the execution of Thomas Scott during the first Riel Resistance; conflicting reactions from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec to the Riel Resistances; and the labour union movement, particularly the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. These three points of conflict will be examined in the Chant and Canada Studies eras as well.

Most Putman-Weir era texts have no hesitation in describing the "barbarous manner"³¹¹ in which Thomas Scott's execution was carried out. Wrong says:

On March 4th, 1870, there was a scene at Fort Garry which Canada long remembered. Blindfolded and kneeling, Scott was shot by six men, who, Donald Smith declared, were all more or less intoxicated. The body was spirited away and never recovered.³¹²

It is historian A.L. Burt who provides the most graphic description of Scott's death:

He [Scott] was blindfolded and led out of the postern gate for a few yards. Then he knelt in the snow while Young prayed for him. The firing party discharged their muskets, and three balls passed through his body. These did not kill him, however, and one of the men came forward and shot him through the head as he lay moaning on the white ground. An empty coffin was buried in the Fort Garry courtyard, but the body was never found. It was secretly dropped through a hole in the ice on the river.³¹³

Dickie, too, provides a graphic description, as told by a prisoner at Fort Garry who had escaped by the time the execution occurred. According to the prisoner, "On March 14, 1870, he was shot, but not killed. He lay for hours in a bastion of the fort, suffering mortal

³¹¹Gammell, *History of Canada*, 224.

³¹²Wrong, *History of Canada*, 311.

³¹³Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 178-179.

agony and begging them to put him to death."³¹⁴ This particular version of events does not appear in any of the other texts.

What is clear from these descriptions of the execution of Thomas Scott is both the lack of squeamishness, and the lack of concern about giving offense, of authors in this era. Their descriptions could certainly be described as colourful. Details such as "lay moaning on the white ground" (presumably the colour of the ground is mentioned so the reader can envision the red blood staining it) and "begging them to put him to death" paint a rather vivid picture. Such details tend to turn the focus onto the execution itself rather than the events which precipitated it or its consequences. This is quite different from the treatment in recent texts, as will be seen later. This difference can be attributed to the textbook analyses of approved textbooks carried out during the 1970s and early 1980s mainly by provincial Departments of Education and Human Rights Commissions. For instance, a major concern expressed in Alberta's "Native People in the Curriculum" Report, with *Flashback Canada*, a textbook prescribed for Grade Eight, was its treatment of this execution. The researchers point out that the sensational treatment of the execution, along with the fact that "Scott's photo and biography are given equal billing with those of Riel: . . . generally calls attention away from Riel and Métis complaints, and to the execution."³¹⁵ The text was removed from approved lists in that province.

The rift between English and French Canada which became so evident following the execution of Thomas Scott is given short shrift in these texts. Historian, A.L. Burt, merely states that:

In the early 'seventies, the death of Scott roused such angry passions in Ontario and Quebec that the government feared for the unity of the Dominion if Riel were captured and tried for murder. . . . These passions flared up again in 1885. The sentence tore the country, and the government faced an awkward situation. Should it satisfy Ontario by letting him [Riel] die, or Quebec by letting him live? After much hesitation, Macdonald's cabinet chose to please Ontario, and from that moment Quebec began to turn

³¹⁴Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 217.

³¹⁵Decore et al., "Native People in the Curriculum," 46.

against his party.³¹⁶

This description would not make clear to many student readers why the death of Scott roused such angry passions in Ontario and Quebec.³¹⁷ Furthermore, this description reduces Macdonald's decision to let Riel hang to one based solely on politics. Even Macdonald, a politician to the core, may have considered the death penalty an appropriate punishment for the crime of treason, over and above political considerations.

McArthur, in his *History of Canada for High Schools*, inserts a statement about the reaction of people in Ontario over the execution of Scott into a paragraph about events in Red River and about delegates from Red River negotiating in Ottawa for the entry of the settlement into Confederation. The sentence regarding the reaction of people in Ontario has no context whatsoever. It is difficult to imagine what students would make of it.

The direction of the affairs of the settlement was entrusted to a new provisional government under the presidency of Riel. The execution of Scott, however, roused the whole countryside of Ontario. Delegates chosen by both the French and the English residents of the settlement were received at Ottawa, and, finally, arrangements were made by which the Red River Settlement entered the Dominion as the Province of Manitoba in May, 1870.³¹⁸

It seems that the author thought he was obligated to refer to the negative reaction in Ontario, but did not wish to have to explain it, so buried it in the middle of a paragraph.

Texts in this era ignore the rise of the labour union movement and any conflict attached to this. It is completely ignored in all of the major history textbooks examined, with the exception of McArthur's *History of Canada for High Schools*. Wrong's *History of Canada*, Gammell's *History of Canada*, Wallace's *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, and Burt's *Romance of Canada* do not discuss labour unions in spite of the fact that they had been active in Canada at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. The 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, which occurred prior to the publication of all of these

³¹⁶Burt, *The Romance of Canada*, 307.

³¹⁷There is a reference on page 286 (twenty-one pages earlier) to Riel belonging to the religion and race [*sic*] of the people of Quebec. It is questionable if many students would recall this.

³¹⁸McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 361.

texts, is either not discussed or is discussed so briefly that students would develop little understanding of it and its causes.

McArthur's *History of Canada for High Schools* states:

In the spring of 1919 trouble developed between the metal workers in Winnipeg and the employers, which resulted in a strike. Other labour unions, to force a settlement of the dispute, also went on strike, and for several days the public services of the city were suspended. The strike threatened very serious consequences, but, however the majority of the people may have regarded the demands of the metal workers, they did not approve of the means taken to enforce them and organized bands of volunteer workers, who carried on the services and obliged the strikers to return to work.³¹⁹

Osborne points out that McArthur's description, and others that he examined, are incomplete because they ignore the Red Scare, the reaction of the authorities, the use of the Mounted Police and the military, the arrest and trial of the strike leaders, section 98, and labour actions outside Winnipeg.³²⁰

Bonds of Empire: "And I abide by my mother's house"³²¹

In his report for the 1940-41 school year H.B. King, Chief Inspector of Schools, stated that "devotion to freedom, loyalty to throne and native land come before all other things."³²² Approved textbooks, as well as additional ad hoc materials sent to schools, and the patriotic activities in which students engaged, combined to create an intellectual and social milieu which encouraged and promoted a sense of Canadian citizenship which was wrapped up in an enveloping allegiance to Great Britain and its empire, and the ideals for which it stood.³²³

³¹⁹Ibid., 445.

³²⁰Osborne, "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable"--*The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, 59. Section 98 was added to the Criminal Code following the strike. It widened the definition of sedition and increased the prison terms associated with this crime.

³²¹Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain*, 196

³²²Department of Education, "Inspection of Schools," *70th Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1940-41* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1942), D 37.

³²³For a discussion of imperialism as a form of Canadian nationalism see Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

The image prevalent in the texts is one of pride in the increasing independence of Canada as a nation, juxtaposed with allegiance to Great Britain and the British Empire.³²⁴ Pride in independence can be seen in statements like: "Canada collects her own taxes, spends her own money, and is, in fact, mistress of all her own resources, and one of the world's freest and best countries."³²⁵ In McArthur's *History of Canada for High Schools*, Britain's relationship with Canada is likened to that "of a fond parent to a full-grown son, proud of his attainments, willing to give aid and counsel, but placing on his shoulders complete responsibility for his conduct."³²⁶

Female authors, Dickie and Palk, make the same statement from a daughter's perspective:

Great Britain is the mother nation and the others are the daughter nations. Now, the daughter who leaves her mother's house to build a home of her own continues to love and respect her mother and to ask her advice on matters of importance. The wise mother leaves her daughter free to order her own home as she sees fit, but stands ready to help if the occasion arises. In a similar way the Mother Country has given her daughter nations all that each desires in the way of self-government. Canada and each of her sister nations can therefore say:

"Daughter am I in my mother's house,
But mistress in my own."³²⁷

Citizenship is viewed as much in terms of loyalty to Great Britain and its Empire as it is to one's own country, Canada. The two seem one and the same. Dickie and Palk point out to the young reader that, "A Canadian can . . . best serve his own country by being ready and willing to co-operate in all that promotes the best interests of the community of nations of which Canada is a part."³²⁸ In *All About Canada for Little Folks*, a small text

³²⁴On this point my evidence is not in agreement with that of Harro Van Brummelen. He makes the point in his 1986 article discussed earlier, that by 1921, the concept of 'mistress in her own house, but still her mother's daughter', had disappeared. See Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," 27.

³²⁵McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents*, 65.

³²⁶McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools*, 484.

³²⁷Dickie and Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, 434. Dickie and Palk have quoted from "Our Lady of the Snows" by Rudyard Kipling.

³²⁸*Ibid.*, 436.

for primary students, children are given instructions for celebrating both Canada's birthday and Empire Day.³²⁹ Empire Day celebrations include an interesting mix of nationalist and imperialist sentiments. Students sing, "O Canada!" and then each child tells the name of one of the Empire's "children," followed by everyone shouting "The British Empire!" and "God Save the King!"

This concept of the meshing of one's duties to the British Empire and to one's own country of Canada does not diminish between the older and newer texts published during this period. A citizenship text, published in 1918, but still listed in the 1925 *Programme of Studies for Elementary Schools*,³³⁰ ends with the inspirational poem, "Duties of the Citizen," the last four lines of which state:

Love her howe'er her fate be cast,
And ever faithful do
Your duty to the Empire vast,
Canadians, be true!³³¹

A text, first published in 1925, and reprinted in 1937, includes a poem by Rudyard Kipling which echoes the above sentiments:

Land of our Birth, our faith, our pride,
For whose sake our fathers died;
O Motherland, we pledge to thee,
Head, heart, and hand through the years to be!³³²

The "land of our birth" and "motherland" is, of course, Great Britain, not Canada.

The sentiments expressed in these texts were entirely consistent with those expressed in the Putman-Weir report:

The development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship accentuated by the highest British ideals of justice, tolerance and fairplay, should be accepted without question as the fundamental aim of the provincial school system. Such an aim has stood the test of time

³²⁹Dickie, *All About Canada For Little Folks*, 35, 46.

³³⁰*Canadian Civics* was a supplementary text, recommended for teacher use and listed under the heading of "Bibliography" for Grade Six in the 1925-26 *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia*.

³³¹R.S. Jenkins, *Canadian Civics*, B.C. ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1918), 172.

³³²McCaig, *Studies in Citizenship*, 5. McCaig has quoted from "The Children's Song" by Rudyard Kipling.

and its application in the daily lives of the British peoples has enhanced the good name of the British empire.³³³

The focal point of Canada's pride in Empire and its role therein is on its participation in the Great War. In a section on the war in a Grade Seven authorized text, *History of England for Public Schools*, the text refers to "a fresh and deeper meaning" to be found in the poem "Pro Rege Nostro," as a result of Canada's participation in the war:

Ever the faith endures,
 England, my England:--
"Take and break us; we are yours,
 England, my own!
Life is good, and joy runs high
Between England earth and sky:
Death is death; but we shall die
 To the song on your bugles blown
 England--
 To the stars on your bugles blown!"³³⁴

The Romance of British Columbia pays homage to British Columbia's war effort in its final paragraph:

To the Great War British Columbia gave freely of her sons and daughters, and of her material wealth. In most of her cities and townships are to be seen the war memorials that commemorate those who went but did not return. The spirit which these heroes displayed was the spirit of Canada, the same spirit that animated the pioneers as they laboured to build up this great Dominion ³³⁵

In some texts the reader is left with the impression that Canada won the war almost single-handedly. A text which presents a more balanced view is that by H.B. King, who as an officer with the rank of major, served overseas during this war. He points out that, while Canada made an important contribution, "The greatest effort, however,--military, naval, and financial--was made by the people of Great Britain, and the heaviest losses in killed and maimed were theirs."³³⁶

³³³Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 38.

³³⁴*History of England for Public Schools*, 327. "For England' Sake, Pro Rege Nostro" is by William Ernest Henley.

³³⁵Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 207.

³³⁶King, *A History of Britain*, 380.

In contradiction of McArthur's statement to his readers that "the overseas Dominions were valued for themselves rather than for the contribution which they might make to the wealth or power of Britain,"³³⁷ the countries of the Empire are described by other textbook authors in terms of their value to the mother country. The anonymous author of *History of England for Public Schools*, with reference to particular British possessions, tells the reader that "some are valuable only for their commerce, others for their importance in war."³³⁸ In Northern Nigeria "a special effort is being made to grow cotton in such quantities that Great Britain will not depend on *foreign* [italics added] countries for her supplies."³³⁹ In a description of the various parts of the empire, *History of England for Public Schools* describes Aden as "a coaling station for the British fleet;" South Africa is valued for its "rich gold and diamond mines;" and Newfoundland, having been dismissed as only useful for its cod fisheries, had new status as a result of the "rich mineral deposits [discovered] during the past twenty years."³⁴⁰ After detailing the major products from various countries in the Empire, the Wallace text concludes that "the British Empire is like a huge departmental store, in which you can obtain almost any commodity you desire."³⁴¹ These texts indicate an unquestioning acceptance of British colonial policy, based on the view that the peoples, lands, and resources of other nations around the world were available to be acquired for use by Great Britain because of its industrial, military, and moral strengths--the natural right of the superior over the inferior.

As Stanley points out, "the Empire was the best possible form of government as it was really a moral crusade bringing civilisation and enlightenment to millions."³⁴² West, in *The Story of World Progress*, quotes Sir Michael Sadler, who said, "This old Empire of ours . . . loves justice, and loves mercy, and loves truth . . . and upon her rests a large part

³³⁷McArthur, *History of Canada For High Schools*, 484.

³³⁸*History of England for Public Schools*, 304

³³⁹Cornish, *A Canadian Geography for Juniors*, 307.

³⁴⁰*History of England for Public Schools*, 304, 300, 303.

³⁴¹Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain*, 193.

³⁴²Stanley, "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination," 150.

of the responsibility of leading the way up the steps of progress."³⁴³ *World Relations and the Continents*, published in 1911, but still used in British Columbia schools during the 1920s,³⁴⁴ points out that Africa was partitioned and Britain "given great tracts of country over which her control would be freely exercised in the way of developing the land and *doing her duty by her black subjects*" [italics added].³⁴⁵ The text goes on to say that the partition was for "the good of Africa."³⁴⁶ *History of England for Public Schools* points out that "it is well for India that she is under British rule. Without the firm control of a guiding power, she would be torn by internal strife and exposed to the greed and trickery of powerful neighbours."³⁴⁷ According to *A World Geography For Canadian Schools*, "The Hindu must pay someone to be umpire until he can learn to govern himself. When that time comes, the British army of 61,284 men will take ship for England."³⁴⁸ King says that Britain must stay in India because "she is responsible in the eyes of the world for peace and good order. . . , and for the protection of the commercial and industrial life of the country."³⁴⁹

The wisdom and justice of British rule is made explicit in the following passage which is referring to the fact that only one-seventh of the population of the Empire was "of British blood":

Unless this fact is grasped clearly, it is impossible to appreciate the wonderful work being done in controlling and civilizing the millions of subject peoples, comprising hundreds of races, each with its own language and customs, and religion. Rarely, if ever, does Britain find it necessary to resort to force in governing her subject peoples. Even

³⁴³W.M. West, *The Story of World Progress*, Can. ed. (San Francisco: Allyn and Bacon, 1924), 549.

³⁴⁴This text is listed in the *Courses of Study for the Elementary, High, Technical, and Normal Schools of British Columbia*, 1923, and 43 copies were ordered from the Free Text-book Branch during the 1925-26 school year. (Department of Education, *Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1925-26* (Victoria, BC: King's Printer, 1926), R 75.

³⁴⁵McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents*, 176.

³⁴⁶McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents*, 176.

³⁴⁷*History of England for Public Schools*, 301.

³⁴⁸V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord, *A World Geography For Canadian Schools* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1937), 444.

³⁴⁹King, *A History of Britain*, 356.

their prejudices are respected; their religion, their social customs, and local laws are seldom interfered with, unless for the purpose of preventing crime or abolishing brutal customs.³⁵⁰

For the most part, subject peoples of the empire are grateful for Britain's wise and benevolent rule. In a chapter entitled, "Tales of John Bull's Family," Cornish, author of *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, uses the device of narration to have people from different parts of the British Empire describe their homelands. It should be noted that "the natural leader was, to judge by his accent, an Englishman."³⁵¹ This improbable mix of people has gathered around a campfire on their way to a new goldfield which has been discovered in British Columbia. The specific gold rush is not identified. The Nigerian narrator talks of "when more roads and railways open the arms of my country to receive the white man." A speaker from India proclaims that, "though my country is still poor and sad, it has wonderfully improved under the rule of Great Britain."³⁵²

The reader is told that the natives of Australia "have often been a source of great annoyance to the settlers. In what way? So strong is their attachment to the wild life, that native children reared by the settlers escape at the first opportunity to the bush."³⁵³ Of course, it would be very annoying when native children were not appropriately grateful for all that was being done for them.

Stanley refers to the creation of racial 'otherness'. By focusing on what made colonial peoples different from those of Anglo-Saxon heritage, it became not only acceptable, but morally desirable, to dominate them for their own good. Cornish, in his *Canadian School Geography* text, which was prescribed for fifteen years for junior and senior high schools, provides the following description of people living in Africa: "South of the Sahara Desert the natives are of the negro race. They are distinguished by their black skin, woolly hair, and thick lips and except where they have come under the influence of

³⁵⁰King, *A History of Britain*, 297.

³⁵¹Cornish, *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, 287.

³⁵²Cornish, *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, 307, 311.

³⁵³McIntyre, *World Relations and The Continents*, 190.

Europeans are pagan and of low civilization."³⁵⁴ The Nigerian narrator in *Canadian Geography for Juniors* by the same author, describes the people one might expect to find in his homeland:

If you came to my country you could still see coloured men tramping through the forests, paddling along the rivers, and working in the fields, whose fuzzy hair, thick lips, big white eyes, black faces, and light-hearted, lazy manner would at once remind you of the coloured men you see upon your streets.³⁵⁵

Presumably the narrator, himself, is black, which increases the ludicrous nature of the comment. Objectifying people is another approach to racial 'otherness.' "Negroes and Nuts"³⁵⁶ is a section heading in this text.

Differences in colour are always worthy of note. "I am neither white nor black, but a little brown man. I come from the south-east of Asia in the Malay Peninsula, and I too am proud to call George V my king" proclaims another of the storytellers around the campfire. "Describe the dress of the man. What is the colour of his skin?" reads a caption for a photograph of a desert scene. "The lady is Dutch. What colour is the native?"³⁵⁷ says another. Note the white person is a "lady," while the black person is a "native." "Black fellows at home"³⁵⁸ says a caption in another text, under a photograph of Australian aborigines. In the case of the Arabs, "they belong to the white race as we do, and they are brave, proud, and clever."³⁵⁹

Modes of dress, and customs, are pointed out as if for a freak show at a country fair. The caption under a photograph reads, "A woman from the north of China. Note the peculiar head-dress, the shoes, the sleeves, and the long finger nails."³⁶⁰ The concept of stressing our common humanity does not seem to occur to these authors.

³⁵⁴Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography*, 402-403.

³⁵⁵Cornish, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, 307.

³⁵⁶Cornish, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, 304.

³⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 292, 282, 267.

³⁵⁸Denton and Lord, *A World Geography for Canadian Schools*, 505.

³⁵⁹D.J. Dickie, *The Book of Boys and Girls Round the World*. (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1929), 113.

³⁶⁰McIntyre, *World Relations and the Continents*, 153.

This tone changes somewhat over time. While earlier texts present a picture of Britain as the superior nation, knowing what is best for others and acquiring their lands for the inhabitants' own good, this perspective is more muted in *Lessons on the British Empire*, published by the British Columbia Department of Education in 1936, and prescribed for Grade Nine for the next two years. This text states: "We have to admit that we have not been, by any means, wholly unselfish or always kind in what we as a nation have done, but it cannot be denied that the backward peoples included within the Empire have, in the main, profited much from their British connection."³⁶¹

Social studies texts were not the only textbooks which hammered in the message of love of King and empire. Readers repeated this message. A glance through the fourth book of the *Canadian Readers*, published in 1922, reveals stories about English heroes such as David Livingstone, Sir Francis Drake, a First World War boy hero, and James Cook.³⁶²

Supplementing and supporting the textbooks, with their view of national and imperial identity, were additional materials sent to students. These included *School Days* and *British Columbia School Magazine*.³⁶³ These magazines are replete with stories about World War One battles, Arctic exploration, and British heroes such as David Livingstone, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Robin Hood. Other materials were sent to schools by the Department of Education, often to commemorate some special occasion. For instance, in 1937, a booklet entitled *Suggestions for Coronation Programmes for the Schools of British Columbia* was issued to the schools to assist with the preparation of students for

³⁶¹Department of Education, *Lessons on the British Empire*, 30.

³⁶²*The Canadian Readers*, Book IV (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Ltd. and T. Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1922). For further discussion of the use of readers in promoting the 'bonds of Empire', see Van Brummelin, H, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," 17-38, and Fredelle Bruser Maynard, "The Windless World," chap. in *Raisins and Almonds* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1972), 103-117.

³⁶³*School Days* was distributed to Vancouver school students on an almost-monthly basis each school year, between September, 1919 and June, 1929. There are a number of copies in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia and in the Vancouver School Board Archives. *British Columbia School Magazine* was distributed provincially. There are only two copies extant in the Provincial Archives; September and November, 1930, the first and second issues of Volume One. I have not seen any references to other volumes or issues of this journal.

the coronation of King George VI. This booklet contained lessons on kings and queens of England, a discussion of the British Empire, and a map-study of Britain and the Empire. It also contained suggestions for class and assembly programmes to commemorate the coronation. It was intended that preparations for the Coronation Ceremony not be an add-on, but "an integral part of the school programme in English, Music, and Social Studies."³⁶⁴ As well, a souvenir booklet entitled *Coronation 1937* was sent to every student in the province. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.) supplied rural schools with library books and pictures of the King and Queen.³⁶⁵

In addition, there were the various patriotic ceremonies which coloured student life in schools. For instance, the *Manual of School Law* outlined the various activities which were to accompany the raising of the school flag. Students were to assemble in front of the flag every Monday morning, weather permitting, where they would salute and sing the National Anthem. On the first day of school each year, as well as the last school day before a national holiday, the raising of the flag was to be "accompanied with some suitable ceremony, which should include a march-past of the children marshalled in rank, the singing of the National Anthem, and a short, patriotic speech by the principal or the teacher, or a member of the Board of School Trustees, or some other prominent citizen."³⁶⁶ Commemoration of Empire Day (later Victoria Day) was to involve activities and recitations which would "tend to promote a spirit of true patriotism and loyalty"³⁶⁷ to both Canada and the British Empire. The I.O.D.E. used the Department of Education *Announcements Circular* to make available suggested programmes for Empire, Citizenship, and Remembrance Day commemorations.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁴Department of Education, *Suggestions for Coronation Programmes for the Schools of British Columbia* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1937), 1.

³⁶⁵Mrs. Frank Stead, "I.O.D.E. Aids Schools," *British Columbia Schools*, elementary edition, 7 (September, 1951): 64-66,

³⁶⁶Department of Education, *Manual of School Law*, 1936, 111.

³⁶⁷Department of Education, *Manual of School Law*, 1929, 80.

³⁶⁸Department of Education, *Announcements Circular*, Mar. 1958, PABC GR 1201, Box 1, File 1; Oct 1960, Box 1, File 2; April 1961, Box 1, File 3.

It is not surprising that many people in British Columbia felt strong loyalty to Great Britain. Seventy-one percent of the population in the year 1931 was of British ethnic origin. However, two other influences may have exacerbated the unwillingness on the part of influential people in the educational hierarchy to 'let go' of the emphasis on British traditions and unquestioning loyalty to the British Empire evident in textbooks and school practices during this period. These were the influence of an increasing number of 'foreign' immigrants and the threat of American cultural domination.

In the late 1930s the Department of Education *Annual Reports* began to print statistics indicating the numbers of children of foreign parentage attending the public schools in British Columbia. These numbers were growing every year. In the 1936-37 school year the largest group of students of foreign parentage were the Japanese with 5 499, followed by 2 339 Scandinavians, 2 071 Germans, 2 058 Italians, and 1 447 Chinese. (There were 949 Doukhobors.) Of a total of 118 431 students in the public school system, 20 435 were of foreign parentage.³⁶⁹ First, the emphasis on British traditions was an attempt to assimilate these foreigners by instilling Canadian values. Second, this imperial emphasis was a form of protection, like a shield, against the foreigners' influence. This approach seemed especially useful when confronted with the Asian immigrants, particularly the Chinese, and to a lesser extent, such Caucasian immigrants as the recalcitrant Doukhobors--for whom there seemed to be no hope of full assimilation into Canadian society. According to Patricia Roy, the Chinese were considered by white society to be "repulsive individuals who lived in filth and indulged in illegal and immoral habits; the opium traffic threatened to undermine white society; their control of the vegetable market endangered the health of the white population."³⁷⁰ A 1914 editorial declared that, "there is no doubt that the moral, social and economic conditions of

³⁶⁹Department of Education, *Sixty-sixth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1936-1937* (Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer, 1937), 116.

³⁷⁰Patricia E. Roy, "Introduction," in Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), ix.

white Canadians, native and immigrant, deteriorate in association and competition with large numbers of Asiatics."³⁷¹ Wholesome imperialist sentiments were used as an antidote to this pernicious influence!

In addition, some of the extensive emphasis on Canada's relationship to Great Britain and the power and benevolence of the British Empire may have been an attempt to counteract the reality of American cultural influence.³⁷² A 1930 cross-Canada survey of 1288 Grade Twelve students found that twenty-eight percent of students in Victoria and Vancouver read no English periodicals at all (forty percent was the cross-country average). American publications were widely read by students. American radio programs were preferred to Canadian, with the seven most popular programmes all of American origin. Students voted overwhelmingly for American movies over British. It is interesting to note that they received their highest preference rate in Victoria, "a city referred to in tourist literature as 'a bit of old England.'"³⁷³

Canada's Relationship With the United States - "blasphemy, drunkenness and vice"³⁷⁴

If the treatment of Great Britain in these texts conjures up visions of flag waving and marching proudly off to war on behalf of the motherland, the treatment of the United States conjures up practically nothing. The relationship between Canada and the United States, as depicted in the texts, is sterile. There is none of the passion so evident in the proud poetry and stories about Great Britain and its empire.

In his 1938 book, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor*, H.F. Angus published a discussion of the results of a series of surveys of Canadian opinions and attitudes toward the United States, and included a cursory examination of history, civics, geography, and

³⁷¹"Editorial," *Vancouver Daily News-Advertiser*, 7 April 1914.

³⁷²This point is made by Stamp with regard to the observance of Empire Day in Ontario schools. See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* VII (Aug. 1973): 370.

³⁷³Henry F. Angus, ed., *Canada and Her Great Neighbour: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada Concerning the United States* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938), 370.

³⁷⁴Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 234.

literature texts. He concluded that there was an "extraordinarily slight"³⁷⁵ amount of formal instruction about the United States in Canadian schools. Certainly, the United States receives only a modicum of attention in most of the texts examined here. This attention pales beneath the pages devoted to the imperial relationship with Great Britain. Furthermore, there is little consistency among the Canadian history texts in terms of topics covered. For instance, all five of the major history of Canada texts examined here dealt with the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Fenian raids, in varying degrees of detail. However, only two dealt with the Civil War and its effects on Canada (McArthur and Burt) and only three (McArthur, Gammell, and Wallace) with the Alaska Boundary dispute. As Angus points out, the War of 1812 and the Fenian raids are not nearly as important to people in British Columbia as the Alaska Boundary dispute. Given this, it is surprising that the British Columbia supplements in the Gammell and Burt texts do not deal with this topic.³⁷⁶

Any threat posed by the United States is dealt with in two ways in these texts. The first theme involves an image of Canada as superior. Canada is all that is good, juxtaposed against the United States as much that is negative. The second theme involves a stress on the concept of friendly neighbours. There are attempts to assure the reader that, while the relationship may have had some problems in the past, that unpleasantness is all over now.

The first theme of Canada as 'good' and the United States as 'not-so-good' is exemplified in this quote from Dickie's *The Canadian West*: "The Canadians spent a busy week in the riotous little frontier town [in the U.S.] Glad indeed they were at the end of it to load up their carts and drive out of the blasphemy, drunkenness and vice into the clean north."³⁷⁷ Gammell points out that the Russians and Americans aroused such hostility among west coast Native peoples that it "made it very difficult for the traders from Canada,

³⁷⁵Angus, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor*, 105.

³⁷⁶This topic is dealt with in the main part of the Gammell text. However, often topics of special pertinence to British Columbia that have already been dealt with in the main part of a text are treated in greater detail in the British Columbia supplement.

³⁷⁷Dickie, *The Canadian West*, 234.

who were now about to enter the country, to establish their posts and carry out the *legitimate* business of the fur-trade" [italics added].³⁷⁸ Overall, the United States is depicted as a country of rebels against the British Crown, whiskey-traders, unruly gold-seekers, and avaricious land grabbers. Commenting on the results of the surveys of Canadian opinions and attitudes toward the United States, Angus observes that young and growing communities need an adversary in order to maintain their own sense of superiority. This sense of their own superiority over a potential threat helps them to unify their own disparate elements and to focus on their own goals.³⁷⁹

Second, the ideal of 'friendly' neighbours is stressed. Text authors are anxious to assure the student reader that Canadians and Americans are now living harmoniously on the same continent in spite of difficulties in the past. Burt refers to the "long and happy peace"³⁸⁰ the two neighbours have enjoyed. Wallace tells the reader that "war between Canada and the United States is now unthinkable." Later he says, "the steadfast opposition of Canada to anything that savours of annexation to the United States does not proceed from any dislike of, or hostility to, the American people. . . . The opposition proceeds from . . . passionate loyalty to the British Empire." Another statement by Wallace that "for over a hundred years the two countries have enjoyed an uninterrupted period of friendly relations"³⁸¹ receives a wry comment in the Angus report:

Meanwhile, should a precocious boy or girl ask how a thinly veiled charge that the President of the United States intimidated, by a threat of war, a judge before whom his country was with its own consent engaged in litigation, can be reconciled with the statement that the United States and Canada have enjoyed "an uninterrupted period of friendly relations" for more than a century, it is left to the teacher to explain that in dealing with international relations the word "friendly" has a technical meaning and implies nothing more than the absence of a state of war.³⁸²

³⁷⁸Gammell, *History of Canada* (B.C. supplement), 10.

³⁷⁹Angus, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor*, 248.

³⁸⁰Burt, *The Romance of Canada*, 179.

³⁸¹Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 180, 184, 172.

³⁸²Angus, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor*, 85.

Furthermore, Angus points out that Canadian history texts are often reluctant to provide a full account of events. For instance, they do not attempt to provide any information about the American domestic situation at the time of the Alaska Boundary Dispute, which might help to explain President Roosevelt's actions. As Angus says, "the doctrine that it is better to understand than to forgive has an unchristian flavor, and historians who wrote in this strain might find that their works were not authorized for use in schools."³⁸³

What is not to be found in these texts is the fear of cultural takeover so evident in later texts. Any "hostility in Canada toward the United States is in some degree to be attributed to the feeling which the original Loyalist settlers entertained toward their old enemies."³⁸⁴ Any negativity in the relationship is apparently due to events of the past, rather than to present concerns.

Salinger and Wilson, in their 1990 study of the portrayal of Canada in American textbooks, discussed earlier, make the case that stressing the idea of the two countries as neighbours implies a certain political stance which inhibits consideration of the controversial issues which arise from their relationship.³⁸⁵ This conclusion is applicable to the treatment of the United States in the texts I examined. The United States is to be viewed as a friendly neighbour rather than a threat to Canada.

Of interest here as well is the 1947 textbook study carried out by the Canada-United States Committee on Education, because it provides an important indication as to the prevailing view of how textbooks at this time were intended to portray the relationship between the two countries. As discussed earlier, this study criticizes Canadian texts for their emphasis on war and conflict in Canadian-American relations. The study viewed textbooks as "instruments of international goodwill between Canada and the United States."³⁸⁶

³⁸³Ibid., 85..

³⁸⁴Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 161.

³⁸⁵Salinger and Wilson, *The Portrayal of Canada in American Textbooks*, 25.

³⁸⁶The American Council on Education, The Canada-United States Committee on Education, "A Study of National History Textbooks Used in the Schools of Canada and the United

Sources of Pride for Canadians: "*Enviably progress and prosperity*"³⁸⁷

Titles such as *The Story of World Progress* and *The Romance of Canada* are indicative of the tenor of these texts. They tell a Whiggish story of unmitigated progress. Setbacks are only minor, soon to be forgotten in the great march of history. Most of the texts conclude the story of Canada's history after the glorious victory of the first world war, with a great deal of space devoted to discussion of Canada's contribution to the war. Even those texts written in the late 1930s end at this point, ignoring the Depression.

The texts do not allow for alternatives, in the sense that events are presented as if they were meant to be. Everything that occurs is another step in the progression of events leading to the great nation in existence at the time of writing. Such an approach does not allow for human error, for mistakes and setbacks. Improvement is inevitable and the time of writing was the best of all possible worlds.

In the Whiggish tone which they portray, Canadian history textbooks of this era were in keeping with the prevailing vision of history and historical research held by historians of the time. Textbook authors such as Burt, Eastman, McArthur, and Wrong were prominent historians. According to the Whig interpretation of history, it was a progression in a straight line to the present. Events which were not seen to contribute to the state of affairs at the present were not seen to be important.

This vision of "enviable progress and prosperity" is based on a procession of actors marching onto the Canadian scene, one group following the other, each courageously contributing to the progress and betterment of conditions for the next-in-line. The explorers are the first. "What courage and determination, then, were shown by those hardy pioneers who blazed a trail through unknown territory to an unknown destination, thus opening up routes for fur-trading brigades and laying the foundation for the development which we see to-day."³⁸⁸

States," 2.

³⁸⁷Gammell, *History of Canada*, (B.C. Supplement), 48.

³⁸⁸Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 79.

The fur traders are the next. McArthur calls Champlain "the real founder of Canada"³⁸⁹ because he established the fur trade, as well as introducing Christianity, exploring, and establishing an alliance with the Hurons.

The highest recognition is saved for the pioneers. Of the earlier pioneers in the east, Gammell says "and it is well that the Canadians of to-day should cherish the memory of their fortitude and heroism with honour and gratitude, remembering that trials and hardships, bravely borne, strengthen the life of a nation, and that of the fruits of their unwearied labours we are now reaping an abundant harvest."³⁹⁰

Of settlers on the prairies, Wallace waxes almost poetic in the extent of his praise:

Their industry and success has been phenomenal. Within a space of a generation the vast prairies of Western Canada have been transformed from a wind-blown, grass-grown space into one of the most highly-developed grain and stock-raising regions of the world. Sod huts have given place to substantial frame and stone buildings; roads and highways have been built; thousands of miles of railway gridiron the erstwhile buffalo ranges; prosperous towns and villages dot these arteries of trade; and the tall elevators store the farmers' grain for export to the hungry millions of Europe.³⁹¹

In speaking of the wave of immigrants from south-eastern Europe which arrived on the Canadian prairies at the turn of the century, Burt says:

They dwelt in mud shacks, where pigs, chickens, and children seemed to be all mixed up together. This raised a problem in some people's minds. Would they become Canadians? Could they? Time is answering that question, as the older folk have been building real houses to replace the little shacks, as the young people have been learning to speak English, and all have more prosperity and freedom than they ever had before.³⁹²

The arrival of the North-West Mounted Police was a sign of more progress. "The sudden appearance of this handful of men in red coats had an effect like magic over the

³⁸⁹McArthur, *History of Canada For High Schools*, 57.

³⁹⁰Gammell, *History of Canada*, 124.

³⁹¹Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 102.

³⁹²Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* 254.

whole country." They "made this country safe for settlers. They laid the first foundations for the growth of the Canadian North-West."³⁹³

Even the Great War signified progress. "The war left Canada no longer a colony but a British nation, which had fought side by side with the other nations within the British Commonwealth. . . . It is a far cry from the struggling colony on the St. Lawrence to the great state of to-day."³⁹⁴

One of the tacked-on sections on British Columbia concludes with this eulogy to the province and its unfaltering progress:

In 1778, British Columbia was a blank upon the maps. A century later, its white population would not suffice to fill even one small city. But, in the last fifty years, the province has advanced with great strides. Its population had [*sic*] increased fifty-fold. Its mountains, its valleys, its forests, and the sea along its coast produce yearly wealth far beyond the wildest dreams of the old fur companies who so long held the land as their domain. From its ports are sent cargoes to Asia, to Australia, to Europe, and to other ports on the American continent. Improved transportation, enlarged trade, the great development of natural resources, and good government have led to enviable progress and prosperity.³⁹⁵

There was not a great deal of incentive for textbook authors to try to provide a realistic portrayal of events. Indeed, quite the opposite was the case. They had before them the example of Grant's *History of Canada* and its abrupt removal from the British Columbia approved list of texts in January of 1920. In spite of his impeccable credentials as headmaster of Upper Canada College and a decorated World War I officer, Grant was accused of being anti-British and anti-Protestant because of some of the opinions he presented which were not popular in the atmosphere after World War I. Grant saw the patriotism held by Loyalists as having an element of hatred for Americans. Grant's critics claimed that this concept of patriotism tinged with as unseemly an emotion as hatred for outsiders was evidence of a Germanic perspective. He was also accused of deliberately

³⁹³Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 190, 198.

³⁹⁴Wrong, *History of Canada*, 353.

³⁹⁵Gammell, *History of Canada*, (B.C. Supplement), 48.

magnifying British military defeats and using unflattering adjectives to describe some British individuals. In addition, his sympathetic representation of Louis Riel led his critics to conclude that he was pro-French-Canadian and Roman Catholic, and therefore anti-British and anti-Protestant. So abrupt was the removal of this text that there was no text available to replace it. Teachers were advised to focus on civics instruction for the remainder of the school year.³⁹⁶ It is no wonder that subsequent texts presented a more rosy picture of Canada's history.

Texts, above all, had to accommodate the prevailing views of society. Burt, author of *Romance of Canada*, was warned by an editor at Gage, his publisher, that he must not offend Anglo-Canadian sensibilities regarding the Riel Rebellions. He refers in a letter to the possibility of doing "a new dance over the two chapters on Riel to avoid breaking any eggs."³⁹⁷ If textbook authors wished their efforts to reach classrooms, they had to produce work that was acceptable to those societal groups who might influence textbook approval decisions or who were most likely to protest approved textbooks which they viewed as inappropriate.

Conception of the Student Reader

The texts demonstrate the two strands of the progressive education movement, which was enjoying its Canadian heyday during the years in which these texts were published--social efficiency and child-centredness. The social efficiency strand is associated with the testing and measurement movement which came to the fore at this time, as well as the concept of education as a preparation for future roles in society. Names associated with this strand were Franklin Bobbitt and David Sneddon.

³⁹⁶For a discussion of circumstances surrounding the removal of Grant's text from the approved text list, see C.W. Humphries, "The Banning of a Book in British Columbia," *BC Studies* 58 (Winter 1968-69), 1-12.

³⁹⁷A.L. Burt to Mrs. Dorothy Burt, 22 April 1928, cited in Lewis H. Thomas, *The Renaissance of Canadian History: A Biography of A.L. Burt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), 111. Burt is not particularly sympathetic to Riel in the *Romance of Canada*. On the other hand, he is willing to assign blame to the Canadian government for its role in the resistances. He may have shown more sympathy to Riel and his supporters before he did his 'new dance' over the offending chapters.

Advocates of social efficiency showed a naive faith in the findings of educational and psychological research. One such advocate, George Weir, in a 1935 article in *The B.C. Teacher* describing curriculum revisions which were to take place, assured the reader that "the committees will make use of all that the science of education has to contribute in principles and procedures."³⁹⁸ In an address to members of a curriculum committee, Weir advised them to "seek guidance in the results of scientific educational research."³⁹⁹

The child-centred strand was focused on Dewey's concept of education and life as one, with the related idea that school must be relevant to the children's lives outside of school. The school was to deal with the "whole" child, rather than merely the academic side. Children were to be involved in projects and other activities of a meaningful and cooperative nature. The classroom was to be somewhat democratic in nature, with children having a role in the choosing and planning of the projects in which they were to be engaged.

These two strands were not mutually exclusive. Prominent educators in B.C. during this period showed evidence of elements of both, as did the textbooks they approved. The child-centered strand is, however, much more evident in these texts.

H.B. King, Technical Advisor to a commission of enquiry into school costs, Curriculum Advisor to the extensive curricular changes in the 1930s, and Chief Inspector of Schools, was a prominent proponent of social efficiency. His text, *A History of Britain*,⁴⁰⁰ epitomizes this strand of the progressive education movement. King makes repeated references to ways in which the innovations in his text will allow students to use it

³⁹⁸G.M. Weir, "The Revision of the Curriculum," *The B.C. Teacher* XIV (April 1935): 20.

³⁹⁹G.M. Weir, "British Columbia Teachers On Trial," *The B.C. Teacher* XV (February, 1936): 12.

⁴⁰⁰According to Dawson, Dr. King's text was considered to be "a dreadful book" by teachers at the time. She does not say why this was the case. The text was originally rejected by the Junior High Social Studies Committee. It was added to the prescribed list later by the Department of Education. See Elisabeth Dawson, "The Introduction and Historical Development of Social Studies in the Curriculum of the Public Schools of British Columbia" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1982), 28. Even King's biographer called it "rather mediocre." See A.H. Child, "Herbert B. King Administrative Idealist," in *Profiles of Canadian Educators*, ed. Robert S. Patterson, John W. Chalmers, and John W. Friesen (Toronto: D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1974), 317.

more efficiently than texts used previously. He refers to the removal of "much factual material unrelated to important ideas or concepts [in order to achieve] economy of time in learning."⁴⁰¹ He refers specifically to the omission of detailed information on military campaigns. (One is tempted to conclude that this was the only information which was omitted, since the book seems so densely packed with facts!)

King shows the reliance on the findings of psychological and educational research which was the trademark of those who fell into the social efficiency camp. In his text, he attributes "what we know of the psychology of reading" to his use of "fore-questions" so that students will read a new chapter "with a questioning or problem-raising attitude."⁴⁰² He credits psychological research related to vocabulary with his attempt to simplify the language and sentence construction in the text. Again, he praises these innovations because they will save the students time.

Attempts to achieve "child-centeredness" in these texts are evident in the incorporation of activities and projects; increased use of illustrations over earlier texts; some de-emphasis on factual content; use of metadiscourse, where the author attempts to involve students in the text by addressing them directly, often to help them make connections between what they are reading and their own experiences; and use of narratives.

The child-centered nature of the texts is, at times, more evident in the telling than in the actual doing. For instance, in *A Canadian School Geography* the author states in the Preface that he intends to use a project approach because "all educationists recognize the great importance of this method in teaching. Projects, in which the pupil is interested, are to be worked out by the pupil himself from the maps and pictures. He thus has an opportunity to interpret the geography of a region for himself before it is read in the text or taken in class."⁴⁰³ Students are asked to engage in projects with scintillating titles such as

⁴⁰¹ King, *A History of Britain*, v-vi.

⁴⁰² Ibid., v.

⁴⁰³ Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography*, vi.

"To Study the Great Lakes" and "To study the productions of Ontario." In a project entitled "To study the drainage of Canada," students are asked to trace a detailed map of Canada's river systems from the text and to print river names on it. Then they are asked to answer questions such as: "What rivers of the Great Central Plain rise west of the Rockies?" and "About what fraction of the St. Lawrence Basin is in the United States?"⁴⁰⁴ This is a far cry from the Putman-Weir report, which describes projects as "cores of interest, from which the child's investigations radiate in [as] many directions as the spokes from a wheel."⁴⁰⁵ This author is using the currently popular concept of "project" as a convenient label for activities which do not fit its commonly accepted meaning.

Various approaches are used to make the texts stimulating.⁴⁰⁶ Generally speaking, the texts include illustrations which increase visual appeal. McArthur, in *History of Canada for High Schools*, declares that "a large number of illustrations have been introduced for the first time in a school text in the hope that they may aid in the presentation of the subject."⁴⁰⁷ Cornish, in his *A Canadian School Geography*, proudly proclaims that the pictures "have been obtained from every part of the world, not snap-shots, but pictures taken by professional photographers. . . . Only the most perfect of these have been selected."⁴⁰⁸ In his later text, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, half the book is devoted to pictures. Again, "they have been selected with the greatest care, and every effort has been made to preserve the beauty and definition of the original prints."⁴⁰⁹ The painstaking care

⁴⁰⁴ Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography*, 208, 208, 145.

⁴⁰⁵ Putman and Weir, *Survey of the School System*, 121.

⁴⁰⁶ An exception to this trend is the geography text by V.L. Denton and A.R. Lord, *A World Geography for Canadian Schools*. The authors state in the Preface on page v that "the inclusion of text material has been given precedence over the number of pictures to be used." Moreover, "the textual matter has been selected largely on an economic basis." The result is a densely written, uninteresting looking text, with page after page of factual information about geographical features, crops, industrial products, imports, and exports. Not surprisingly, the copy I examined was sprinkled with graffiti! A second exception is H.B. King's *A History of Great Britain*. The visuals in this text are mainly maps. Most of the pictures included are of individuals, usually line drawings of their heads. A large number of pictures would probably not be in keeping with the author's stated intention of presenting information efficiently to students.

⁴⁰⁷ McArthur, *History of Canada For High Schools*, vi.

⁴⁰⁸ Cornish, *A Canadian School Geography*, vi.

⁴⁰⁹ Cornish, *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, vi.

exercised by A.L. Burt, in choosing archival photos for inclusion in his history texts, is described in his biography, *The Renaissance of Canadian History. Highroads of History, Book IV--Other Days and Other Ways*, includes colour paintings by British artists such as W.F. Yeames, Edward Armitage, and Ford Madox Brown. Students are encouraged to examine the paintings in order to increase their understanding of the related text content. The content of the painting and the content of the written portion of the text are interwoven rather skilfully at times. For instance, there is a painting called "Caxton's Printing Office in the Almonry at Westminster." The text directs the students' attention to the location and explains why the press was set up in Westminster Abbey. It then points out various individuals in the picture, two of whom are the young sons of King Edward the Fourth, who is also in the picture. The text explains that "the eager little princes now looking in wonder at the printing were afterwards murdered in the Tower. Behind, and to the right of the king, stands Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the false uncle who caused them to be put to death."⁴¹⁰

Other approaches are also used to make the texts stimulating. Cornish, in *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, states that "the present elementary textbook is a protest against unpedagogical, unpsychological, dry as dust methods of presenting geography to children."⁴¹¹ This author includes such devices as relating the life-cycle of the salmon from the point of view of the fish; tracing the journey of wheat from a farm in the Peace River area to the docks of Liverpool from a diary written by the wheat; and describing a dairy farm from the perspective of two children who visit for the day.

In an attempt to influence the way in which the books are used with students, many include review questions and extension activities, and games or puzzles. In one text the author declares that "children delight in solving puzzles. Therefore the author has not

⁴¹⁰ *Highroads of History Book IV--Other Days and Other Ways*, The Royal School Series, Book IV (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1929), 220.

⁴¹¹ Cornish, *Canadian Geography For Juniors*, v.

hesitated to teach them geography through puzzles. Pictures puzzles, map puzzles, crossword puzzles, and question puzzles are all found in this book.”⁴¹² In the absence of teachers’ guides, some of the authors gently remind the teacher that children are not to be expected to memorize the details which are provided, merely to understand the major points. Dickie cautions the teachers of the primary students who would be reading *The Book of Wonders*, that “on no account should the children be troubled to remember, or even to learn, the geographical names.”⁴¹³ She says it is enough if they are able to associate a few major products with each region.

Metadiscourse, where the author speaks directly to the reader, is another technique used quite frequently. Burt employs this device in *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*. For instance, when describing the reaction of the Canadian government to the warnings it received regarding potential trouble in Red River, the author comments that “Canada was really very stupid, although she had plenty of warning.”⁴¹⁴ Sometimes authors directly invite readers to accompany them on imaginary journeys. Anstey, in *The Romance of British Columbia*, invites students to imagine they are travellers on board two ships in order to discover what the west coast of North America looked like one hundred and fifty years before.⁴¹⁵

The use of a narrative approach is fairly common in these texts. This approach seems to be curriculum driven, since the *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools*, beginning in 1925, recommends that stories be used in elementary grades to teach

⁴¹² Cornish, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, vi.

⁴¹³ Dickie, *The Book of Wonders*, 5.

⁴¹⁴ Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 169.

⁴¹⁵ Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 5.

history. "The method should consist rather in the use of graphic word-pictures of stirring events and of interesting tales of adventure. The stories should sometimes be told, sometimes read, to the class; as much as possible, too, the children should be allowed to gain that enjoyment that comes from each reading for himself independently."⁴¹⁴ Anstey tells students, at the beginning of *The Romance of British Columbia*, that "boys and girls love a good story. In this book we are going to read some good stories of the men and women who came to live in British Columbia in the very early days of long ago."⁴¹⁵ All of the texts by Donalda Dickie are collections of stories.

Mirrors of Their World

Textbooks reflect their time and place. In terms of pedagogy, most texts in the era after the Putman-Weir *Survey* reflect the progressive influences predominant in educational rhetoric at the time. In terms of underlying message, they reflect the values of the society in which they were written, published, and approved for use in schools.

The concept of Canadian identity has always been difficult to define. In this era, it involves a sense of increasing national independence within an enveloping allegiance to Great Britain and its empire. This is not seen to be a contradiction. The messages in the approved textbooks are enhanced and supported by school practices and by means of additional ad hoc materials provided to schools by the Department of Education and outside groups.

In contrast to the sentiments of love and loyalty expressed toward the motherland, the United States is depicted as a country of rebels against the British Crown, whiskey-traders, unruly gold-seekers, and avaricious land grabbers. This negative image serves as a foil against which Canadians can see themselves as superior. Angus, in *Canada and Her*

⁴¹⁴Department of Education, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia 1925-1926*, 49.

⁴¹⁵Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia*, 1.

Great Neighbour, makes the point that this sense of superiority is helpful for a young nation such as Canada in developing confidence in its own sense of identity.

Characteristics of good citizenship such as loyalty to country and motherland, courage, willingness to work hard, and love of God, are promoted primarily through the use of heroic figures who exemplify these qualities, and whom students are urged to emulate. Authorial comment is used to drive home the message that students should strive to achieve the qualities portrayed by these heroes. Furthermore, these heroes are used to exemplify the notion of Canadian history as progress. Sets of heroes--the early explorers, the fur traders, and the pioneers--moved things along toward a state of "enviable progress and prosperity."⁴¹⁶

These texts provide few examples of cooperation among Canadians, either historically or in contemporary life. However, the concept of citizenship is one of cooperating for the benefit of the country as a whole, to the point of sacrificing one's life, if necessary.

In terms of conflict, these texts are willing to discuss acts of resistance in Canada's past in which the government triumphed. Little is said about labour conflict or even the development of labour unions. Only McArthur's *History of Canada for High Schools* discusses these topics.

The concept of Canadian identity has its insiders and its outsiders. At this time the concept of "Canadianness" does not include women in other than secondary roles. Rather than individuals in their own right, women are helpmates, providing back-up support and assistance to men, who are the real builders of Canada. Texts acknowledge the public rather than the private sphere.

For the most part, immigrants receive a joyous welcome in these texts. They are new Canadians who will contribute to the ongoing tide of progress in which Canadians are engaged. Oriental immigrants are the primary exception. They are "visitors" who present

⁴¹⁶Gammell, *History of Canada*, (B.C. Supplement), 48.

a problem with which Canadians will have to deal. Native Peoples also present problems. Attitudes prevalent in the texts toward Native Peoples of the past are paternalism and repugnance. Textbook authors give little acknowledgement to the presence of contemporary Native Peoples. When they are included, a negative tone pervades the discussion.

A romanticized version of history is presented to students in this era, an approach evident in titles such as *The Romance of Canada* or *Pages From Canada's Story*. The intention is to develop pride on the part of the student reader in Canada's story of progress and a desire to carry that story onwards and upwards.

CHAPTER IV

CHANT ERA, 1960-1975: BACKGROUND

Chant Commission Report

"No event in recent times has caused so much interest as this report."⁴¹⁹ This was the comment of J.F.K. English, the Superintendent of Education, to the British Columbia Legislative Assembly about public reaction to the 1960 Chant Commission Report. This royal commission report was chosen as the second major turning point for education in British Columbia after the Putman-Weir Report of 1925 because it was concerned with curriculum. Other, intervening commissions, were concerned primarily with matters related to educational finance and school consolidation. The Honourable Leslie Peterson, Minister of Education, in his press release announcing the Chant Commission, referred to this:

The last comprehensive survey of education in this Province was the Putman-Weir Survey of 1925, and their report has profoundly affected the pattern of education in this Province for the past thirty years. We are hopeful that this Commission will provide us with a searching and impartial evaluation of the existing school system, make recommendations for its improvement, and offer us some advice as to the path ahead so that we may move forward in this Province on a sound basis.⁴²⁰

The Chant Report, because of its broad mandate, which included a major emphasis on curriculum, had profound implications for textbooks and textbook approval processes.

The year 1975 was chosen as the endpoint for this period because by this year all new social studies textbook prescriptions intended to implement the curricular changes which followed the Chant Report were in place.⁴²¹ By this time profound societal

⁴¹⁹British Columbia Legislative Assembly, *Sessional Papers 1961* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1962), 233.

⁴²⁰Les Peterson, Minister of Education. *Press Release*, January 17, 1959, 1. PABC GR 683, Box 14, File 3.

⁴²¹Curricular changes were the publication of the following: Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Secondary School Curriculum Guide, Social Studies - 1968* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1968) and Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Instructional Services, Curriculum Development Branch, *Elementary Social Studies, Years 1-7* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1974).

changes were affecting education in this province, eventually leading to another set of social studies curricula and text prescriptions in the decade of the 1980s. This will be discussed in the chapters dealing with the Canada Studies era.

Unlike the Putman-Weir commissioners, who were both educators, the Chant Commission was led by an academic and two representatives of the business world. S.N.F. Chant was Dean of Arts and Science at the University of British Columbia, as well as a psychologist familiar with theories of early childhood education. The business people were John E. Liersch, executive vice-president of the Powell River (paper) Company and former head of the Forestry Department at U.B.C., and Riley Paul Walrod, general manager of British Columbia Tree Fruits Ltd. As F. Henry Johnson points out,

this was not a study by professional educators but by laymen with little or no experience in public education at the elementary or secondary level. The Commissioners were the appointed spokesmen for the people, attempting to interpret and assess the public's opinions and desires as expressed in the many briefs presented. At the same time, as intelligent and interested citizens they observed closely, sought evidence, balanced criticism against conflicting criticism, and presented a considered judgment and a general plan for the future.⁴²²

After holding public hearings in thirty-four centres, conducting research on certain topics such as the number of American texts in the schools, making 116 school visits, and examining 366 briefs, and other relevant educational literature, the commissioners formulated 158 recommendations. These "covered virtually every aspect of public school education in British Columbia, including its philosophy, the organization of the school system, school buildings and services, qualifications and training of teachers, teachers' salaries, the curriculum, text-books, as well as school and community relations."⁴²³ This discussion will focus on recommendations related to social studies curriculum changes and textbook authorizations.

⁴²²Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 270-271.

⁴²³Department of Education, *Ninetieth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1960-61*, (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1962), Z 33.

The commissioners came to the conclusion that intellectual development should be the primary aim of education.⁴²⁴ In other words, progressive concerns about the "whole" child, whose social and emotional development was equal in importance to the intellectual, were dismissed. The report ranked school subjects according to a three-level categorization system. English and Mathematics courses were positioned in the inner core; social studies, science and languages were outside this core, but still within an inner zone; other subjects such as art, music, drama, home economics, and health and personal development, were in an outer zone because the school was not considered to be the only place where they could be taught.⁴²⁵ Recommendations related to social studies were that it be more consecutive in approach, that history and geography be treated separately, and that more stress be placed on the mastery of facts.⁴²⁶

The Chant Report expressed satisfaction with the procedures used to assess texts for inclusion on provincially approved lists, describing them as "thorough and painstaking." The source of shortcomings in prescribed texts was considered to be the deficiencies in the available texts themselves rather than in approval procedures--specifically, too many American texts. In response to concerns regarding the use of American texts, the recommendation was made that "the possibility of procuring more Canadian and British text-books be thoroughly canvassed." In light of the visual impact of today's texts, it is interesting that another recommendation was that "text-books be not so copiously illustrated with pictures that the literary or informative value of the text is impaired." The Commissioners also served notice that carelessness in terms of the factual content of texts was no longer to be tolerated, recommending "that the slightest evidence of careless preparation be full cause for the rejection of any text-book, and that any such instances be drawn forcefully to the attention of editors and publishers."⁴²⁷

⁴²⁴S.N.F. Chant, J.E. Liersch, and R.P. Walrod, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1960), 17-19.

⁴²⁵*Ibid.*, 283-285.

⁴²⁶*Ibid.*, 309-310.

⁴²⁷Chant, et al., *Report of the Royal Commission on Education*, 346, 342, 343, 343.

The release of the Chant report was greeted by a great deal of public interest.⁴²⁸ For the most part, public response was favourable.⁴²⁹ It was hailed by the *Vancouver Province* as "a thorough and memorable document" and "a blue-print for an educational renaissance" because it heralded a return to "hard education" at a time when "the preparation for adult existence in an increasingly tough and complex world" required "highly specialized and skilled" workers.⁴³⁰ The *Vancouver Sun* had historian Hilda Neatby's (*So Little for the Mind*, 1953) criticisms in mind when its editorial commented that "the commission calls for more for the mind."⁴³¹ The dissenting opinion of Neville Scarfe, the Dean of Education at the University of British Columbia, who called the report "a depressing, disappointing and reactionary effort in which is spelled out rather clearly how to keep schools dull, orthodox and tedious,"⁴³² caused barely a ripple in the tide of public opinion in favour of the report.⁴³³

The conclusions of the Chant Report signalled a return to a more academic focus for education in British Columbia than the emphasis on the "whole" child discussed previously. This paved the way for the influence of the so-called "structure of the disciplines" approach which was being advocated by Jerome Bruner and others in the United States. The influence of Bruner and his landmark publication, *The Process of Education* (1960), became evident both in provincial curricula and in materials which

⁴²⁸For analysis of editorial reaction to the Chant Report by Victoria newspapers see, James Bruce London, "The Editorial Significance Given to Education by Victoria's Leading Newspapers During Three Periods of Educational Study by the British Columbia Government: 1932-36, 1942-46, 1957-61" (Master's thesis, University of Victoria, 1976) and Robert George Dennison, "A Study of the Prince George *Citizen* 1957-61: Editorial Reaction to Education and the Chant Commission on Education (1960)" (M.Ed. major paper, The University of British Columbia, 1984). For critiques of the report from a variety of educational perspectives, see *A Critical Evaluation of the Chant Commission Report on Education. Reprinted from The Vancouver Sun* (Vancouver: Price Printing Ltd., n.d.).

⁴²⁹"Most Favor Chant Report," *The Vancouver Sun*, 30 December 1960, p. 1, 2.

⁴³⁰"Return to 'hard' education . . .," *The Province*, 30 December 1960, p. 4.

⁴³¹"A Masterly Document," *The Vancouver Sun*, 29 December 1960, p. 4.

⁴³²"Chant School Report 'Depressing Effort' says Dean Scarfe," *The Province*, 30 December 1960, p. 1.

⁴³³One of the three commissioners, R.P. Walrod, decided that Dean Scarfe had likely misinterpreted parts of the report. R.P. Walrod to A.S. Towell, 2 March, 1961. PABC GR 683, Box 15, File 7.

began to appear in classrooms. Bruner's book had three key themes. First, the goal of education was to give students "an understanding of the fundamental structure of whatever subject we choose to teach."⁴³⁴ By structure, Bruner meant the concepts and techniques of inquiry peculiar to a particular discipline. Bruner's second contention was that the basic ideas that lie at the heart of the disciplines are simple enough for students at any level to grasp. Therefore, we should not delay presenting students with these ideas, but must develop ways to present them in forms which students can understand most easily. Bruner's third major point was that intuitive thinking had been undervalued in favour of analytic thinking. Bruner's conclusion from this belief was that, as far as history was concerned, inductive discovery was more fruitful than deductive presentation by the teacher. These three themes were based on Bruner's conviction that "intellectual activity anywhere is the same, whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third-grade classroom."⁴³⁵ The major implication of these beliefs was that, rather than simply presenting students with the findings of a discipline, they should become miniature academics, and use scientific inquiry techniques to make discoveries for themselves.

The Chant Report opened the flood-gates to extensive curricular revision and textbook production in British Columbia. In its conclusion that schooling should have a greater 'academic' emphasis, the report placed itself squarely within a much larger, discipline-oriented, movement in Canada and the United States.

Social, Economic, and Political Context

By 1960, the Social Credit Party under the leadership of the dynamic W.A.C. Bennett had been in office for eight years. This party, with Bennett as leader, remained in power until the 1972 election of the New Democratic Party under Dave Barrett.

11. ⁴³⁴Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960),

⁴³⁵*Ibid.*, 14.

The Chant era was, for the most part, one of economic prosperity. The Socreds oversaw a period of massive government spending on major transportation infrastructure projects, including highways, bridges, tunnels, and a passenger ferry service. Population growth stimulated the building of institutions of higher education, as well as large numbers of elementary and secondary schools. Large projects for the purpose of resource extraction appeared around the province. These included dams to generate hydroelectric power and the expansion of the forestry industry.

British Columbia's racial and ethnic mix began to change in this period; although not at a rate even approaching that which occurred during the decade of the 1980s. The proportion of population of British descent fell from 69.9 percent before World War Two to 59.4 percent by 1961 and 57.9 percent by 1971. The proportion of Asian people moved from an all-time low in 1951 of 2.2 percent, to 2.5 percent in 1961, and 3.5 percent in 1971. The percentage of the population who were of continental European ethnic origin changed little--34.1 percent in 1961 and 35.2 percent in 1971.

Women were entering the paid labour force in this period, having gone back to their homes when the servicemen returned from the war. By 1970, women comprised 32.7 percent of the Canadian labour force. In spite of this, women continued to handle the vast majority of household duties. A study conducted in Vancouver in the 1970s revealed that, in the case of childless couples, a wife's entry into the labour force meant that her husband relieved her of an average of six minutes a week of domestic duties. Husbands who were also fathers contributed an extra hour per week.⁴³⁶

⁴³⁶Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 383-384, citing Meg Luxton, "Two Hands for the Clock, Changing Patterns in the Gendered Division of Labour in the Home," in M. Luxton and Harriet Rosenberg, ed., *Through the Kitchen Window: The Politics of Home and Family* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1986), 17-36.

Educational Context

Educational Debates

The Chant report was produced amid strong public debate across Canada regarding the effectiveness of progressive education. In typical Canadian fashion, the response was to set up Royal Commissions to study the situation. In fact, half the provinces--British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Prince Edward Island--followed this path in 1959 and 1960. This debate had coalesced around Hilda Neatby's aptly titled missive, *So Little for the Mind: An Indictment of Canadian Education*, a scathing critique of progressive education in Canada. Neatby, a professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan, questioned the intellectual aimlessness of progressive education. She declared that the enterprise approach (an integrated project approach with social studies as its core) "as carried out by the average, harried, uninspired teacher, can be the dullest, most stereotyped, least stimulating way of teaching imaginable." She lamented the fact that social studies was "taught not only without the classic distinctions between geography, history, and politics, but also without the logical arrangement of place, time, and causation ordinarily considered to be inherent in these disciplines." She described social studies as "the truly typical part of the progressive curriculum with its obsession for indoctrination." This is because "everything is, of course, subordinated to the innumerable aims and attitudes which the teacher, in theory, must ever bear in mind."⁴³⁷ Her example was the British Columbia social studies curriculum for junior high school, with its ten powers, skills and right habits of study, its eleven right ideals and attitudes, and fourteen desirable abilities, all to be developed by social studies.⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1953), 179, 162-163, 162, 163.

⁴³⁸Neatby's conclusions were based on an examination of provincial Department of Education documents such as curriculum guides, programmes of study, and reading lists. Sutherland has shown that classroom practice differed substantially from the tenor of these progressive documents, remaining as formal in the 1950s as it had been in the 1920s. See Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver From the 1920s to the 1960s," in *Vancouver Past: Essays in Social History, Vancouver Centennial Issue of BC Studies*, ed. R.A.J. McDonald and Jean Barman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1986), 175-210.

The international political climate provided support for those who questioned the progressive tone of school curricula. The so-called 'Cold War' between East and West was at its height. The launching of the Russian satellite Sputnik in 1957, had alerted the Americans to Soviet superiority in the realm of science and technology. As a result, the teaching of science, as well as other subjects, in American schools, was widely criticized as the reason for the United States falling behind the Soviets. Because official Canadian education documents also espoused a progressive philosophy, they too fell under this criticism from Neatby and others.

These debates were not, in any way, remote to the British Columbia education scene at this time. Dr. N.A.M. MacKenzie, President of the University of British Columbia, warned in 1958, that "Russia will be ahead of the West soon in all branches of science unless we revive our respect for education and back it with more money."⁴³⁹ The Honourable Leslie Peterson, Minister of Education, in his 1959 announcement regarding the establishment of the royal commission, referred to the "grim international competition that lies ahead"⁴⁴⁰ as a potent motivation for a study of education in the province. An article in the *Victoria Daily Times* referred to the need to redefine educational objectives "now, with humanity in the space age."⁴⁴¹ Many of the briefs submitted to the Chant Commission made reference to these debates. One brief, submitted by "a group of seven citizens interested in education," referred to Neatby's *So Little for the Mind*, as well as Arthur Bestor's *Educational Wastelands*, an attack on progressive education in the United States. This brief attacked such 'progressive' practices as the project method, scrapbooks and collections, counselling, field trips, and visual education.⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹"How We Can Catch Russia," *The Province*, 31 July 1958, p. 21.

⁴⁴⁰Peterson, *Press Release*, 1.

⁴⁴¹"New Look at Education," *Victoria Daily Times*, 20 January 1958, p. 4.

⁴⁴²A group of seven citizens interested in education, *Brief No. 132* (Sidney, B.C., December 10, 1958), PABC GR 683, Box 2, File 5.

Curriculum Change

As Edith Deyell, an Associate Professor of Education at the University of British Columbia, pointed out, social studies was in a state of "ferment,"⁴⁴³ in both Canada and the United States, during the decade of the sixties. Many considered it to be a school subject which had lost its focus, and called instead for an emphasis on history and geography as separate disciplines.

Several briefs to the Chant Commission had assailed the provincial course of studies for social studies. One brief, submitted by two Kitimat high school teachers and endorsed by the Kitimat District Teachers' Association, called it "totally inadequate, lacks purpose, is haphazard, incoherent, elementary, repetitive."⁴⁴⁴ The B.C. School Trustees Association called for the abolition of social studies altogether, to be replaced by history and geography as separate subjects. Rather than the "hit and run, pick and choose system of social studies, [the trustees wanted] the sensible teaching of history [which] should begin at one end and proceed to the other in adherence to chronological order."⁴⁴⁵ A high school principal told the commission that the social studies program in Grades Eight and Nine was "a waster [sic] of time."⁴⁴⁶

The provincial social studies curriculum at the time of the Chant Report in 1960 was organized around an expanding horizons framework and rooted in "the social sciences--history, geography, sociology, economics, and political science--organized to facilitate related and meaningful teaching."⁴⁴⁷ In the elementary program, Grade One examined the child's immediate environment; Grade Two expanded outwards to the neighbourhood; Grade Three expanded further to the world community; Grade Four

⁴⁴³Edith Deyell, "Ferment in the Social Studies: Where Will It Lead?" *Canadian Education and Research Digest*, 4 (March 1964): 56.

⁴⁴⁴"Social Studies Course Blasted," *The Vancouver Sun*, 5 May 1959, p. 13

⁴⁴⁵"'Stop hit and run' studies, says brief," *The Province*, 27 April 1959, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁶"Social Studies 'Waste of Time,' Principal Claims," *The Vancouver Sun*, 26 May 1958, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁷Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Secondary School Social Studies, 1960* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1961), 7.

looked at European exploration and settlement of North America; Grade Five emphasized geography, looking both at Canada, and its immediate neighbours; and Grade Six looked further outward to Europe and Asia. In the secondary grades, grade level content was ancient and medieval times in Grade Seven; Canadian history and government in the context of Canada's relationship to other nations in Grade Eight; world geography in Grade Nine; world history in Grade Ten; and the geography, history, culture, and international relations of Canada in Grade Eleven.

The entire curriculum was organized around "the promotion of better citizenship. . . . Social studies is such that a unique opportunity is provided for giving special attention to this most important objective of education."⁴⁴⁸ There were four general objectives in the secondary social studies curriculum. These were knowledge, love of truth, humanitarian sentiments, and understanding of the rule of law. In terms of the knowledge component, teachers were cautioned that "the substantial content of meaningful facts, well-documented generalizations, and even significant dates must not be neglected."⁴⁴⁹

The Chant Report recommended that the social studies curriculum undergo a review. As a first step (and a sign of what was to come) the Department of Education established separate history and geography advisory committees. Probably to no-one's surprise, each committee recommended that its discipline be treated separately in the curriculum. Geography was to be taught "so that it reveals the structure of the discipline as it is understood by professional geographers themselves. It should, at a level appropriate to the pupils, utilize the methods employed by the subject's best practitioners."⁴⁵⁰ The history committee stated as its belief that "the objectives of history can best be achieved if history is taught as a separate subject. . . . When history is merged with related disciplines into a

⁴⁴⁸Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1957), 131.

⁴⁴⁹Province of British Columbia, *Secondary School Social Studies*, 1960, 7.

⁴⁵⁰Geography Advisory Committee, "Content, Skills and Method in Secondary School Geography Courses," *Exploration* 4 (February 1964), 12.

single course of studies students at the secondary level cannot be expected to understand its unique nature."⁴⁵¹

The final version of the elementary social studies curriculum was not published until 1974, although interim editions of various parts had been in schools since 1970. The elementary curriculum did not separate course content into its history and geography components. However, its Brunerian roots were evident in the listing for each grade level of key concepts and generalizations and in the emphasis on "the use of the inquiry method to acquire, organize, classify and evaluate information."⁴⁵² This curriculum maintained the expanding horizons framework of previous elementary curricula, moving from the family to the community in the primary grades, and continuing out to a study of Canada in Grade Five, and the development of a global perspective in Grade Six. The Grade Seven curriculum examined the development of cultures over time.

The secondary social studies curriculum, as revised in 1968, represents the profound effect of Bruner and his "structure of the disciplines" approach on social studies opinion leaders in the province. The course retained the name of social studies, but the integration of content implied by that name was gone. Social studies became an umbrella term for discrete courses in history and geography, each constituting a half of the year's work. A set of unifying concepts, to be developed at a more sophisticated level each year, was provided for each discipline. The emphasis in previous curricula on quantity of information changed to the pursuit of in-depth understanding of selected case-studies. The secondary curriculum stated four broad aims. It was intended that students

comprehend the structure of ideas that is the essence of history, geography and the social sciences. . . . understand and use at his level the approach of the historian, the geographer or the appropriate social scientist to think hypothetically, to hold tentative conclusions,

⁴⁵¹History Advisory Committee, "A Suggested Program in History for British Columbia Secondary Schools," *Exploration* 4 (February 1964), 19.

⁴⁵²Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Instructional Services, Curriculum Development Branch, *Elementary Social Studies, Year 1-7* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1974), 3.

and to reconstruct the knowledge already in one's possession . . . to deal with value questions in an intellectually and ethically honest way.⁴⁵³

The geography component of the secondary curriculum consisted of "The Developing Tropical World" in Grade Eight, "Industrial - Urban Regions" in Grade Nine, "Canada in its North American Setting" in Grade Ten, and "The Geography of World Problems" in Grade Eleven. In Grade Eight teachers were instructed to select, for indepth study, an area from either Asia, Africa, or Latin America. In the other years, required and optional units were listed.

The history component of the secondary curriculum, from Grade Eight to Grade Eleven, consisted of "Renaissance, Evolution and Revolution," "19th Century Europe and the Contemporary World," "Canada in Her North American Setting," and "Canada In Her World Setting."

The most interesting aspect of the post-Chant social studies curricular revisions is not what is there, but what is missing. No longer is citizenship education explicitly stated as the ultimate aim of social studies, an aim which had been present since its inception as a school subject in this province in 1927.

Social studies curricular changes following the Chant Report were profound.⁴⁵⁴ History and geography were treated as separate disciplines in the secondary curriculum; students were intended to acquire the "structure" of each discipline, that is, the main concepts, as well as the sophisticated inquiry techniques of mature researchers; and the traditional citizenship focus became more subdued.

That these curricular changes were inevitable is evident once one looks at the context in which they occurred. *The B.C. Teacher*, the journal published by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, and *Exploration*, the journal of the British Columbia

⁴⁵³Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Secondary School Curriculum Guide, Social Studies - 1968* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1968), 3.

⁴⁵⁴Dawson, in her study of the history of the social studies curriculum in British Columbia, considers these changes as more profound than those of the 1930s. See Elisabeth Dawson, "The Introduction and Historical Development of Social Studies in the Curriculum of the Public Schools of British Columbia," 67-90.

Social Studies Teachers' Association, are replete with articles on the structure of history and geography during the decade of the sixties. In addition, the College of Education at the University of British Columbia was turning out prospective teachers who had been trained in this perspective. The "Curriculum and Instruction in Elementary Social Studies" course had its title changed in the 1963-64 school year to "Curriculum and Instruction in History and Geography." By the 1974-75 school year the title again referred to social studies--the encapsulation of an era. A "structure of the disciplines" approach is also evident in the social studies methods textbooks written by educators in this province for use in university level curriculum and instruction courses. Social studies educators at both the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria developed such texts. At U.B.C., Francis G. Hardwick, assisted by Edith Deyell, J. Neil Sutherland, and George S. Tomkins, developed *Teaching History and Geography*, a text which exemplifies this approach:

The teacher can "teach" children to learn History and Geography (or any other discipline or science) only by helping them to use at their own individual levels the skills, procedures, and points of view of the mature historian, geographer, or other scholar. As he grows in competence in using these skills and procedures and points of view, the student can increasingly understand and take part in handling the social, political, economic, and similar challenges and problems confronting every citizen. And in this way the school might help its students to perpetuate a free and open society.⁴⁵⁵

Teaching the Subjects in the Social Studies, written by Evelyn Moore and Edward E. Owen from the Faculties of Education at the University of Calgary and University of Victoria also exemplified a "structure of the disciplines" approach. This book points out to the reader that

what distinguishes this handbook from other works is that the authors accept, as a major purpose of the social studies, that elementary school children should begin to learn the thinking patterns, or structure of the social sciences. . . . he is a better democratic citizen who can think historically or geographically, who can think as an economist or as a

⁴⁵⁵Francis G. Hardwick, with Edith Deyell, J. Neil Sutherland, and George S. Tomkins, *Teaching History and Geography: A Source Book of Suggestions*, 2d ed. (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1967), i.

political scientist, whenever these approaches are relevant to the assessment of contemporary situations.⁴⁵⁶

These authors quote extensively from Bruner's *The Process of Education* (1960). Joseph Schwab's article in *The Educational Record*, on "The Concept of the Structure of a Discipline" (1962) and Ford and Pugno's book called *The Structure of Knowledge and the Curriculum* (1964) are among the references listed for a chapter entitled "The major principles of the approach." Chapter titles include: "The nature of geography and geography teaching," "Assembling the materials of the geographer," "Using the methods and materials of the geographer," "The nature of history and school history," "How to assemble the materials of the historian," and "How to use the materials of the historian in the school."⁴⁵⁷

Rhetoric and Classroom Practice: Role of Textbooks

The Department of Education continued to caution teachers about over-reliance on texts during this period. In the *Annual Report* for 1955-56, J.F.K. English, Deputy Minister of Education, felt it necessary to state that "a text-book is simply one of several aids to teaching. It is not intended to be a course in itself nor is it to take the place of the teacher."⁴⁵⁸ It is ironic, therefore, that the 1960 secondary social studies curriculum tied each content section for Grade Nine and Ten to specific page numbers in the prescribed texts.⁴⁵⁹ In fact, Neville Scarfe, Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba (and later at the University of British Columbia), in a 1955 report of a survey of Canadian geography teachers, blamed the rigid requirements imposed by provincial curricula and programmes of study for Canadian teachers' reliance on texts.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁶Evelyn Moore and Edward E. Owen, *Teaching the Subjects in the Social Studies: A Handbook for Teachers* (Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1966), i.

⁴⁵⁷Deyell, Sutherland, and Tomkins published textbooks, and Owen picture sets with teachers' guides which were prescribed for use with social studies courses in this province. A "structure of the disciplines" approach was used in these materials as well.

⁴⁵⁸B.C. Department of Education, *Eighty-Fifth Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1955-56* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1957), FF 32.

⁴⁵⁹Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Division of Curriculum, *Secondary School Social Studies, 1960* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1961), 46-74.

⁴⁶⁰Neville V. Scarfe, "The Teaching of Geography in Canada," *The Canadian Geographer* 5

In practice, the social studies textbook continued to reign supreme during this period. As prominent social studies educator, George Tomkins, stated in a 1966 article, "It has been our Canadian tradition to expect the textbook to comprise the curriculum, the body of subject matter which tells the teacher what to teach and the pupils what to learn." He warned that "we are in greater danger than ever before of the concept of the textbook - as - Bible. . . . [and] as - teacher."⁴⁶¹

In 1965, A.B. Hodgetts, a history master at Trinity College School in Port Hope, Ontario, began his school's National History Project, a Canada-wide study of civic education. Hodgetts' findings regarding textbook use indicate that little had changed in the forty-three years since the Putman-Weir Report:

Eighty-nine percent of the classes we observed unquestioningly followed the gray, consensus version of the textbook. . . . In twenty-five percent of the Canadian history classes we visited, the students were engaged in learning and recording in their notebooks . . . the "ready-made verdicts of the textbooks". . . . The lowest category in our scale of methods was reserved for classes in which . . . the content was obviously a mere recitation of the prescribed textbook. Twenty-one percent of all classes included in our survey fell into this lowest category.⁴⁶²

Hodgetts' findings are supported by anecdotal descriptions of textbook use during this period, such as Melinda McCracken's disheartening description of a Winnipeg high school social studies teacher's approach to the teaching of social studies in the mid 1950s:

Mr. Norris Belton taught social studies. A man with a grey brushcut, who wore glasses that magnified his eyes, rumpled blue blazers and grey flannels, his teaching style was to have the class underline important phrases in the social studies textbook. His classes consisted of forty minutes of his reading a few pages, and stopping every few words so kids could underline an important phrase. What happened of course was that you became an expert underliner. You'd underline some phrases with single lines and some with double lines, and quickly got the knack of whipping out your ruler and drawing perfect lines. What the lines were under didn't sink in very far.⁴⁶³

(1955): 1.

⁴⁶¹George Tomkins, "The Textbook as an Aid to Teaching of Social Studies," *Saskatchewan History Teachers' Association Newsletter* 3 (June 1966): 79, 86.

⁴⁶²Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?*, 24, 26-27, 45.

The British Columbia situation did not differ from the rest of Canada. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation called the textbook "the most widely used instrument of instruction in our schools."⁴⁶⁴ Harold Covell, a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of British Columbia, stated in *The B.C. Teacher*, that "the textbook is still the most frequently used aid to instruction in the social studies."⁴⁶⁵ A senior high school social studies teacher in Trail, British Columbia, referring, in 1958, to a statement in the Social Studies Bulletin from the Department of Education, that instruction relying on a single textbook was an "'impoverished type of Social Studies instruction', [estimated that] it is probable that three-fourths of Social Studies instruction is of the 'impoverished' type."⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, the Chant commissioners concluded that based on their "classroom observations and from discussions with teachers, it was apparent that the text-books that were in use determined to a considerable extent the contents of the courses that were taught. In general the instruction seemed to follow closely the text-book material."⁴⁶⁷

Not only did texts continue to be the instructional aid of choice during this period, but the Department of Education's textbook rental plan, instituted in 1949, had led to greater uniformity in the texts actually used in schools. This plan, the first of its kind in Canada, allowed secondary students to borrow for a small fee, rather than buy, their texts. Since the department of education would make available to schools only those texts, and editions of texts, which were presently prescribed, all students would rent the same texts. Prior to 1949, course revisions with their accompanying texts "produced a storm of protest"⁴⁶⁸ on the part of parents. It can be safely assumed, that due to family finances,

⁴⁶³Melinda McCracken, *Memories are made of this* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1975), 79.

⁴⁶⁴"What We Said," *The B.C. Teacher*, XXXIX (April 1960): 333.

⁴⁶⁵Harold M. Covell, "Your Pupils, Their Reading Ability and the Social Studies," *The B.C. Teacher*, 43 (Sept./Oct. 1965): 16.

⁴⁶⁶A District Senior High School Social Studies Teacher, "Unedited Mimeographed Copy of Original Material Submitted to Compilers of Brief for Board of School Trustees (Trail), *Brief #93*, (Board of School Trustees, Trail, October 24, 1958, pp. 3-4), PABC, GR 683, Box 1, File 15.

⁴⁶⁷Chant et al., *Report*, 338.

⁴⁶⁸B.C. Department of Education, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1949-50* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1951), O 29.

students did not always purchase every new text which the Department intended they have. In fact, provision for this situation was found in the Department's prescribed textbook lists. For instance, in the 1940-41 textbook catalogue, beside a listing for the Grade Nine text, *A World Geography for Canadian Schools*, is a note that Grade Nine students who have the previously prescribed text, *Canadian School Geography*, should not be asked to purchase the new text.⁴⁶⁹

Textbooks, then, maintained their status as the key information source and determinant of classroom activity in social studies classrooms during this period. They constituted the curriculum-in-action, or the curriculum as it was presented to students.

Choosing Texts: Contemporary Concerns

By far the predominant concern related to textbooks in this period, as in the last, was that they be Canadian in origin. Vincent Massey expressed this concern best in his book, *On Being Canadian*:

In primary and secondary education the various provincial authorities concerned are doing what they can to increase the proportion of Canadian text-books used in our schools. But there are arrears to make up. . . . the styles of women's clothes in Canada are inevitably established in New York, and this practice is as unalterable as the movement of the tides, but it is quite another matter to regard American credentials as essential to a text-book for use in Canadian schools. . . . it is of obvious importance that Canadian scholars should be employed in such tasks as far as possible, and that the Canadian character of Canadian education should be preserved.⁴⁷⁰

The British Columbia Teachers' Federation had made its concerns in this area evident for years,⁴⁷¹ and one of the curriculum resolutions at its 1959 annual general meeting was that a greater number of Canadian texts be authorized.⁴⁷² Teachers had also made their concerns heard more informally. One concerned group made an impassioned plea in *The*

⁴⁶⁹Department of Education, *Prescribed Textbooks for 1940-41* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1940), 4.

⁴⁷⁰Vincent Massey, *On Being Canadian* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1948), 127.

⁴⁷¹"Time for Change in Social Studies," *The B.C. Teacher*, XXXIV (January 1955): 158-162.

⁴⁷²"The Department Replies to Curriculum Resolutions," *The B.C. Teacher*, XXXIX (September/October 1959): 19-23.

B.C. Teacher for the use of Canadian texts in the subjects of literature, social studies, and Effective Living: "The point is simply that Canada is a nation in her own right, that she is not part of the United States, and that textbooks prepared for the use of American schools are not necessarily suitable for use in Canadian schools if our children are to be educated as Canadians."⁴⁷³ This point is also made time and again in the briefs to the Chant Commission,⁴⁷⁴ although strangely enough, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation brief did not make this recommendation. Several briefs singled out social studies as the curricular area where it was of particular importance that texts be of Canadian origin.⁴⁷⁵

A particularly damning brief, and one which received a great deal of publicity, was submitted by the Summerland Parent-Teacher Association.⁴⁷⁶ This brief focused its concerns about the preponderance of America texts on one particular social studies text, *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times*, which was prescribed for Social Studies 20 (Grades 10 or 11). In his presentation to the royal commission, Mr. McLeod of Summerland, called the text "anti-British, foolish, misled, an incoherent and multifarious jumble of facts, fragmentary, garbled and out of perspective."⁴⁷⁷ The text credited the Enclosure Acts for making Britain a nation of tea drinkers, explaining that, "lacking their own cows for milk, the dispossessed farmers found it cheaper to buy tea."⁴⁷⁸ According

⁴⁷³"Canadian," "Must We Have American Texts?" *The B.C. Teacher*, XXXI (March 1952): 257.

⁴⁷⁴See, for example, Chilliwack District Teachers' Association, *Brief #113*, (Chilliwack, B.C., October, 1958), PABC, GR 683, Box 2, File 2; The Parents of Caulfeild School, *Brief #152* (West Vancouver, B.C., December 16, 1958), PABC, GR 683, Box 2, File 8; West Bay Elementary School Parent Teacher Association, *Brief #150* (West Vancouver, B.C., November 30, 1958), PABC GR 683, Box 2, File 7; "U.S. Influence Hit in B.C. Schools," *Vancouver Sun*, 23 February 1959, p. 3. (This article discusses a brief from Vancouver school principals). Other briefs, which the Chant Commissioners chose to quote in the Report, with regard to this point, are the Wynndel Social Credit Group, *Brief No. 101*; Vancouver School Administrators' Association, *Brief No. 230*; and the Ganges Parents' Group, *Brief No. 237*.

⁴⁷⁵See, for example, Jean L. MacNaughton, *Brief No. 130* (Chilliwack, B.C., November 30, 1958), 9, PABC GR 683, Box 2, File 4; and The Catholic Public Schools, *Brief #153* (December 31, 1958), PABC, GR 683, Box 2, File 8. Another brief, quoted in the Chant Report on this point, is Duncan Dogwoods Chapter, I.O.D.E., Duncan, *Brief No. 261*.

⁴⁷⁶See, for example, "Textbooks Blasted," *Windsor Daily Star*, 10 April 1959, p. 22-B; "U.S. Texts Ripped Apart at Probe," *The Vancouver Sun*, 9 April 1959, p. 22; and Harold Weir, "The Alien Touch," *The Vancouver Sun*, 18 April 1959, p. 4.

⁴⁷⁷"Text Books Blasted," *Windsor Daily Star*, 10 April 1959, p. 22-B.

⁴⁷⁸Nathanial Platt and Muriel Jean Drummond, *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times*

to a newspaper report, "Dean Chant was incredulous as he heard the book's explanation of England's tea drinking. 'Can anyone tell me,' he asked, 'if such a statement has any historical basis or validity?'"⁴⁷⁹ The Department of Education was sufficiently concerned, that it prepared a rebuttal to the Summerland brief. The rebuttal does not deal with the Enclosure Act statement which caused so much amazement at the hearing. However, it does provide specific responses to a number of the other criticisms made. The rebuttal concludes:

The authors of the brief set out to make the case against Canadis [*sic*] [Canadianisation?] of American books, and that OUR WORLD: RENAISSANCE TO MODERN TIMES happened to be the most readily available example. The report is one-sided in the extreme. It also demonstrates a lack of knowledge about the social studies course or the nature of a book which would fulfil the requirements of a social studies course. They would require that a world history give Canada a much greater proportion of space than in fact she deserves.⁴⁸⁰

As a solution to the concern over a perceived preponderance of American texts, a number of briefs advised that British Columbia teachers be encouraged to write textbooks for use in British Columbia schools.⁴⁸¹ The briefs recommended that the Department of Education either commission teachers to write texts or that school boards grant leaves-of-absence for the purpose of allowing teachers to write for Canadian publishers. The Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association called for revision of social studies texts and pointed out that the commissioning of teachers by the Department of Education to prepare books for use in elementary schools would "provide the students with a better background and knowledge of our cultural heritage and traditions. . . . [and] could greatly

(Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), 203.

⁴⁷⁹"Text Books Blasted," *Windsor Daily Star*, 10 April 1959, p. 22-B.

⁴⁸⁰"Comment on West [*sic*] Summerland Parent-Teacher Association Brief Concerning 'Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times', n.d. Attachment to J.F.K. English, Deputy Minister and Superintendent, to Dean S.N.F. Chant, 12 June 1959, PABC, GR 683, Box 16, File 12.

⁴⁸¹Briefs quoted in the Chant Report which make this recommendation are The Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association, *Brief #149*; Miss Joan Dunn, Powell River, *Brief #278*; Vancouver Secondary School Teachers' Association, *Brief #328*; and The Labour-Progressive Party of British Columbia, Vancouver, *Brief #360*.

increase the consistency between the text and the Course of Studies."⁴⁸² *The Vancouver Sun*, concurring with this line of thinking, recommended that school boards grant teachers leaves of absence in order to write texts for Canadian publishers.⁴⁸³

The commissioners were sufficiently concerned that they had A.S. Towell, a retired school superintendent, and Executive Secretary to the Royal Commission, determine exactly the proportion of texts which were American. He found that, in spite of the widespread belief that American texts were dominant, only twenty-five percent of texts were imported from the United States. Of this twenty-five percent, the majority were used in advanced courses and elective subjects such as Spanish and German. Of fifteen secondary social studies texts, only three were Canadian editions or revisions of American texts. By far the majority (nine) were Canadian texts written by authors in other provinces. Two others were published by the British Columbia Department of Education and one was a British text.⁴⁸⁴

There were other concerns regarding texts. The Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association brief made the statement that "the social studies texts, it is believed, could be improved by providing greater emphasis on fundamentals, and also by considering the quantity, quality, and grade suitability of their contents."⁴⁸⁵ Some public school teachers in Quesnel accused the department of education of choosing texts "on the

⁴⁸²The Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association, *Brief #149* (Vancouver, B.C., December 15, 1958), pp. 8-9.

⁴⁸³"Content or Color?" *The Vancouver Sun*, 11 April 1959, p. 4; "The Way to Get Text Books," *The Vancouver Sun*, 30 April, 1959, p. 4. A brief making this recommendation was Chilliwack District Teachers' Association, *Brief #113* (Chilliwack, B.C., October, 1958), p. 6.

⁴⁸⁴A.S. Towell, "Report to the Royal Commission on Education on Text-Books Prescribed for British Columbia Schools" (June 18, 1959), 4, PABC, Box 16, File 12. These comments do not include the senior matriculation texts on his chart, since these texts do not form part of this study. Of three texts prescribed for senior matriculation, one was the work of a British Columbia author or anthologist, one was by an author or anthologist in another Canadian province, and the third was of American origin.

⁴⁸⁵The Vancouver Elementary School Teachers' Association, *Brief #149*, December 15, 1958, p. 8.

basis of their covers and pictures."⁴⁸⁶ *The Vancouver Sun* recommended that "content come[s] before colorful cuteness."⁴⁸⁷

Changes in Text Approvals

Textbooks were assessed by the Department of Education by means of five sets of assessment criteria: authorship, publication, format and printing, instructional content, and instructional and study aids. Publication criteria were concerned with whether the book was Canadian, whether it was a first edition, and recency of publication. Instructional content criteria related to the extent to which curriculum objectives were met. Instructional and study aids referred to the following factors: table of contents, index, exercises and activities, readability, and teachability level for the average classroom teacher.⁴⁸⁸

Four significant changes occurred with regard to the textbook approvals designed to implement the new social studies curricula. These were: greater emphasis on local development of resources; a move from mainly single to multiple text listings; greater emphasis on visual appeal; and the inclusion of resources other than texts on prescribed lists.

Local development of resources became far more prevalent following Chant, as a response to the concerns over the use of revised versions of American texts. In the 1969-70 *Annual Report of the Department of Education*, W.B. Naylor, Director of the Division of Curriculum, refers to the fact that, "in addition to the regular evaluative procedures applied in the assessment of published books, committees have also become involved in supervising the development of new books designed to meet particular needs."⁴⁸⁹ The report refers specifically to core ("A" issue) books prescribed for Social Studies 7 and Social Studies 10. The new core texts prescribed at these grades were *The Mediterranean*:

⁴⁸⁶"Teachers hit textbook costs," *The Province*, 29 May 1958, p. 15.

⁴⁸⁷"Content or Color?" *The Vancouver Sun*, 11 April, 1959, p. 4.

⁴⁸⁸Province of British Columbia, Department of Education, Victoria. *Evaluative Booklet for Evaluating the Suitability of a Text-book for SubjectCourse of Grade* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, n.d.). PABC, GR 683, Box 16, File 3. (This booklet is reproduced in the Chant Report.)

⁴⁸⁹Department of Education, *Ninety-Ninth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1969-70* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1971), G 52.

Its Lands and Peoples by Hildebrand and *The Development of Western Civilization* by Tull and Heard for Grade Seven and *A Nation Developing* by Lower, and the revision of *A Regional Geography of North America* by Tomkins et al. In addition to the *One World* and *Growth of a Nation* picture sets, specifically developed for the British Columbia elementary social studies program, the *Growth of a Nation* series of Canadian history text booklets, published by Fitzhenry and Whiteside, and written by British Columbian authors, was developed specifically for the Grade Five program. Generally, British Columbian authors figure much more prominently on the prescribed lists during this period. Some of the local names to be found on newly prescribed texts were Peter Harper, a Powell River principal; J. Arthur Lower, a teacher at University Hill, a Vancouver secondary school; Daniel Birch, Dean of the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University; Arlene Birch, a Maple Ridge teacher; Edward Owen, a professor of education at the University of Victoria; and Neil Sutherland, Edith Deyell, George Tomkins, John Wolforth, Gerald Walsh, and Mollie Cottingham, of the Faculty of Education of the University of British Columbia.

The emphasis on local authors indicates a preference for texts with a British Columbian perspective. It is not difficult to see why Arthur Lower's *A Nation Developing* received the "A" listing for Grade Eleven, while *Challenge & Survival* by Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson only received a "B" listing. The latter text, does not mention the Cariboo Gold Rush or Governor James Douglas. Nor does it mention west coast explorers who came by sea, such as James Cook or George Vancouver. It is not written from a British Columbian perspective. The Lower text, in its 279 pages, does at least mention all of the above, none of which are found in the 466 pages of *Challenge & Survival*.

The prescriptions of British text series such as the *Clarendon Biographies* and the *People of the Past* series, published by Oxford University Press, the *Then and There* series published by Longmans in London, and *A Course in World Geography*, first

published by Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd. of London, indicates a much higher tolerance for British texts than for American. These texts were not even revised for use by British Columbian students. The three prescribed texts in *A Course in World Geography* inform their Canadian Grade Eight and Nine readers that the books are intended for "pupils, both in grammar schools and technical colleges and . . . also in secondary modern schools [who] study geography to G.C.E. Ordinary Level but no further."⁴⁹⁰ The text, *Elizabethan Village*, in the *Then and There* series, advises students that "If you want to find out more about what the village you live in was like in Elizabethan times a good way to start is by looking for any houses that may still be standing from that time."⁴⁹¹ In *Elizabethan Citizen*, in the same series, students are asked to "make drawings and plans of any Elizabethan houses near you."⁴⁹² Clearly the fear of American culture did not extend to British culture. Here is evidence of remaining vestiges of the vision of Canada and Great Britain as one entity.

Another major change affecting social studies text authorizations following the Chant Report was that of mainly single to multiple text listings. In 1960 no texts were prescribed for Grades One through Four and a single or occasionally two texts were prescribed to deal with the content of every other grade. (An atlas was prescribed for each grade as well). The phasing in of a multiple authorization approach began in the 1968-69 school year at the Grade Eight level. For this school year Grade Eight teachers could continue to use the previously prescribed single text, *Canada in the World Today*, and atlas, or they could choose from a list of forty-six titles. These prescribed titles were categorized in various ways. Three were "A" issue texts, including an atlas; two were "E" issue, each of which was to be issued on the basis of one-half of the total enrolment in the

⁴⁹⁰See Eric W. Young, *People Round the World*, 3d ed., *A Course in World Geography*, ed. E.W. Young and J.H. Lowry, Bk. II (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1968), 3.

⁴⁹¹P.A. Jobson, *Elizabethan Ship*, *Then and There* Series, ed. Marjorie Reeves (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1956), 79.

⁴⁹²Marjorie Reeves, and Paula Hodgson, *Elizabethan Citizen*, *Then and There* Series, ed. Marjorie Reeves (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1961), 89.

course. The rest were also "E" issue, and could be ordered provided the total number did not exceed four "B" issues. Some of the texts were in packaged sets of brief texts devoted to one topic each. For instance, the *Then and There* series contained texts such as *A Sixteenth Century Clothworker* and *Elizabethan Ship*. Grade Nine was transformed in similar fashion the next year. By the 1971-72 school year, all secondary grades had multiple authorizations, with from one to three "A" (one text per pupil) listings, accompanied by multiple "B" and "E" listings. By 1974-75, the elementary grades above Grade Two had a wide choice of texts as well.

The categories were as follows:

TABLE 1

Prescribed Textbooks	
Text Category	Description of Category
A	One text per pupil registered in course.
B	One text per pupil in the largest school class taking the course, with the proviso that the total order could not exceed 50% of total grade or course enrolment.
C	Prescribed for teacher use only.
D	No social studies texts in this category. Applied to teachers' manuals, workbooks, and some supplementary books.
E	Often used for case-study texts. Texts could be ordered from this lengthy list in whatever numbers desired, as long as the total did not exceed a particular amount. This amount varied from text to text. The equivalent of one "A" listing text or two "B" listings are examples of limits given.

The multiple authorizations were a manifestation of a move away from the concept of a particular content to be covered. Rather, there were particular concepts and generalizations, and choices could be made from a variety of content which could be used to develop them. The Director of the Division of Curriculum explained it best in his annual report for the 1967-68 school year:

Significant changes in the types of courses being developed can be illustrated by referring to the new Social Studies 8 Course, the first of a series of courses being developed in that field for secondary schools. Whereas in the previous course a body of knowledge to be acquired by all students was prescribed, in the new course the amount of factual knowledge to be acquired by all is limited, a list of skills and concepts to be learned is provided, and pupils are encouraged to acquire these through independent studies in selected historical periods and geographical areas. Single survey-type texts, adequate for the previous type of course, would not meet the needs of pupils undertaking the new course. To provide for these needs, smaller quantities of a wide variety of resource books are provided.⁴⁹³

A third change lies in the appearance of the newer texts. In spite of concerns expressed to the Chant Commission that textbook evaluators were placing too much emphasis on physical appearance, these texts are visually very appealing. There is much less print per page, both because of the liberal use of headings, and the fact that they are filled with colourful photographs, maps, and drawings. Furthermore, they are no longer always thick, hard-cover, intimidating tomes. The sample study sets, such as the *Ginn Studies in Canadian History* and the *Then and There* series, are brief and soft-covered.

Another change involves the the prescription of resources other than texts. The change of name from Textbook Branch to Curriculum Resources Branch in the 1970-71 school year was significant in this regard, as it indicated "the expanded application of the services of this Branch into new kinds of instructional technology requiring purchase, handling, and distribution of non-printed media."⁴⁹⁴ Indicative of this trend was the

⁴⁹³Department of Education, *Ninety-Seventh Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1967-68* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1969), G 45.

⁴⁹⁴Department of Education, *One Hundredth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1970-71* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1972), C 36.

prescription of one or more picture sets for each grade of the elementary social studies program.

CHAPTER V

CHANT ERA, 1960-1975: CANADIAN IDENTITY THEMES

Texts Examined

The texts I examined for the 1960 to 1975 period include those prescribed at the time of the Chant Report, as well as those new prescriptions in keeping with the curricular changes which followed it. By examining both the texts which were prescribed at the time of the Chant Report and those which replaced them, the changes which occurred over the period become evident.

One hundred and four social studies texts were examined. Fifty-five of these were elementary, forty-three secondary, and six were prescribed for both levels. Since the primary focus of the study is the vision of Canadian identity implicit (and explicit) within the texts, I began this examination with "A" listing texts which were about Canada. Since few texts received "A" listings, this resulted in a total of seven texts. The rest of the texts examined were "B" or "E" listings, with one "C" listing.⁴⁹⁵ More elementary texts than secondary texts were examined due to the greater emphasis on Canadian themes in the elementary school years. However, while the majority of texts examined were about Canada (seventy-six), the study was not restricted to these, since views of other nations and peoples are often indicative of our view of ourselves and students were exposed to all of these texts.

The total included some texts which did not receive prescribed status. Since there were no prescribed resources for primary grades between 1960 and 1971, and it was considered important to examine resources at all grade levels, the *Canadians All* series was examined. This series was selected because it was recommended for purchase for Grades One and Two in the 1957, 1964, and 1967 curriculum guides. The two other texts lacking

⁴⁹⁵Only eight social studies resources were designated as "C" listing. One of these, a *Jackdaw* kit entitled *The Great Depression*, was examined.

prescribed status which were examined were Donalda Dickie's *A First History of Canada* and *The Great Adventure*. Both of these texts were listed under "Suggested Teacher and Pupil References" for Grade Four in the 1960 and 1968 elementary social studies programmes of study. Dickie's texts were examined because of the importance of her earlier texts in the Putman-Weir era, discussed earlier, and the extraordinary longevity of her texts on provincial supplementary lists.⁴⁹⁶ She was, by far, the most prolific elementary social studies text author of her time. Also, as author of *The Enterprise in Theory and Practice*, published in 1940, Dickie had nationwide prominence in the progressive education movement in Canada.⁴⁹⁷ It is of interest to examine two of her later texts in the educational context of the sixties and early seventies.

In this era, the term "texts" will include a few materials which are not strictly texts. In the early 1970s the Department of Education prescribed one or more picture sets for each elementary grade. Since these were prescribed on the basis of one set per class (an "E" listing), they were considered to be a key resource, and therefore were included in the analysis.

Teachers' Manuals were not prescribed for social studies texts during this period, with the exception of the elementary picture sets just mentioned, which included a teacher's manual with each set. Each picture set, with its teacher's manual, was analyzed as one resource.

⁴⁹⁶Two of her *Canadian History Readers*, *The Canadian West* and *The Long Trail*, were listed in Department of Education Textbook Catalogues or Programmes of Study from 1927 to 1968. *How Canada Was Found* was listed from 1930 to 1968. Her text with Helen Palk, *Pages From Canada's Story*, was listed from 1931 to 1968.

⁴⁹⁷F. Henry Johnson calls her "the leading exponent in Canada" of the activity approach. F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia*, 164.

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender: "a nice little wife to make things pleasant"⁴⁹⁸

From primary to secondary grades, prescribed texts, for the most part, virtually ignore women or present them in very limited roles. This situation did not improve during the period. Of the 119 photographs in the *Culture Realms of the World* picture set, prescribed for Grade Six in 1974, ten depict only women, while forty-five are devoted exclusively to men. In *Lands of Europe and Asia*, the Grade Six text which *Culture Realms of the World* replaced, twenty-four of 193 photographs depict women, while fifty-five depict men.⁴⁹⁹

In *Canadians All*, the primary series depicting community helpers in contemporary Canadian society, all the key occupations are held by males. Women, if present at all, function in support roles or as clients. In *The Postman*, the postal workers are all male, while females are depicted mailing letters or standing at the post office counter. In *The Milkman*, there is a female customer and in *The Bus Driver*, a woman passenger. In *The Dentist*, there is a dental nurse who provides assistance.

One cannot fault the individual texts in this series for depicting men in these occupations, and women as recipients of the services they provide. After all, occupations such as bus driver, firefighter, police officer, and dentist, were, for the most part, held by males in the early to mid-fifties when this series was developed. However, one or more key community occupations traditionally held by women, such as elementary school teacher, community health nurse, public librarian, store clerk, or homemaker, could have been included.

The male role models in *Canadians All* are presented in paternalistic fashion. They take care of us (meaning women and children for the most part, since these are the clients

⁴⁹⁸Edith Deyell, *Canada: A New Land* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958), 138.

⁴⁹⁹Twenty-two pictures in *Culture Realms* and twenty-four in *Lands of Europe and Asia* depict both men and women.

depicted in the photographs) with none but altruistic motives. The concept of earning a living does not enter the picture. "Spring, summer, autumn, winter, the milkman delivers the milk for us. He and his helpers work long hours every day."⁵⁰⁰ "We visit the dentist because we know that he will help us."⁵⁰¹ "The fireman is one of our bravest workers. He is always ready to help keep our homes safe from fire."⁵⁰² "Bakers work every day so that we may have good food to eat."⁵⁰³

The primary *One World* series, picture sets published in 1972, does not differ in its depiction of male and female roles from the *Canadians All* series published earlier. In the Grade One picture set series, which focuses on the family, Canadian women are shown in comfortable middle class homes, usually engaged in child care or food preparation. Women in third world countries are shown harvesting wheat and building roads. The implicit message would seem to be that only women from Third World countries work outside the home. The caption for one picture is "Father writes a cheque for his family." It depicts a Canadian mother and two daughters perusing a catalogue, while father prepares to write a cheque to pay for the items chosen. The image conveyed is that of woman as consumer/man as provider. In the Grade Two picture set, *Families and Communities*, male occupations, thirty-one in total, are many and varied, including doctor, sheep shearer, miner, teacher, city councillor, business executive, and air traffic controller. Contemporary Canadian female occupations depicted are limited to polling station clerk, office clerk, public librarian, swimming instructor, nurse, and teacher. These pictures do not reflect the reality that 32.7 percent of Canadian women participated in the labour force in 1970.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁰Marian D. James, *The Milkman*, *Canadians All*, ed., Joyce Boyle (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, (Canada) Ltd., 1950), 30.

⁵⁰¹Marian D. James, *The Dentist*, *Canadians All*, ed., Joyce Boyle (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1955), 2.

⁵⁰²Marian D. James, *The Fireman*, *Canadians All*, ed., Joyce Boyle (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1950), 2.

⁵⁰³Marian D. James, *The Baker*, *Canadians All*, ed., Joyce Boyle (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1953), 30.

⁵⁰⁴Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace: Selected Data* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1987), 32.

No Home for Sandy, one of a series of story booklets prescribed for Grade Three in 1973, refers to the fact that "Danny's father gave up his house, his land, his crops and many other things when he left the valley."⁵⁰⁵ This statement is odd when it was the whole family that left, not merely the father. One wonders why Danny's father was singled out as having given up all these things. From a legal standpoint, why would the author assume that Danny's mother did not own these things jointly with the father? A similar situation occurs in the *Ginn Sample Study* text, *Market Gardening on the Fraser Delta*. The text focuses on a "farm shared by Wong Kwong and his wife, their five daughters and four sons, and by Wong Kwong's parents who live with the family."⁵⁰⁶ Yet, in other places the text refers to "his field," "his plants," "Wong Kwong's greenhouses," and "his vegetables."⁵⁰⁷

As for elementary and secondary Canadian history texts, women receive short shrift in this period. Again, this does not change during the period. *Canada in the World Today*, a text which had been prescribed for Grade Eight since 1950, and which was removed with the advent of the new secondary curriculum in 1968, had five women listed in its Index, four queens and Joan of Arc. Not one of these women ever actually stepped onto Canadian soil. Of the new listings after 1968, it is not uncommon for the Canadian history texts to have only two or three references to women in their indexes. *A Nation Developing: A Brief History of Canada*, prescribed for Grade Ten for eighteen years, and covering the history of Canada from 1492 to the 1960s, lists four women in its Index, all queens. *Footprints in Time*, a collection of historical documents prescribed for Grade Ten, has three such references; Temperance Societies, Queen Victoria, and Elizabeth Ward. Each is peripheral to the content of the text. Temperance Societies are mentioned in the introduction to a document which describes an unfortunate accident connected with

⁵⁰⁵Thomas Smith and Allan Cunningham, *No Home for Sandy* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1973), 23.

⁵⁰⁶Peter Harper, *Market Gardening on the Fraser Delta*, Ginn Sample Studies (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1968), 12.

⁵⁰⁷*Ibid*, 7, 7, 10, 10.

excessive intake of liquor at a building bee. Queen Victoria is mentioned in the introduction to the section, "A Nation is Born," as setting her seal on the Act of Parliament which created the Dominion of Canada. Elizabeth Ward is included only because she is the intended recipient of a letter (from a male), a segment of which is reproduced in the text.

It is interesting to note that, of the nine females listed in Arthur Dorland's *Our Canada*, five are writers. This indicates that women had to leave a written record of their activities in order to warrant inclusion. They were either writers or queens. The most likely explanation for the exclusion of women is that it was men who, for the most part, were leaving the written records historically in Canada. It was men who took part in political affairs, who signed deeds, made wills. It was men who were visible. Women engaged in the behind-the-scenes activities which went unacknowledged in the public arena. Yet, in many ways, it was women's care of home and hearth that provided the infrastructure which supported the visible activities of men.

There is an anomaly in the fact that the authors who are so reticent to include Caucasian women in their presentation of history, will go into lengthy detail regarding gender roles among Native people prior to European contact. This description from *Nomads of the Shield*, prescribed for Grade Five, is not unusual:

A young girl learned by helping her mother. Most of her chores were done in or near the wigwam. The most important duties of the women were to gather firewood and tend the fire; set out traps, snares, and nets for small wild game and fish; collect wild berries and plants; till the garden (if there was one); dry, cure, and store meat and other foods; prepare meals; skin animals, scrape and dry their hides and furs; make the clothing and do the embroidery work; clean and mend the men's hunting gear, make cooking pots, kettles, and spoons; weave nets, mats, and baskets; gather birch bark, cedar bark and bulrushes; make twine and thread; put up and take down the wigwam when moving camp--and care for the children.⁵⁰⁸

Another text tells the reader that

⁵⁰⁸Emerson S. Coatsworth, *Nomads of the Shield: Ojibwa Indians*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1970), 9-10.

Iroquois women were busy people. They had their gardens to tend; they had to cook, to sew, and to look after their families. In fact they had to do all the hard work around the village, except build the houses and clear the land.⁵⁰⁹

Geography texts have few references to women, but few to men either for that matter. These texts are little concerned with individuals. However, five points can be made about the photographs which do depict people in these texts. By far the greater number of people photographs depict males. Second, males are depicted in a much greater variety of occupations and activities than females. Third, Inuit and Native women are overrepresented. Related to this is that few of the already meagre number of photographs depicting so-called 'mainstream' Caucasian women, who do form the majority of women in this country, show them as active, involved, and contributing members of Canadian society beyond their own homes. Fourth, these points apply to both elementary and secondary textbooks. Fifth, these characteristics did not change during the period.

The first point was that far more males than females are depicted in the texts. In *World Geography*, a 583 page "A" issue text prescribed for Grades Nine or Ten from 1950 to 1970, there are eighty-seven photographs of men only, ten of women only, and twenty-three which depict both. In *A Regional Geography of North America*, a 628 page "A" issue text prescribed for Grade Ten from 1970 to 1988, there are twenty-seven photographs of men only, three depicting women only, and six which probably⁵¹⁰ depict both.⁵¹¹ In the 469 page text, *Canada: A New Geography*, an "E" issue text prescribed for Grade Ten during the same period as *A Regional Geography of North America*, there are only four photographs of women, while there are forty of men, and nine showing both

⁵⁰⁹Kidd, *Canadians of Long Ago*, 143.

⁵¹⁰I use "probably" here because 'six' may be generous. In several of these photographs it is difficult to be sure if women are included. For instance, in a photograph entitled, "Eskimo camp on the move, Pond Inlet," it is probably safe to assume that some of the hooded figures are women. However, in a photograph showing two skiers on a chairlift, I am really only guessing (and giving the texts the benefit of the doubt).

⁵¹¹The other 177 photographs in the text are of landscapes, animals, resources, industries, products, and buildings.

men and women.⁵¹² Of the seventy-three photographs depicting people in nine texts in the *Ginn Sample Studies* series, six of which were prescribed for both Grades Five and Ten during the 1970s, sixty show men, only seven show women, and six show both men and women. It is evident from these examples that not only is the first point true, but it is true for both elementary and secondary texts and for the duration of this period.

The second point made here was that males are depicted in a much greater variety of occupations and activities than females. In the elementary *Ginn Sample Study* text, *Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, prescribed or authorized from 1973 to 1985, Inuit men and boys are depicted fishing, playing shopping, hunting, whaling, carving a soapstone figure, working on a power line, and preparing and serving food in a school classroom. Inuit women and girls are shown working at a craft, shopping, stretching a skin, and caring for children. In the three photographs depicting women in the secondary text, *A Regional Geography of North America*, prescribed from 1970 to 1988, one woman is picking a crop, one is gazing at Death Valley, and two others are minding children. Men in this text are depicted trapping, fishing, logging, harvesting crops of various kinds, and driving cattle. Of the four photographs of women in the secondary text, *Canada: A New Geography*, prescribed or authorized from 1970 to 1988, one shows a woman cooking, another is making baskets, and two are in an orchard. In one orchard photograph a woman is standing holding an apple, her dress indicating that she is a visitor to the orchard. In the other, three women are packing apples in baskets. Men are depicted working in an aluminum factory, logging, fishing, surveying, farming, working on an automobile assembly line, coal mining, gathering mineral samples, and working as an archaeologist. In an older elementary text (prescribed from the 1950s to 1974), *Canada and Her Neighbours*, men are shown in a variety of occupational roles. Women are shown working in a fish packing plant. In a description of the education of northern children, the

⁵¹²The remainder of the 292 photographs in the text are of landscapes, animals, resources, industries, products, and buildings.

teacher is referred to as a 'she'. Again, it is evident from these examples that, not only is the second point true, but it is true for both elementary and secondary texts and for the duration of this period.

The third point was that Inuit and Native women are overrepresented and that 'mainstream' Caucasian women, when they are depicted, are not shown as active, involved, and contributing members of Canadian society beyond their own homes. Of the six pictures depicting both men and women in the elementary and secondary *Ginn Sample Study* series, five are of Inuit people. Of the seven pictures which are solely of women, two are of Inuit women and girls, and one shows women sitting at individual work stations in a Japanese factory. It is only fair to point out that one text, *Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, is devoted to the topic of the Arctic, so, of course, there are pictures of Inuit people. However, even when this is taken into consideration, it still must be said that they are disproportionately represented in the total number of pictures in the texts examined from this series.. These texts tend to emphasize the exotic rather than the ordinary. Again, this depiction of women does not change during the period and it is similar in elementary and secondary texts.

Finally, when attention is directed toward women in the geography texts, it is sometimes done in odd ways. A photograph in the *Ginn Sample Study* text, *Assembling Automobiles at Oakville*, has a curious caption. The photograph shows Japanese women at rows of work stations and the caption says, "Why are women more satisfactory for this type of assembly work?"⁵¹³ In the first place, it is not clear why this text about the automobile industry in Canada includes a photograph presumably taken in Japan, (its source is the Consulate of Japan, Toronto). In the second place, it is not clear what purpose is served by the query in the caption (or what is a suitable response).

⁵¹³Lorne R. Carson, *Assembling Automobiles at Oakville*, Ginn Sample Studies (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1968), 19.

Though they are rare, there are some exceptions to the treatment of women described to this point. One such exception is the Teachers' Manuals for several of the five picture sets prescribed for Grades Four to Six in the 1970s and 1980s,⁵¹⁴ which used a set of fourteen "culture aspects" to provide a basis for analyzing a culture. One of the "culture aspects" was "male and female roles." The questions listed under this heading were:

What did the men do? The women? The boys?
The girls?
Were there some things done only by people of
one sex? Which things?
Were some things done by people of both sexes?
Which things?
What is true of all the things women did? The
things men did?⁵¹⁵

As in the previous era, the contributions of pioneer women to the settlement of Canada are not usually acknowledged. Again, as in the last era, when their contributions are acknowledged, it is, for the most part, by female authors. There are more female authors in this period and more references to such contributions. *Ellen Elliott: A Pioneer*, a text in the *Ginn Studies in Canadian History* series by Elizabeth Andrews, has as its focus a young girl in a family of Scottish immigrants to Canada. Edith Deyell, author of *Canada--The New Nation*, makes the following remarks about a pioneer woman's daily activities:

In the new house the farmer's wife cooked with great pride on her new cast-iron stove. She lit coal-oil lamps instead of home-made candles. She was putting feather mattresses on her beds to replace the big straw-filled ticks. But every season still brought plenty of work. She had to do the spinning and the weaving, the churning and the baking, the sewing and the cleaning, and the preserving, pickling, and soap-making. She traded her extra butter and eggs at the store for sugar, tea, hardware, and such clothing as she could not make. Never an idle moment for her or her daughters!⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁴The Grade Four picture set, *Early Indian Cultures of North America*, was prescribed, with its Teacher's Manual, from 1973 to 1985. The other sets were prescribed from 1974 to 1985.

⁵¹⁵Daniel R. Birch, Roy L. Carlson, and Arlene Birch, *Early Indian Cultures of North America* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1974), 8.

⁵¹⁶Edith Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958), 19-20.

Donalda Dickie uses a narrative format to get the point across:

At home, Hannah baked bread, johnny-cake, gingerbread, pans of biscuits and cookies, a dozen pies. She said that food just melted in that family. Jessie did the housework, and Betsy sat down at her spinning wheel, for she made the family's clothes. She spun the wool into yarn, wove the yarn into cloth, cut out and sewed the clothes by hand. She had to work all day, nearly every day to keep the family dressed.

Meantime Mother Stewart doctored her sick calf, fed her chickens and got out her dye tub, for Betsy had twenty skeins of yarn spun and ready to be dyed. Then she started the fire under her soap kettle, and damped down the coal in the smoke house where the ham was being smoked. By that time the girls had dinner ready.⁵¹⁷

Dickie uses the phrase "forefathers and foremothers,"⁵¹⁸ a concept which is quite unique in this era. *Settlement of the West*, by Rosemary Neering, has a story about a family who has come to the Prairies from Ontario. Although the story focuses on the little boy of the family, it is the mother who is the strongest influence in making the decision to stay when others in their group decide to return to Ontario.

Interestingly, the text which gives the most attention to women's position in society is the American text which received so much negative publicity as a result of the Summerland Parent-Teacher Association brief to the Chant Report, *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times*. This text contains many references to the struggle for women's rights. A brief history of this movement in Europe and North America ends with the following:

However, women have not yet won complete equality with men in the eyes of the law. Moreover, many still consider females inferior to males. There are, even today, those who mutter against women drivers, who would hesitate to go to a woman doctor, and who resent having a female supervisor in business.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁷Donalda Dickie, *My First History of Canada* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1958), 124.

⁵¹⁸Donalda Dickie, *The Great Adventure: An Illustrated History of Canada for Young Canadians* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1950), 464.

⁵¹⁹Nathaniel Platt and Muriel Jean Drummond, *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), 156.

This text points out that "in Finland women not only engage in the building trades but comprise over ninety per cent of the dentists and most of the barbers." Students are asked to "investigate to find out in what other countries a similar situation prevails, and in what countries vocational opportunities for women are limited."⁵²⁰

The primary level *Taba Social Science Units*, also an American series, show women as active, involved community members. In *The Norwegians of Hemnesberget*, although the focus of the text is on Erik, a young boy, Erik's sister is a sailor, and it is Erik's mother, not his father, who makes the final decision as to whether he can go on a long trek to visit a Lapp camp.

Race/Ethnicity: "We must all co-operate if our nation is to be happy and successful."⁵²¹

In a report based on an examination of Canadian provincial social studies curricula in place in 1974, Werner, Connors, Aoki, and Dahlie, in *Whose Culture? Whose Heritage?*, make the point that minorities in Canada are viewed in terms of their contributions to the dominant society.⁵²² This point is borne out in the social studies texts used in British Columbia at the same time as their study. Dickie, in *The Great Adventure*, says "the newcomers were strong, hard-working people and . . . had gifts in music, art, dancing and handicrafts that would greatly enrich our nation."⁵²³ Deyell tells the reader that immigrants

have much to teach you. Because they have lived in other lands they can be as interesting to you as a story book, or a travel book, or a *National Geographic Magazine*. . . . They bring new skills, new ideas, and culture. They produce more goods. They create demand for new goods and services

⁵²⁰Ibid., 225.

⁵²¹Lester B. Rogers, Fay Adams, Walker Brown, Carl S. Simonson, Gordon W. Leckie, and R.W.W. Robertson, *Canada in the World Today*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, & Co. Ltd., 1952), 360.

⁵²²Walter Werner, Bryan Connors, Ted Aoki, and Jorgan Dahlie, *Whose Culture? Whose Heritage? Ethnicity Within Canadian Social Studies Curricula* (University of British Columbia: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, Faculty of Education, 1977), 19.

⁵²³Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 372.

too, for they will buy food, clothing, furniture, medical and dental care, legal advice, railway tickets, and such things.⁵²⁴

In *Canada in the World Today*, the authors say, "Canadians who came from many countries . . . have brought with them some of their famous songs and stories. These have also made Canada's life more interesting and colourful."⁵²⁵ Dorland points out that the "choirs and musical festivals [of the Ukrainians] are famous."⁵²⁶ Taylor, Seiveright, and Lloyd refer to "skills in farming and industry, and also in music, painting, handicrafts, and other forms of art."⁵²⁷

Werner and his co-authors examined provincial curriculum documents. When the textbooks which interpreted the curriculum documents at the classroom level are examined, one is struck by the superficial level at which the concept of 'contributions' is presented. Contributions are songs and stories, music and dancing, and the producing and purchasing of consumer goods and services. Language, religion, history, attitudes, and aspirations are not discussed.

Two minority groups are exceptions to this 'contribution' perspective. These are Oriental immigrants and Native peoples, including the Inuit. Oriental people are an exception for two reasons. First, they are ignored in most of the texts. Second, when they are included, they are presented as a problem rather than as a group which can contribute to contemporary Canada. Native people are not ignored. However, they are treated as a problem, although their early contributions to European exploration of the country are acknowledged.

Oriental people are virtually ignored in these texts. For instance, Edith Deyell makes the point that, "No Canadian can ever feel like a stranger in Europe,"⁵²⁸ excluding

⁵²⁴Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 335.

⁵²⁵Rogers, Adams, Brown, Simonson, Leckie, and Robertson, *Canada in the World Today*, 213.

⁵²⁶Arthur G. Dorland, *Our Canada* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co. Ltd., 1949), 327.

⁵²⁷Griffith Taylor, Dorothy J. Seiveright, and Trevor Lloyd, *Lands of Europe and Asia* (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1960), 8.

⁵²⁸Deyell, *Canada: A New Land*, 32.

Oriental (not to mention Natives and Blacks). This exclusion of Orientals is even more the case than in the Putman-Weir era texts. Much of the reason for this lies in the fact that the Chant era Canadian history texts do not have the tacked-on British Columbia supplements, so common during the Putman-Weir era. When Putman-Weir era texts dealt with Orientals, it was most often in these supplements. Since by far the majority of Oriental immigrants in Canada were in British Columbia,⁵²⁹ texts developed and published in Ontario devoted little or no space to this topic.

In the few instances where Oriental immigrants are not ignored, they are treated as a problem. For instance, Dorland sets the stage for a discussion on Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian immigrants, by telling the reader that "the presence of large numbers of Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians, has created many problems."⁵³⁰ Exceptions to this vision of Oriental immigration are the secondary text, *Challenge & Survival*, which briefly acknowledges the contribution of Chinese workers to the building of the C.P.R., and the elementary texts, *Gold Rush in the Cariboo* and *Building of the Railway*, which acknowledge the presence of Chinese workers at the Cariboo gold rush and the building of the railway. *Building of the Railway* actually points out their problems rather than presenting them as a problem:

The little graveyard at Yale was soon crowded with the bodies of men who would never return home. There were no doctors to help them, and no one to make sure that they ate the food that would keep them from getting scurvy. . . . Because they would not eat the local vegetables, many more suffered from scurvy.⁵³¹

Many had to stay after they had finished working on the railway because it was not possible for them to save the magic sum of \$300, needed to travel home and provide for their families in China afterwards:

⁵²⁹Between 1961 and 1981, the percentage of B.C.'s population whose ethnic origin was Asian, increased from 2.5 percent to 7.5 percent. See Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 363.

⁵³⁰Dorland, *Our Canada*, 335.

⁵³¹Rosemary Neering, *Building of the Railway*, Growth of a Nation Series, ed. Daniel R. Birch (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 32.

It was not easy for them to save their \$300. By the time they had paid their board out of their small wages, they could rarely save more than \$40 a year. And construction on the railway was over long before their savings added up to the magic amount.⁵³²

This perception of Oriental immigrants was based on the view that they would never be adequately assimilated into Canadian society, due both to physical characteristics and cultural backgrounds. Even European immigrants were still judged according to their willingness and ability to assimilate. Hardy refers to the Doukhobors as "sour apples"⁵³³ because of their resistance to becoming part of the mainstream society. Dickie laments the fact that the Canadian government allowed eastern European immigrants to settle in their own communities on the Prairies, thus preventing them from assimilating as quickly as they might have. She says, "this was a comfort to them at the time, but it kept them from mixing with the English-speaking Canadians and so from becoming Canadians quickly."⁵³⁴

The other exception to the perspective of minority groups as contributors is the presentation of Native peoples. In the discussion of the treatment of Native peoples in texts of the Putman-Weir era, it was pointed out that two attitudes toward them were predominant. These were repugnance and paternalism. The repugnance is no longer evident. The paternalism remains.

Evidence of an attitude of repugnance toward Native peoples of the past can be found in the use of terms such as "savage," "ignorant," and "worthless" in Putman-Weir era texts. This is no longer true in texts prescribed by 1968 or later. However, it is still true to some degree for texts prescribed in the early part of the Chant period. For instance, *World Geography*, first prescribed in 1950, and prescribed in revised edition until 1970,

⁵³²Ibid., 33.

⁵³³W.G. Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea : Canada--1850 to 1910, The Road to Nationhood* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1970), 475.

⁵³⁴Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 372.

uses the term "primitive"⁵³⁵ with reference to contemporary Inuit people, five times on one page.

Paternalism is seen in two ways. There is some evidence of a tendency, continuing from the previous era, to present Native peoples as children. Deyell, in *Canada: A New Land*, prescribed in 1970, says Native peoples "shouted and laughed like happy children." Champlain "grew fond of them as one grows fond of children." This author likens the first interactions between Europeans and Native peoples to "mak[ing] friends with a puppy,"⁵³⁶ an even more condescending comparison. This particular manifestation of a paternalistic attitude is less evident than in the previous era. Paternalism is more evident in the way in which, when discussed in the present-day context, Native peoples are almost always presented as a problem, both to themselves and to the Canadian government. *Canada: A New Geography* introduces its discussion of minority groups by saying, "There are several small groups of people in Canada who, because of their own special culture or way of life, face unique problems with the rest of Canadian society or with their environment."⁵³⁷ The minority groups singled out for discussion in this text are Indians, Eskimos, and Old-Order Mennonites. The four pages which deal with Indians discuss the low standard of living on reserves, lack of education, and issues around abandonment or retention of reserves.

With regard to the Inuit, *Canada: A New Geography*, concludes that, "It is not going to be easy to solve the Eskimo problem."⁵³⁸ Statements in other texts beat a similar refrain: "The Mackenzie delta is a region with many problems."⁵³⁹ "The main problem in dealing with the Eskimoes is how to give them the material benefits of our civilization--if

⁵³⁵John Hodgson Bradley, *World Geography*, rev. ed., (Toronto: Ginn and Co, 1964), 61.

⁵³⁶Deyell, *Canada: A New Land*, 133, 97, 66.

⁵³⁷Ralph R. Krueger and Raymond G. Corder, *Canada: A New Geography* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1970), 208.

⁵³⁸*Ibid.*, 218.

⁵³⁹John Wolforth, *The Northland*, Curriculum Resource Books Series, ed. Mollie E. Cottingham (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1968), 106.

they want them--without losing their health and their own values and outlook."⁵⁴⁰ "What do you consider are the major problems of a community such as Pangnirtung? Suggest how one of these problems might be solved."⁵⁴¹ The focus of the elementary text, *An Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, is the effects on Inuit lifestyle caused by contact with Caucasian culture. A recurring theme is the role of government in the life of the North. The reader is told: "A government Development Officer is located in the settlement to help the Eskimos become more self-sufficient." "In 1949 James Houston, an artist and writer, who was then a Development Officer on Baffin Island, taught the Eskimos how to create figures from soapstone and whalebone and how to make prints." "The government has assumed responsibility for providing the residents with housing, medical care, and education. Do you think the government's responsibilities will increase or decrease in the future? Why?"⁵⁴² The Inuit are compared to people who collect unemployment insurance and welfare: "In your community what assistance is given to people who are unemployed and to families who do not have enough money for rent and food?"⁵⁴³

There is a tendency in earlier texts to deal with problems of Native people in adapting to changing circumstances by blaming them for their lack of participation in mainstream society:

The Indians themselves, however, do not have much belief in the white man's economic customs of foresight and steady work and some seem to have little regard to economic advancement at all. Many have always lived in a nomadic fashion, hunting and trapping, and they want to keep on living in this way. Not only does this make it difficult for the government to educate the children, but it makes it impossible for the Indians themselves to develop any ideas of foresight and working for prosperity. . . . The government encourages them to take up agriculture--less than a quarter of their cleared land is cultivated --and other settled trades.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁰H.A. Tanzer, *You and Your Nation*, Citizens of Canada Series, Book 3 (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1958), 48.

⁵⁴¹K. F. Dudley, *An Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, Ginn Sample Studies (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1972), 23.

⁵⁴²*Ibid.*, 18, 21, 23.

⁵⁴³Dudley, *An Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, 9.

⁵⁴⁴H.A. Tanzer, *You and Your Nation*, 49.

Texts authorized later in the period are much less one-sided and, as a result, there is a sense of the complexity of the issues involved. *A Regional Geography of North America* points out that:

Young Eskimos are forced to live between two worlds--the old nomadic life of their parents into which they were born, and the world of the white man where discrimination and lack of education prevent full acceptance. Children attend elementary schools in their own communities and then go to residential high schools in the main centres. During the 1970s, the majority of school-age Eskimos were attending school for the first time, although in 1969 only one Eskimo was in university.⁵⁴⁵

While Native peoples of today are viewed as a problem, their assistance to European explorers, fur traders, and settlers, is acknowledged in these texts. For instance, *Life at Red River*, in the *Ginn Studies in Canadian History* series, tells the reader that "in the early years of the Settlement, colonists were fed by the Indians during the hard winters."⁵⁴⁶ This point will be discussed in more detail in the section entitled, "The Part Cooperation and Conflict Have Played in the Development of Canada as a Nation."

Many of the texts in the Chant era seem to make every effort to present a different perspective on the actions of Native peoples during the period of European exploration and fur trade. For instance, where the Putman-Weir era texts describe the Iroquois as cruel and savage warriors, a Chant text provides the following explanation:

Much has been made of the cruelty of the Iroquois. What would have happened to the Iroquois if all the other Indians except themselves had had the advantages of European goods? You might remember that the Iroquois had already been driven, since Cartier's time from Hochelaga and Stadacona.

One way of looking at this cruelty is as a 'war of nerves.' The Iroquois did not have an army or modern weapons. Perhaps the best they could hope for was to scare off the Hurons.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁵George S. Tomkins, Theo L. Hills, and Thomas R. Weir, *A Regional Geography of North America* (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1970), 362.

⁵⁴⁶K. Wilson, *Life at Red River: 1830-1860*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1970), 16.

⁵⁴⁷James H. Marsh, *The Fur Trade*, Collier-Macmillan Canadian History Program (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1971), 7.

Dorland, in *Our Canada*, comments regarding the fact that only a few Cree responded to Louis Riel's call in Saskatchewan in 1885: "When it is realized that the coming of the white man spelled the doom of the Indian's old way of life, the restraint of the natives seems remarkable."⁵⁴⁸

An attempt is made to present Native peoples' perspective on the coming of Europeans to their land, and the disruption which it caused to their ways of life.

Then in one short century their whole way of life was disrupted. In the mid-eighteenth century Russian, Spanish, English, and American sailors, explorers, and traders came to the coast. The white men brought new goods--woollen blankets, iron tools, paints, rope, and many other things. The Indians found it quicker to produce goods using iron tools. It was easier to collect quantities of articles. The struggle for prestige became more intense and the gift-giving more lavish.

The Indians had little immunity to the diseases of Europe and Asia. Smallpox raged along the coast in many devastating epidemics. Guns and iron weapons made war more deadly. Alcohol created problems. All these things changed the old way of life and reduced the population to less than half of what it had been.⁵⁴⁹

Native peoples are, for the most part, ignored between the fur trade period and present-day. British Columbia is referred to as an "empty land ready for settlers."⁵⁵⁰ "The skirling sound of bagpipes echoed over the empty country of Hudson Bay"⁵⁵¹ in another text. In one of the *Ginn Studies in Canadian History* texts, the reader is told that "the Loyalists were refugees who found new homes in the empty lands of the remaining British colonies in America."⁵⁵² The two prescribed Grade Five texts, *Gold Rush* and *Gold Rush in the Cariboo*, ignore the effects of the Cariboo gold rush on Native peoples.

Werner and his co-authors, based on their study of curriculum documents, make

⁵⁴⁸Dorland, *Our Canada*, 319.

⁵⁴⁹D.F. Symington, *Seafaring Warriors of the West: Nootka Indians*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1970), 22.

⁵⁵⁰Rosemary Neering, *Settlement of the West*, Growth of a Nation Series (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 24.

⁵⁵¹Rosemary Neering, *Fur Trade*, Growth of a Nation Series (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 42.

⁵⁵²Mary Beacock Fryer, *Caleb Seaman: A Loyalist*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1970), 24.

the point that Native peoples are "lumped together and given homogeneous characteristics."⁵⁵³ This statement is not always true when applied to textbooks. However, there is certainly some evidence to support it. The secondary text, *Challenge & Survival*, virtually discounts the west coast Native peoples when it makes the broad statement that "a man's worth was not judged by . . . birth, rank and accumulation of wealth. . . . The Indians of the Pacific Coast . . . did develop some tribal organization, but it was rather limited. Instead, the family was the basic unit of Indian society. . . . Little social difference existed between members of the same tribe."⁵⁵⁴ These statements ignore the importance of kinship ties based on clan and lineage. They also ignore the hierarchical nature of west coast Native society, with its social strata ranging from slaves to chiefs, as well as the emphasis placed on prestige and wealth, as evidenced by the elaborate gift-giving rituals of the potlatch.

Some texts are surprisingly dated in terms of their presentation of contemporary Inuit lifestyle, which was changing dramatically by the 1960s. For instance, while Krueger and Corder's *Canada: A New Geography*, published in 1970, discusses changes in lifestyle, its photographs do not support this information. The photographs do not show government built homes, schools, or nursing stations. Nor do they show people shopping in grocery stores, or unloading cargo from airplanes. They depict igloos and tents and activities such as spearing fish and polishing soapstone. There is only one exception, which is a photograph showing an Inuit man operating a piece of modern construction equipment.⁵⁵⁵

Other texts, published at the same time, present a much more contemporary perspective. *Then and Now in Frobisher Bay*, published in 1969, shows a Hudson's Bay Company store, a school with woodworking and home economics classrooms, and a

⁵⁵³Werner et al., *Whose Culture? Whose Heritage?*, 27.

⁵⁵⁴H.H. Herstein, L.J. Hughes, and R.C. Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival: The History of Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), 24-26.

⁵⁵⁵Krueger and Corder, *Canada: A New Geography*, 213, 211, 217.

community hall with curling rink. This text shows a family cooking over a campfire in a tent; but it also shows another family eating their meal at a table, and yet another family sitting at a table on which is perched a radio, to which they are listening.⁵⁵⁶

Another topic which is relevant here is that of the Beringia theory, the theory that the ancestors of present-day Native peoples of North America crossed a land bridge from Asia at distant points in the past. Many Native people find this theory offensive when presented as fact because it contradicts their oral histories. This issue has taken on political importance in recent years, since it has implications for land claims. The Beringia theory is treated as fact in these texts. For instance, *Canadians of Long Ago* tells the reader that "twenty thousand years ago, no human beings could have lived here."⁵⁵⁷ Dickie, in *My First History of Canada*, says "at last the Indians found Canada. They came from Asia."⁵⁵⁸ The Teacher's Manual for the picture set, *Early Indian Cultures of North America*, is emphatic on this point:

The ancestors of American Indians and Eskimos arrived in North America from Asia via Bering Strait at a very distant time in the past. How far distant is by no means certain, but the route is. There is no logically possible alternative to Bering Strait as the route of access to North America and thence South America.⁵⁵⁹

It is interesting to note that the text, *Settlement of the West*, which was prescribed for Grade Five in British Columbia, was removed from the prescribed list in the province of Alberta in June of 1984, in response to several deficiencies in its depiction of Native peoples, including presentation of the Beringia thesis as fact rather than theory.⁵⁶⁰ It remained as an authorized text in this province until 1986.

Canadian history texts in this period show the same tendency as the Putman-Weir era texts to avoid the topic of inter-racial marriage between white fur traders and Native

⁵⁵⁶Thomas H.W. Martin, *Then and Now in Frobisher Bay*, A Gage World Community Study, ed. Neil Sutherland (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1969), 9, 39, 43, 23, 25, 30.

⁵⁵⁷Kidd, *Canadians of Long Ago*, 2.

⁵⁵⁸Dickie, *My First History of Canada*, 1.

⁵⁵⁹Birch, Carlson, and Birch, *Early Indian Cultures of North America*, 11.

⁵⁶⁰Decore, Carney, and Urion, "Native People in the Curriculum."

women. One text manages to deal with this topic without focusing on it directly by including a photograph of a trader and his family. The caption coyly asks, "What nationalities are the people? Are they wearing everyday dress? What could their relationship be?"⁵⁶¹ As in the previous era, few of the texts reveal the information that Amelia Connelly, wife of Governor James Douglas of British Columbia, was the mixed race daughter of the Chief Factor in New Caledonia and a Native woman. Again, the texts do not mention that Douglas, himself, may have been the mixed race son of a woman from British Guiana and a Scottish man. As mentioned earlier, several of the Putman-Weir era texts made references to his dark skin. In the Chant era, *From Sea Unto Sea*, refers to "the swarthy-skinned James Douglas"⁵⁶² and "Black Douglas,"⁵⁶³ while *Gold Rush in the Cariboo* refers to his "tanned face."⁵⁶⁴

The Teaching of Virtue: "stories of supreme gallantry"⁵⁶⁵

The teaching of virtue in Canadian history texts is less overt in the Chant period. In the Putman-Weir era, two approaches were used; authorial moralizing and the use of heroic figures for students to emulate. Both approaches continue, to some extent, to be used in the Chant era. However, authors are less likely to moralize and their use of heroic figures is much more muted; avoiding the hyperbole so common in earlier texts. Much of the reason for this change is that the 'no-nonsense' academic nature of the texts approved in this era precluded the romanticizing of history which was so common in texts published in the 1920s and 1930s. History is no longer presented as a story or a collection of such. Individuals, even heroic ones, are presented as human beings, not romantic, glorified figures.

⁵⁶¹R.J. Andrews, *The Fur Fort*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1970), 23.

⁵⁶²Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 21.

⁵⁶³Ibid., 121.

⁵⁶⁴P. Harper, *Gold Rush in the Cariboo*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1974), 4.

⁵⁶⁵Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 294.

There is a transition between the texts already prescribed at the time of the Chant Report, and the new prescriptions, published in 1960 and later. For instance, Dorland, in his 1949 text, has no qualms about moralizing. He declares that the "pioneer spirit and pride in individual accomplishment is a part of our Canadian heritage that must not perish. . . government or relief should never be a substitute for self help, and should offer no encouragement to the shiftless or lazy."⁵⁶⁶ Tanzer, in *You and Your Nation*, published in 1958, makes it very clear how the reader is expected to behave:

This means in the family that you should be honest, courteous and generous, a good sport, a conscientious and reliable worker; that you pay attention to your appearance and your health; that you should love, help, respect and co-operate with your parents--who should in turn do the same with you; that you should use your time as fully and profitably as possible.⁵⁶⁷

This sort of comment is rarer in later texts. Deyell is one who continues to use this device. A clear view of how authorial moralizing has changed from the Putman-Weir era is evident from a comparison of the way that Burt and Dickie, in texts published during the Putman-Weir era, and Deyell, in a text published in 1958, use the incident of Henry Hudson's death to make a point. Burt and Dickie have the purpose of showing that crime does not pay. They make it clear that those who perpetrated the crime of putting Hudson and other crew members out to sea in a small boat, received their just punishment. Burt says "the mutineers paid dearly for their crime."⁵⁶⁸ Dickie assures the reader that "the wicked men in the big ship did not come to any good, you may be sure."⁵⁶⁹ Deyell, on the other hand, blames the victim for bringing his problems on himself because of poor leadership skills:

⁵⁶⁶Dorland, *Our Canada*, 504.

⁵⁶⁷Tanzer, *You and Your Nation*, 3.

⁵⁶⁸Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 31.

⁵⁶⁹Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, 126.

Why did Hudson meet his death on a trip from which other men returned safely? It was not the fault of the ship, for it returned in safety. It was not that he lacked skill in handling the vessel, for he brought it out of some tight spots. If he had been able to win the trust and co-operation of his men, do you think he might have lived to try for the Passage again?⁵⁷⁰

To drive the point further, she refers to it again with regard to the murder of the explorer, La Salle, by one of his men.

Like Hudson, he managed his men badly. He drove them too hard; he thought they should be able to keep up with an exceptional person like himself. His haughty, stern ways built up hatred in the men's hearts. Out on the trail one of them shot La Salle and left him lying in a Texas river thicket. Like Henry Hudson, he paid for his poor leadership with his own life.⁵⁷¹

Burt and Dickie are saying that moral turpitude is punished. Deyell is saying that the victim is to blame for his fate. Morality would seem to be much less clearcut in this era.

Earlier Chant era texts, like the Putman-Weir era texts, employ larger-than-life heroic figures to further citizenship goals. They are very clear about the purpose of including these figures. Dickie, in *The Great Adventure*, published in 1950, instructs her student readers that "reading the story of what they did and how they did it, will help you to do your part. That is what this book is for." They will become "better Canadians" [by] "remembering the courage and the suffering of our forefathers in winning Canada for us."⁵⁷² The difference in treatment of historical figures between earlier and later texts of this era can be seen in a comparison of the treatment of La Vérendrye in *Bold Ventures*, published in 1962, and in *Fur Trade*, published in 1974. *Bold Ventures* describes La Vérendrye as "the man of vision and courage who led France's last surge of exploration. Not since the days of Frontenac and La Salle had New France had such an heroic figure."⁵⁷³ High praise, indeed. In *Fur Trade*, is found the amazing understatement that La Vérendrye and his son "wander[ed] across the plains, looking for a water passage to the

⁵⁷⁰Deyell, *Canada: A New Land*, 60.

⁵⁷¹Ibid., 151.

⁵⁷²Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 9, 84.

⁵⁷³S. John Rogers and Donald F. Harris, *Bold Ventures* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1962), 173.

west."⁵⁷⁴ "Wandering" is a truly odd way of describing the relentless explorations of an individual who managed to expand the French empire westward across the prairies, as well as to the north, at the same time breaking the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly on furs from the west. How the mighty have fallen!

Early or late in the period, and regardless of the hyperbole surrounding them, people who are singled out for the title of "hero" possess certain characteristics. First, heroes are always people of action. Second, heroes are people who exhibit courage, either on a battlefield or when exploring new land. Third, heroes share a quality of perseverance, being undeterred by the many obstacles which fate throws in their way. Last, heroes are devoted to some cause beyond their own individual interests. This greater cause may be either patriotic or spiritual.

As people of action, heroes do not include intellectuals or artists. This is not surprising considering the content of the Canadian history texts. Hacking and hewing in the wilderness does not allow much time for intellectual pursuits. Secondly, it is easier to convey qualities of courage and perseverance in physical, rather than intellectual, endeavours.

Courage in battle on behalf of one's country is worthy of the highest praise. "Many a brave story is told of bold fights and narrow escapes."⁵⁷⁵ Dickie makes the point that "the bravest heroes seem to have been the ones who died in battle."⁵⁷⁶ They are the ones who receive the most praise. General Brock, who died in the War of 1812, was "one of Canada's heroes."⁵⁷⁷ "Brock stoutly refused to admit defeat. . . . Then, just as victory seemed certain, an American bullet struck and killed the gallant Brock."⁵⁷⁸ "Even Montreal itself was only spared by the heroism of Adam Dollard and sixteen companions

⁵⁷⁴Neering, *Fur Trade*, 21.

⁵⁷⁵Dickie, *My First History of Canada*, 71.

⁵⁷⁶Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 239.

⁵⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 239.

⁵⁷⁸S. John Rogers and Donald F. Harris, with John T. Saywell, *Nation of the North* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd., 1967), 25.

who, in 1660, sacrificed themselves in a stand against several Iroquois war parties on the Ottawa River."⁵⁷⁹ Montcalm and Wolfe "were brave men and good soldiers; all Canadians are proud of them."⁵⁸⁰

Perseverance against adversity in the form of great odds is a third prominent characteristic of heroes. Explorers exemplify this quality. La Vérendrye "faced hardships which would have discouraged a lesser man."⁵⁸¹ "Pierre La Vérendrye . . . was the man of vision and courage who led France' last surge of exploration. Not since the days of Frontenac and La Salle had New France had such an heroic figure."⁵⁸² Champlain "had the kind of brave pioneer spirit which had helped to make Canada the great country it is today. He refused to give up."⁵⁸³ Taylor et al. refer to the "brave explorers"⁵⁸⁴ of the north of Canada. Deyell tells the reader that "as a result of the work of many heroes, we began to build up a map of the Northern coast."⁵⁸⁵ *Bold Ventures* refers to "these heroic adventurers of the treacherous, ice-choked Arctic waters."⁵⁸⁶ The Northwest Mounted Police also came in for praise for this heroic quality. Their overland march to the west was an "heroic and difficult undertaking."⁵⁸⁷

Pioneers, too, persevered against diversity. Many texts in this era continue to put them on the proverbial pedestal. *Our Canada*, published in 1949, extols the "pioneer spirit and pride in individual accomplishment [as] a part of our Canadian heritage that must not perish."⁵⁸⁸ *Canada in the World Today* points out that "the toil, the discomforts, and the hardships of those first settlers have brought a rich reward to the country to which they

⁵⁷⁹J. Arthur Lower, *A Nation Developing: A Brief History of Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1970), 21.

⁵⁸⁰Dickie, *My First History of Canada*, 85.

⁵⁸¹Rogers and Harris, *Bold Ventures*, 175.

⁵⁸²*Ibid.*, 173.

⁵⁸³Griffith Taylor, Dorothy J. Seiveright, and Trevor Lloyd. *Canada and Her Neighbours*, rev. ed. (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1958), 52.

⁵⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 174.

⁵⁸⁵Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 361.

⁵⁸⁶Rogers and Harris, *Bold Ventures*, 41.

⁵⁸⁷Rogers et al., *Nation of the North*, 185.

⁵⁸⁸Dorland, *Our Canada*, 504.

came to make their homes over a century ago."⁵⁸⁹ Cassidy and Southworth say: "They were sturdy pioneers, courageous and capable, eager to contribute their hopes, their faiths, and their dreams to their world of tomorrow. Their world would become our world of today."⁵⁹⁰

In a story reminiscent of those told to American students about future presidents Washington and Lincoln, when they were boys, *You and Your Community* tells of David Livingstone's determination, as a young boy, to get an education. "With the first money he earned he bought a beginner's book in Latin. Then, tired as he was after the day's work, he trudged along to night school. . . . Can we help but admire such determination?"⁵⁹¹ Again, we see the acceptance of things British and the rejection of things American. If the hero of this story had been the American, Abraham Lincoln, rather than the Englishman, David Livingstone, the text would likely not have been prescribed in the first place.

A fourth heroic characteristic was the placing of either one's country or one's deity above individual interests. In the previous era, loyalty to Great Britain and its empire was extolled above all other virtues. In this era, patriotic loyalty is focussed at a national level. It is one's country, Canada (or a future Canada), which demands one's allegiance now. Betterment of one's new land was the prime goal, with betterment of one's individual circumstances, a secondary one. Of those intrepid adventurers, Radisson and Groseilliers, *Bold Ventures* says, "because love of the explorer's life and hope of riches were stronger in them than devotion to any national cause, history has not been able to make heroes of them."⁵⁹² The fact that their allegiances shifted back and forth between France and England according to the economic opportunities offered, was enough to exclude them from the club of heroes. A more appropriate recipient of the label of 'hero' was Champlain,

⁵⁸⁹Rogers, et al., *Canada in the World Today*, 142.

⁵⁹⁰Vincent H. Cassidy and John Van Duyn Southworth, *Long Ago in the Old World* (Downsview ON: Charles E. Merrill Canada Ltd., 1969), 353.

⁵⁹¹H.A. Tanzer, *Citizens of Canada*, Citizens of Canada Series, Book 3 (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1958), 14.

⁵⁹²Rogers and Harris, *Bold Ventures*, 120.

because of his steadfast devotion to his religion, his country of France, and the establishment of the colony of New France.

Osborne in *Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable*, his study of Canadian history texts from 1886 to 1979, concluded that none of the textbooks he examined idealized fur traders "although the voyageurs occasionally get a little credit."⁵⁹³ Osborne says the difference between the fur traders, who do not receive the designation of hero, and the missionaries, explorers, pioneers and settlers, who do receive this honour, is that the latter groups are united in the noble task of building the Canadian nation, while the fur traders act for selfish reasons of monetary gain.

Osborne's conclusion is contrary to the findings of this study. In this era, the fur traders received as much approbation from textbook authors as any of the other groups.

These were the giants; and yet none of the fur traders and fort builders were just ordinary men. It took courage to leave the familiar and comforting sights of Europe for the forbidding forests and crashing rivers of the New World. These men put the roots of Europe into the rock and bush of North America. To them, Canada owes much of its length and breadth--and breath.⁵⁹⁴

Andrews, author of *The Fur Fort*, does not hold it against Alexander Mackenzie that "his independent questing spirit . . . led him to begin at least two companies and permitted him to retire to Scotland with fame, fortune, title, and castle."⁵⁹⁵ Rather, he refers to Mackenzie as "the greatest fur-baron of them all, [who] crossed Canada from east to west and south to north."⁵⁹⁶ Fur traders are given credit, along with explorers, (they are often the same people) for discovering North America's geography. Deyell, in *Canada: A New Land* says, "Well done, Nor'Westers! Without your work, Canada might have had no western ports at all!" She says, "How eagerly they sought their furs! How staunchly they pushed their way into the Indians' country with priest, explorer, and trader!" Deyell refers to the

⁵⁹³Osborne, *"Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable"--The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, 18.

⁵⁹⁴Andrews, *The Fur Fort*, 23.

⁵⁹⁵ Andrews, *The Fur Fort*, 23.

⁵⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 23.

fur trader as "hero of the early days."⁵⁹⁷ The coureurs-de-bois are described as "daring and freedom-loving. . . . brave and resourceful. . . . dauntless explorers and daring fighters."⁵⁹⁸

Missionaries were heroic because they were devoted to a spiritual cause. They were "selfless and devoted men, enduring the dangers and discomforts of the open trail and the Indian camps in their thirst for souls."⁵⁹⁹ *Bold Ventures* refers to them as "These Soldiers of Christ, [who] armed only with their faith, came to brave the hardships and terrors of a strange, savage land." The Jesuit mission in Huronia was "glorious and heroic." Referring to the Jesuits, Brébeuf and Lalement, and their torture by the Iroquois, This text says "sustained by faith and following the example of Christ, neither of them begged for mercy but asked God's forgiveness for their tormentors."⁶⁰⁰ "Jesuit missionaries braved hardship, privation and sometimes death itself to carry the story of Jesus to people."⁶⁰¹ In promoting their spiritual cause, these missionaries helped promote the national cause of building the Canadian nation.

There is a subtle difference between the depiction of pioneers in this era and the previous one. In some texts, rather than being depicted in heroic, larger than life form, they are simply people working hard in a new setting in order to improve their economic circumstances⁶⁰² or escape from political or religious persecution.⁶⁰³ In *Settlement of the West*, when the family is deciding whether to stay or return to Ontario, the mother says pragmatically, "We can't be worse off here than we were at home. . . . The least we can do is give it a try. Stay here for a year anyway, and then let's see how we feel."⁶⁰⁴ The young son says to himself, "I sort of want to go home because it would be easier to live there.

⁵⁹⁷Deyell, *Canada: A New Land*, 349, 464, 302.

⁵⁹⁸Rogers, et al., *Canada in the World Today*, 114.

⁵⁹⁹Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 81.

⁶⁰⁰Rogers and Harris, *Bold Ventures*, 77, 80, 82.

⁶⁰¹Lower, *A Nation Developing*, 20.

⁶⁰²Elizabeth Andrews, *Ellen Elliott: A Pioneer*, Ginn Studies in Canadian History (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1972).

⁶⁰³Fryer, *Caleb Seaman: A Loyalist*.

⁶⁰⁴Neering, *Settlement of the West*, 56.

But I bet more things would happen out here in a month than would happen in Ontario in a year."⁶⁰⁵ This is a far cry from the Putman-Weir era texts that depicted pioneers as noble, long-suffering individuals who worked, or so one might suppose, unselfishly for the benefit of future generations and of Canada as a nation.

Texts in this era took a more realistic approach to the presentation of historical figures than texts in the earlier era examined. 'Heroes' still appear and they still display wonderful qualities which, it is made clear, students should emulate. However, they appear less often, and when they do, their foibles are often described alongside their strengths. They are no longer the cardboard cut-outs they once were. They are much more 'human' in this era. Hardy, in his 1970 text, *From Sea Unto Sea*, describes John A. Macdonald as follows:

his generous nose reddened by his fondness for the bottle, his wallet full of bawdy stories . . . his active, cynical mind always a jump ahead of his associates, he was a multiplumaged bird among sober crows. . . . A man who could stagger out in front of an audience and announce that he knew that they would sooner have John A. drunk than George Brown sober had none of the mandatory hypocrisy in him. That same man could leap up in the Canadian Parliament, rush across to his onetime pupil, the priggish, capable Oliver Mowat, and roar in white-faced Celtic rage, 'You damned pup, I'll slap your chops'.⁶⁰⁶

This level of personal detail about a man whom the author referred to as a "towering giant[s]"⁶⁰⁷ in terms of his contribution to Canada, would not have found its way into earlier texts. Furthermore, in the later texts of this era, one is as likely to see featured someone like Jerry Potts, a Métis scout employed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police,⁶⁰⁸ as a 'hero' like General Brock.

Much of the reason for the decreased emphasis on 'heroes' in these texts is the increasing tendency to turn away from the 'great man' approach to history and to embrace

⁶⁰⁵Ibid.

⁶⁰⁶Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 56.

⁶⁰⁷Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 500.

⁶⁰⁸Rosemary Neering, *North-West Mounted Police*, Growth of a Nation Series, ed. Daniel R. Birch (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 42.

instead stories of 'ordinary' people. This can be seen in series like *Ginn Studies in Canadian History*, which features ordinary anonymous voyageurs and fur fort employees, as well as actual, but not famous, individuals such as Ellen Elliott, the pioneer, and Caleb Seaman, the Loyalist.

Conception of Canada as a Nation

The Part Cooperation and Conflict Have Played in the Development of Canada as a Nation

Cooperation: "all our united strength"⁶⁰⁹

The concept of cooperation has broadened since the Putman-Weir era. Three manifestations of cooperation will be discussed here. One form of cooperation found in the texts is that between Native peoples and European explorers and fur traders in Canada's early history. Community cooperation is discussed both historically and in contemporary contexts. The third form of cooperation to be discussed is on a world scale, with the necessity of cooperation among nations stressed.

There is a dramatic difference between texts in this era and those in the last in the emphasis these texts place on the cooperation of Native peoples in assisting European explorers and fur traders. For instance, the elementary *Ginn Studies in Canadian History* series text, *Nomads of the Shield*, points out that "the fur trade and the accomplishments of our early explorers could not have been achieved if Indians had not guided the white man and shown him how to make and paddle the canoe."⁶¹⁰ *Colonists at Port Royal*, in the same series, mentions that "the French at Port Royal enjoyed the friendship and help of the Micmac Indians who lived in the neighbourhood."⁶¹¹ Dorland, in the secondary text, *Our Canada*, points out that "we are too likely to forget that the Indian taught much to the white man who came to his shores."⁶¹² Dorland points out the light bark canoe, trails used by

⁶⁰⁹Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 309.

⁶¹⁰Coatsworth, *Nomads of the Shield*, 18.

⁶¹¹Smith, *Colonists at Port Royal*, 20.

⁶¹²Dorland, *Our Canada*, 19.

explorers which had already been carved out by Native peoples, Native guides, the snowshoe, pemmican, and Native wood lore, as being essential for carrying on the fur trade successfully. *Challenge & Survival* also acknowledges the reciprocal nature of the learning which took place:

The white man in turn, learned from the Indian to hunt, to fish, to trap, to use the canoe and snowshoe, to preserve food and to clothe himself for the harsh climate. The Indian led the French into the interior of the country and showed them how to tap the great fur wealth of the Canadian Shield. The Indian taught the white man how to survive in the harsh environment of North America.⁶¹³

Community cooperation includes the historical example of the pioneer 'bees', as well as examples of present-day community members working together to accomplish large projects such as recreational facilities. In addition, Dickie uses the idea of community cooperation to explain the beginnings of the development of Canada's social safety net.

Before this most people had worked for themselves; each one tried to get as much work, money, health, and fun as he could without caring much about "the other fellow." Now people began to see that if a community wants to have work, good health, and good times for all, they must co-operate. The farmers, the fishermen and many other groups were co-operating in business. Churches which had quarreled bitterly for centuries began to co-operate. Schools which had urged their pupils to "try to beat the other fellow" began to teach them how to work together. Parents began to see that the only way to keep their children healthy and safe was to see that *all* children were healthy and safe. Sensible people everywhere began to co-operate to build better communities, provinces, and countries.⁶¹⁴

With regard to pioneer 'bees', *Challenge & Survival*, a secondary text, states:

If the pioneer had to be a rugged individualist, he also had to be co-operative with his neighbours. By himself he could, probably, eke out a primitive existence; but if he wanted the luxury of a barn he had to depend on his neighbour's help. Such mutual cooperation brought neighbours together not only for work but also for such rudimentary social life as was possible in the backwoods.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹³Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 26.

⁶¹⁴Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 405.

⁶¹⁵Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 162.

Dickie provides detailed descriptions of apple-paring bees in both of her elementary texts, *My First History of Canada* and *The Great Adventure*. In *My First History of Canada* she describes a bee as "a jolly kind of party. At a bee the neighbours gather at one home to help the owner complete a particular task. The pioneers had many kinds of bees: house-building, ploughing, threshing, quilting, apple-paring. You can have a bee to do almost any kind of work."⁶¹⁶

Several texts emphasize the concept of modern community cooperation. For instance, Dickie discusses the formation of a cooperative cannery in a Maritime community. "The cannery brought hope and courage not only to little Dover but to many fishing villages along the coast. The people were still poor, but they knew now that by thinking, planning, and co-operating they could get what they needed."⁶¹⁷ Community cooperation in these texts more commonly results in the building of a recreational facility. In *One Cold Day*, one of eight story booklets prescribed for Grade Three, two fictional communities join forces to build an ice rink, a playing field, and a firehall which they will share. Unfortunately, the process is presented in a simplistic way. No sooner is the problem of joint community need identified, and the decision to cooperate made, then the facilities are built. This story is an example of simplifying to the point where students are given a false impression of reality. In real life, identifying a problem, and deciding on a cooperative approach to problem-solving, is not enough to solve the problem. It is merely a first step.

These Cold War texts stress the importance of international cooperation as well as cooperation at a community level. Such international examples of cooperation as the formation of the League of Nations, the United Nations, and NATO are discussed. This comment from the Tanzer workbook, *You and Your Community*, is typical: "The peace and success of the world depends on the willingness of the nations to work together for the

⁶¹⁶Dickie, *My First History of Canada*, 124.

⁶¹⁷Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 372.

general good."⁶¹⁸ Canada's pride in its involvement with the League of Nations, shown in Putman-Weir era texts, is seen here in the pride taken in Canada's role in the United Nations. Brown, in the secondary text, *Canadian Democracy in Action*, says, "Since its beginning . . . the United Nations has received Canada's strong support. Canada has taken a prominent part in many of its activities, and Canadians have been appointed to some of its most important agencies."⁶¹⁹

These texts indicate that by helping other nations Canadians are also helping themselves. In *Canada in the World Today* the authors remind the reader that "in this modern world no nation can live by itself alone. So Canada must try to work in co-operation with all nations, especially those with similar aims."⁶²⁰ Tomkins, Hills, and Weir complete the Canadian portion of their text, *A Regional Geography of North America*, with the statement: "Only as Canadians assist themselves and others towards a more peaceful and better world can they hope to maintain the society they have inherited and which is in their trust for future generations."⁶²¹ Some authors are very direct about the threat of nuclear war hanging over their heads. Deyell warns the reader we must either work with other nations for peace or we must prepare for a third world war.⁶²² Tanzer, in *You and Your Nation*, says, "Ever since the first atom bomb fell on Hiroshima in August, 1945, man the world over has been stalked by the dread of the utter destruction of his civilization. Time is running out."⁶²³ The message here is--cooperate or else!

⁶¹⁸H.A. Tanzer, *You and Your Community*, Citizens of Canada Series, Book 1 (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1953), 78.

⁶¹⁹George W. Brown, *Canadian Democracy in Action*, new ed. (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1952), 128.

⁶²⁰Rogers, Adams, Brown, Simonson, and Robertson, *Canada in the World Today*, 211-212.

⁶²¹Tomkins, Hills, and Weir, *A Regional Geography of North America*, 403.

⁶²²Deyell, *Canada: The New Nation*, 309.

⁶²³Tanzer, *You and Your Nation*, 79.

Conflict: "a monument to the stupidities of government"⁶²⁴

As in the discussion of Putman-Weir era texts, this discussion will focus on the treatment of three points of conflict in Canadian history--the execution of Thomas Scott during the first Riel Resistance; conflicting reactions from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec to the Riel Resistances; and the labour union movement, particularly the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

Descriptions of the execution of Thomas Scott are no less graphic in the Chant era than they were in the Putman-Weir. Hardy's secondary text, *From Sea Unto Sea*:

Canada--1850 to 1910 describes the execution as follows:

Shortly after 1 P.M. of March 4, young Thomas Scott stood in prayer with Reverend Young, the Methodist minister, by the stone wall of Fort Garry. After a few moments the minister left him. Scott knelt in the snow. To one side was his coffin with a drape of white cotton over it. In front of him was a firing squad of six metis, all partially drunk. Behind them was a group of spectators. A command was spoken by Andre Nault, Riel's cousin. The rifles were raised and aimed. Three of them--no one knew which--were loaded with ball, the other three with blank charges. The command to fire was given. A ragged volley rang out. Scott fell to the snow pierced by three balls. He was still alive. Francois Guilmette ran up and put a revolver bullet into his head.

What the spectators had watched was a sacrifice to the megalomania of a sawdust dictator.⁶²⁵

Challenge & Survival, another secondary text, takes the execution description from a primary source document:

Scott was then brought out--it is said he prayed as he walked--a bandage was then put over his eyes and he knelt. . . . On a given signal four of the guns were fired (two missing fire) and Scott fell forward pierced in four places--he was not yet dead but struggled on the ground. The Canadians [Métis] then went up and shot Scott--the ball from the revolver passed in at the ear of the unfortunate man and passed out at his mouth. The corpse was then put into a rough coffin and placed in one of the bastions. A deep gloom has settled over the settlement on account of this deed.⁶²⁶

⁶²⁴Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 330.

⁶²⁵*Ibid.*, 235.

⁶²⁶Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 253.

As in the Putman-Weir era, these texts cannot be accused of blandness. There are no qualms about using a disproportionate level of detail to describe this event compared to that which is used to describe other events which surrounded it. There is no attempt to try to put the event into any context; no attempt to present two sides to the story.

The texts tend to avoid much discussion of the disparate views of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians on the actions and execution of Riel, and his actions generally. For instance, for Dickie in the elementary text, *The Great Adventure*, there was no question about Riel's execution. "Rebellion is treason, and the punishment for treason is death." She goes on to say:

Now the anger that had smouldered between Quebec and Ontario blazed up. Ontario shouted furiously for Riel's death; Quebec as angrily demanded that he be spared. In the end he was executed with the others. Again the greatest tragedy was the anger of the provinces which hindered the growth of Canada's national feeling.⁶²⁷

Dickie does not explain why the people in each province felt so differently. Without an understanding of how close this issue was to people's hearts, it is difficult to begin to comprehend ensuing French-English relations in Canada.

The secondary text, *Challenge & Survival* attempts to provide some background, but it is sketchy:

Whatever the justification for the act, the execution of Scott raised a storm of angry protest in Ontario, where anti-French and anti-Catholic feeling flared up anew. In Quebec, the shooting of Scott was considered to be a necessary part of the Métis struggle for French-Canadian rights. In Ottawa, Sir John A. Macdonald came under considerable pressure to send troops to Red River in order to crush the "rebellion" and protect English Canadians.⁶²⁸

In attempting to explain the political pressure from Ontario for the execution of Riel, this text uses a primary source document, an editorial from the *Toronto Evening News* of April 20, 1885. This article, which is entitled "Ontario's Anti-French Feelings," lists differences between Ontario and Quebec from the perspective of Ontario:

⁶²⁷Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 344.

⁶²⁸Herstein, Hughes and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 253.

Ontario is proud of being loyal to England.
Quebec is proud of being loyal to sixteenth century France.

.....
If she is to be a traitor in our wars, a thief in our treasury,
a conspirator in our Canadian household, she had better go out.

She is no use in Confederation. . . .

As far as we are concerned, . . . Quebec could go out of the
Confederation to-morrow and we would not shed a tear except for
joy.⁶²⁹

This is somewhat useful in illuminating the perspective in Ontario, but it is not enlightening at all in explaining the reaction of people in Quebec. This is typical. The textbooks do not attempt to help students comprehend the different background and allegiances in French Canada.

Texts in this era do not ignore the development of organized cooperation among working people. For instance, Dickie gives every indication that this is a topic close to her heart. She describes the formation of labour unions, wheat pools, co-operative societies of fishermen in Nova Scotia, and a cooperative cannery. What Dickie does not mention is labour strife.

By this era most textbooks no longer ignore the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. Osborne, in *"Hard-working, Temperate, and Peaceable,"--The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, suggests that this is probably because a sufficient amount of time has passed between the strike and the publication of texts in the 1960s that it is no longer perceived as a threat. However, as he points out, they do continue to downplay the conflict involved.⁶³⁰ *Challenge & Survival*, by Herstein and his co-authors says: "but the people of Winnipeg refused to panic. Except for one brief episode of violence, in which a young boy was accidentally killed, the city remained tense but peaceful."⁶³¹ Lower, in *A Nation Developing*, describes the strike as follows:

⁶²⁹Herstein, Hughes and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 271.

⁶³⁰Osborne, *"Hard-working, Temperate, and Peaceable"--The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, 60-65.

⁶³¹Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 332.

In the summer of 1919 many Canadians became uneasy when a general strike developed in Winnipeg. Thirty thousand workers left their jobs and alarmists thought they could see a "red" plot to establish a Bolshevik state. After six tense weeks, the strike had failed to achieve shorter hours, higher wages and a strong political union of workers. As working men drifted back to their jobs, the federal government stepped in to arrest the strike leaders. After the failure of the Winnipeg strike, the influence of radicalism declined rapidly and labour leaders began to turn to more moderate, political action to promote their cause.⁶³⁰

This description fails to mention the use of the Royal North West Mounted Police and the military, or "Bloody Saturday," when police charged the marchers, killing one person and wounding thirty.

McDiarmid and Pratt, in *Teaching Prejudice*, their 1971 study of Ontario textbooks, reported similar findings. They found that the texts omitted mention of recruitment of anti-strike citizens as police force "specials"; omitted or played down the role of ex-servicemen on the side of the strikers; and omitted or treated obliquely, information about "Bloody Saturday."⁶³¹ These omissions are the case with the texts I examined as well.

Canada's Changing Relationship With Great Britain: "common customs and traditions"⁶³²

There is a different stance toward Great Britain in these texts than in those last examined. In the interim the texts have moved away from a view of Britain as Mother Country and now display pride in Canada's independence as a nation. The texts no longer view Canada as virtually one nation with Great Britain. The phrase "Mother Country" is rarely evident. Photographs of British monarchs are scarce and poetry extolling victories in ancient British battles is not to be seen.

This move away from identification with the Mother Country in the social studies curriculum as a whole is clear from a glance at the lists of prescribed textbooks for the

⁶³⁰Lower, *A Nation Developing*, 166.

⁶³¹McDiarmid and Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice*, 97.

⁶³²Platt and Drummond, *Our World: Renaissance to Modern Times*, 247..

years, 1937 and 1960. In the 1937-38 school year, King's *A History of Britain*⁶³³ was prescribed for Grades Seven and Eight and *Lessons on the British Empire*, developed by the Department of Education, and *A New History of Great Britain and Canada* by Wallace, are prescribed for Grade Nine. There are no texts on the history of Great Britain in the 1960-61 catalogue.

In spite of curricular de-emphasis on Great Britain, schools continued to receive ad hoc materials from groups promoting ties to Great Britain. These organizations included the United Kingdom Information Service and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.). The I.O.D.E. provided suggested programmes for schools commemorating Commonwealth, Citizenship, and Remembrance Days.⁶³⁴

In spite of this move away from identification with Great Britain, ties are still valued, both for emotional and pragmatic reasons. Dickie's two-page description of the 1939 visit to Canada of the King and Queen, is nothing short of untrammelled hyperbole. She describes this event as "the pleasantest thing that happened in Canada"⁶³⁵ during the Depression years. Deyell, in *Canada--The New Nation*, takes a more pragmatic approach, using a quote from former Governor-General, Vincent Massey, which stresses the value of maintaining connections with Britain because they are what make us different from Americans. He asks, "How long would a Canadian republic maintain its individuality here in North America?"⁶³⁶

Canada's Changing Relationship With The United States: "latent antagonism"⁶³⁷

Nature abhors a vacuum. In this era Britain receded into the background and the United States moved into its place. The United States, although far from invisible in earlier

⁶³³This text is incorrectly listed as *The Story of Britain* in the 1937-38 *Textbook Catalogue*. This error is rectified in future catalogues.

⁶³⁴Department of Education, *Announcements Circular*. See March, 1958 (PABC, GR 1201, File 1), October 1960 (File 2), and April, 1961 (File 3).

⁶³⁵Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 408.

⁶³⁶Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 333.

⁶³⁷Margaret McWilliams, *This New Canada* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1952), 159.

texts, figures more prominently in texts of this era. A comparison of the treatment of one topic in texts of each era makes this clear. In the 1928 text, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, the author devotes one-half a page to the topic of the American Revolution, discussing it only in terms of its effects on Canada. This is out of a total of 200 pages in the section of the text entitled *A New History of Canada*. In the 1962 text, *Bold Ventures*, eight pages of a total of 267 deal with this topic, and in the 1970 text, *A Nation Developing*, four and one-half of a total of 279 pages do.

The elementary text, *Canada and Her Neighbours*, focuses only on the positive aspects of the Canada/United States relationship. This text discusses the influence of American books, magazines, movies, radio and television programs, but says these are reasons to increase Canadian interest in "our friendly neighbours to the south."⁶³⁸ Secondary texts are more realistic, showing real concern with the Canadian struggle for survival against the insidious influence of American culture and the threat of Manifest Destiny. "Manifest Destiny was on the prowl,"⁶³⁹ as one text puts it. The texts go into detail regarding the fear of a cultural takeover by our wealthy and populous neighbour. Dorland refers to "a fear lest Canadian ways of living and thinking may be submerged by the flood of American influence to which our country is constantly exposed."⁶⁴⁰ Lower remarks that the "problem of maintaining an independent identity in the face of strong cultural, economic and political influences from the United States is a recurring source of anxiety and controversy."⁶⁴¹

While textbook writers present Great Britain only in positive terms, they make a point of distancing Canadians from American cultural influence, implying, if one looks carefully, a slight superiority on our part. Herstein and his co-authors in *Challenge &*

⁶³⁸Taylor, Seivereight, and Lloyd, *Canada and Her Neighbours*, 190.

⁶³⁹Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 204.

⁶⁴⁰Dorland, *Our Canada*, 423.

⁶⁴¹Lower, *A Nation Developing*, 240.

Survival, referring to rampant materialism in the United States in the 1920s, assure the reader that "Canadians as a whole remained aloof from many of the less desirable aspects of the hysteria enveloping the United States."⁶⁴² Anti-Americanism, on the part of Canadians, is mentioned frequently, with textbook authors viewing it as an essential element in what has made Canadians Canadian. McWilliams refers to "a dislike of certain attitudes on the part of a more powerful neighbour [which] have served to make Canadians determined to create a country after their own liking and ideal."⁶⁴³ Dickie refers to "Canada's stubborn determination not to become a part of the United States."⁶⁴⁴ Fraser, in *The Search For Identity*, says that "without at least a touch of anti-Americanism, Canada would have no reason to exist."⁶⁴⁵ He defines Canadians as "twenty million people who, for anything up to twenty million reasons, prefer not to be Americans."⁶⁴⁶ Hardy, in *From Sea Unto Sea*, credits the anti-Americanism stirred up by the Fenian raids with providing the necessary impetus for Confederation at a crucial time.⁶⁴⁷ *Challenge & Survival* includes three quotes from *Peacemaker or Powder-monkey* by Minifie, one of which says that "Nobody chalks 'Yankee Go Home' on the walls. . . . So the American concludes, happily but wrongly, that there is no anti-Americanism in Canada."⁶⁴⁸ *Canada: A New Geography*, swimming against the tide of other secondary texts, declares that "Canada is sometimes accused of being anti-American. Nothing could be further from the truth."⁶⁴⁹ This text tells the reader that "people, news, ideas, and products flow freely

⁶⁴²Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 335.

⁶⁴³McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 74.

⁶⁴⁴Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 440.

⁶⁴⁵Blair Fraser, *The Search For Identity: Canada, 1945-1967* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1967), 301.

⁶⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁷Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 180.

⁶⁴⁸Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 421.

⁶⁴⁹Krueger and Corder, *Canada: A New Geography*, 21.

across the international border,"⁶⁵² conveying the impression that each direction of this two-way flow is equal in volume.

There is clearly grave concern during this period regarding the threat of American cultural and economic, if not political, takeover.

Sources of Pride for Canadians: "a large country stuffed with riches and sunshine and freedom"⁶⁵³

Pride in Canada is expressed predominantly in three different areas. Pride in adversity overcome, and progress made toward building the Canadian nation is paramount. Other areas are pride in the valour displayed by Canadians in the two world wars, and Canada's independent and increasingly influential role as a middle power in world affairs.

The texts concentrate on adversities overcome in the building of the Canadian nation much as texts in the previous era did; the difference here being that, for the most part, individuals are no longer romanticized and presented in a larger-than-life manner.

From a collection of diverse colonies scattered across a vast and often forbidding land they had created a unified and highly developed nation-state in the space of one short century. Indeed, in any other period of history such an accomplishment would have been considered a monumental feat of empire building.⁶⁵⁴

Again, as in the previous era, setbacks are acknowledged only as opportunities for Canadians' forefathers (and occasionally foremothers) to show their true mettle in advancing toward the goal of creating a nation. Improvement is inevitable. Again, this advancement requires a large cast of characters in different roles. First, we have the explorers and fur traders discovering and mapping the continent and bringing civilization in the form of consumer goods and religion to Native peoples. Champlain "won the first battle in the long fight to conquer Canada's great and broken width."⁶⁵⁵

The pioneers of the first colonies are next. They not only tamed the wilderness, they

⁶⁵²Krueger and Corder, *Canada: A New Geography*, 20.

⁶⁵³Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 438.

⁶⁵⁴Lower, *A Nation Developing*, 240.

⁶⁵⁵Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 66.

fought a long hard fight for a democratic way of life, that is for the right to manage their own churches, schools and governments, and they won it. By winning these rights, they started up the long road by which the six British colonies became the country of Canada, and their people the Canadian Nation of today.⁶⁵⁶

The effectiveness of the Northwest Mounted Police in preparing the west for settlement is another source of pride. In no time after their arrival in the west, "they had gained the respect of Indian, Metis, and settler, and had driven the whiskey trader from the plains and the foothills."⁶⁵⁷

The people who settled the Prairies around the turn of this century are another group which contributed to this ongoing tale of progress.

When movies choose a hero for the Western films, they pick the red-coated Mountie or the dashing cowboy. But never the farmer! Never the farmer who cut the first sod, who waited for the harvest, who carried on day after day on the wide, lonely, untamed prairie!⁶⁵⁸

There is one small exception to this tale of unimpeded progress, not seen in earlier texts. This exception lies in the effects of European exploration and colonization on Native peoples. These texts are very clear about the negative effects the arrival of Europeans had on Native cultures. *From Sea Unto Sea* says that the missionaries, "along with the H.B.C. posts, prepared the way for the inevitable destruction of Indian freedom by what is called civilization."⁶⁵⁹ Dorland's *Our Canada* concludes that, "adaptation or extinction seems to be the hard alternative facing the North American Indian to-day."⁶⁶⁰

Valour displayed in the two world wars is a second source of pride. *Canada in the World Today*, summarizes by saying, "The splendid valour of Canada's fighting men gave all citizens greater pride in their nation."⁶⁶¹ It should be noted that few of these texts

⁶⁵⁶Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 285.

⁶⁵⁷Rogers and Harris, *Nation of the North*, 186.

⁶⁵⁸Deyell, *Canada: The New Nation*, 224.

⁶⁵⁹Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 81.

⁶⁶⁰Dorland, *Our Canada*, 20.

⁶⁶¹Rogers, et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 218.

describe Canada's role in the wars in great detail in the way that the interwar texts focused on the battles of World War One. No doubt attitudes toward war had changed somewhat after the horrors of two wars so close together in time, in which so many Canadian lives had been lost. However, Canada's participation in these wars remains a source of pride in these texts, although a somewhat more subdued pride than previously seen.

Textbook authors take pride in Canada's role in the world at large and they look forward to an increasingly important role as time goes on. *Canada in the World Today* points out that Canada ranks as a leader among middle-sized nations; however, "this honoured position has only been gained after strenuous exertions and many troubles."⁶⁶² The texts view the United Nations both as a chance for Canada to shine in the present, and as an opening into a future of increased participation in world affairs. Dickie tells the reader that, "In the United Nations Canada made a startling discovery; she discovered that she was a leading nation. It was surprising and exciting."⁶⁶³ Dorland says, "Because of the important part that Canada has played as one of the United Nations, she will certainly have a still more important role in world affairs than she has had in the past."⁶⁶⁴

A shining optimism regarding the future of Canada pervades these texts. It seems decidedly naive from a jaded 1990s perspective. Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson say, "Canada has its prophets who see Confederation doomed and Canada dismembered, but the heartening signs of accommodation dispel such gloomy prophecies."⁶⁶⁵ Fraser assures the reader that, "It needs no excess of optimism to believe that the social problems of nationhood will solve themselves. . . . Already the strains of biculturalism seem to be easing off. . . . Regional prejudices ebb and flow, but each high tide is a little lower . . . than the last one was."⁶⁶⁶ Would it were so!

⁶⁶²Rogers et. al., *Canada in the World Today*, 216.

⁶⁶³Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 457.

⁶⁶⁴Dorland, *Our Canada*, 526.

⁶⁶⁵Herstein, Hughes, and Kirbyson, *Challenge & Survival*, 437.

⁶⁶⁶Fraser, *The Search for Identity*, 315.

Conception of the Student Reader

Changes in the pedagogical approach between Putman-Weir era texts and those of the Chant Report era are profound. Whereas Putman-Weir era texts often couched their information in the form of stories to stir the imagination, Chant era texts use excerpts from original sources to provoke use of inductive discovery methods.⁶⁶⁷ Students are expected to use the evidence provided in these sources to reach their own conclusions, rather than relying on the conclusions of the mature historian or geographer.

Thus, geography texts are filled with maps, graphs, charts, diagrams, and photographs, from which students are assisted to draw information. For instance, the 628 page secondary "A" issue text, *A Regional Geography of North America* by Tomkins, Hills, and Weir, contains 215 photographs and 477 maps, graphs, charts, and diagrams. The authors tell the reader that they have a

conviction that generalizations can be made meaningful only through detailed, vivid, realistic data such as large-scale maps, photographs, graphical and statistical material, sample studies, and written descriptions. The student is expected to describe and analyze this data and, under the teacher's supervision, to draw his own conclusions, i.e., to make his own generalizations. It is hoped that a judicious balance has been struck between expository and discovery-type teaching and learning.⁶⁶⁸

The student questions and activities in the text go a long way in achieving the authors' intentions:

Refer back to Figure 7-15 in Chapter 7. How does this map confirm the dominance of Calgary over Edmonton in the business management of the petroleum industry? Comment on the relative importance of various cities of the Continental Interior as financial centres.⁶⁶⁹

The *Ginn Sample Studies* series prescribed for Grades Five and Ten also uses this approach, providing information in ways that encouraged students to draw their own

⁶⁶⁷The story approach was not abandoned entirely in Chant era texts. Eight story booklets were prescribed to convey key concepts in the Grade Three program. The *People of the Past* series, prescribed for Grade Eight, includes fictionalized accounts of people representing various lifestyles and occupations in sixteenth Century England.

⁶⁶⁸Tomkins, Hills, and Weir, *A Regional Geography of North America*, x.

⁶⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 290.

conclusions from information provided in various formats. For instance, in *Salmon Fishing in British Columbia*, students are asked to use a chart of the main processing industries in British Columbia, to state in their own words how important canned salmon is in the food industry of the province.⁶⁷⁰ In another question, students are told that "in a recent year over 17,000 ships were handled at the port of Vancouver. Wheat is the most important export. What evidence for this can you find in the picture?"⁶⁷¹

History texts began to be filled with excerpts from letters, journals, wills, and other sources commonly used by historians to develop their interpretations. The twenty-four page elementary text, *The Fur Fort*, includes an extract from the York Factory Account Book, the Orders to the Watch Commanders at Fort Albany, a bill of lading carried by a North West Company canoe, the Standard of Trade for Moose Fort, a contemporary description of the clothing of a Native man at a trading ceremony at York Fort, and an excerpt from Sir George Simpson's Secret Character Book,⁶⁷² as well as photographs of various items of the period, and seventeen contemporary drawings and paintings. Students' attention is often directed to specific aspects of the historical document in order to help them draw information from it. A painting of voyageurs has this caption: "William Armstrong's painting shows a camp scene at a portage. Notice the size of the canoes, how they were carried, and how they were used for shelter. The method of using the tumpline is clearly shown here. The food in the kettle would be eaten in the canoes when the voyageurs took a short rest from paddling."⁶⁷³ At the secondary level, the *Then and There* series, published in Great Britain, and prescribed for Grades Seven and Eight, makes it evident to the reader how original historical sources are used. In the text, *Elizabethan Ship*, a discovery approach is used, employing a step-by-step procedure to determine the size of the *Golden Hind*, based on the information available, such as the number of men on board,

⁶⁷⁰Peter Harper and J. Burdikin, *Salmon Fishing in British Columbia*, Ginn Sample Studies (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1969), 17.

⁶⁷¹Peter Harper, *Port of Vancouver*, Ginn Sample Studies (Toronto: Ginn and Co., 1972), 3.

⁶⁷²Andrews, *The Fur Fort*, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 22-23.

⁶⁷³*Ibid.*, 11.

the belongings of each man, the shape of the ship, and the dimensions of a building which was intended to be (but was not) built around the ship in order to preserve it for posterity. Another text in this series, *Samuel Pepys in London*, is, of course, based on Pepys' famous diaries.

A major change is the prescription of texts which make no pretense to be more than collections of excerpts from historical documents, awaiting the exertions of intrepid mini-historians or geographers. *Canadian History in Documents, 1763-1966* and *Footprints in Time*, both prescribed for Grade Ten, are examples of these. Another example of this approach is the *Jackdaw* series. The *Jackdaw* kits are collections of primary source facsimiles, intended to facilitate the teaching of commonly studied topics such as Confederation, the fur trade, or Riel. The only *Jackdaw* kit to be prescribed in British Columbia was *The Great Depression*. It contained such items as newspaper excerpts, a welfare cheque, a handbill for the Regina rally of June 17th, 1935, and a record entitled "Voices of the Depression" with speeches by William Aberhardt, J.S. Woodsworth, and Prime Minister Bennett. Other kits, although not prescribed, were certainly available to British Columbia teachers.⁶⁷⁴

Other texts, while primarily collections of such documents, present them within a clear "structure of the disciplines" pedagogical context, in which students are expected to use the inquiry techniques of the adult practitioner in the field. An example of this is the two-volume set, *Making Canadian History*, by Sutherland and Deyell:

You are presented with an opportunity to work this year as the historian works. This book supplies you with some of the evidence of past events as seen by eyewitnesses. . . .

At the beginning we have provided you with the kinds of questions which the historian asks of his pictures, maps, and eyewitness accounts. We expect you to 'read the evidence', and to draw your own conclusions.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁴See Advertisement, *Canadian Journal of History* 3 (July 1963), 35-36 or Advertisement, *Canadian Journal of History* 4 (January 1969), 43, 46.

⁶⁷⁵Neil Sutherland and Edith Deyell, *Making Canadian History: A Source-Guide Book in Canadian History*, Book I (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1966), vi.

A variation of this approach for primary students is the text, *When Grandma and Grandpa Were Kids*, also written by Sutherland. This text offers historical photographs of schools, advertisements, people engaged in various activities, and pages from elementary school readers, spellers, and arithmetic texts, in order to provide students with "a rich variety of evidence to be examined, discussed, considered, and reconsidered. . . . each child can form his own impressions, his own opinions, and his own tentative answers."⁶⁷⁶

Text authors took to heart the idea of helping students to develop concepts and generalizations.

Life in Early North America assumes a conceptual approach to social studies. This is not meant to underplay the importance of factual information but it moves away from the learning of facts for their own sake. It supports the learner's natural tendency to organize his experience into meaningful sets of categories (concepts). Since it is intended that the student's categories be useful tools for further learning, this set of materials is organized around widely used clusters of concepts.⁶⁷⁷

Many of the activities suggested in the elementary texts and picture set teachers' manuals are very involving. Role-playing a Selkirk settler, building a fur fort model, or baking prospectors' bread are all interesting activities which help students to empathize with, and better understand aspects of life in the past. However, it must be said that this adherence to a conceptual approach, while laudatory, is not always applied in ways that are educationally sound. At times, the suggested activities do not focus on the key concepts and generalizations which the resource is intended to develop. For instance, in the Grade Three picture set, *Interaction of Communities*, Concept B is "Communities interact with other communities." A sub-concept is "Communities which specialize become dependent on other communities." One of the pictures intended to develop this particular sub-concept is entitled "A University Centre." Two of the activities suggested for use with this picture are, "Set up project groups to report on what they would like to do at university" and

⁶⁷⁶Neil Sutherland, *When Grandma and Grandpa Were Kids Teachers' Guide*. A Gage World Community Study, ed. Neil Sutherland (Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1970), 1.

⁶⁷⁷Daniel Birch, Rosemary Neering, and Arlene Birch, *Life in Early North America* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1974), 1.

"Make up a collage for display of children's paintings of university insignia."⁶⁷⁸ Primary children may find these activities interesting, but it is difficult to see how they extend their understanding of ways in which a specialized community, such as a university centre, has become dependent on other communities. Similarly, a "Making Reports" activity in *The Story of West Africa*, prescribed for Grade Six, says, "The Union of South Africa and Rhodesia have a policy of racial segregation, or 'apartheid', with white men in control of the government. Look up material on this and make a report."⁶⁷⁹ While this could be a worthwhile activity, involving research and synthesis of information, it is removed from the content with which students are dealing.

Texts dealing with other cultures often focus on the most trivial aspects of culture. The Teacher's Manual for the Grade Six picture set, *Culture Realms of the World*, suggests a number of student activities which do not lead in any direct way to the building of the desired concepts and generalizations. For instance, it is difficult to see how drawing a picture of Wedgewood china and coloring it appropriately, or making a model of a British crown, using gold foil decorated with glass beads or buttons and fake fur, will lead to a deeper understanding of cultural aspects of Great Britain.⁶⁸⁰

Needless to say, with the emphasis on conceptualization and active discovery in this era, workbooks, with their read-and-regurgitate, fill-in-the-blanks approach, were not listed (with one exception) as prescribed texts for social studies. A Department of Education circular to schools epitomized the prevalent attitude toward workbooks: "The extensive use of workbooks deadens pupil initiative and destroys the ability to organize information and to express relationships in clear, concise English. Children begin to think that education consists of blank-filling and answering quiz questions."⁶⁸¹ The one exception is the

⁶⁷⁸Edward E. Owen and Peter Harper, *Year 3, Interaction of Communities* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1972), 54.

⁶⁷⁹Queenie Bilbo, *The Story of West Africa*, Global Culture Series. ed., Kimball Wiles (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1969), 152.

⁶⁸⁰Daniel R. Birch, Allan B. Cunningham, Arlene Birch, and A. Stanley Garrod, *Culture Realms of the World* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1974), 51.

⁶⁸¹Department of Education, "Chief Inspector's Circular Containing Suggestions for

Citizens of Canada series, prescribed for secondary students in the Occupational Program. This was a new program, put in place in 1962, and designed for students who had not been performing at acceptable academic levels. It was intended to have "a practical, utilitarian approach. . . . [with] more manipulation, more illustration, and more practical application than in regular classes."⁶⁸² These texts have a workbook type of format, with presentation of information, followed by review questions under the heading, "Putting Yourself to Work." There are no coloured pictures or other devices to entice the student reader into the content. It is interesting that these texts were prescribed for Occupational students, who may have been those *least* likely to benefit from them.

Mirrors of Their World

The 1960 *Report of the Royal Commission on Education* ushered in a period of intense curriculum development in social studies, leading to the production of a secondary curriculum in 1968 and an elementary curriculum in 1974. These curricular innovations were accompanied by a proliferation of new textbook authorizations between the years 1968 and 1974. The social studies curricula and textbooks of this era, like those of the era previously examined, reflect the climate of their time. In terms of content, they reflect the intellectual focus of the Chant Report. In terms of pedagogy, they reflect the "structure of the disciplines" movement, which, in social studies, emphasized the acquisition of key concepts from the disciplines of history and geography, as well as the inquiry skills used by mature investigators. Both influences were the offspring of the outcry, in the 1950s, for an education system with greater intellectual rigour.

Canadian identity continues to be a concept which is difficult to bring into focus. However, under the surface features described above, the texts reflect the prevailing

Improvement of Instruction From Many Sources" (Victoria, February 15, 1956), 1, PABC GR 1199, Vol. 1, File 2.

⁶⁸²Department of Education, "Chief Inspector's Circular Containing Suggestions for Improvement of Instruction From Many Sources" (Victoria, August, 8, 1962), 3, PABC GR 1199, Vol. 1, File 9.

attitudes of Canadian society at the time in which they were developed. The concept of Canadian identity inherent in these texts is both exclusive and inclusive. It is a gendered concept which excludes women. While women are Canadian citizens in a legal sense, they do not play much of a role in the vision of Canada presented in the texts. It is inclusive of immigrants because they are needed to people the land and the fervent hope is that they will assimilate into the dominant culture as soon as possible. However, when we look more closely we see that it is inclusive of some immigrants and not others. It is not inclusive of Oriental immigrants because they are viewed as unable to assimilate. It also excludes Native peoples because they are seen as being unable to contribute to the never-ending progress of the nation as it marches on to an increasingly important role in world affairs. As in the Putman-Weir era, "Canadianness" has its insiders and outsiders.

Heroes are somewhat de-emphasized in this era. Those who remain possess one or more of the following characteristics. They are people of action; they are courageous; they persevere in the face of adversity; and they are devoted to a cause, either patriotic or spiritual, greater than their own petty interests.

These texts portray a broader concept of cooperation than those in the Putman-Weir era. This now includes cooperation between Native peoples and European explorers and fur traders in Canada's early history. Community cooperation is discussed both historically and in a contemporary context. The texts show pride in Canada's role in formal venues for international cooperation.

As in the Putman-Weir era, the texts are willing to discuss acts of resistance in Canada's past in which the government triumphed, such as the Riel Resistances. Labour conflict is awarded more attention than in the earlier texts. The Winnipeg General Strike is described, although important details such as "Bloody Saturday" are often omitted.

As in the Putman-Weir texts, Canada's history is one of unimpeded progress. Pride is shown in the various individuals and groups who contributed to this progress. Quiet pride is evident in the valour displayed by Canadians in two world wars. Last, there

is pride in Canada's independent and increasingly influential role as a middle power in world affairs.

In the texts of the Putman-Weir era, Canadian identity included allegiance to Great Britain coupled with a quiet pride in our increasing independence. In the Chant era texts, this independence is beginning to be taken for granted. Textbooks are more concerned with Canada's role on the world stage and with its relationship to the United States. Textbook authors see a thriving anti-Americanism as an important part of what makes Canadians Canadian.

CHAPTER VI

CANADA STUDIES ERA, 1970-1989: BACKGROUND

The Canada Studies Foundation

Co-director of the Canada Studies Foundation, George S. Tomkins, proclaimed in 1972, that "Canadian studies has begun to take its place with politics, sex and sport as a staple of cocktail party conversation."⁶⁸³ Although this bit of hyperbole may only have been true for the circles in which Tomkins travelled, Canadian studies was certainly of wide concern at that time.

The establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970 is of interest as a turning point in British Columbia education because it was at the forefront of a major movement to encourage Canadian students to take pride in, and become more knowledgeable about their nation. This organization and the forces which spawned it had a significant impact on provincial curricula, as well as the content of textbooks produced to support those curricula. Robert Anderson, Director of the Foundation from 1978 to its demise in 1986, made this claim as well:

My personal belief is that historians will judge the Canada Studies Foundation to be one of the most significant educational phenomena to have impacted Canadian education. A comparison of the provincial Canadian studies guidelines for 1970 and 1986 as well as a comparison of the quantity and quality of textbooks pertaining to citizenship education between those two dates will serve to support my claim.⁶⁸⁴

The Canada Studies Foundation was formed in 1970 and continued in existence until 1986. The Foundation sponsored projects in every region of the country, produced over 150 publications, involved 1300 teachers and other educators in curriculum

⁶⁸³George S. Tomkins, "And Just What is the Canada Studies Foundation?" *The B.C. Teacher* 52 (March 1972): 212.

⁶⁸⁴Robert M. Anderson, "Preface," in *The Canada Studies Foundation*, ed. John N. Grant, Robert M. Anderson, and Peter L. McCreath (Toronto: The Foundation, 1986), 8.

development, and 30 000 teachers in in-service education. Funding came from a variety of sources including the private sector (most of the three million dollars raised from 1970-1975), the Canada Council, the federal department of the Secretary of State, and the Council of Ministers of Education. The Foundation 'head' office was located in Toronto. However, of six members of the Secretariat of the Foundation, only two worked out of that office. Others were in Vancouver, Calgary, Ottawa, and Quebec City. This was an indication of both the lack of centralization of the structure of the Foundation and its wide geographical base.

The initial impetus for the formation of the Canada Studies Foundation was the 1968 publication of A.B. Hodgetts' slim book, *What Culture? What Heritage?* This publication was a direct result of contemporary concern about American cultural domination and consequent loss of Canadian identity. The National History Project, of which this book was the final report, was a two year, comprehensive survey of civic education across the country, carried out at the time of the celebration of Canada's Centennial. It generated an unusual degree of interest, making "publishing history in Canadian education as a best seller that appealed alike to professional educators, the media, academia, and a broad spectrum of the lay public."⁶⁸³ It also sparked debate in at least one provincial legislature⁶⁸⁴ and was widely covered in the media. A history teacher and textbook author, Hodgetts concluded that civic education in Canada was in a dismal state. Regarding the teaching of Canadian history, he stated that we are teaching a "bland, consensus story, told without the controversy that is an inherent part of history.... a dry-as-dust account of uninterrupted political and economic progress." He called for radically new approaches to Canadian studies where students would no longer be "bench bound listeners," but would be encouraged "to

⁶⁸³George.S. Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation: A Canadian Approach to Curriculum Intervention," *Canadian Journal of Education* 2, no. 1 (1977): 5.

⁶⁸⁴John N. Grant, "The Canada Studies Foundation: An Historical Overview," in *The Canada Studies Foundation*, ed. John N. Grant, Robert M. Anderson, and Peter L. McCreath (Toronto: The Foundation, 1986), 11.

discover a real and vital Canada for themselves."⁶⁸⁷ In a later book, *Teaching Canada for the '80s*, Hodgetts and his co-author, Paul Gallagher, argued for "a cooperative and systematic nation-wide effort to improve the quality of studies of Canada in Canadian schools."⁶⁸⁸

Hodgetts proposed a national Canada Studies Consortium that would be interprovincial in nature, independent of any government or existing agency, and run from a series of regional centres. "Its exclusive purpose," he argued, "should be to develop and distribute Canadian Studies materials and teaching strategies for use in elementary and secondary schools."⁶⁸⁹ The Canada Studies Foundation was formed on March 19th of 1970. A.B. Hodgetts was the first Director, with Walter Gordon the first Chairman. Gordon was a former federal Minister of Finance. A founding member of the Committee for an Independent Canada, he has been described as "the leading spokesman of Canadian nationalism."⁶⁹⁰ Dr. George S. Tomkins of the Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, was appointed Co-Director in 1971.

The Foundation sponsored a number of curriculum projects. These were both intended to put curriculum materials which promoted a sense of Canadianness in the hands of students, and to give teachers the necessary experience so they could continue to develop materials independent of the Foundation. By the end of phase one (1970-1975) a number of curriculum development projects were nearing completion. These were organized in three groups: the Laurentian Project in Ontario and Quebec; Project Atlantic Canada, involving each of the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland-Labrador; and Project Canada West, involving the four western provinces.

British Columbia involvement in the Canada Studies Foundation was extensive. Dr. Tomkins was a Co-Director from the second year of the project until its demise. Dr.

⁶⁸⁷Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* 24, 45, 121.

⁶⁸⁸A. B. Hodgetts and Paul Gallagher, *Teaching Canada for the '80s* (Toronto: OISE, 1978), vi.

⁶⁸⁹Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?*, 118.

⁶⁹⁰Tomkins, "The Canada Studies Foundation," 8.

Neil Sutherland, also of the University of British Columbia, was one of the four evaluators who conducted an external evaluation of the foundation in 1975, at the end of Phase One. A major project sponsored by the Canada Studies Foundation in this province was the set of issues-oriented materials entitled *Public Issues in Canada: Possibilities for Classroom Teaching* (1982), developed at U.B.C. under the direction of Dr. Donald C. Wilson. This was a set of case studies of current Canadian social issues. The series included booklets on such topics as "The Quality of Work Life," "A Multicultural Experience," and "Free Trade." Project Canada West, which included the four western provinces, was the "largest and one of the best"⁶⁸⁹ projects funded by the foundation.

Project Canada West sponsored four major projects in this province, all related to the theme of urbanization. Under the label of *CANURGO*, or Canadian Urban Government, a group of Nanaimo Senior Secondary School teachers developed a simulation game.⁶⁹⁰ They also developed a book of readings on the historical and political development of civic government in Canada. The realities of life in an inner city neighbourhood was the topic for *Inner City*, a set of materials developed by teachers at Britannia Secondary School in Vancouver. This set of materials included a teachers' guide, a series of case studies, a simulation game, and a student handbook of investigative techniques to help students explore problems of urban development. *Townsight Canada*, developed by three teachers at Alpha Secondary School in Burnaby and John Oliver Secondary School in Vancouver, involved a multi-media kit which simulated a field study of the community of Kentville, Nova Scotia. *Project Five to Nine*, published by Macmillan in 1975, was developed by a group of Powell River kindergarten and primary

⁶⁸⁹Canada Studies Foundation Papers, V.7.8(A), "CSF Submission to the Kolmer Foundation," 10 March 1973, 6; quoted in John N. Grant, "The Canada Studies Foundation: An Historical Overview," in *The Canada Studies Foundation*, ed. John N. Grant, Robert M. Anderson, and Peter L. McCreath (Toronto: The Foundation, 1986), 14.

⁶⁹⁰A simulation game is an organized set of classroom experiences involving participation in a representation of selected aspects of a real-life situation.

teachers, led by principal Peter Harper. This teacher reference book was a compendium of ideas for exploration of the local community with young children. It was the culmination of an extensive research project consisting of more than 160 inventories designed to determine students' social studies vocabulary and knowledge about their community and its facilities and services. The goal of providing the experience necessary so that teachers could continue to develop materials apart from the Foundation was met by this group. Four of the nine authors of *Project Five to Nine* went on to co-author teacher books published to accompany the *Explorations* series of texts published by Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., which were prescribed to accompany the 1983 elementary curriculum.

At first glance, it seems odd that the materials sponsored by the Canada Studies Foundation did not attain prescribed or authorized status in British Columbia. Four factors may have played a part here. First, timing is always important in these matters. Many of these resources were developed in the mid to late seventies. This was after the authorizations for the 1968 (secondary) and 1974 (elementary) social studies curricula had taken place and prior to the new authorizations to accompany the 1983 (elementary) and 1985 (secondary) curricula. Second, at the time of implementation of the latter curricula, the vast majority of resources were new texts, usually written, or adapted, specifically to meet the objectives of the newly prescribed British Columbia curricula. This would have rendered the Canada Studies materials unsuitable, since they were written for a more general Canadian student population. Third, most of the Canada Studies student resources embodied a case-study approach. They were fairly brief resources on a particular topic. The resources approved to accompany the new curricula did not take this form. Instead, they were full-scale texts designed to meet a large portion of, or all, the curriculum objectives at a particular grade level. Fourth, the Canada Studies Foundation did not work with provincial ministers of education to any extent. Its focus on teacher-based curriculum

development, meant, in practice, that teachers' interests took precedence over provincial curriculum priorities.

While the Canada Studies materials themselves did not attain official status in this province, they were part of a general movement toward greater emphasis on Canada in curriculum resources. A profusion of social studies materials about Canada appeared during the 1970s and 1980s. At the same time as curriculum projects were being developed under the auspices of the Canada Studies Foundation, provincial curricula began to show increased emphasis on Canada studies, and materials were required to support these topics. The phenomenon of the development of regional educational publishing companies, which produced texts for Canadian students, by Canadian authors, about Canada, usually with regional emphases, occurred at this time. In the case of British Columbia, it was these texts, developed by the newly formed company, Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., which became prescribed for use with the elementary social studies curriculum and found their way into British Columbia classrooms.

British Columbia was not alone in this respect. During the two decades after 1970 nearly every province took on various projects to develop materials for classroom use. Alberta, with the financial resources of its Heritage Trust Fund at hand, invested the most money in such projects. In 1977 \$8 387 000 was invested in its Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project. The objectives of the project were:

To provide additional Canadian content learning resources for the language arts, social studies, and science curricula of Alberta schools.

To provide an outlet for the talents of editors, authors, illustrators, graphic artists, and film producers from Alberta and other parts of Canada.

To utilize the provincial capabilities for publishing and printing with the clear recognition that the volume, quantity, and timeliness of the projects may require assistance beyond provincial boundaries.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹³ Alberta, Department of Education, *The Alberta Heritage Learning Resources Project* (Edmonton: Alberta Education, 1978), quoted in R. Lorimer, "Publishers, Governments, and Learning Materials: The Canadian Context," *Curriculum Inquiry* 14 (Fall 1984): 287-299.

Social studies materials produced by this project included sixteen *Kanata Kits*, multi-media kits about Canada, published between 1978 and 1981, and provided to all schools; class sets of each of twelve *Books for Young Readers*, about Alberta and Canada, published in 1979 and 1980, and provided to Grades Four, Five, and Six classes; the *Junior Atlas of Alberta* (1978), one copy for every student in the province; and the *Relief Model of Alberta* (1978), a large wall map provided to every school. This province, with a number of Alberta-based publishing companies producing social studies resources, was and continues to be very supportive of small local educational publishers. Other provinces, although not enjoying the benefits of Alberta's oil revenues, also developed or sponsored curriculum materials. Prince Edward Island developed twenty-five resource books and kits which were made available to every school for a course on the province's history. In addition, an essay collection called, *Readings in Prince Edward Island History*, was distributed to schools. Local publishers were encouraged by the introduction of the Maritime Studies Program in the 1980s, and the ongoing development of materials suitable for use in all three Maritime provinces. Newfoundland had a Grade Nine history text, *Canada Since Confederation: An Atlantic Perspective*, published by Copp Clark in 1976.

Concern was also expressed during this period for a greater Canadian component in university and college programs. The Symons Report, *To Know Ourselves*,⁶⁹⁴ published in 1975, was a response to this concern. This report, produced by the Commission on Canadian Studies, which was established by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, recommended a greater Canadian emphasis in university courses and programmes. The pre-service education of teachers and research on Canadian Studies curriculum development received particular mention. This report resulted in a new program under the auspices of the Secretary of State, which provided federal financial support for the Canada Studies Foundation after 1978.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁴Thomas H.B. Symons, *To Know Ourselves: The Report of the Commission on Canadian Studies*, 2 vols. (Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, 1975).

⁶⁹⁵Neil Sutherland, in a submission to the Commission on Canadian Studies, called for

Social and Political Context

If intellectual aims were the watchword for the Chant era, freedom and ferment were the mark of the early years of the Canada Studies era. By the end of the sixties British Columbia was caught up in the social ferment which gripped North America. As discussed earlier, the Chant era, from 1960 to 1975, included the development of new social studies curricula; a secondary in 1968 and an elementary in 1974. However, societal developments rapidly overtook these educational events. By the time the new social studies curricula had been developed and implemented, social changes had begun to take place and educational priorities had changed to the point where they were considered less than ideal.

The Canada Studies Foundation was born in a period of some nationalistic fervour. Canada had gained a new flag in 1965, a culmination of increasing emotional independence from Great Britain. Canadians took pride in the magnificent national display of Expo '67 in Montreal, a world's fair to celebrate Canada's Centenary. The Trudeaumania which swept the land in 1968 was indicative of Canadians' optimism and hopes for a 'just society'.⁶⁹⁴

In spite of the nationalistic sentiments inspired by these events, there were deep divisions in Canadian society. The 1968 report of the federal Royal Commission of Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B and B Commission) was a response to cultural divisions, particularly those between Francophone and Anglophone elements; although it also looked at concerns related to cultural identity of "the other ethnic groups."

At the same time that nationalistic sentiments were being strengthened in the rest of Canada, Quebec was experiencing its 'Quiet Revolution'. Nationalism in that province took

greater involvement by colleges and universities in curriculum making at the elementary and secondary levels, and a greater focus on Canadian concerns in the pre-service training of teachers. Neil Sutherland, "Canadian Studies in the Schools of Western Canada: A Survey and Recommendations for the AUCC Commission on Canadian Studies," Dr. Sutherland's Papers, March 1973.

⁶⁹⁴See Richard Gwyn, *The Northern Magus* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1980).

a different tack, and became interpreted as loyalty toward the province and to Francophone culture. The complacency of English Canada toward Quebec was severely disturbed by the events of October 1970; the kidnapping, by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ), of James Cross, the British Trade Commissioner in Montreal, and the kidnapping and murder of Pierre Laporte, Cabinet Minister in the Liberal government of Robert Bourassa. These events, coupled with the invoking of the War Measures Act by Prime Minister Trudeau, shook English Canadian society. As an editorial in *The Sun* put it, "Canadians scarcely conceived violence of this depth erupting in their midst. They know now, however, as the world does, that things will never be quite the same for them and their way of life."⁶⁹⁵

French-English cultural divisions were further complicated by the increasing presence of other ethnic groups in Canadian society. The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism acknowledged this reality and the right of members of these ethnic groups to maintain the symbols of their ethnic identity:

Canadian culture has been the richer for the knowledge, skills, and traditions which all the immigrant groups brought with them. Their many distinctive styles of life have gradually increased the range of experience, outlook, ideas and talents which characterize the country. Cultural diversity has widened our horizons; it has also given opportunities--not always seized upon--for varied approaches to the solution of our problems.⁶⁹⁶

Native groups also made their concerns known to the B and B Commission. These centered around cultural identity, land claims, and education. In 1970 Indian agents were removed from reserves and replaced by band councils. Band schools, which promoted Native languages and cultures, began to become more evident.

In 1971, multiculturalism was formally recognized with Prime Minister Trudeau's declaration that Canada was a nation of two official languages but no official culture.⁶⁹⁷

⁶⁹⁵"Editorial," *The Sun*, 31 Dec. 1970, p. 4.

⁶⁹⁶Canada, *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book 1: General Introduction* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), para. 17.

⁶⁹⁷The Right Hon. P.E. Trudeau, *House of Commons Debates*, October 8, 1971, 8545.

This formal recognition was accompanied by financial aid to assist the activities of ethnic organizations and to support heritage-language instruction. A multicultural directorate within the Department of the Secretary of State was established in 1972 to promote multiculturalism, social integration, and positive race relations.

J. Donald Wilson points to a new tolerance in Canadian society at this time, which he attributes to "revulsion against Hitler's racism, the decline of close ties to Britain, and the impact of the American civil rights movement of the 1960s."⁶⁹⁸ This tolerance was manifested in the establishment of a human rights commission in every province by 1975 and by the federal government two years later. (An early concern of these human rights commissions was the depiction of various groups in textbooks. At least four provincial human rights commissions carried out textbook studies during the 1970s. These were discussed in Chapter One.)

In its last editorial of 1970, the *Vancouver Province* brought up the melting pot versus cultural mosaic dilemma, calling decisions about national population, the "basic factor in any national blueprint."⁶⁹⁹ At 57.9 percent, the majority of British Columbia's population was still British in origin at the beginning of this period. People of continental European origin comprised 35.2 percent, people of Asian origin 3.5 percent, and those of Native background 2.4 percent.⁷⁰⁰ By 1981, or shortly before most of the newly authorized social studies texts were developed, the percentage of people of British origin had dropped to 55.5 percent, with 32.2 percent of continental European origin, 7.5 percent of Asian origin, and 2.7 percent of Native background.⁷⁰¹

Campus protest was a symbol of the ferment of this period in North America. While much of the campus protest in the United States was directed against the Vietnam War, in Canada it was concerned with the gaining of greater student autonomy and equality

⁶⁹⁸J. Donald Wilson, "Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy in Canada: The Last Twenty-five Years," *Siirtolaisuus - Migration* 21 (1994): 8.

⁶⁹⁹"Editorial," *The Province*, 31 Dec. 1970, p. 4.

⁷⁰⁰*Census of Canada*, 1971, Catalogue 92-723, Table 2.

⁷⁰¹*Census of Canada*, 1981, Catalogue 92-911, Table 3.

of access to higher education. Simon Fraser University, which opened in 1965, was the hot-bed of student ferment in British Columbia, with the older, University of British Columbia remaining relatively staid. The three-day student occupation of the administrative offices of Simon Fraser in 1968, and the arrest of the 114 protesters by the R.C.M.P., is still remembered fondly by many Simon Fraser alumni in spite of the "mistakes and the excesses of youthful enthusiasm."⁷⁰²

Women began participating in the labour force in ever-increasing numbers during this era. In 1970, 32.4 percent of British Columbian women fifteen years and older participated in the labour force. In 1983, the first year in which texts for the new curricula were being published, this number had increased to 41.5 percent.⁷⁰³ Both the advent of the birth control pill, and greater societal acceptance of women working outside the home during their child-rearing years, contributed to the increased participation of women in the salaried workforce.

Educational Context

Neo-progressivism was the watchword in Canada for the decade from 1965 to 1975. Barman and Sutherland describe neo-progressivism as "in part a reaction to the heavily academic quality of the 'structural' curriculum and in part a reflection of the social excitement and experimentation that came to characterize the late 1960s in many parts of the Western world."⁷⁰⁴ In British Columbia this was a time of innovation in terms of the organization for delivery of instruction. Open-area schools, team teaching, and individualized instruction became common topics in educational literature. Secondary schools began to offer a 'cafeteria-style curriculum', involving a greater variety of course

⁷⁰²"Heady Days--Simon Fraser University Activism of the 60s," *Vancouver Sun*, 14 September 1985, p. A6.

⁷⁰³ Statistics Canada, *Women in the Workplace: Selected Data* (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1987), 32.

⁷⁰⁴Jean Barman and Neil Sutherland, "Royal Commission Retrospective," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995), 419.

options. Schools also began to offer students opportunities for greater input to their own assessment. In this vein, following the 1972-73 school year, British Columbia Department of Education examinations were no longer used to determine part of Grade Twelve graduation marks.⁷⁰⁵ Another innovation of the time was the concept of "free schools." The New School, and other free schools, provided alternatives seized upon by parents seeking greater input into their children's education. These parents wanted their children to have opportunities for freer expression and wider choice in terms of curriculum.⁷⁰⁶ Most of the free schools had only brief lives. However, school boards began to provide alternatives within the organizational structure of the existing school system. The concept of community schools, to which members of the public had much wider access, also began to be implemented.

Core Curriculum

Neo-progressivism was quickly followed by a "back-to-the-basics" movement which swept Canada in the mid 1970s. In British Columbia this movement was manifested in the 1977 *Core Curriculum*,⁷⁰⁷ which consisted of broad goal statements cross-indexed to curriculum guides in the different subject areas. In fact, this document was so general in nature that it represented little more than a sop to back-to-the-basics proponents. At best, its format served as a reminder to teachers that different subjects shared some common goals.

In contrast to the emphasis on local assessment in the previous period, the *Core Curriculum* was accompanied by a new system of province-wide testing, known as the

⁷⁰⁵B.C. Department of Education, *102nd Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1972-73* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1974), E 29.

⁷⁰⁶See Harley Rothstein, "The New School, 1962-1977," (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia), 1992.

⁷⁰⁷Ministry of Education, *Guide to the Core Curriculum, 1977* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1977). This term was first used in the United States during the Progressive Era in the early decades of this century, to indicate a core of social studies, and sometimes language arts curricula, around which other related activities were organized to achieve integrated units of study. This was referred to as the "Enterprise" approach when it found its way into Canadian curriculum rhetoric in the late 1930s and 1940s. It is ironic that a term which was first used in a progressive context was transplanted to a context at the other end of the pedagogical continuum.

Provincial Learning Assessment Program (PLAP). This program instituted assessment at Grades Four, Seven, and Ten in the four core curricular areas of mathematics, language arts, social studies, and science, at a rate of one per year. The social studies assessment was administered in 1977.

Inquiry Approaches and Values Education

As discussed earlier, the 1960 publication of Jerome Bruner's book *The Process of Education* articulated many of the ideas which formed the foundation of social studies curriculum development in British Columbia during the Chant era. Once again Bruner signalled the new emphasis in social studies education, this time on teaching students to examine their own values and to become active decision-makers by working through issues of personal and social concern. It was a milestone article by Bruner in 1971 which heralded a change in direction for curriculum. This article was called "*The Process of Education Revisited*." In it Bruner called for

if not a moratorium, then something of a de-emphasis on matters that have to do with the structure of history, the structure of physics, the nature of mathematical consistency, and deal with it rather in the context of the problems that face us.⁷⁰⁸

In response to such demands, a values education component was added to the emphasis on inquiry and discovery. Three approaches were prominent in the literature of values education. The first, Values Clarification, was based on a model developed by Rath, Harmin, and Simon in their 1966 book, *Values and Teaching*, published in Columbus, Ohio. This approach involved the teaching of a set of techniques for helping students to clarify their own values. Values Clarification was "extraordinarily influential"⁷⁰⁹ in the development of the 1971 Alberta social studies curriculum. However,

⁷⁰⁸Jerome S. Bruner, "*The Process of Education Revisited*," *Phi Delta Kappan* LIII (September 1971): 18-21.

⁷⁰⁹Geoffrey Milburn, "The Social Studies Curriculum in Canada: A Survey of the Published Literature in the Last Decade," *The Journal of Educational Thought* 10 (1976): 222.

it was not well received by teachers in Alberta⁷¹⁰ and was never prominent in British Columbia.

The second approach, called Cognitive Moral Development (moral reasoning) was based on the work of Lawrence Kohlberg at Harvard. This approach was intended to move children systematically up through six designated stages of moral reasoning. The role of the teacher was to help students through the stages by means of discussion of alternative actions intended to solve moral dilemmas embedded in realistic stories. According to Osborne, many social studies theorists saw the improvement of moral reasoning as a valuable goal, and the use of Kohlberg's dilemmas as a useful teaching strategy, but they did not use his stage theory or concern themselves unduly with the detailed analysis of moral reasoning which he advocated.⁷¹¹

The third approach was called Values Analysis and was intended to help students use a structured approach to working through, and taking a stand on social issues. In British Columbia, the Canada Studies Foundation sponsored the development of such issues-oriented materials as its *Public Issues in Canada: Possibilities for Classroom Teaching*, developed at the University of British Columbia. This series explored value problems embedded in such topics as multiculturalism, unemployment, free trade, and stress in the workplace. The Association for Values Education Research (AVER), also at the University of British Columbia, conducted research regarding student value competencies and developed materials which explored contemporary issues. AVER produced materials which considered issues related to such topics as pollution, population, the elderly, women, prejudice, and war. Both programs provided students with case

⁷¹⁰The Downey Report, an assessment of the extent to which this curriculum was actually implemented, concluded that most social studies teachers either did not agree with, or did not understand, the valuing component of the curriculum. L.W. Downey Research Associates Ltd., *The Social Studies in Alberta--1975: A Report of an Assessment* (Edmonton: AB: The Department of Education, 1975).

⁷¹¹Ken Osborne, "A Consummation Devoutly To Be Wished: Social Studies and General Curriculum Theory," in *Curriculum Canada V: School Subject Research and Curriculum/Instruction Theory. Proceedings of the Fifth Invitational Conference on Curriculum Research of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies*, ed. Douglas A. Roberts and John O. Fritz (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984).

studies of current Canadian social issues for analysis and discussion. Students were expected to explore various perspectives on these issues and come to a decision as to their own position. Neither the *Public Issues in Canada* nor the AVER materials were ever granted prescribed or authorized status in this province.

The Values Analysis approach was the one which was ultimately reflected in provincial social studies curricula. A 1982 study of social studies curricula across the country by the Council of Ministers of Education revealed that the common focus was on inquiry approaches toward a goal of providing "students with the knowledge, skills, values and thought processes which will enable them to participate effectively and responsibly in the ever-changing environment of their community, their country and their world."⁷¹²

Curriculum Change

The revision process leading to the development of the 1983 elementary and 1985 secondary social studies curricula⁷¹³ was long, arduous, and controversial. Much of the reason for this was the practice of soliciting input from as many individuals and interest groups as possible. According to Ian Parker, a teacher who was hired for two years to coordinate the revision process, "no other previous curriculum revision of any subject in British Columbia sought and obtained so much information before and during the revision."⁷¹⁴ A glance at the front of the 1985 secondary social studies curriculum guide reveals a list of fifty-four names of individuals involved directly in the review and revision of the curriculum. A similar list in the previous (1968) secondary curriculum guide has only fifteen names. These numbers give a strong initial indication of the difference in teacher and public involvement in the two curricula.

This increased input had a mixed reaction. As one teacher predicted:

⁷¹²Council of Ministers of Education, *Social Studies: A Survey of Provincial Curricula at the Elementary and Secondary Levels* (Toronto: The Council, 1982), 4.

⁷¹³These social studies curricula were still prescribed for British Columbia schools at the time of writing in 1995.

⁷¹⁴Ian Parker, "The Social Studies Revision: An Insider's View," *Horizon* 20 (Fall 1981): 44.

the social's [sic] revision is going to be used by various interest groups

as a "test case." Given that this particular revision is one of the first to under-go the new process of curriculum development (reaction panels and all that)--those interest groups see this social revision as an opportunity to (again) test the ministry and its activities. What does all this mean? Probably a delayed implementation, a fragmented, poorly unified curriculum and more educational divisiveness.⁷¹⁵

Beginning in 1974, letters and petitions demanding changes in the social studies curriculum were sent to the Ministry of Education by both individuals and schools, school district committees, local teacher associations, and provincial associations. Actual revision work began with the establishment of the Secondary Social Studies Review Committee, composed entirely of teachers nominated by the BCTF and school districts. This committee worked for two years informally polling colleagues for their thoughts on ways in which the social studies curriculum should be revised. A report to the ministry was submitted in 1976.

The Ministry then appointed a Social Studies Assessment contract team headed by Dr. Ted Aoki of the University of British Columbia. Other team members were Drs. Donald Wilson and Dave Williams of U.B.C., and Carol Langford, a faculty associate at Simon Fraser University. This assessment examined the entire program from Grade One to Eleven; obtained opinions of teachers about the program and its resources; sampled teachers, school administrators, school trustees, and members of the public about what social studies should be; and interviewed students, teachers and administrators in five school districts about what was actually happening in the classroom. The final report, published in 1977, called for several major changes: "a broader interpretation of social studies, a greater specificity in what was to be taught, a greater emphasis on the study of Canada, a closer match between content and student needs, and a stronger emphasis on teaching students to apply the knowledge they have gained to the real world."⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵George Major, "Tidbits," *Horizon* 18 (1979): 39.

⁷¹⁶Ministry of Education, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide, Grade Eight - Grade Eleven*

Four curriculum revision committees were formed, as well as a Management Committee, which had the responsibility to oversee the revision process. The Management Committee began meeting in September of 1978. This committee developed goal statements and submitted them, in January of 1979, to two reaction panels of sixty-three people, half of whom were teachers in public schools or post-secondary institutions, and the other half representatives from the Ministry of Labor, Legal Services Society, the Chamber of Commerce, and the B.C. School Trustees Association. Three more reaction panels responded to a proposed scope and sequence in November of 1979. Approximately 80 percent of the members of these reaction panels were teachers. Copies of a draft curriculum were sent to every school in the province, as well as interested individuals and groups, in April, 1980. Over 100 submissions responding to this draft had been received by the Fall of 1981.

In spite of the involvement of such a wide variety of individuals and groups, a large proportion of whom were teachers and teacher groups, the perception remained that the curriculum was Ministry or university dominated, and that teacher input was not welcomed nor taken seriously. "Often the feeling was expressed that this curriculum represented the usual confrontation between 'the guys from Victoria' and those 'beyond Hope.'"⁷¹⁷ This perception is not borne out by the numbers of teachers who were members of revision committees and who critiqued the draft revisions. In fact, Ian Parker reflected at the end of his term with the Ministry that "one of the major flaws in the collection of information and the involvement in the revision has been the dominance of teacher opinion." Parker concluded that if he were "God forbid, ever involved in a similar process again, I would

(Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1985, reprinted 1988), 6. Also see Ted T. Aoki, Caroline Langford, David M. Williams, and Donald C. Wilson, *British Columbia Social Studies Assessment: Summary Report* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1977).

⁷¹⁷Robert H. Fowler, "Social Studies Revision in British Columbia: A Machiavellian Plot or a Comedy of Errors?" *Horizon* 20 (Fall 1982): 52.

greatly increase the participation of members of the public and decrease the involvement of teachers."⁷¹⁸

In many ways the actual curriculum produced was not all that different from the one previously in place. In terms of subject matter, this curriculum has retained its "traditional reliance on history and geography."⁷¹⁹ It has also maintained its traditional organization around an expanding horizons framework, with the following sequence of topics:

Grade One	Families
Grade Two	Communities
Grade Three	Interaction of Communities
Grade Four	Canada: It's [sic] Native People and Explorers
Grade Five	Canada: Past, Present, and Future
Grade Six	Canadians and Their World Neighbours
Grade Seven	People and Places
Grade Eight	Our Diverse Heritage
Grade Nine	The Growth of Nations
Grade Ten	Canada: Nationhood and Economic Relationships
Grade Eleven	Contemporary Canada and World Affairs ⁷²⁰

Jerome Bruner's discipline-based shadow had faded. An interdisciplinary approach had replaced the previous separate treatment of history and geography at the secondary level. Also, the concept lists which defined the content of each discipline disappeared.

An indication that this curriculum was intended to provide for greater local autonomy than previously is the flexible time which is built in (20-25 percent in elementary and 10-15 percent in secondary) for extension and enrichment of curriculum topics. Teachers were encouraged to use the resources of their particular community during this time. This move was the leading edge of a trend which has continued to the present, culminating in the 1991 publication of *Selection and Challenge of Learning Resources*, which explicitly sets out the policy and procedures for local selection of resources.

⁷¹⁸Parker, "The Social Studies Revision: An Insider's View," 44.

⁷¹⁹Ministry of Education, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide, Grade Eight - Grade Eleven*, 3.

⁷²⁰Ministry of Education, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide, Grade Eight - Grade Eleven*, 7.

The 1983 elementary and 1985 secondary curricula show greater emphasis on Canada studies, with Canadian content from Grade One to Grade Eleven increasing to approximately 60 percent from 45 percent in the previous curriculum. Two of the four major goals of the curriculum pertain to Canada studies. The first such goal is, "Students should know and understand the factors which have shaped and continue to shape Canada and Canadians." The other goal is, "Students should know and understand the roles, rights, and responsibilities of an individual as a member of society." The sub-goals listed under this broad goal indicate that the society is Canadian society. Students are expected to know and understand such aspects of society as "the effect of the economy upon Canadians," "the different levels of Canadian government and how they function," and "the legal system of Canada and its effect upon individuals and groups."⁷²¹

The other change is the nod which this curriculum gives to critical thinking. Each of the four major goals of the curriculum is introduced with the statement, "By the end of the required curriculum and through the exercise of critical thinking and problem-solving skills, students will. . . ." Unfortunately, critical thinking is never defined. Nor is it incorporated into the content pages.

Changes in Text Approval Procedures

In spite of a call by social studies teachers for greater teacher autonomy in textbook selection,⁷²² the Department of Education continued its policy of anointing certain texts with the status of official approval. Approved textbooks to accompany the new social studies elementary and secondary curricula were made available through the Ministry of Education in two categories, prescribed and authorized:

A **Prescribed** title is one that is considered basic or essential for the majority of students taking the course for which it is listed. Prescribed titles **must** be purchased in sufficient numbers to permit their use as basic support materials.

⁷²¹Ministry of Education, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide, Grade Eight - Grade Eleven*, 4-5.

⁷²²John Collins, "Curriculum Development and Textbooks," *Horizon* 18 (November 1979): 4.

An **Authorized** title is one that is considered suitable to supplement the prescribed material. Authorized titles **must** be purchased and in whatever numbers determined by the school district [boldface in original].⁷²³

In the case of social studies most texts were prescribed, with their accompanying teacher guides authorized. The four community texts at the Grade Two level which had authorized status were an exception.

Four significant changes occurred with regard to the textbook approvals designed to implement the new 1983 and 1985 curricula. These were: single approvals to replace the multiple listings of the Chant era; textbooks written specifically to meet the objectives of the B.C. social studies curriculum; a more rigorous approval process including the addition of a 'social considerations' analysis; and the development of texts with a regional as opposed to a national (central Canadian) perspective.

The institution of single approvals was a major change from the previous policy of approving an extended list of texts for each grade level, from which teachers could choose. Teacher choice was virtually eliminated.⁷²⁴ What this signified was a shift from a case-study approach to uniform content. For instance, at Grade Six, the curriculum specifies that students are to examine four different groups of people or countries from four different continents, to determine how each group meets its basic needs. One text, *Exploring Our World: Other People, Other Lands*, deals with the entire content for this grade. The four countries in the text are France, Japan, Peru, and Nigeria. Previously, with similar curriculum content, teachers chose from a list which included twenty-six booklets and a prescribed picture set. This meant that there was teacher and student choice as to specific content. At the secondary level, during the Chant era often several full-scale textbooks were approved, as well as many booklets dealing with specific topics. For instance, at the

⁷²³Ministry of Education, Programs Division, Curriculum Development Branch, *Catalogue of Learning Resources, 1983-84* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1983), iv.

⁷²⁴The only exceptions to this approach were at the Grades Four and Five levels, where teachers could choose between texts from the *Explorations* series published by Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) or the *Identity* series by Prentice-Hall Canada, both of which covered the entire content of the grade.

Grade Ten level twenty-three geography texts and twenty-two history texts were prescribed. Many, such as Tomkins' *A Regional Geography of North America*, were hard-covered textbooks, hundreds of pages in length. Others, such as the *Ginn Sample Studies* were brief booklets. In the Canada Studies era one geography text and one history text were prescribed for this grade.

A second change was the approval of texts specifically designed to meet the objectives of the new British Columbia curricula. Previous to this, many of the texts approved for use in British Columbia schools had originally been published for the Ontario market. Hence, they were more suited to Ontario social studies curriculum objectives than to those of British Columbia. This is particularly the case at the elementary level, where Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) was formed from the trade publisher, Douglas & McIntyre, to develop social studies textbooks tailor-made for the new curriculum.

A third change was in the textbook assessment procedures used. Assessment criteria were applied to potential textbooks during the Chant era. However, in the Canada Studies era they became both more rigorous and more thorough. Textbook assessment now involved four separate analyses--for instructional design, readability, social considerations, and curriculum match.⁷²⁵ The Instructional Design Analysis, commonly referred to as the EPIE (Educational Products Information Exchange) test, was used in several provinces. This test assessed resources to determine the extent to which four major constructs--intents, contents, methodology, and evaluation, were congruent with one another. Intents were goals and objectives. Contents involved the scope and sequence of the information provided. Methodology included the teaching strategies and learning approaches. Evaluation was the means of assessment.

The Readability Analysis examined the extent to which the readability level of the resource would be suitable to students of the intended grade level. This analysis involved

⁷²⁵Ministry of Education, Curriculum Development Branch, *Detailed Analysis of Learning Resources* (Victoria: Queen's Printer, 1981), n.p.

the use of readability formulae, as well as assessment of number and abstraction of ideas presented in the resource. It seems self-evident that such a test should be carried out on curriculum resources. However, when one recalls that six of the *Ginn Sample Study* texts were prescribed for both Grade Five and Grade Ten social studies during the Chant era, it is evident that readability was not always of such great concern.

Social Considerations Analysis examined such areas as language usage, gender role portrayals, age portrayals, and references to belief systems, social class, ethnic groups, and sex. The purpose of this analysis was to "alert material selection committees, the Curriculum Development Branch and the Ministry of Education to potentially controversial and offensive elements in the materials."⁷²⁶ The Social Considerations Analysis signalled a move to a greater inclusiveness in texts. Those who were invisible in earlier texts are suddenly visible. Physically disabled people are shown grocery shopping, earning a living, and taking part in recreational activities. Elderly people are depicted making meaningful contributions to daily life. Females, as well as males, are shown engaging in a greater variety of activities than in earlier texts. Women finally get out of their homes and men are shown participating in childcare and household duties.

Materials were also examined to determine how closely they matched the curriculum. When the Ministry of Education could not find appropriate existing resources, publishers were asked to submit manuscripts specifically designed to meet curriculum objectives. According to one source, curriculum match was "the single most important consideration"⁷²⁷ in the development of the elementary resources published by Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) and prescribed at each elementary grade level.

All else being equal, preference would be given to materials authored and published in Canada. One thing which the emphasis on Canadian nationalism has finally achieved, after concerns had been expressed since prior to Confederation, is texts published in

⁷²⁶Ministry of Education, *Detailed Analysis of Learning Resources*, n.p.

⁷²⁷Carol Langford, President, Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., interview by author, 19 April 1995, Kamloops, BC.

Canada and written by Canadian authors. Of all the texts prescribed to accompany the new curricula, only one set, *Patterns of Civilization*, Volumes One and Two, was published first in the United States by Prentice-Hall. The others were all written by Canadian authors, with the vast majority written specifically for the British Columbia curriculum.⁷²⁸

A related phenomenon, unique to this era, is the development of texts with a regional perspective. This innovation was heralded by teachers. Teacher, George Major, found this possibility worth an item in his "Tidbits" column in *Horizon*, the journal of the British Columbia Social Studies Teachers' Association, in 1979:

Rumor floating about (apparently from the minister of education himself no less) that a **textbook** [boldface in original] on British Columbia history will be produced. That, of course, is not unusual. The interesting point is that it will be written by a British Columbian and printed in our fair province.⁷²⁹

In fact, many of the texts prescribed and authorized in this period were written by British Columbian authors. These included an eclectic mix of professional writers, school teachers, and former university instructors of social studies curriculum and instruction courses. Professional writers included Rosemary Neering, Ernest Langford, Daniel Wood and Crawford Kilian. Teachers included Lorna Williams and Joan Collins. Doreen Bethune-Johnson and Stan Garrod had formerly taught social studies curriculum and instruction courses in the University of British Columbia Faculty of Education. A second, related phenomenon was the appearance of regional educational publishing. A contract for the elementary social studies series was awarded by the Ministry of Education to Douglas & McIntyre, a local publisher, in 1982. This publisher's texts, by local authors, were prescribed for use at all of the elementary grades in this province. Unfortunately, the phenomenon of regional publishing, at least in this province, did not last. The educational

⁷²⁸Some were later officially authorized in other provinces. For instance, the Grades One and Three *Explorations* texts by Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., written first for the British Columbia curriculum, were prescribed for Grades One and Three in Alberta in 1985.

⁷²⁹George Major, "Tidbits," *Horizon* 18 (Fall 1979): 39.

division of Douglas & McIntyre was closed in 1989. The texts produced are currently being marketed by a large central Canadian company, Nelson Canada.⁷³⁰

Choosing Texts: Contemporary Concerns

The concern that textbooks be of Canadian authorship and manufacture, dating back to pre-Confederation days, has continued unabated in the Canada Studies era. A 1972 editorial in the *Toronto Star* stated this concern emphatically:

American textbooks . . . can be an effective and insidious instrument for Americanizing the thinking of young Canadians at the most impressionable period of their lives. They can instil the idea that the United States is the centre of the world; that its foreign policy is always right and its opponents have always been wrong; that its ways of doing things are the most advanced and efficient on the globe.⁷³¹

This concern was certainly felt in British Columbia as well and continued throughout the period. In February of 1980, *Horizon*, the British Columbia Social Studies Teachers' journal, quoted Peter N. Moogk,⁷³² a Professor of History at the University of British Columbia, who, in a letter to the *Province*, said:

If idiocy there be, it belongs to those responsible for the B.C. schools curriculum and for the choice of teaching materials. . . .

The dependence on American-produced instructional materials at all levels of the B.C. school system makes one suspect that the students are better equipped to be citizens of the United States rather than of Canada.⁷³³

That same year, R.J. Carter, the Deputy Minister of Education, made the statement that "the basic position is that all things being equal, or even not quite equal, Canadian and B.C. materials and curriculum get the nod."⁷³⁴

⁷³⁰Regional educational publishing has flourished in other provinces such as Alberta and Saskatchewan. It would be worthwhile to investigate the conditions which led to such different results in those provinces where regional publishing companies still flourish.

⁷³¹"Editorial," *Toronto Star*, 30 May 1972, p. 6.

⁷³²*Horizon* incorrectly referred to him Peter N. Moogh.

⁷³³Peter N. Moogk, quoted in George Major, "Tidbits," *Horizon* 18 (February 1980): 36.

⁷³⁴Judith Turner, "The Community and the Curriculum," *The B.C. Teacher* 60 (September-October 1980): 22.

In addition to the perennial concern regarding use of American texts, a new concern entered the textbook scene at this time. This was that textbooks accurately reflect the realities of a changing society and that groups which had previously been ignored assume their rightful place on the pages of the texts. The period from the late 1960s into the 1980s was one of unprecedented concern with the way in which Canadian society was portrayed in official curricula, and beyond that, in school textbooks. Specifically, studies of social studies texts were concerned with comparison of the portrayal of Canadian history in textbooks used in English and French Canada, portrayal of Native peoples, as well as other racial and ethnic groups, the elderly, Canadian workers, and political minorities. I discussed key studies in the first chapter of this thesis.

A Legacy for Learners: The Sullivan Royal Commission

The Report of the Royal Commission on Education: A Legacy for Learners, in 1988, was the first Royal Commission since the 1960 Chant Report. This Commission examined four dimensions of schooling: curriculum, the character and organization of the teaching profession, financial and accountability systems, and structures for school governance and administration.

It is the Commission's recommendations related to curriculum which are pertinent here. These recommendations form an interesting dichotomy between a looser, and yet more accountable, stance on curriculum and its partner, assessment. On the one hand the report, with its recommendations for 20 percent of time in Grades One to Ten to be devoted to locally developed programs, and an interdisciplinary approach to teaching and learning, advocated a loosening of the demands of mandated curriculum. On the other hand, a move toward greater control is evident in the Commission's recommendations for a Grade One to Ten Common Curriculum and the extension of Grade Twelve examinations to all subject areas. A proliferation of curriculum documents followed the publication of the Royal Commission Report. However, at the time of writing, the social studies curriculum remains that which was mandated in 1983 and 1985.

The Sullivan Commission does seem to have had a major impact on the approval of textbooks since the end of the Canada Studies era. As discussed earlier, the four changes which took place at the time of the implementation of the new social studies curriculum in 1983 and 1985 were single listings of approved texts; textbooks written specifically to meet the objectives of the British Columbia social studies curriculum; a more rigorous approval process, including the addition of a 'social considerations' analysis; and a regional perspective. A fifth change has occurred following this era. This is a softening of the hardline stance in terms of mandatory use of ministry approved texts. Hence, in the 1989-90 school year the curriculum itself became the only document to have prescribed status. Textbooks assumed the status of authorized or recommended.

The term "authorized" will be used for those resources purchased by, and distributed through, Publication Services' Credit Allocation Plan. To be designated as an authorized teaching or learning resource, the product or products will have been evaluated by the Ministry and found to be the minimum, but adequate, resource needed to implement the curriculum for the majority of the students for whom the curriculum is designed.

"Recommended" resources will have been evaluated by the Ministry but the decision on which to purchase lies with the district. These resources will be purchased directly from the publishers or distributors by districts.⁷³⁵

Social studies texts moved from being prescribed to being authorized at this time, with the exception of those few texts which were already authorized, which moved to recommended status.

This significant shift to a looser view of texts became even more evident in 1991, with the publication of the document, *Selection and Challenge of Learning Resources*. This document reiterates the categories of authorized and recommended, but also points out that resources not on the Ministry list may be chosen or developed at the local level, provided that there is a district selection policy in place.⁷³⁶ In the 1992-93 school year, in

⁷³⁵Ministry of Education, Publication Services, Resources Branch, *Catalogue of Learning Resources Grades K-12, 1989-90* (Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1989), iii.

⁷³⁶Ministry of Education, Learning Resources Branch, *Selection and Challenge of Learning Resources* (Victoria: Ministry of Education, 1991).

an apparent move to promote the use of multiple resources in the primary grades, all primary social studies texts assumed recommended status. In the 1995-96 school year all resources--elementary and secondary--became recommended. In addition, the majority of previously approved social studies textbooks were removed from the list. They were replaced by textbooks already in existence and not written specifically to meet the 1983 and 1985 curriculum objectives, as was the case with most of the previously approved texts. Another major change in this regard is the increase in numbers of approved texts and in the inclusion of other types of materials such as audio-visual resources and computer packages.

A new provincial social studies curriculum is projected to appear in 1997. It will be interesting to see if the newly approved texts remain on the list or are removed, to be replaced by texts written to more closely match the new curriculum objectives.

Rhetoric and Classroom Practice: Role of Textbooks During This Period

All evidence points to the fact that the textbook continued to dominate social studies instruction in British Columbia during the Canada Studies era. As a report to the British Columbia Human Rights Commission in 1980 stated: "Textbooks remain the basic unit of instruction; they are always found in the classroom and are used as the springboard to many learning activities."⁷³⁷

Several surveys of British Columbian students and teachers were carried out during and since this period to ascertain instructional strategies and resource use. A 1982 study analyzed one hundred sixty-six responses from students in Grades eight to twelve. This study determined that the textbook continued to be the major resource in social studies classrooms and that resources such as cartoons, artifacts, videotapes, historical documents, and novels were infrequently or never used.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁷Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice," 6.

⁷³⁸Bob Searle, Robert Rustad, and Ian Wright, "In the Name of Social Studies: Results From a Questionnaire," *Horizon* 20 (1982): 52-58.

In a 1991 examination of the state of social studies education in this province, carried out for the Ministry of Education, Cassidy and Bognar found that the instructional strategy of choice for teachers of Grade Ten social studies was use of the single authorized text. For Grades Four and Seven social studies teachers, use of a single authorized text was second only to full classroom discussion as the most commonly used teaching strategy.⁷³⁹

In a 1992 needs assessment of British Columbia social studies teachers, Case interpreted responses such as the following to mean that teachers often considered the text to be synonymous with the curriculum:

- Many grade 7 teachers are still using their textbook to drive their program. [0953]
- Ensure that teachers do not feel that they have to 'cover' everything in the book (content) to prepare their students for their next year. [1413]
- I'd like to concentrate on concepts rather than facts. I'd like to have more time (especially in Grade 10) to discuss the ramifications. The textbook Patterns of Civilization only seems to cram facts--I want my students too[sic] see the emotive, human reasons why these facts are important. [1563]
- I don't have enough time to cover even 10% of the textbook and other resources. [1728]⁷⁴⁰

One of the five key targets for improving social studies education in British Columbia, identified by this study, was "overcoming 'fact-driven' and 'textbook-driven' teaching."⁷⁴¹ I am reminded of a Vancouver School Inspector's lament about "too much text-book teaching" in 1923.⁷⁴² Evidently, little had changed.

These surveys make it clear that textbooks remained an important part of instruction in social studies programs in British Columbia during this period. The

⁷³⁹Wanda Cassidy and Carl J. Bognar, *More Than a Good Idea: Moving from Words to Action in Social Studies (1989 British Columbia Assessment of Social Studies Provincial Report)* (Victoria: Assessment, Examinations and Reporting Branch, Ministry of Education, 1991).

⁷⁴⁰R. Case, "Analysis of the Provincial Social Studies Needs Assessment-Intermediate Program." A Submission to the Curriculum Revision Committee for Social Studies, Ministry of Education, Province of British Columbia (1992), 17-18.

⁷⁴¹Ibid, 24.

⁷⁴²H.H. MacKenzie, "Elementary Schools--Inspectorate No. 5," *53rd Annual Report of the Public Schools of British Columbia, 1923-24* (Victoria: King's Printer, 1924), F 29.

profusion of analyses of textbooks by Ministries of Education, Human Rights Commissions, and interest groups during the 1970s and 80s makes another point clear. Textbooks are considered to exercise a powerful influence on the students who read them.

CHAPTER VII

CANADA STUDIES ERA, 1970-1989: CANADIAN IDENTITY THEMES

Texts Examined

The 1970 to 1989 period encompasses the development of new social studies curricula in British Columbia, an elementary in 1983 and a secondary in 1985, and the approval by the Ministry of Education of textbooks to support the new curricula. By 1989 the new textbooks had been granted 'prescribed' status and all previously approved texts had been removed from the provincial list. Twenty-two texts were prescribed for the elementary grades and ten for the secondary grades over this period.⁷⁴³ I examined all of these texts, a total of thirty-two.

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender

There is a marked change from the previous era in the depiction of gender roles and in the prominence of women, particularly in the elementary texts of this period. A comparison between the prescribed resources for Grade One in the Chant era with those in the Canada Studies era makes this clear. In the Chant era picture set, *How Families Live*, prescribed for Grade One from 1971 to 1984, Canadian women are shown engaging in child care, food preparation, shopping, work related to clothing, and moving. In the six text booklets in the *Explorations* series, prescribed for Grade One in 1983, women are depicted in a wide range of activities, including child care, food preparation, and other household tasks, but also changing a tire, talking on the telephone in an office setting, using blueprints at a construction site, and hammering nails into a floor. It is not only women's roles which have expanded. Men, too, are shown in a greater variety of activities in the

⁷⁴³In addition to these texts, which were intended to deal with the prescribed content of the curriculum guides, an atlas and a map book of Canada were prescribed for elementary and an atlas for secondary grades.

newer texts. In *How Families Live*, men are shown engaged in child care (six pictures on their own compared to twenty-one of women), meal preparation (2) shopping (1), driving a wagon (1), building a home (3), and repairing a bike (1). In the Canada Studies era *Explorations* texts men are shown caring for children, as well as engaging in household tasks such as vacuuming, preparing meals, loading a dishwasher, doing carpentry work and outside home maintenance, and grocery shopping. Males are shown in the occupational roles of medical doctor, fast-food establishment employee, newspaper carrier, office worker, sawmill employee, car mechanic, woodcarver, and printer.

The *Explorations* texts, published in 1983, reflect the changing demographics of the Canadian workplace. In 1970, 32.2 percent of women participated in the labour force, while in 1983 41.7 percent participated. The Grade Three text, *Exploring Our Country*, shows women in a variety of occupational roles such as medical doctor, miner, firefighter, farmer, fisher, television camera operator, artist, and member of a municipal works crew.

Women are far from invisible even in the elementary Canadian history texts of the Canada Studies era. *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, one of three prescribed Grade Three texts, features three communities; Victoria, Barkerville, and Grand Forks. In each case, the story of the community is told through the story of an actual or fictional family. The Grand Forks story is based on real historical figures. The focus is on Mrs. Temple, a woman who brought her young niece to Grand Forks to farm. She made several innovations which were adopted by other farmers in the area. These were winter eggs, honey production, and the packing of strawberries in small boxes prior to putting them into the large crates.

One day, Mrs. Temple got tired of working in a long skirt. It always got wet and sandy. So she bought a pair of overalls.

"Aunt Alice!" Dorothy was shocked. "You're wearing men's clothes!"

"Don't be silly, Dorothy," said Aunt Alice. "I'm wearing work clothes."

A man was walking across a field toward them. Dorothy ran to get an apron and held it around her aunt. She didn't want anyone to see her aunt in overalls. But Mrs. Temple didn't care. She had a mind of her own.

She did new things, and other people saw they were good ideas. Soon other farmers were packing strawberries, raising bees and getting winter eggs.⁷⁴⁴

The toil put in by pioneer women is acknowledged. In the Grade Five text, *Canada: Building Our Nation*, the work of Ukrainian immigrant women is described through the voice of a young girl who tells about the activities of her mother, herself, and a younger sister while her father was away from the homestead working for cash:

After the wheat was planted, we began to clear more land. Mother chopped willow bushes and poplar trees. Domka and I helped by grabbing hold of the tops of willow bushes and pulling on them while Mother chopped around the roots with a pickaxe. Next we dug the ground with spades. I was only strong enough to push the spade halfway into the ground but that did not excuse me from digging. . . . Domka and I worked hard all summer to help Mother clear more land to make a larger field. We also gathered hay that grew around sloughs on our homestead. Mother cut the hay with a scythe. Then we tied it in bundles and carried it home on our backs. We built a haystack near the barn so we could feed our animals during the winter. . . . Mother built a clay oven outside our house for summer baking.⁷⁴⁵

The presence of white women at the Cariboo gold rush is made evident. *Canada: Building Our Nation* tells about a woman who started up a pie business, selling her pies from a tent; a washerwoman; a woman who accompanied her husband to work a mining claim; and a woman who planned to build her own hotel. In addition, we are told about a woman who was travelling alone to the gold fields:

Our new friend had started out with a **pack train** but grew tired of waiting for the others. She was trudging along, tugging her mule, which she said was very lazy. She walked a little way with us and then went on ahead. She said we were too slow. [boldface in original]⁷⁴⁶

⁷⁴⁴Crawford Kilian, *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 85.

⁷⁴⁵Daniel C.G. Conner, *Canada: Building Our Nation*, Identity Social Studies Series, ed. Doreen Bethune-Johnson and Daniel C.G. Conner (Scarborough, Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1985), 317-325.

⁷⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 117.

Texts acknowledge the presence of women on the journeys of the European explorers. In fact, in *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, the journey of Anthony Henday is described from the perspective of Grey Goose Woman, an imaginary name given by the author to a Native women who accompanied him.⁷⁴⁷

The group of Crees who went with Henday included several women. Cree women always went on the journeys. They did the cooking and prepared the animal skins. The most important job a woman had was making clothes and moccasins. Without warm clothes, people could easily die in the long cold winters.⁷⁴⁸

The fact that Native women had a life of hard toil is acknowledged in these texts:

For winter the Crees and Henday needed warm clothing, snowshoes and toboggans. The Cree women made the clothes. This was something they did all year round. Preparing animal skins for clothing was hard work. It took up much of every Cree woman's time.⁷⁴⁹

This remark provides quite a contrast to that of Burt in *Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, who referred to the tasks of Native women as "very light."⁷⁵⁰

Gender-related issues are discussed in the elementary texts. A student question in the Grade Three text, *Exploring British Columbia's Past* says, "Women did not work as fur traders. Why? What work did the women do? Why was this work important?"⁷⁵¹ *Exploring Our Country*, another Grade Three text, also looks at the notion of gender roles: "The farmers that Gumbo knew were men. Does that mean that women cannot become farmers? Do you think a women could drive a tractor? Could a man do the cooking and washing for a farm family? Do you think that there are men's jobs and women's jobs?"⁷⁵²

⁷⁴⁷Interestingly enough, this is not the first text to acknowledge the presence of females on the journeys of the European explorers. Burt, in *Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, published in 1931, discusses the presence of Native women on one of Samuel Hearne's trips.

⁷⁴⁸Ernest Langford, *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1984), 64.

⁷⁴⁹Ibid., 76.

⁷⁵⁰Burt, *Romance of the Prairie Provinces*, 18.

⁷⁵¹Kilian, *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, 31.

⁷⁵²Daniel Wood, *Exploring Our Country*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 43.

The Grade Six text, *Exploring Our World*, asks students to consider two points of view on the importance of education for girls in Peru. A twelve year old girl presents the case for an education and her father presents points against it. Two twelve year old French girls in the same text take different positions on the question of staying home to care for children versus staying in the work force. The text says, "Although 40 per cent of France's workers are women, many women still wonder whether they should work outside the home. Some think they should, both for the money and for the satisfaction. Others would rather work at home, looking after their families."⁷⁵³

I would like to say that women have finally come out of the shadows and into the textbooks. However, such a statement would be only partially true. While the elementary textbooks abound with examples of women pursuing traditional as well as nontraditional careers, offering opinions on social issues, and engaging in interesting and challenging recreational activities, such is not the case in the secondary texts. The secondary texts are strangely devoid of women and of discussion of gender-related issues.

Particularly poor in terms of including women are secondary texts which are about the history of various civilizations. Two examples will suffice. In *Thinking About Our Heritage*, prescribed for Grade Nine, there are three references to women (two queens and a saint) in the Index and eighty-one references to men. In *Patterns of Civilization*, Volume Two, also prescribed for Grade Nine, there are 204 references to males in the Index and fourteen to females. Of sixty-nine illustrations depicting people in this text, fifteen include females and fifty-six include males.

Publication date is not always an indication of the proportion of a text which will be devoted to women. The Grade Nine text, *Exploration Canada*, published in 1979, shows a considered effort to elucidate women's activities in Canada's history prior to 1812, the period covered in the text. "Women" is one of thirteen icons used throughout the text.

⁷⁵³Rosemary Neering, Saeko Usukawa, and Wilma Wood, *Exploring Our World: Other People, Other Lands*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1986), 346.

This icon appears ten times, sometimes to alert the reader to several pages of text concerned with women or a particular woman. The role of women in Iroquois government is described and the tasks and responsibilities of pioneer women are made clear. There are twelve references to women in the Index, twenty-five illustrations which include women, and an entire chapter is devoted to Women in New France. On the other hand, the Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West*, published in 1987, is surprisingly limited in its portrayal of women, given its relatively recent publication date. This text has only three references to women in its Index (Susanna Moodie, Queen Victoria, and women in the labour force). Only six illustrations feature women or include them as an important part of a scene with men. A case study entitled "An Apple Orchard in the Okanagan" describes the experience of a fictitious woman who bought an apple orchard, focusing on her financial decisions. This is slight representation, for a text 432 pages in length.

Of particular relevance to the prescribed elementary textbooks is a point made in 1987 by then *Globe & Mail* columnist, June Callwood, about the limited roles played by females in textbooks. Callwood quoted a former textbook editor as saying, "Every jet pilot has to be female . . . and I don't think you can find a book any more in which a little girl cries. They've all got to be tough as nails."⁷⁵⁴ This point is epitomized in the person of Morgan, the androgynous figure who takes the reader from community to community in the Grade Three text, *Exploring Our Country*. Morgan wears various t-shirts and a pair of ubiquitous blue overalls. The activities she enjoys are limited to those which society would deem acceptable for either a boy or a girl: "She liked making angels in the snow and eating birthday cakes. She liked collecting bugs and climbing trees. She hated being tickled."⁷⁵⁵ No playing with dolls for Morgan! In fact there is not a picture of a little girl playing 'house' or dolls to be found in any of the texts. Girls are shown playing street hockey, riding a horse, riding a tractor, going fishing, and riding a bike. They are not shown in

⁷⁵⁴"Sanitized Textbooks Reflect a Pious Parade That Never Was," *Globe & Mail*, 18 March 1987, P. A2.

⁷⁵⁵Wood, *Exploring Our Country*, 6.

activities in which boys do not usually engage as well. How sad that it is apparently no longer acceptable to depict such activities. I find it interesting to note how one generation's taboos are replaced by the next generation's set. While it is now acceptable to portray children in a single-parent family, it is no longer acceptable to portray little girls dressing up in their mother's discarded clothing or playing with their dolls. It is to be hoped that, in future texts, a contemporary Tanina from *Exploring Mount Currie* or Lara from *Exploring Prince George* will be allowed to drag out their tea sets or put their dolls to bed. Perhaps it will soon be acceptable to portray girls in a greater variety of roles, including those in which they have traditionally (and are still) engaged.

Unfortunate, too, is the tendency to feature women who are 'larger-than-life'. Mrs. Temple, in *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, epitomizes this approach. She is certainly not a typical female pioneer. Nor is the woman in *Canada: Building Our Nation* who found the pace of the male travellers who were going to the Cariboo gold rush too slow, exactly the norm. The same point can be made regarding the female occupations featured in the Grade Three text, *Exploring Our Country*. Female miners, firefighters, and commercial fishers are unusual. It is more important that the contributions of 'ordinary' women be recognized for what they are than that the texts present unlikely, and perhaps even unappealing, models for students to emulate.

Should texts present students with the reality of the world as it actually is or an idealized version? This is the question confronted by textbook authors and publishers. The Federation of Women Teachers of Ontario takes the position that texts should indeed portray an ideal world which is non-sexist. "Children must meet females and males in equal numbers who are intelligent, independent and competent;" males "should be shown receiving help, friendship and advice from females and as often as females receive these from males;" "human failures should be portrayed as learning or growth experiences and

not as events which stigmatize individuals for life."⁷⁵⁶ The rationale for this position is quite clear. Proponents believe that texts should provide positive role models and goals for students to work towards. Gaskell, McLaren, and Novogrodsky, in *Claiming an Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools*, point to two problems with this view. First, any portrayal of a traditional woman, or of a woman participating in traditional activities becomes a stereotype, and therefore problematic. The reality is, of course, that women still do the majority of the child care and the housework, whether they also work outside the home or not. The second problem relates to the concept of "positive growth experiences." This concept would make it difficult for texts to discuss such less than positive phenomena as the holocaust, slavery, or racism. They conclude that they do not want texts to "create a world of androgynous superpeople" nor to "exclude material that shows women in traditional roles."⁷⁵⁷

Race/Ethnicity

The major change in Canada during this era was undoubtedly the move from a predominantly bicultural to a multicultural nation, with the attendant reduction of the British and French 'presence'. In recognizing this fundamental change, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau noted that "national unity, if it is to mean anything in the deeply personal sense, must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity."⁷⁵⁸ The concept of multiple facets of identity, as J. Donald Wilson reminds us, forms the basis of multicultural policy in Canada. Wilson makes the point that "national identity is something invented, constructed, contested, and constantly changing,"⁷⁵⁹ and that Canada's

⁷⁵⁶Elaine Batchelor, Alison Winter, and Vicki Wright, *The More Things Change . . . The More They Stay the Same* (Toronto: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1988), quoted in Jane Gaskell, Arlene McLaren, and Myra Novogrodsky, *Claiming An Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation & Garamond Press, 1989), 37.

⁷⁵⁷Gaskell, McLaren, and Novogrodsky, *Claiming An Education: Feminism and Canadian Schools*, 38.

⁷⁵⁸The Right Hon. P.E. Trudeau, *House of Commons Debates*, October 8, 1971, 8545.

⁷⁵⁹Wilson, "Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy in Canada: The Last Twenty-five Years," 6.

multicultural policy is its latest manifestation. This policy recognizes that both Canada as a nation and the individual citizens within that nation can have many identities simultaneously.

I will address the question--do the texts reflect this changing cultural reality and the concept of multiple identities? I will also look specifically at the treatment of Oriental and Native people in the texts, as I have in the other eras.

It should be noted that there were very few texts to consult with regard to the question of how the texts reflect Canada's changing cultural reality. Because contemporary Canada is not a major focus of the curriculum, not many texts examine this topic. Therefore, texts of interest were those prescribed for the primary grades, and brief parts of texts prescribed for Grades Five, Ten, and Eleven.

The short answer to the question asked is 'yes', in a somewhat limited way. Certainly, Canada's multicultural reality is recognized in the texts. The primary texts, which depict families, neighbourhoods, and communities in Canada, show faces of different colours, people in ethnic clothing, and people participating in ethnic activities. In fact, Carol Langford, co-editor of the elementary *Explorations* Series, prescribed from Grade One to Grade Six, indicated in an interview that census information was used to determine that illustrations conveyed an accurate mix of people.⁷⁶⁰ It is clear that the developers of this series were very aware of Canada's multicultural reality and wished to convey this reality to young students. The Grade Three text in this series, *Exploring Our Country*, presents six Canadian communities, around the theme of links among communities. The text makes a point of portraying the sharing of different cultures as a link among Canadians. An Inuit artist in Cape Dorset is used to make the point that Inuit art is a link; tourism to Quebec City is another. The cultural contributions of Finnish immigrants to the community of Sault Ste. Marie are also discussed.

⁷⁶⁰Carol Langford, President, Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., interview by author, 19 April 1995, Kamloops, BC.

Wilson makes the further point that "multiculturalism is a set of universal social values based on an ideal of equality and mutual respect among ethno-cultural groups."⁷⁶¹ The topic of a Grade One text, *Families Are Special*, is the maintenance and celebration of ethnic customs and traditions. The many photographs show families engaged in religious ceremonies, wearing traditional ethnic clothing, and engaged in cultural celebrations such as the Quebec Winter Carnival, Chinese New Year, a Native powwow, and Greek Day. The purpose of the text, according to the Teacher Book, is to "promote awareness of the diverse family interests and traditions in Canada and to encourage respect for this diversity."⁷⁶² Certainly, this is an implicit purpose of other texts in the *Explorations* series as well.

This respect for diversity is evident again in the Grade Five Exploration text. In the earlier eras discussed, it was pointed out that immigrants were viewed from a 'contribution' perspective. This view of contributions focused on songs, dances, food, clothing and other rather limited elements of culture. This, too, has changed in these texts, which offer a somewhat more complex consideration of contributions made by immigrants. The Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada*, has a chapter entitled "How Have Immigrants Contributed to Canada?" Section headings within the chapter are "Immigrants help Settle Canada," "Immigrants Help Populate Canada," "Immigrants Bring Their Customs to Canada," "Immigrants Bring Their Skills to Canada," "Contributions of Individual Immigrants." The section about skills deals with immigrants in industries such as fishing, forestry, mining, in farming; in businesses; in trades; and in the professions.⁷⁶³ The chapter concludes with a discussion of a film a class has watched:

"Millions of immigrants helped Canada grow. And they contributed their labour and skills, too. They have worked at everything from logging our forests to teaching in our universities."

⁷⁶¹Wilson, "Multiculturalism and Immigration Policy in Canada: the Last Twenty-five Years," 11.

⁷⁶²Muriel Carriere, Mary James, and Shirley Koleszar, *Explorations Teacher Book, Grade 1* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 105.

⁷⁶³Vivian Bowers and Diane Swanson, *Exploring Canada: Learning From the Past, Looking to the Future*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1985), 335-353.

"The film showed that thousands of Chinese immigrants helped to build the railway," said Paul. "I've seen pictures of the last spike being hammered into the railway. But there were no Chinese people in them."

"You're right," said the teacher. "Many immigrants weren't given credit for the contributions they made to Canada. That's one reason many Canadians, like you, don't know how much immigrants have done for this country--or how much they are doing today."⁷⁶⁴

The Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West*, devotes one and one-half, of 432, pages to the topic of recent immigration to British Columbia. This discussion is in the context of links between Canada and the Pacific Rim region. For the most part, this discussion merely provides statistics regarding numbers of immigrants from various groups. There is a highlighted section which discusses the effects of immigration on Vancouver's school system. This section, which points out ways in which the school system is working to accommodate the influx of students whose first language is not English, is reminiscent of the 'problems' approach of earlier texts. Only one paragraph is devoted to a discussion of effects of immigration more generally:

These immigrants have brought their languages and customs with them, allowing other Canadians to become more familiar with other cultures. They have also helped stimulate tourism and business contacts between Canada and other Pacific Rim countries. Canada has not always treated its immigrants well, and even today there is prejudice directed towards some ethnic groups. Generally, however, Canada is respected in the eyes of people in Pacific Rim countries for its generosity in opening doors to immigrants.⁷⁶⁵

As a reader, one longs for more information beyond these cold, bare facts.

Desmond Morton, in the Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, provides a thoughtful, if brief, discussion of Canada's multiculturalism. Morton is the only author to discuss the notion of multi-faceted identity. Morton explores what it means to be a Canadian in a multicultural society, deciding that "each Canadian [must] decide, from a range of choices." He brings forth Maurice

⁷⁶⁴Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 352.

⁷⁶⁵Vivien Bowers and Stan Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West* (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Co., 1987), 308.

Careless' concept of "limited identities," describing Canadians as "people who could identify with an ethnic heritage, a region, a province, and a community, with economic interests, and with ideas and a religious faith, and still be good Canadians." Morton discusses Trudeau's concept of "the value of both individualism and multiculturalism, and the need for an interplay between the two."⁷⁶⁶ Unfortunately, like the section in *Our Land: Building the West*, Morton's discussion suffers from the usual limitations of the textbook format. There is simply not enough space in a conventional textbook to explore and discuss ideas in much depth.

In summary, texts depicting contemporary Canadian society do not ignore its multicultural nature. However, indepth discussion of what it means to be a Canadian within this unique multicultural reality is negligible.

I will turn now to a discussion of the treatment of Oriental people historically in the texts. I have made two points regarding the treatment of Oriental people in the texts of the Putman-Weir and Chant eras. First, their presence was, for the most part, ignored. Second, when acknowledged, they were treated as a problem to be overcome. This has changed in Canada Studies era texts. Authors of both elementary and secondary texts make every effort to acknowledge the historical presence and contributions of Orientals in Canada. The Grade Five text, *Canada: Building Our Nation*, makes use of simulated journal entries to convey a sense of the experience of Chinese railway workers. The Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West*, also devotes space to discussion of Chinese workers in the construction of the C.P.R.:

Many Chinese railway workers were killed in dynamite explosions, rockfalls, and other accidents. Their deaths were not counted in official CPR records of workers who died on the job. They also died of scurvy and other illnesses largely because their diet consisted mainly of rice and stale ground salmon. Ill-fed and ill-dressed, the Chinese workers suffered greatly during the harsh winters in the

⁷⁶⁶Desmond Morton, *Towards Tomorrow, Canada in a Changing World, History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1988), 220, 220, 219.

western mountains, yet their labor contributed enormously to the completion of the British Columbia section of the railway.

This text mentions Chinese workers in British Columbia mines and canneries. The presence of Japanese in the commercial fishery until World War Two is also noted.⁷⁶⁷

British Columbia social studies textbooks of the Chant era were criticized for their lack of discussion of "historical events which would discredit or diminish the image of the dominant nation."⁷⁶⁸ One of the events mentioned was the wartime internment of Japanese Canadians. Texts in the Canada Studies era seem to make a point of at least including such events, although discussion is limited. The secondary texts, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History* and *Our Land: Building the West* both mention the wartime internment of the Japanese. Of the two, *Towards Tomorrow* gives the more complete description of events. *Our Land: Building the West* presents internment in the context of a discussion of Japanese involvement in the commercial fishery, introducing it as "the biggest setback for Japanese-Canadian fishermen."⁷⁶⁹ It is unfortunate that this limited description does not give students any inkling of the broader issues surrounding this event in Canadian history. The same can be said for a two-page spread in the Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada*, which also suffers from superficial treatment of its topic. This text discusses the "head tax" which Chinese immigrants had to pay to enter Canada, the *Komagata Maru* incident involving would-be immigrants from India, and the internment of Japanese Canadians during World War Two, all on one page of text (a second page being devoted to visuals). These are summed up as "examples of **discrimination** against people from Asia. Asians were discriminated against because of their **race**. Discrimination against people because of their race is called **racism** [boldface in original]."⁷⁷⁰ It is impossible to convey the complexities of these events in such a limited space. The reader is told that "the Canadian government made Japanese Canadians move

⁷⁶⁷Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 201, 346, 364, .

⁷⁶⁸Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks," 19.

⁷⁶⁹Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 364.

⁷⁷⁰Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 306.

away from the west coast,"⁷⁷¹ without being informed of the persistence of ordinary British Columbians through letters, petitions, and public rallies, in finally forcing the federal government to take that position. The reader is not told about the bombing of Pearl Harbour and fears for personal safety during the horrors of wartime. It seems unfair to mention an event such as this when there is not sufficient space to explore it in more depth or to at least give some indication of its complexity and refer students to other resources.

The reason for the inclusion of Oriental immigrants in texts of this era is not only because of changing attitudes, but because of the fact that many of the currently approved texts were written primarily for a British Columbia school audience. British Columbia is the province which has absorbed the majority of Oriental immigrants to Canada. Earlier texts, even though Canadian in origin, were usually written primarily for the lucrative Ontario market.

There has been a marked change over the years in terms of the way Canada's Native peoples are presented in the texts. There is a transition from the often extremely negative depiction found in Putman-Weir texts through the much less negative depiction found in the Chant era texts, to what is a respectful tone in present-day texts.

The assistance of Native people to European explorers is acknowledged in Canada Studies era texts:

Hearne could not have survived on his journey without the help of the Indians. Matonabee knew the way to the Arctic coast. He and the other Chipewyans knew how to make canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers on the way. They knew how to hunt caribou and buffalo for their food. The Chipewyans made Hearne warm clothes for the winter and cooked his food. Without the Chipewyan men and women, Hearne would have starved or frozen to death.⁷⁷²

Unlike in previous texts, intermarriage between white fur traders and Native women is acknowledged. The Grade Five text, *Canada: Building Our Nation* tells us that, "James Yale and other workers at Fort Langley who had married Kwantlen women were

⁷⁷¹Ibid.

⁷⁷²Langford, *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, 112.

sometimes invited to celebrations in the Kwantlen village." The reader is also told that "some Hudson's Bay Company workers renewed their contracts because they had married local women and wanted to stay in New Caledonia with their families."⁷⁷³ In the Grade Three text, *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, the family around which the story of Fort Victoria is told, has a mixed marriage. The wife and mother is a Native woman and her husband is a fur trader. The Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West* tells the reader:

By the early 1850s, there were schools and churches in the colony, formal dances and polite social evenings. At the same time that these elements of British society were being introduced to the colony, many prominent British Columbia families were being founded as young English gentlemen married the daughters of the fur traders and their Métis or Indian wives.⁷⁷⁴

It was pointed out earlier that texts in the previous eras avoided the subject of the parentage of Sir James Douglas. *Our Land: Building the West* bluntly refers to Douglas in the following way "the child of a West Indian mother and a Scottish merchant father, Douglas was described by his contemporaries as a mulatto, the Caribbean equivalent of Metis."⁷⁷⁵

While Canada Studies era texts are more positive than Chant era texts, they are not always as realistic. I will discuss this point in terms of the ways the texts deal with the effects of early contact with Europeans on Native peoples and in terms of the way the texts present Native peoples today. With regard to the effects of early European/Native contact, elementary Chant era texts pointed out the disruptions caused by the introduction of new technology, as well as the diseases which accompanied it. While *Seafaring Warriors of the West*, a Grade Four text in the Chant era, referred to "the frenzy and the horrors of the nineteenth century,"⁷⁷⁶ the Canada Studies era Grade Four text, *The Haida and the Inuit: People of the Seasons*, acknowledges change but does not indicate its painful nature:

Now, as the photographs in this book show, there have been many changes in the lives of the Haida and the Inuit. Today, most Haida

⁷⁷³Conner, *Canada: Building Our Nation*., 7.

⁷⁷⁴Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 165.

⁷⁷⁵Ibid., 161.

⁷⁷⁶Symington, *Seafaring Warriors of the West*, 23.

and Inuit people live in ways like other Canadians. Yet the old ways are not forgotten. Some still follow them and teach them to others.⁷⁷⁷

Secondary texts in the Canada Studies era are more realistic than the elementary. The Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West* describes problems caused by white settlement of the west:

Problems of disease were compounded by the destruction of the buffalo herds, the major food source for the Métis and Native peoples. Starvation and malnutrition further reduced the Indian population of this region. Attempts to make farmers of Native people placed on reserves, usually located on the poorest soils, were largely unsuccessful.⁷⁷⁸

Regarding contemporary Canadian aboriginal peoples, again texts in the Chant era presented a much more realistic picture. The Canada Studies era Grade Three text, *Exploring Our Country*, includes a chapter on the Arctic community of Cape Dorset. The focus is on a visit to an Inuit artist named Kenojuak. Students read about the physical setting of the community, making Inuit prints, and living on the land during the summer months. The only reference to any of the problems involved in living in such a northern community is in a two-page spread called "Helping People in a Small Community" in which the difficulties in meeting medical and educational needs are discussed. Two Canada Studies era prescribed Grade Four texts focus on Native peoples of the past; but they both include a look at contemporary Native peoples as well. *The Haida and the Inuit: People of the Seasons*, begins each section with a photo essay showing contemporary people. Haida activities depicted in the photographs include an artist making prints, children attending school, making and raising a totem pole, commercial fishing, and children practising Haida songs and dances taught by their elders.⁷⁷⁹ Inuit are shown hunting seals, attending school, riding a motorcycle, camping in the summer months, fishing, carving, making a caribou-hide parka, killing a caribou, shopping, and trying to

⁷⁷⁷Heather Smith Siska, *The Haida and the Inuit: People of the Seasons*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1984), 164.

⁷⁷⁸Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 155.

⁷⁷⁹Siska, *The Haida and the Inuit*, 14-21.

start a fire in the old way.⁷⁸⁰ *Native People and Explorers of Canada* places even more emphasis on contemporary Native peoples than does *The Haida and the Inuit*. The contemporary sections of this text are fascinating because they weave a narrative about a particular family in each case (an Inuit family living in Coppermine, Northwest Territories and a Squamish Band family on the Capilano Reserve on the Burrard Inlet). The text provides a wealth of detail about contemporary family and community relationships, occupations, traditions and customs, and celebrations. The information about the past is set in the context of present-day. For instance, in the Inuit case, the description of the past is about the lifestyle of the contemporary child's great-grandmother, when she was young. There is no hint in these texts of the poverty and self-destructive behaviour sometimes found on reserves and in Inuit communities.

In contrast to this, as pointed out earlier, Chant era texts focused too much on the problems experienced by contemporary northern communities, to the point where such communities were defined by their problems. The Grade Three texts, *Then and Now in Frobisher Bay* and *Arctic Settlement: Pangnirtung*, focused on the difficulties northern communities have in being self-supporting and their consequent dependence on government assistance. *Then and Now in Frobisher Bay* even included a quote from an author, calling Frobisher Bay "a rather sorry mess."⁷⁸¹ Secondary texts in the Chant era discussed poverty among contemporary Native peoples, problems of adaptation to changing circumstances, and the role of Canadian government programs in an effort to attain self-sufficiency. For instance, *A Regional Geography of North America*, prescribed for Grade Ten, shows a photograph of a dismal looking clapboard house with a lean-to attached and a line of washing hanging out to the side. Students are told that it is a Native home. They are asked:

⁷⁸⁰Ibid., 86-93.

⁷⁸¹Martin, *Then and Now in Frobisher Bay*, 47.

What indications of rural poverty can be inferred from a study of this photograph? What is the likely educational and income level of the family that lives here? What sources of income are they likely to have? How might the "cycle of poverty" of such a family be broken, in your opinion?⁷⁸²

Another Chant era text prescribed for Grade Ten, *Canada: A New Geography*, also devotes space to a discussion of the problems of adaptation experienced by contemporary Indians and Eskimoes in Canadian society.

In contrast, *Our Land: Building the West*, the Canada Studies era prescribed Grade Ten text, hardly deals with this topic. A brief highlighted section entitled "Native People in the Fishing Industry," which discusses loss of Native jobs in the B.C. fishing industry due to the cost of commercial boats and the closing of canneries,⁷⁸³ is the extent to which this text deals with discussion of such concerns. The Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, on the other hand, devotes six pages to discussion of issues of concern to contemporary Canadian Native people.

Disabled People

Inclusion of mentally and physically disabled people in textbooks is a phenomenon unique to this period and found only in the approved elementary texts published by Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd. Disabled people are included in the prescribed elementary texts in both implicit and explicit ways. A teacher has a cane; two of the individuals who work in an imaginary space community are in wheelchairs;⁷⁸⁴ a young woman is shown standing at a sink washing dishes with her metal crutches leaning against the counter beside her;⁷⁸⁵ and a child in a wheelchair is surrounded by friends.⁷⁸⁶ The implicit message here seems to be that individuals who happen to have physical disabilities

⁷⁸²Tomkins, Hills, and Weir, *A Regional Geography of North America*, 398.

⁷⁸³Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 365.

⁷⁸⁴Hugh Gordon, *Exploring a Space Community*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 100, 37, 77.

⁷⁸⁵Katherine Sauder, *Families Share*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 2.

⁷⁸⁶Wood, *Exploring Our Country*, 58.

can be functioning members of society. They do not need to be defined by their disabilities. In terms of explicit inclusion, the primary text, *Exploring Your School and Neighbourhood*, devotes two pages to six photographs showing disabled people experiencing problems of access because they are confined to wheelchairs. The caption asks, "How could a neighbourhood help these people?"⁷⁸⁷

The most innovative depiction of a disabled person is found in the Grade Two text, *Exploring Prince George*.⁷⁸⁸ Each of the four community texts authorized for Grade Two is focused around the activities of a Grade Two child living in the community under study. This text is about Lara, a Grade Two child who appears to have Down's Syndrome. The text itself does not mention this. The Teacher Book states, "In the past, children with disabilities like Lara's did not attend regular school. Today, Lara's success at school shows how children who have difficulty learning can be fully integrated and work effectively in regular classrooms."⁷⁸⁹ Lara is shown engaging in a variety of activities, including participating in a group art project in her classroom, working in a backyard vegetable garden, doing gymnastics, playing dress-up with friends, riding a bike, and playing miniature golf. The implicit message to the student reader is--this child has a disability. Yet, this disability is only part of the person that she is. She has a family as you do. She attends school and enjoys many of the same recreational activities as you, and likes to enjoy them with other people.

The omission of disabled people in earlier textbooks was a reflection of the social circumstances in which the texts were written. Prior to the 1980s mentally and physically disabled people tended to be 'invisible'. Disabled children lived at home and did not attend school, attended 'special' schools or 'special' classes in public schools, or were

⁷⁸⁷Hugh Gordon, *Exploring Your School and Neighbourhood*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 26-27.

⁷⁸⁸Joan Collins, *Exploring Prince George*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983).

⁷⁸⁹Muriel Carriere, Mary James, Shirley Koleszar, Linda Muttitt, and Lorna Williams, *Explorations Teacher Book Grade 2*, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd, 1983), 171.

institutionalized as permanent or semipermanent residents. Disabled adults tended to be either institutionalized or living at home with elderly parents or other caregivers. Their involvement in the community was minimal. The first Canadian census to ask for specific information about disabled Canadians was not until 1986. The lack of interest in them on the part of Canadian government information gathering agencies is evidence in itself for the 'invisible' state of disabled Canadians in earlier years.

Mainstreaming of disabled children in the public school system is a phenomenon of the eighties in the schools of British Columbia, as well as elsewhere in Canada. Disabled adults, too, have become a more visible part of Canadian society. In 1984, 42 percent of disabled Canadians were employed. This is a reasonably high percentage when one considers that only 67 percent of the non-disabled population was employed in the same year.⁷⁹⁰ Disabled adults in the 1980s and 1990s usually live in private homes with their families or in small group homes in the community, rather than in large institutions.⁷⁹¹ Evidence for this phenomenon is found in a 1991 article in *The Vancouver Sun*. This article pointed out that the population of all the institutions in British Columbia which have housed mentally disabled people has dropped drastically. "Tranquille, once home for 325 patients, is on the auction block. Riverview has reduced its beds to about eight hundred today from 5 500 in 1955. Woodlands and Glendale have reduced patients and staff."⁷⁹² The Douglas & McIntyre texts reflect these changing realities.

Canada's Seniors

The depiction of senior citizens has changed in the textbooks of the Canada Studies era.⁷⁹³ Seniors are, for the most part, absent from texts developed in the earlier eras

⁷⁹⁰Statistics Canada, *Canadian Social Trends* (Ottawa: Canadian Government Publishing Centre, 1988), 30.

⁷⁹¹Statistics Canada reports that 92.6 percent of disabled Canadians lived in households in 1986. Statistics Canada, *Focus on Canada: A Profile of the Disabled in Canada, 1990*. Cata. 98-126 (Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services, 1990), Table 2, 16.

⁷⁹²D. Hanna, "Into the Fire: Mental Illness Hits Home," *The Vancouver Sun*, 12 October, 1991, pp. B1, B8.

⁷⁹³For the purpose of this discussion, the term "senior" will be applied to individuals who appear to be over sixty-five years of age, which is the mandatory retirement age in Canada.

examined. The only place they are to be found is in a few of the Chant era primary picture sets which depict families. When seniors have found their way onto textbook pages in the past they have been depicted in one of two ways--as dependent on younger adults or as a loving companion to young grandchildren. For instance, in "How Families Live," one of the primary *One World* picture sets of the Chant era, an elderly Inuit woman is shown being assisted to walk by her adult grandson. The Teacher's Guide asks the question, "Why does the lady need help? Why is her grandson holding her arm? Why does she have a stick?" "Who might help her if her grandson wasn't close by?"⁷⁹⁴ This is elderly as weak, disabled, and helpless. Other pictures in this set show a grandmother rolling pastry with a little granddaughter and another grandmother watching television with her two young grandchildren.⁷⁹⁵

There is no doubt that textbooks in the Canada Studies era continue to focus on the activities of the middle-aged and younger members of society. However, seniors appear more frequently and there is a slightly broader representation of the range of their activities. There are many examples of seniors teaching children. For instance, Tanina, the little girl in *Exploring Mount Currie*, enjoys the companionship of her two grandmothers. One teaches her Lil'wat dances, while the other takes her out to dig cedar roots.⁷⁹⁶ In *Exploring Our Country* we see an elderly woman in a wheelchair being assisted by a volunteer, a stereotypical representation of the elderly as weak and dependent on others.⁷⁹⁷ However, in the same text we meet Mrs. Parker⁷⁹⁸ and W.O. Mitchell,⁷⁹⁹ both of whom convey the point that the elderly contribute to society. Mrs. Parker is celebrating her one hundred and twelfth birthday in Burgeo, Newfoundland, where she has lived all her life. She is being

⁷⁹⁴Edward E. Owen, *Year 1, How Families Live: Teacher's Manual* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside Ltd., 1972), 89.

⁷⁹⁵Owen, *Year 1, How Families Live: Teacher's Manual*, 60, 81.

⁷⁹⁶Lorna Williams, *Exploring Mount Currie*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 4.

⁷⁹⁷Wood, *Exploring Our Country*, 20.

⁷⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 82-97.

⁷⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 34, 40.

interviewed by a TV reporter about how life in Burgeo has changed over the years. The text asks the reader, "What did Morgan learn from Mrs. Parker? What could you learn from older people in your community?"⁸⁰⁰ The text makes the point that W.O. Mitchell is a well respected Canadian author from whom people can learn about life on the Canadian prairies in the past.

In spite of the increased frequency of appearance of seniors in this era, their range of activities is still very limited. They tend to exist only in the role of family member--W.O. Mitchell being an exception. It would be a great step forward to see seniors doing something besides teaching grandchildren, posing for family portraits, and taking part in family birthday celebrations. It would be refreshing to see someone over sixty-five driving a car, engaging in volunteer work instead of the recipient of such, socializing with friends, or engaging in recreational activities other than family picnics!⁸⁰¹

There is, inexplicably, a slight overrepresentation of elderly males in the primary texts. Of seniors who appear in illustrations in these texts, twenty-six are males and twenty-one are females. In a country where the majority of seniors are women,⁸⁰² this overrepresentation of males leaves students with an impression which is inaccurate.

Class

Previous studies have pointed out that the texts examined presented a narrow range of socioeconomic situations, mainly middle-class.⁸⁰³ The new texts prescribed in the 1980s retain a focus on a narrow range of socioeconomic situations. However, in the

⁸⁰⁰Ibid, 96.

⁸⁰¹In the 1988 Canadian Census about 50 percent of seniors reported participation in political organizations; 20 percent reported involvement in religious or church-related organizations; and 20 percent in charitable, service or volunteer organizations. About 5 400 people aged sixty and over attended university. See Pierre Gauthier, "Canada's Seniors," *Canadian Social Trends* 22 (Autumn 1991): 20.

⁸⁰²In 1986 55 percent of people aged 65-74 were women. This percentage increases with age. Sixty percent of those aged 75-84, and 70 percent in the 85 and over group were women. See Pierre Gauthier, "Canada's Seniors," *Canadian Social Trends* 22 (Autumn 1991): 16.

⁸⁰³See Abraham Tannenbaum, "Family Living in Textbook Town," *Progressive Education* 31 (March 1954): 133-140, 166-167; and Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks," 9.

Douglas & McIntyre elementary texts, the focus has shifted from middle-class to lower middle-class and working-class.

Family recreational activities involve picnics in public parks, playing board games, watching television, bicycle riding, tobogganing, and roller skating. We don't see family members on a tropical vacation, riding in a speedboat, or playing golf, activities which tend to be viewed as middle-class.

This narrow focus is particularly evident in the neighbourhoods depicted in the Grade One family and Grade Two community texts. A page in the Grade One text, *Families Have Needs*, has four photographs of homes over the caption, "What does your home look like?"⁸⁰⁴ The four pictures depict a suburban split-level house, trailers in a trailer park, concrete highrises, and a log cabin with what appears to be an outhouse. The families in these texts do not live in wealthy looking homes, nor, on the other hand, do they live in cramped three-storey, walkup apartments or rundown shacks. Most homes are single family dwellings. They are usually older two-storey or split-level buildings, situated in neighbourhoods with similar homes. Inside they are comfortable, with all the modern amenities, but certainly not luxurious in any way. There is a narrow degree of variation among the homes depicted in the primary texts.

When asked about this point, Carol Langford, former President of Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., commented that the text developers had deliberately avoided depicting upper class families and neighbourhoods. She said that they had not as deliberately set out to depict lower middle class and working class people, but were consciously trying to avoid the excessive representation of the middle-class seen in earlier texts.⁸⁰⁵

The question confronted by textbook publishers is which ethnic or racial group, or which family situation to present living in the three-storey walk-up, or for that matter, the

⁸⁰⁴Katherine Sauder, *Families Have Needs*, Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 9.

⁸⁰⁵Carol Langford, interview by author, 19 April 1995, Kamloops.

wealthy neighbourhood with the tree-lined boulevards. It is interesting to note that a Black family lives in what looks to be the newest and most attractive home of any portrayed in the texts prescribed for primary grades.⁸⁰⁶ To depict a Black family in a poor home may represent a danger zone where most publishers would fear to tread.

This issue came up for discussion shortly after the publication of the Grade Two text, *Exploring Mount Currie*. Lisa Fitterman, writing in the *Vancouver Sun*, criticized the text for its portrayal of the community of Mount Currie, which is a reserve. Fitterman made the point that the text presented only one reality of life on the reserve. It ignored the other reality which is "a town where icicles hang from the ceiling of the clapboard houses in winter and fewer than 150 homes shelter up to 1,000 people; where the unemployment rate hovers around 74 per cent and the suicide rate is three or four times the national average." Carol Langford, the editor of the *Explorations* series responded at the time that the text was intended to depict Tanina's reality, not the total reality of the community.⁸⁰⁷ Another point made by Carol Langford in a recent conversation, was that the people of the community wished to have the positive aspects of the community conveyed. She mentioned that this issue had come up in other cases of dealing with people from a particular community, or racial, or ethnic group, for that matter. She felt that publishers have a responsibility to the people they are portraying.⁸⁰⁸ This adds another dimension to the issue.

Exploring Mount Currie, like the other Grade Two community texts, features a Grade Two child, and we see the community through the child's eyes. All four community texts focus on the child, the child's home and family, parents' jobs, life at school, and recreational activities enjoyed by family members. In *Exploring Naramata*, the reader gets a sense of what it is like to live in a small town on the shores of Lake Okanagan, through

⁸⁰⁶Sauder, *Families Share*, 20.

⁸⁰⁷Lisa Fitterman, "Mount Currie: A Textbook Case of 'Reality,'" *Horizon* 23 (Winter 1985): 8.

Reprinted from the *Vancouver Sun*, Tuesday, 16 October 1984, C20.

⁸⁰⁸Carol Langford, interview by author, 19 April 1995, Kamloops.

the eyes of Frankie, whose family operates an orchard. In *Exploring Elkford* the reader sees what it is like to live in a coal mining town. In *Exploring Prince George*, we visit the B.C. Rail yard and learn about living and working in a city which is a major transportation centre. Finally, in *Exploring Mount Currie*, we attend a rodeo where Tanina's father rides bulls and her Auntie Faye competes in barrel races. Tanina digs cedar roots with her grandparents and catches and prepares salmon with her friends. In spite of the somewhat limited view in each text, the reader is left with a sense of the characteristics which make each community unique. Although Tanina has friends and family, attends school, and enjoys recreational activities, just as does Brodie in his community of Elkford, their community surroundings are quite different. As a result, their life experiences and even their aspirations are different. Tanina, wants to ride in barrel races like her aunt when she grows up. This thought has probably not even occurred to Brodie in Elkford. These texts convey the unique milieu of each child very clearly. This seems sufficient for texts intended for seven and eight year olds.

Some of the texts are sensitive to issues of class. *Other Places, Other Times*, a Grade Seven text, says: "When we say that Athens was a 'democracy', we do not mean that all its people had a role in government. Women, slaves and foreigners could not speak before the Council, be members of it, or vote."⁸⁰⁹ At times, texts will draw the attention of the reader to the differences in living conditions experienced by people of different classes in a particular society. Referring to a wealthy trader, *Other Places, Other Times* comments that, "He is luckier than the poorer people, who spend their evenings in the dirty, noisy crowded apartment buildings that rise above the narrow Roman streets."⁸¹⁰ In the Grade Eight text, *Patterns of Civilization*, Vol. One, the reader is asked to compare two paintings of weddings. One depicts a wedding procession of wealthy people in Florence, and the

⁸⁰⁹Rosemary Neering and Peter Grant, *Other Places, Other Times* (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Co., 1986), 124.

⁸¹⁰*Ibid.*, 180.

other is entitled "Peasant Wedding."⁸¹¹ In a discussion of the Industrial Revolution, *Thinking About Our Heritage*, a Grade Nine text, points out that:

Despite all the new opportunities offered by industrial progress, people's lives continued to vary greatly. For the middle classes and above, life was certainly comfortable. For many in the working classes, life still centred on employment in the factories and the "sweated trades."⁸¹²

Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography presents the concepts of poverty and wealth both in Canada and outside, in ways that convey their complexity. For instance, the text shows a photograph of children on a slum street and a couple in front of a suburban bungalow. The caption says, "Living standards vary throughout the world. Contrast the standards of living suggested by these two photographs." A table entitled, "Poverty in Canada," includes a list of items owned by poor Canadian families in 1985. The table tells the reader that 87 percent had a colour TV, 48 percent had a freezer, 64 percent had an automatic washing machine, and 52 percent had at least one car. The text makes the point that poverty is relative and that the minimum level of goods and services considered acceptable in Canada continues to rise because of increased expectations. The text also contrasts a photograph of a two-storey Canadian brick home with a photograph of men driving cattle in a desert environment. The point the text makes here is that it is difficult to compare different societies because their members may have different needs, as well as different ideas as to the type of material possessions considered desirable.⁸¹³

The texts explore middle class issues. For instance, in *Our Land: Building the West*, Sandra, the manager of a Vancouver insurance agency and single mother of two, makes a decision to leave the city and purchase an apple orchard in the Okanagan. The text describes the steps involved in doing this, from obtaining a mortgage to dealing with the

⁸¹¹Burton F. Beers, *Patterns of Civilization*, Vol. One (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada Inc., 1984), 136, 145.

⁸¹²Gary J.A. de Leeuw, John Money, and Stephen G. Murphy, *Thinking About Our Heritage: A Hosford Study Atlas* (Edmonton: Hosford Publishing Ltd., 1985), 90.

⁸¹³Stewart Dunlop, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1987), 55, 59.

effects of weather on crops. Sandra changed homes due to economic reasons. There are many economic reasons for moving, of which starting one's own business is only one. Others are involuntary loss of job and seeking another in a new location, or looking for a place with a lower cost-of-living. In the Grade Six text, *Exploring Our World*, two twelve-year old French girls give different perspectives on whether women who are mothers should work outside the home. In reality, economic circumstances decree that, for many mothers, working outside the home is not a matter for choice.

The Teaching of Virtue

The teaching of virtue by means of inculcation of values through use of authorial moralizing and role models (heroes) has been virtually abandoned. This becomes evident in a comparison of a description of Champlain's death from *When Canada Was Young* and *Exploration Canada*, texts published fifty-two years apart. In *When Canada Was Young*, published in 1927, the description of Champlain's death is preceded by an unattributed two-stanza poem, of which one verse will be quoted here:

CHAMPLAIN! Unto our land thou gav'st
That knightly heart of thine,
The freshness of thine early years,
The long toil of thy prime, the fears
Of unrewarded age, its tears
Were laid upon her shrine.⁸¹⁴

The text goes on to describe the reaction of the people of Quebec to the dying process and finally, the death: "the people were singing, but seeing his [Father le Jeune] face bathed in tears, they fell upon their knees, knowing Canada was fatherless. . . . His name is an abiding glory to all of us, his children."⁸¹⁵ *Exploration Canada*, published in 1979, has a much more matter-of-fact description:

Champlain died on Christmas day, 1635, at the age of sixty-eight. He had explored and mapped thousands of square kilometres of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes region. He had also convinced the wealthy French businessmen to invest large sums of money in establishing

⁸¹⁴Dickie, *When Canada Was Young*, 47

⁸¹⁵*Ibid.*, 50.

a fur trade in New France. As a result of Champlain's work, Quebec was becoming a trading centre with forts for the defense of New France.⁸¹⁶

What is particularly interesting about this passage is that the authors later ask how it suggests that Champlain was a hero. This description of 'hero' is a pale imitation of those which graced the pages of earlier texts!

What has replaced the inculcation of citizenship virtues such as loyalty, perseverance, physical courage and so on, in present-day texts is a commitment to some form of critical thinking. This usually takes the form of having students consider different points-of-view on an issue or event, or how to deal with a societal problem. For instance, the next question in *Exploration Canada* after the one which asks students to explain how the paragraph suggests that Champlain was a hero, asks them to rewrite the paragraph from the viewpoint of a Native person living in the area during Champlain's time.⁸¹⁷

The elementary texts in this era are much more social action oriented than secondary texts and more so than earlier texts. For instance, the Grade Three text, *Exploring Our Country*, discusses volunteerism and its importance to communities. The text describes community organizations such as the S.P.C.A. and the Red Cross, which use the services of volunteer workers. This text also discusses avenues which are open to community groups which want to make their views known and to influence the views of others. Options discussed include writing letters, walking in a parade, and using the media. The Grade Five Text, *Exploring Canada*, discusses communal action in the form of public committees. An actual case-study of the work of a public committee in rejuvenating Victoria's Chinatown is presented. This text also discusses the formation of a committee to help newcomers to Canada. It considers the role of protest groups and portrays the work of the suffragettes in Canada, who banded together to form such groups as the Political Equality League.

⁸¹⁶Paul Collins and Norman Sheffe, *Exploration Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979), 81.

⁸¹⁷Collins and Sheffe, *Exploration Canada*, 84.

The elementary texts attempt to help students consider ways in which they can engage in social action projects of their own modelled on those described in the texts. In *Exploring Canada*, a class discusses project options to commemorate National Forest Week. The reader is asked, "What project would you like to do during National Forest Week?" After describing ways of helping immigrants, the same text asks the reader, "Imagine that some refugees have arrived in your community. They need food, clothing and a place to stay. They need help learning English and understanding Canada. They need friends. What could you and your family do to help?"⁸¹⁸ This text describes a number of projects in which students could engage, such as various ways to welcome recent immigrants, recycling newspapers, garnering government support for tree-planting programs, and campaigning to limit the number of advertisements on television. The text suggests that, as adults, students will want "to work for good government by voting for your representatives. You might also want to improve the work of government by joining a planning committee or a protest group."⁸¹⁹

The secondary texts do not carry the social action orientation of the elementary texts any further. Students are asked to consider social issues, but they are not encouraged to act on their decisions. I can only speculate as to why this is the case. Perhaps it is much less intimidating for a society to contemplate the social action of eight year olds than that of adolescents.

Students are not provided with assistance as to how to go about making informed judgements in the secondary texts. For instance, the Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History* asks, "Was it wise for the government to compensate Japanese Canadians for their treatment during the Second World War? Give reasons to support your answer."⁸²⁰ This is a complex issue for which it is too easy to adopt a stance without careful consideration of all pertinent circumstances.

⁸¹⁸Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 47, 369.

⁸¹⁹Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 372.

⁸²⁰Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, 116.

Conception of Canada as a Nation

The Part Cooperation and Conflict Have Played in the Development of Canada as a Nation

Cooperation

The joys and benefits of cooperation pervade these texts. The trend toward greater emphasis on cooperation between Native peoples and European explorers and fur traders, which began in the Chant era, has continued. The pioneer practice of organizing work 'bees' is also mentioned, although certainly not emphasized. In a contemporary context, cooperation in these texts begins at the level of the family, and moves out through the community, the nation, and into the international arena.

The assistance provided to European explorers and fur traders is stressed in this era. The prescribed Grade Four text, *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, has numerous examples of such assistance. The text declares that

the explorers could not have gone very far without help from the Indians. The Indians had lived in Canada for thousands of years. They knew how to travel through the thick forests and across the wide prairies. The Indians knew which rivers to take and how to get around dangerous **rapids** and waterfalls. They acted as **guides** for the explorers.[boldface in original]⁸²¹

The practice of helping one's neighbour in pioneer settlements is described. The Grade Five text, *Canada: Building Our Nation*, mentions that neighbours came to help a Ukrainian immigrant family on the Prairies around the turn of the century. The Ukrainian child narrator also mentions that some of her neighbours had formed a partnership to buy a steam threshing machine.⁸²² The Grade Nine text, *Exploration Canada*, describes the practical and social value of pioneer 'bees':

On special occasions several families would get together. Usually working and having fun were combined. Barn raising for a new neighbour and quilting parties were popular. After a long day of work the families enjoyed some food, dancing, and singing. They also discussed the recent events in their lives as

⁸²¹Langford, *The Explorers*, 15.

⁸²²Conner, *Canada: Building Our Nation*, 326, 331.

they established new homes in Upper Canada.⁸²³

At the level of the family, texts depicting contemporary society depict parents helping children, children helping parents, and children helping one another. One twenty-four page prescribed Grade One text on the topic of roles and responsibilities of family members has twenty-three examples of family members cooperating with one another.⁸²⁴ Tanina, in the Grade Two text, *Exploring Mount Currie*, is described as belonging "to a typical Indian family where time is shared, work is shared, child rearing is shared, and both sorrow and joy are shared."⁸²⁵

At the school and community level, texts show a variety of ways that people can work together to accomplish their desired ends. As mentioned earlier, the Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada*, describes an imaginary discussion of cooperative classroom projects to be carried out for National Forest Week; a public committee working to improve Victoria's Chinatown; and the forming of a class committee to help immigrant students.⁸²⁶

At a national level, Canada is presented as a nation of cooperative communities:

Morgan had learned that Canada is a big country. It is made up of many separate communities. And these communities are made up of many different people. Morgan also found out that these communities are linked together through work and play. The people in one community help those in another. That is one of the things that makes Canada a **nation**. [boldface in original]⁸²⁷

At a global level, the Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography* emphasizes the concept of the world as global village. The first chapter explores "the concept of a single world community . . . in light of three elements of the world--the physical world, the biological world, and the economic world."⁸²⁸ The remainder of the text explores major issues related to these elements.

⁸²³Collins and Sheffe, *Exploration Canada*, 260.

⁸²⁴Sauder, *Families Share*, 1-24.

⁸²⁵Carriere, James, Koleszar, Muttitt, and Williams, *Explorations Teacher Book, Grade 2*, 154.

⁸²⁶Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 47, 256, 332-333.

⁸²⁷Wood, *Exploring Our Country*, 121.

⁸²⁸Dunlop, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography*, 2.

Conflict

As in the Putman-Weir and Chant era sections, this discussion will focus on the treatment of three points of conflict in Canadian history--the execution of Thomas Scott during the first Riel Resistance; conflicting reactions from the provinces of Ontario and Quebec to the Riel Resistances; and the labour union movement, particularly the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919. In addition, this discussion will include the treatment in these texts of public protest as a legitimate means of communicating with government.

Because so few texts were approved during this era, there is only one which deals with the Riel Resistances--the Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West*. This text presents a sympathetic view of Riel and the Métis and tries to put the best light on the execution of Thomas Scott. For instance, the text mentions that "many of the Métis believed Scott was responsible for the drowning death of a young Métis boy." This is information not seen in any of the texts examined previously. It is information which is clearly intended to promote more empathy for the action of the Métis in executing Scott. In addition, the text points out that "Scott constantly abused his Métis guards and threatened the life of Louis Riel. Scott's abusiveness and attempts to incite the other prisoners to violence angered the Métis." The actual execution is not described. The text simply says, "On March 4, 1870, Scott was executed by a Métis firing squad."⁸²⁹ Unlike in the Putman-Weir and Chant eras, this text avoids the graphic details about the actual execution which tended to overshadow the events which preceded and followed it.

Our Land: Building the West provides more detail regarding the conflicting reactions of the provinces of Ontario and Quebec to the Riel Resistances than did earlier texts. With regard to reaction to the execution of Thomas Scott, this text tells the reader that "the Orange Order increased its pressure on the federal government to put down the 'rebellion'. . . . In Quebec, the response was one of sympathy for the problems faced by the

⁸²⁹Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 152, 152, 152.

Métis. There, the death of Scott was seen as a sad but necessary [sic] part of the Métis' struggle to protect their rights." The reaction of people in Quebec to Riel's execution in 1885 is also described in quite a bit of detail, including the famous comment of Laurier that "If I had been on the banks of the Saskatchewan, I would have shouldered my musket too." The text concludes its discussion of the reaction to Riel's execution with the statement, "The hanging of Riel produced conflicts and tensions that would trouble Canadian unity for many years to come."⁸³⁰ The level of detail provided in this text, although still limited, could be expected to help students reach a better understanding of the last quoted statement than either texts in the Putman-Weir or Chant eras would have done.

The texts also deal with the formation of unions. However, only the positive aspects of union membership are described. For instance, the Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada*, describes how the union works on behalf of the workers to get fair pay for fair number of hours worked, as well as to set safety standards.⁸³¹ The Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West*, points out that forestry unions are concerned not only "with wages and working conditions. They also deal with issues such as the effects of new technology on employment, reforestation, environmental protection and Native rights."⁸³² There is no mention of picket line violence; controversy surrounding mandatory union membership; or new workers being shut out of jobs because of high wages paid to individuals who already have union membership.

Only two texts deal with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919--the Grade Ten text, *Our Land: Building the West* and the Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*. This is not because other texts avoid the topic, but rather that their content does not deal with Canadian history at all or not history of the period in question. *Our Land: Building the West* has a more complete description of the strike than any text examined in the two earlier eras. This description includes much of the

⁸³⁰Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 152, 211, 212.

⁸³¹Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 75.

⁸³²Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 329.

information excluded in previous texts. As discussed earlier, Osborne, in "*Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable*"--*The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks*, criticized Putman-Weir era texts because they ignored the Red Scare, the reaction of the authorities, the use of the Mounted Police and the military, the arrest and trial of the strike leaders, section 98, and labour actions outside Winnipeg. This text deals with all of these topics other than the trial of the strike leaders, section 98, and labour actions outside Winnipeg. The strength of the treatment of the strike in *Towards Tomorrow* lies in the way in which the text situates it in the context of general discontent following the war. This text author takes the unusual step of mentioning that labour actions at the time were not limited to Winnipeg.⁸³³

Canada Studies era texts, particularly those in the elementary Douglas & McIntyre series, contain an element not seen in texts previously. These texts treat public protest as a legitimate means of changing government decisions and as an alternative when cooperation does not work. They make a point, not only of discussing examples of cooperation but also of conflict. The Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada: Learning From the Past, Looking to the Future*, provides an example of this approach:

Citizens are not always able to work successfully with the government on public committees. They do not always agree with the government. Sometimes the government makes laws that citizens don't like. Sometimes it does not provide what citizens want. The public is free to speak against--or protest--the work of the government. Protests are another way of letting the government know what the public needs.⁸³⁴

The text discusses a number of examples of the use of public protest in Canadian history, including marches for representative government; the efforts of Canadian women to achieve the vote; and protests against cruise missile tests.⁸³⁵ In the prescribed Grade Six text, *Exploring Our World: Other People, Other Lands*, which deals with modern Japan,

⁸³³Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, 69-71.

⁸³⁴Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 258.

⁸³⁵*Ibid.*, 258, 260, 263.

Peru, Nigeria, and France, ways of changing government are discussed in each section.

For instance, in the section on France the text says:

The French often express their political beliefs by direct action. They go on strike, march in the streets, block highways and in other ways publicly protest measures they disagree with. If the protest is strong enough, the government must often respond by changing its plans.⁸³⁶

The Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Government*, discusses recent examples of public protest, including the vehement response of senior citizens to the 1984 Conservative government decision to de-index old age pensions. These examples are a far cry from earlier texts which promoted loyalty to country and obedience to authority above most other virtues.

Canada's Relationship With Great Britain and the United States

The romanticized image of Britain as loving 'mother country' has disappeared. Canada's changing attitude toward Great Britain is nowhere more evident than in the texts' descriptions of World War Two, particularly when compared to earlier texts. The Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History* does not discuss Canada's ties of allegiance to Great Britain as playing a part in Canada's involvement in the war. Instead, the text quotes Prime Minister King's comment that: "The idea that every twenty years this country should automatically and as a matter of course take part in a war overseas for democracy or self-determination of small nations, that a country that has all it can do to run itself should feel called upon to save, periodically, a continent that cannot run itself . . . seems to many a nightmare and sheer madness."⁸³⁷ In its description of Dunkirk, this text baldly states: "British and Allied troops, including Canadians were cut off by German forces and faced almost certain death or imprisonment. British naval vessels and hundreds of civilian craft crossed the English Channel under German attack to

⁸³⁶Neering, Usukawa, and Wood, *Exploring Our World*, 369.

⁸³⁷Morton, *Towards Tomorrow, Canada in a Changing World, History*, 106-107.

rescue them."⁸³⁸ Dickie, in her Chant era text, *The Great Adventure*, presents a much more romantic picture, emphasizing the bravery and difficulties of British civilians in rescuing the troops at Dunkirk. She quotes from "Little Boats of Britain":

And many a grimy little tramp and skiff
 of painted pride
Went down in thunder to a grave beneath
 the bloody tide,
But from the horror-haunted coast, across
 the snarling foam,
The little boats of Britain brought out
 men in safety home.⁸³⁹

Dickie also describes the Battle of Britain and dwells on the bravery of the British city people as they "worked all day and spent much of the night fire-watching, rescuing people from wrecked buildings, caring for the sick, wounded and homeless."⁸⁴⁰

Great Britain is virtually ignored in these texts. For instance, in a chapter entitled, "What Immigrants Have Come to Canada?" the Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada: Learning from the Past, Looking to the Future*, devotes a page or two to each of the French, the Loyalists, the Irish, the Black Americans, the Chinese, the Ukrainians, the Hungarians, and the Fijians. British immigrants are not mentioned, when in fact people of British origin still formed 25.3 percent of the Canadian population in 1986,⁸⁴¹ one year after publication of this text. In another chapter, there is a section devoted to the contributions of individual immigrants. The individuals highlighted here are Jeanne Mance from France; John Ware, a black slave from the southern United States; Margret Benedictson, born in Iceland; Celia Franca from England; Edith Andody from Hungary; Saran Narang from India; and David Chuenyan Lai from China. Only one of the seven individuals is from England. Again, this is not representative. It would seem that the authors are trying to avoid the overemphasis on Great Britain found in earlier texts.

⁸³⁸Ibid., 111.

⁸³⁹Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 414.

⁸⁴⁰Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 415-416.

⁸⁴¹*Census of Canada*, Catalogue 93-109, Table 1.

Evidently imperialism is not dead. It is surprising to see a description of British exploration and resource exploitation in Nigeria told strictly from a British perspective, without any discussion of the effects on the people who already inhabited the land.

In the early 1800s, Great Britain began to explore the interior of Africa. An explorer named Mungo Park searched for the source of the Niger River. In 1830, the Lander Brothers found it in the present-day country of Mali. Scientists went to Africa to study the wildlife, plants, geography and people. Missionaries went to Africa to spread Christianity. Merchants were interested in new trade possibilities in Africa.

The British also played an important role in changing the economy of Nigeria. They trained Nigerians to work as clerks for British trading companies and for the government. These clerks bought and sold goods. They sold Nigerian goods, such as groundnuts, palm oil, cocoa, cotton and minerals, to Great Britain. In return, they got cloth, kerosene, bicycles and sewing machines⁸⁴²

The United States, too, receives little attention in these texts. This is in contrast to texts of the Chant era, where its looming presence lurked around every corner. The strident anti-Americanism present in some Chant texts has been replaced by reasoned discussions of issues such as free trade between the countries.⁸⁴³

Sources of Pride for Canadians

In texts of the previous eras the predominant source of pride was in the adversities overcome and the progress made in building the Canadian nation to the pinnacle attained at the time the authors wrote. Related sources of pride were the valour displayed by Canadians in the two world wars and, in Chant era texts, Canada's independent, and increasingly influential role as a middle power in world affairs.

In Canada Studies era texts, this Whiggish approach to history has become more muted. Progress is not inevitable. People make mistakes.

To write this book, I had to learn about the people who came to British Columbia long ago. The more I read about them, the more I liked them. They loved their new homes. Even so, they wanted to

⁸⁴²Neering, Usukawa, and Wood, *Exploring Our World*, 239.

⁸⁴³Bowers and Garrod, *Our Land: Building the West*, 261-284.

make their new communities better. They had dreams for themselves and for their children. They worked hard to make their dreams come true. Sometimes they made mistakes, but they learned from their mistakes.⁸⁴⁴

Pride in the progress made by the various contributors to Canadian history is much less straightforward than it was. Explorers, fur traders, and pioneers are no longer larger-than-life heroes and heroines selflessly battling the wilderness for the benefit of those who came after them. The explorers, for instance, are not virtually omnipotent men facing and defeating the adversities of the Canadian landscape alone. The assistance of Native peoples is acknowledged. That Native women travelled with them, cooking for them, mending their clothes, and gathering food, receives mention. That they had Native guides and travelled paths on which Native people had already trod for centuries is also acknowledged.

Valour displayed by Canadians in the two world wars of the twentieth century was also a source of great pride in the earlier texts. In Canada Studies era texts, while this is acknowledged, the discussion is more balanced. For instance, there is also discussion of the pros and cons of decisions made by the military command and their devastating effects in terms of loss of Canadian lives.⁸⁴⁵

The third source of pride discussed in Chant era texts is Canada's increasing independence from Great Britain, and expanding role as a mediator in world affairs. In Canada Studies texts, Canada does not pin its hopes on its role in world affairs. Rather, it is the example which it sets within the boundaries of the nation that is of greater importance. "In a rapidly shrinking world, showing that different groups can live together in harmony is one of the most important contributions which Canada can make to the survival of humankind."⁸⁴⁶ This is an acknowledgement of our multiculturalist society.

Canada's future is not envisioned encased in a blaze of glory as in earlier texts. Morton, in *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, asks, "Can such

⁸⁴⁴Kilian, *Exploring British Columbia's Past*, 3.

⁸⁴⁵See Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, 47-60 and 106-133.

⁸⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 220.

a society work?" Answering his own question, he says, "If Canada, with its wealth and space and its history of compromise, cannot succeed, what country can?"⁸⁴⁷ This is a much more world-weary response.

Canadians are unsure as to what should be the sources of their pride in this era. The unbridled optimism, so prevalent in the earlier texts, has gone. It has been replaced by what is often referred to as 'cautious optimism', the outlook of people who have been made wary by past experiences, yet who are still willing to venture forth, albeit with an ear to the ground and wearing a bullet-proof vest!

Conception of the Student Reader

"Student as inquirer" is a phrase which aptly captures the pedagogical approach found in the social studies texts of the Canada Studies era. However, this "inquirer" is not the mini-social scientist envisioned by Bruner in *The Process of Education*. Rather, it is the student who is willing to inquire into issues of public concern. As the curriculum guide states:

It is the belief of those who have drafted this curriculum that the key to learning is the application of knowledge. Concepts and skills, together with the discussion of contemporary issues, culminate in the ability to transfer knowledge to a real-life situation.⁸⁴⁸

This approach is found throughout the approved texts, elementary and secondary. It is made most explicit in the Douglas & McIntyre *Explorations* series of texts prescribed for Grades One to Six. An inquiry approach is referred to in the teacher books as the "foundation" of the *Explorations* series. This approach, as set out in the teacher books, uses a step-by-step sequence consisting of: recognizing or recalling information, describing, comparing and classifying information, applying information, analysing information, synthesizing information, and evaluating information. The teacher books also provide a model for using inquiry to solve problems and make decisions. This model

⁸⁴⁷Ibid., 220.

⁸⁴⁸Ministry of Education, *Social Studies Curriculum Guide, Grade Eight - Eleven*, 3.

involves three steps: defining the issue or problem, exploring alternatives and consequences, and making a decision.⁸⁴⁹

The conception of the student reader in many of the secondary texts is also student as problem solver. *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography* tells the student reader:

To draw valid conclusions about major world issues, it is necessary to be well informed about them. In this book you will find the information you need in order to approach the issues in a sensitive way. During class discussions, many points of view are likely to emerge. Your own views will be influenced by your political, religious, and/or ethical background--but this will be true for everyone else as well. It is important to recognize and consider different points of view. But ultimately you will make up your own mind and form your own opinions about the issues under discussion. At the same time, it is to be hoped that you will be ready to revise these views as you continue to learn and reflect. The world offers new challenges each day, and all of us are faced with finding new solutions to diverse new problems.⁸⁵⁰

Many of the texts contain exercises involving the examination of a situation or issue from more than one point of view. The Grade Four text, *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, asks students to compare the perspectives on prairie animals held by the Blackfoot and the fur traders.⁸⁵¹ The Grade Nine text, *Patterns of Civilization*, Vol. 2, asks students to examine primary sources which offer differing perspectives on the execution of Louis XVI.⁸⁵²

Mirrors of Their World

The establishment of the Canada Studies Foundation in 1970 was the first major signpost of a Canada-wide movement toward a greater emphasis on Canadian studies in Canadian schools. This movement was manifested in social studies curricula across

⁸⁴⁹Muriel Carriere, Mary James, Betty John, Shirley Koleszar, and Vicki Mulligan, *Explorations Teacher Book, Grade 3* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983), 11-15.

⁸⁵⁰Dunlop, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, Geography*, 1.

⁸⁵¹Langford, *The Explorers: Charting the Canadian Wilderness*, 84.

⁸⁵²Burton F. Beers, *Patterns of Civilization*, Vol. 2 (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc.), 32.

Canada.⁸⁵³ In British Columbia its influence was evident in the greater emphasis on Canada in the 1983 elementary and 1985 secondary social studies curricula. In terms of the textbooks approved to implement these curricula in classrooms, all but two were published in Canada and written by Canadian authors. The majority were written by authors from British Columbia specifically for the British Columbia social studies curriculum, a reflection of the regionalism which accompanied the movement toward a greater emphasis on Canadian studies.

The concept of Canadian identity has changed again with this era. Inclusion is the watchword of this period. In the previous era Canadian identity excluded women. In this era, women are present, although still not fully recognized. They appear on the pages of Canadian history texts at events where they did not appear before. In descriptions of contemporary life, both men and women are depicted in a greater variety of roles than previously. Unfortunately, textbook authors sometimes find it necessary to make women appear larger than life, perhaps as restitution for their invisibility in the past.

Canada's multicultural nature is acknowledged in these texts. Racial minorities have suddenly become an acceptable part of Canadian society. They are no longer invisible. Different skin colours are represented in group pictures. Orientals are no longer vilified. Unpleasant incidents of racial tension in Canada's past are not ignored, although they receive superficial treatment. The depiction of Native peoples has continued to change. The negative depictions of the past have become more positive. However, while past texts dwelt on negative aspects of contemporary Native life, texts of the present tend to ignore these.

Perhaps the greatest change is in the depiction of disabled people. They simply did not appear on the pages of earlier texts and they still do not appear in the secondary texts. However, they are shown in the mainstream of society in the elementary texts. Canada's

⁸⁵³See Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, *Social Studies Provincial Curricula: A Survey Compiled for the Curriculum Committee of the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada*. (Toronto: The Council, 1982), 11-18.

seniors, while they have appeared in the past, now appear more frequently and in roles that have broadened to some extent. In terms of class, texts depicting contemporary Canadian life continue to focus on a narrow range of socioeconomic situations. In the past, the focus was on the middle-class. Attention has shifted to lower middle-class and working class lifestyles.

The inevitable backlash against texts which endeavour to be inclusive has occurred. In her *Globe & Mail* column, June Callwood made the accusation that "librarians, publishers, teachers, school boards and writers, anxious to offend no one, virtuously protect children against racism, sexism, blasphemy, sexuality and crudeness by rewriting history and social science texts to eliminate all but the bland."⁸⁵⁴ It is not a perfect world and it seems that sometimes we must trade one problem for another. It is true that these texts are sometimes more bland than texts of previous eras. Historical figures, in particular, do not leap off the page in the way they did in earlier texts. For instance, one would not find in a contemporary text a description of John A. Macdonald like this one in Hardy's Chant era text, *From Sea Unto Sea*:

"A great deal of time," said the *Globe* with a healthy colonial scorn-- or does one detect a note of spite in a George Brown [editor of the *Globe*] who, except for "Double Shuffle," might have stood in John A.'s shoes? --"has been wasted by John A. in learning to walk, for the sword suspended to his waist has an awkward knack of getting between his legs, especially after dinner."⁸⁵⁵

This quote is noteworthy both for its inclusion at all, and for the authorial comment which interrupts it. Colourful information such as this is lacking in Canada Studies era texts.

The evolution of Canada's relationship with Great Britain continues. In the Putman-Weir era the texts proudly listed the signs which showed that Canada was becoming increasingly independent from its mother country. Of course, the need to list these signs in the first place, was an indication of the strength of the remaining ties. In the

⁸⁵⁴"Sanitized Textbooks Reflect a Pious Parade That Never Was," *Globe & Mail*, 18 March 1987, p. A2.

⁸⁵⁵Hardy, *From Sea Unto Sea*, 103-104.

Chant era texts, this independence was beginning to be taken for granted. Concerns about cultural domination by the United States took the place of pride in Canada's relationship with Great Britain. In Canada Studies era texts, both the United States and Great Britain have receded into the background. The strident anti-Americanism which helped to define Canadian identity in Chant era texts has faded almost to indifference.

Cooperation is emphasized in these texts in a way that it was not in earlier texts. Examples are found at the levels of the family, the community, the nation, and finally, on an international level.

In terms of conflict, these texts avoid the details of the execution of Thomas Scott that earlier texts so graphically described. Instead, there is more emphasis on other circumstances and consequences, particularly divisions between French and English-speaking Canadians. Unique to this era is the treatment of forms of public protest as a legitimate means of working for change. A Grade Five text says, "Protests are another way of letting the government know what the public needs."⁸⁵⁶

Pride in Canada, along with optimism for its future, are muted in this era. In the past, the texts were very clear as to the qualities and accomplishments in which Canadians should take pride. There is, in the Canada Studies period, a vacuum in this area. Authors are unwilling to proudly proclaim their "Canadianness," as they did in the past. The name chosen for this period, the "Canada Studies era," seems somewhat ironic, given this state of affairs.

⁸⁵⁶Bowers and Swanson, *Exploring Canada*, 258.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Stability and Change

*Before we close this book, let us, like wayfarers on a hilltop,
pause awhile and look back over the road which we have
travelled together.*⁸⁵⁷

This study examined social studies textbooks approved for use in British Columbia schools during three eras: 1925-1939, 1960-1975, and 1970-1989. A glance through a dusty volume from the 1920s reveals a social studies textbook which is physically very different from a visually appealing contemporary text, with its coloured photographs, attractive drawings, large print, and a hundred different ways of organizing information on the page. This 1920s textbook has a coloured frontispiece of an historical British painting, a number of black-and-white line drawings and maps, and pages densely packed with information. Although these texts look very different, they have the same purpose--to present to students in British Columbia classrooms information and activities intended to help them become good citizens. While the goal of good citizenship has not changed over the years, the conception of what it takes to help students become good citizens has.

It is a truism to state that textbooks reflect the society which produces them. However, such a statement has profound implications. As society has changed, the school social studies curriculum has reflected that change, and, in turn, the textbooks designed to implement the curriculum have changed. This study traced those changes in terms of what they have meant for the sense of Canadian identity conveyed in the texts over time. Specifically, the study examined the conception of the ideal Canadian in the texts in terms of a number of themes: gender, race/ethnicity, class, age, disability, and how the texts identify and teach civic virtues. Second, the study looked at the conception of Canada as a

⁸⁵⁷ *Highroads of History*, Book IV, 222.

nation inherent in the texts, specifically in terms of conflict and cooperation in Canada's past and present; Canada's relationship with Great Britain and the United States; and the accomplishments and qualities in which Canadians take pride.

More indirectly, this study also examined how social studies textbooks can affect the society that has produced them. Bernard Bailyn, in his seminal essay *Education in the Forming of American Society*, made the deceptively simple point that education is not only a reflection of the society which shapes it, but a force which, in turn, alters that society.⁸⁵⁸ If textbooks have any influence at all on the students who read them, the vision of Canadian identity they present and the expectations of the student reader as a Canadian citizen will affect the society profoundly as student readers become adults. The study considered the conception of the student reader conveyed in the texts primarily through examination of pedagogical approaches used.

What has emerged is a confirmation of George Tomkins' theme of stability and change.⁸⁵⁹ What has been stable is the view that the purpose of social studies is citizenship education. As Frances FitzGerald so aptly put it, in spite of constant educational reform, the reformers keep "reeling back to the old lamppost of citizenship training."⁸⁶⁰ What has changed is the degree to which the concept of Canadian identity has become one of inclusion rather than exclusion and the way in which citizenship education is interpreted in the textbooks.

The vision of Canadian identity inherent in the texts changed dramatically over the period, in terms of each of the themes explored. Themes related to the vision of the ideal Canadian presented in the texts will be discussed first.

Women play a very limited role in the vision of Canada presented in social studies textbooks. In the Putman-Weir era they were virtually invisible, with the notable exception

⁸⁵⁸Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1960).

⁸⁵⁹Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*.

⁸⁶⁰FitzGerald, *America Revised*, 187.

of texts by Donalda Dickie. In the Chant era they continued to be almost invisible beyond the primary years, where they were difficult to ignore, given the curriculum content of these grades, with its focus on family and community life. The primary prescribed picture sets in this era depicted Canadian women as almost entirely engaged in child care and household duties. While these tasks did engage much of women's time during this era, these materials did not reflect the increasing numbers who participated in the paid labour force. In the Canada Studies era women blossomed out in a variety of roles in the elementary textbooks, but faded into the woodwork again in the secondary texts. In the elementary texts of this era, where women were very visible, there was a reticence to depict little girls playing with dolls or engaging in other traditional activities. Rather, they were involved in more active pursuits such as climbing in and out of imaginary television sets, going fishing, or riding bikes. There was also a tendency to depict women who are 'larger-than-life' in these texts. As a result, female readers were provided with unrealistic role models. The way in which women were depicted in these texts indicates that the achievements and contributions of 'ordinary' women were still not valued in the way that men's were.

Caucasian immigrants from Europe and the United States were viewed positively, if superficially, in all eras examined. In the Putman-Weir era it is clear that immigrants from the British Isles were considered to be the most desirable. These "jolly-looking people"⁸⁶¹ were seen as the easiest to assimilate. They were presented as having higher morals than other immigrants. Middle-class British settlers were seen as raising the 'tone' of Upper Canada. "Their high ideals and superior education marked them off from many of the immigrants. . . . Settlers of this type helped to lift life in Upper Canada out of the level of a mere struggle for existence."⁸⁶² Immigrants from the Orient were presented as an unfortunate problem to the existing society, in Putman-Weir era texts. They were

⁸⁶¹Dickie, *The Book of Wonders*, 45.

⁸⁶²Wallace, *A New History of Canada*, 77-78.

considered not assimilable and were viewed as something less than human. This attitude changed over time, with Chant era texts incorporating historic documents which related the experiences of the Chinese in building the railroad. Canada Studies era texts made a point of highlighting such previously unmentionable occurrences as the evacuation of the Japanese from coastal British Columbia during World War Two.

In the Putman-Weir and Chant eras immigrants (other than Oriental) were cardboard cut-outs who were viewed from a 'contribution' perspective, with their music, dancing, and art enriching Canadian culture. In the Canada Studies era immigrants finally became human. The elementary texts focused on individual immigrants and described their experiences upon arrival in Canada. A much more complex consideration of the concept of 'contribution' was offered in this era, including knowledge and ideas, and business and professional skills, as well as the usual customs and traditions.

Native peoples are ubiquitous in Canadian history texts up to the end of the fur trade era, after which they disappear; except where they intrude on mainstream development such as in the case of the two Riel resistances. Two attitudes toward Native peoples were evident in the texts of the Putman-Weir era; paternalism and repugnance. Native peoples of the past were frequently compared to children in these texts, with the connotations of immaturity and dependence associated with this comparison. When they were not presented as childlike, they were presented as "veritable demons" or "blood-thirsty"--a strange contrast. In geography texts, negative aspects of contemporary Native peoples' lifestyles were emphasized until the Canada Studies era. These texts, with their photographs of poorly dressed children and rundown homes, focused on economic dependence on the dominant society's institutions such as government and church. In contrast, texts in the Canada Studies era often did not address contemporary problems and presented a falsely positive version of contemporary Native life, concentrating on celebrations and the maintenance of traditional practices.

Inclusion was the watchword for the Canada Studies era texts. Women, Native peoples, and immigrants of various races all made it into these texts, and were presented positively.⁸⁶³ Two other groups who found their way into these texts were disabled people and the elderly. Disabled people were shown in a natural way, going about their daily activities of work and play. The elderly were depicted almost exclusively in family situations, as if they did not have friends and other obligations and interests.

Texts in the Putman-Weir and Chant eras, when depicting contemporary lifestyles, presented a narrow range of socioeconomic situations, mainly middle-class. Instead of broadening the range of socioeconomic situations depicted in Canada Studies era texts, the focus merely shifted to lower middle-class or working-class situations. This response was, no doubt, a reaction to earlier criticism of British Columbia social studies texts for their excessive focus on the middle class.⁸⁶⁴ However, the focus unfortunately remained narrow.

Thomas Carlyle described history as "the essence of innumerable biographies."⁸⁶⁵ Many authors in the Putman-Weir era took this view of history to heart. Titles such as *The Romance of Canada* and *Pages From Canada's Story* are evidence of the way in which authors attempted to make Canada's history into a romantic and glorious story. Heroes (an overwhelmingly male group), in the form of missionaries, fur traders, explorers, and pioneers, epitomized the virtues of loyalty to country or Empire, love of God, physical and moral courage, and perseverance over adversity. The first aim of these larger-than-life figures was not personal glory, but to serve God or country. The texts made it clear that students were intended to emulate the qualities represented by these heroes. Chant era texts continued to make use of heroes and their exploits to teach citizenship virtues, but the

⁸⁶³Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd. used British Columbia census figures to ensure an accurate gender and racial balance in photographs depicting contemporary society. (Interview, Carol Langford, President, Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 19 April 1995.)

⁸⁶⁴Mattu and Villeneuve, "Eliminating Group Prejudice in Social Studies Textbooks," 9.

⁸⁶⁵Quoted in Kieran Egan, "Layers of Historical Understanding," *Theory and Research in Social Education* XVII (Fall 1989): 290.

approach was more muted, with the occasional foible appearing alongside the heroic qualities. In the Canada Studies era the unquestioning emulation of heroes was replaced by efforts to promote critical thinking.

The second category of themes examined was with respect to the conception of Canada as a nation. With regard to the presentation of conflict and cooperation in Canada's history, this study supports findings of earlier studies, which make the point that a consensus version of Canadian history is presented in texts.⁸⁶⁶ Conflict, except for high profile incidents, such as the Riel resistances, is glossed over. Even in Canada Studies era texts, which made a point of mentioning controversial events such as the internment of the Japanese during World War Two, these events were treated so briefly that it is difficult to see how students could develop any indepth understanding of the issues surrounding them.

One of the most dramatic changes over the years covered in this study lies in the portrayal of Canada's relationship with Great Britain. "O Motherland, we pledge to thee,"⁸⁶⁷ epitomized this relationship in the Putman-Weir years. While the texts showed pride in Canada's increasing independence, the two nations were, for all intents and purposes, viewed as one. The texts were sprinkled with poetry describing ancient British battles or praising Britain as benevolent ruler of the world. This tie continued to be important, although to a lesser degree, in Chant era texts, if only to counteract the reality of American cultural influence. Author Edith Deyell quoted the anglophile, Vincent Massey: "We are the more Canadian for being British. Our close contact with Britain gave us some of the qualities which distinguish us from Americans. . . . How long would a Canadian republic maintain its individuality here in North America?"⁸⁶⁸ In the Canada Studies era, the comforting image of Britain as 'mother country' disappeared. In fact, Britain itself, was given little notice in the texts.

⁸⁶⁶See Dewar, "The Road to Happiness;" Murray, "Ideology of Content in Social Studies Texts;" and Osborne, "*Hard-working, Temperate, and Peaceable*."

⁸⁶⁷McCaig and Angus, *Studies in Citizenship*, 5.

⁸⁶⁸Deyell, *Canada--The New Nation*, 333.

A defensive awareness (or "latent antagonism"⁸⁶⁹ as one text calls it) of the United States is evident in the texts from the earliest of the publication dates examined. Even the effusive praise of Mother Country and exhortations of loyalty in the Putman-Weir era, may have been directed at counteracting the reality of American cultural influence, which had long been a force. This wariness towards the United States comes across as strident anti-Americanism in the Chant era texts. In fact, authors viewed this attitude as important to Canada's very existence. The United States disappeared from view in Canada Studies era texts. It had receded from importance in the curriculum itself, and hence, the texts approved to support the curriculum spent little time on it.

The ongoing antagonism over American cultural influence is seen not only in the textbooks themselves but also in the ubiquitous concern regarding the use of American textbooks in Canadian schools. This concern has lasted for a century and a half, beginning in the days of Lord Durham's brief visit to Canada and carrying on into the present. During the Putman-Weir era British textbooks were considered to be one and the same as Canadian. The fact that a Canadian geography text referred to France as "our neighbour across the Channel"⁸⁷⁰ apparently did not disturb anyone. In the Chant era, British texts, while not viewed as the same as Canadian, continued to acquire approved status. American texts infrequently achieved this status. In the Canada Studies era, no British texts were listed. No American texts were listed either, although each of the two *Patterns of Civilization* texts is a B.C. edition of a text written by an American author⁸⁷¹ and previously published in the United States. These texts deal with world history. Perhaps this topic is far enough removed from Canadian concerns to be considered safe for student eyes.

In what do Canadians take pride? The answer is clear in the early texts. Authors waxed poetic with a combined pride in progress toward nationhood and in loyalty to

⁸⁶⁹McWilliams, *This New Canada*, 159.

⁸⁷⁰Cornish, *Canadian Geography for Juniors*, B.C. ed., 206.

⁸⁷¹Burton F. Beers is a Professor of History at North Carolina State University.

Mother Country. This unabashed pride and optimism stands in stark contrast to Canada Studies era texts, in which authors were too busy wringing their hands and wondering aloud about the fate of their nation to take pride in much of anything. Few in this jaded age could match the unbridled optimism of Donalda Dickie, who in a 1950 text, declared even the Great Depression to be of benefit to Canadians: "The depression brought her [Canada] the greatest gain of all, an improvement in the mind and character of her people."⁸⁷²

Finally, this study asked about the conception of the student reader inherent in the texts. What kind of citizen were the texts attempting to prepare? In the Putman-Weir era it is clear that the texts were intended to prepare citizens who were knowledgeable about their country and who took pride in its accomplishments. Texts in the Putman-Weir and Chant eras did not hesitate to let students know squarely where their responsibilities lay. Donalda Dickie in *The Great Adventure* told the reader, "This is the end of the story of what your forefathers and foremothers have done with Canada. The rest of the story is yours to make and tell. Take it away, Youth!"⁸⁷³ Youth was not expected to question. Youth had a job to do and was expected to do it. It is clear that youth had the noble task of moving Canada onward along its path of never-ending progress and prosperity. In the Canada Studies era texts the task of the student reader as citizen was more murky. Although Desmond Morton, in a 1988 text, also told the reader that "each generation writes its own chapter [in history]. Your time is about to begin," it is less clear how they were to begin because being a Canadian was ambiguous at best:

What, then, is a Canadian? The answer is for each Canadian to decide, from a range of choices. Maurice Careless, one of Canada's greatest historians, described a reality of "limited identities," Canadians, he said, were people who could identify with an ethnic heritage, a region, a province, and a community, with economic interests, and with ideas and a religious faith, and still be good Canadians.⁸⁷⁴

⁸⁷²Dickie, *The Great Adventure*, 410.

⁸⁷³Ibid., 464.

⁸⁷⁴Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, 226..

Citizenship had an individualistic bent in the earlier eras. In the Canada Studies era less onus was placed on the individual as such and much more on the power of individuals to affect change when they work together in groups. The focus of cooperation within and among groups can be seen all the way from the Grade One book, *Families Share*, which focused on roles and responsibilities of individuals as members of family groupings; to the Grade Eleven text, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, which said: "Showing that different groups can live together in harmony is one of the most important contributions which Canada can make to the survival of humankind."⁸⁷⁵ The Grade Five text, *Exploring Canada*, had a particularly strong focus on cooperation. This text explored such examples of group activity as protest groups, labour unions, public advisory committees to government, and the organization of cooperative classroom projects.

Texts in the Canada Studies era were much more bland than previous texts. There were several reasons for this. One reason was the 'omnipotent narrator'. Many texts were written "as if their authors did not exist at all, as if they were simply the instruments of a heavenly intelligence transcribing official truths."⁸⁷⁶ Authors of Putman-Weir era texts had no hesitation about interjecting their opinions into the narrative, often adamantly. These texts had "heroic saints"⁸⁷⁷ as well as "wicked"⁸⁷⁸ villains. They were also willing to wax poetic with national pride and love of Mother Country. This shining optimism disappeared. Authorial interventions not only added colour to the narrative, but they made the author seem human--which may have helped avoid "the widespread confusion that the text *is* history, not simply a human construct composed of selected data, interpretations, and opinions."⁸⁷⁹

⁸⁷⁵Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, 220.

⁸⁷⁶Peter Schrag, "The Emasculated Voice of the Textbook," *Saturday Review*, 21 January 1967, 74.

⁸⁷⁷Burt, *The Romance of Canada*, 47. Burt is referring to missionaries.

⁸⁷⁸Dickie, *How Canada Was Found*, 125. Dickie is referring to Richard Greene, one of the mutineers on Henry Hudson's ship.

⁸⁷⁹Schrag, "The Emasculated Voice of the Textbook," 74.

A second reason for the blandness in the most recent texts examined was the reluctance to make what could be construed as negative statements about certain groups of people, whether they be Native people, women, racial or ethnic groups, or political minorities--any group that may have been maligned in earlier texts. This "literary avoidance behaviour"⁸⁸⁰ has resulted in the lack of inclusion of colourful information. The description of Jerry Potts, Métis scout for the North-West Mounted Police, provided in *North-West Mounted Police*, one of the Chant era *Growth of a Nation* series, comes to mind:

Learned English, facts of fur trade, Indian languages, about liquor.
Liked liquor best. . . . Habits: Drank a lot, whatever he could find:
whiskey, Jamaica ginger, essence of lemon, pain killer, red ink.⁸⁸¹

Potts' fondness for the 'bottle' (or John A. Macdonald's, for that matter) is the kind of detail which would be unlikely to find its way into a Canada Studies era text. The lack of these sorts of interesting details about human foibles and flaws contributed to the blandness of Canada Studies era texts.

In considering the blandness of Canada Studies era textbooks, it must be remembered that textbook authors have many stakeholders to please. First, they must find, or be found by, a publisher who is willing to publish a textbook in a country where national sales are never guaranteed due to provincial autonomy over educational choices. Second, the book, once it is written and published, must make it onto at least one provincial list of approved texts. In order to do so, it must meet a myriad of criteria related to readability, social considerations, and curriculum fit, as well as content accuracy. Third, it must be viewed by teachers as useful to them in meeting curriculum objectives and as acceptable for their students. Even after texts are safely ensconced on provincial approved lists and in use in social studies classrooms, they are a target for changing public opinion. This has been evident in the past with, for instance, the abrupt removal of Grant's *History of Canada*

⁸⁸⁰David Pratt, "Bias in Textbooks," 164.

⁸⁸¹Neering, *North-West Mounted Police*, 42.

in 1920, discussed earlier. Burt's comment regarding "doing a new dance over the two chapters on Riel [in *Romance of Canada*] to avoid breaking any eggs"⁸⁸² is another indication of how textbook authors have catered to outside interests. This interest in textbooks has increased over time as the public has become more literate and interest groups have become more vocal on a variety of issues. After all this, a textbook that has some personality is a minor miracle.

Implications of this Study

Lawrence Cremin once referred to history as "a lamp to light the present."⁸⁸³ This thesis has explored a number of ways in which the vision of Canadian identity portrayed in social studies textbooks has changed over time. It is important to pause and consider just what implications the findings of this study might have for contemporary social studies textbooks.

The blandness of many texts in the Canada Studies era has been discussed. Students find it difficult to become engaged with content presented by a disembodied voice. Marcy Singer Gabella describes a student as saying that, "Pictures are more interesting [than a textbook]. The fact that it comes from somebody rather than from something. . . . There's more humanity." A second student says, "In a book like [the textbook], when they're talking about social problems, you can't feel it, 'cause the book is so cold."⁸⁸⁴ As Gabella points out, the impersonal tone of the text discourages involvement in the content on the part of students. Authors can include themselves in the narrative by describing their own perspective as best they can. If the student reader views the author as a human being then there is a greater likelihood of engagement with text content.

⁸⁸²A.L. Burt to Mrs. Dorothy Burt, 22 April 1928, cited in Lewis H. Thomas, *The Renaissance of Canadian History*, 111.

⁸⁸³Lawrence Cremin, "Forum on the Metropolitan Experience in American Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 29 (Fall 1989): 440.

⁸⁸⁴ Marcy Singer Gabella, "Beyond the Looking Glass: Bringing Students into the Conversation of Historical Inquiry," *Theory and Research in Social Education* XXII (Summer 1994): 358.

The concept of the 'omnipotent narrator' has also been discussed. This is a reference to the common practice of presenting information in textbooks as the truth, and the only truth. Carl Berger has reminded us that "our own mental outlook, which seems so coherent and final . . . is unlikely to appear so to posterity."⁸⁸⁵ Textbook authors could take Berger's warning to heart by presenting information in a more tentative manner. They might even explain, with examples, how historians are products of their times and their interpretations of historical events change over time as society's priorities and perceptions change. In fact historian Desmond Morton, author of *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, does just this in the wonderful Foreword of his text:

Like experience, collecting and understanding history is a very personal matter. However scholarly and objective an historian may claim to be, all knowledge and its interpretation is filtered through an author's experience and prejudices. Recognizing that fact may be the beginning of disillusionment; it should be the beginning of wisdom.⁸⁸⁶

Not only can textbook authors take a more 'human' approach, but students can be informed as to the processes by which ideas in people's heads become textbooks. Make them privy to some of the conflicts and compromises by which textbooks come into being. Remove the mystery from the processes which lead to a new text arriving at their classroom door.

Related to this, is the way in which textbooks present events as inevitable, rather than as the result of choices made by fallible human beings. Student activities could be provided which assist students to consider possible consequences if different decisions had been made at particular historical turning points.

As Henry James put it, "the critical sense . . . is one of the highest distinctions."⁸⁸⁷ In the final analysis, we need to turn our attention to the textbook's intended audience. We

⁸⁸⁵Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (University of Toronto Press, 1970), 265.

⁸⁸⁶Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, i.

⁸⁸⁷Henry James, "The Science of Criticism," *New Review*, May 1891; reprint Henry James, "The Science of Criticism," *The Critical Muse: Selected Literary Criticism*, ed. Roger Gard (New York: Viking Penguin, 1987), 290-294.

no longer assume that there is a promised land where textbooks exhibit no bias. Therefore, it seems logical that we must consider ways in which students can be taught to adopt a critical stance which will enable them to view a text as representing particular perspectives rather than as the ultimate authority on a topic. The task of teachers is to tear down the edifice of TRUTH as represented by texts and help students learn to probe underneath the surface of textbook discourse for the latent messages texts deliver regarding their world. As Cherryholmes has said, "encouraging students themselves to engage in criticism may be simultaneously a step away from social studies instruction and a step toward social studies education."⁸⁸⁸

This is not a new or revolutionary idea in Canada. Voices have spoken up for this approach from time to time. Fowler and Moore made this suggestion in 1972 after examining children's books for bias against Native peoples. These authors acknowledged that there is a case for more and better books, but took the position that removing biased books from recommended lists is not necessarily in the best interests of Native or non-native students. They suggested that students be taught to "identify and reject the stereotypes in these books and, with training, in the media as a whole."⁸⁸⁹ Again, in 1983, when Alberta Education informed schools that several texts would be removed from provincial approved lists due to bias against Native people, representatives of the Social Studies Council of the Alberta Teachers' Association were vehemently opposed to this move. In a letter to Mr. King, the Minister of Education, this group suggested that a solution more in keeping with the inquiry emphasis of the Alberta social studies curriculum was to alert teachers to the problem areas in the texts and to suggest strategies for helping students address their bias and stereotyping.⁸⁹⁰

⁸⁸⁸Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Critical Research and Social Studies Education," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, ed. James P. Shaver (New York: Macmillan, 1991), 55.

⁸⁸⁹C.A. Fowler and E. Moore, "The Portrayal of Canadian Indians in Children's Books," *The Canadian Journal of History and Social Science* 8 (1972): 30.

⁸⁹⁰Roberta McKay, Shirley Stiles, and Neil Evans, Sub-Committee of the Social Studies Council of the Alberta Teachers' Association, to the Honorable Mr. D. King, Minister of Education, 19

Canada Studies era textbooks have been criticized in this study because they ask students to make decisions related to complex issues without providing sufficient information to enable them to do so.⁸⁹¹ Ken Osborne has pointed out the dilemma which textbook authors face in this regard. He says that authors can either sacrifice the inclusion of student questions and activities for the provision of more information, or they can include exercises, activities, and problems "without being able to provide the context and depth of information that alone could make them intellectually valid." He suggests two solutions to this dilemma. First, several sets of alternative texts can be used instead of one class set of the same textbook. Second, source materials can be used to "demystify and dethrone the textbook."⁸⁹² He outlines four approaches for using source materials effectively:

One, we can use source materials which present an account or explanation which differs from that in the textbook. Two, we can use two or more sources which differ among themselves, thus creating a problem of interpretation. Three, we can use sources which do not so much contradict the textbook but provide the material that enables students to get behind its summary statements. And four, we can give students the materials from which they have to construct their own historical accounts, and perhaps in the process deconstruct the textbook.⁸⁹³

Osborne discusses each of the above in turn, and provides examples of how one might proceed with each approach. Gabella has also recently called for the use of conflicting textual accounts, as well as the use of other forms of representation such as film, so that students can challenge and compare information.⁸⁹⁴

May 1983.

⁸⁹¹ See Morton, *Towards Tomorrow: Canada in a Changing World, History*, pp. 115-116, for an example of this.

⁸⁹² Ken Osborne, "Teaching History Through Source Materials," chap. in *In Defence of History: Teaching the Past and the Meaning of Democratic Citizenship*, Our Schools/Our Selves Monograph Series No. 17 (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1995), 154, 155

⁸⁹³ Ibid., 155.

⁸⁹⁴ Gabella, "Beyond the Looking Glass: Bringing Students Into the Conversation of Historical Inquiry," 350.

Note that neither Osborne nor Gabella make the suggestion that students discontinue using textbooks. Use of a textbook is often seen as a negative aspect of classroom instruction.⁸⁹⁵ However, it seems to me that the key to successful instruction lies in using the textbook effectively, rather than in abolishing it from the classroom. A textbook provides information presented by an author who has a degree of content mastery which most teachers would not have. That content is presented in what the author considers to be a logical sequence for instruction. A textbook, with its suggested classroom questions, student activities, and assessment strategies, can also provide a pedagogical framework. All of this can be accepted, rejected, modified, or supplemented by a teacher, but it does provide a basis from which to begin instruction.⁸⁹⁶

The suggestions made by Osborne and Gabella are important ones. While an approved textbook can be a central feature of instruction, too often the single textbook is viewed as the major, if not the only, information source in social studies classrooms. This approach was encouraged in British Columbia by the emphasis on single listings in the Canada Studies era.⁸⁹⁷ A return to a system of multiple listings such as was the case during the Chant era would discourage reliance on a single text.

Finally, I suggest that textbooks be criticized in the context of the curriculum objectives for which they were written. Textbooks are not developed in a vacuum. The fact that they are published and approved in order to meet the objectives set out in prescribed curricula is a key point which is often missed by textbook critics. While critics' concerns may be legitimate, they would often be more productively directed at the

⁸⁹⁵See Deborah Loewenberg Ball and Sharon Feiman-Nemser, "Using Textbooks and Teachers' Guides: A Dilemma for Beginning Teachers and Teacher Educators," *Curriculum Inquiry* 18 (1988): 401-423. These authors found that student teachers enrolled in two different teacher education programs developed the impression that to be good teachers, they should avoid relying on textbooks and teachers' guides. Rather, they should develop their own teaching activities and instructional materials.

⁸⁹⁶Elliot Eisner makes an effective case for use of the textbook in Elliot W. Eisner, "Why the Textbook Influences Curriculum," *Curriculum Review* 26 (January/February 1987): 11-13.

⁸⁹⁷While more than one textbook was listed for a grade, these textbooks were approved to meet curriculum objectives for the different topics at the grade level. Textbook options were not provided for the same topic, as they were in the Chant era. Exceptions were the Grades Four and Five levels, where alternative textbooks were approved to meet all the curriculum objectives..

curriculum itself rather than solely at the textbooks which have been approved to bring the curriculum to fruition in classrooms. It is pointless to criticize a textbook for having an excessive emphasis on political history, for instance, when the curriculum for which it is written has that emphasis.

There is at present a debate raging among historians as to whether history is being fragmented beyond all recognition or enriched by the increased interest in such neglected areas of study as women's history, social history, the history of Native peoples, and the history of children. Current textbooks reflect this debate in only a limited way. They have added on sections which highlight women and various racial and ethnic groups. However, they do not reflect the reconceptualization of history called for by historians such as Veronica Strong-Boag⁸⁹⁸ and Gail Cuthbert Brandt.⁸⁹⁹ They will not do so until this is reflected in curriculum guides. To expect them to do so is to ignore the relationship between textbooks and curricula. Unless such change is acknowledged and accepted at the level of provincial Ministries of Education, and incorporated into social studies curricula, it will not be seen at the level of textbook development.

We also must ask ourselves--just what is the job of textbooks? Should textbooks take on the task of leading society toward a promised land; that is, to represent society as textbook authors might like it to be, or rather, as it actually is? Should texts show multiracial neighbourhoods with residents living in total harmony? Should men be depicted as carrying out the lion's share of household chores and childcare? Or should they show the realities of modern life? In my opinion, it is not the role of textbooks to lead the way in this respect. It is dishonest to serve up a vision of an unreal, ideal world and present it as real to children. Textbooks should present the world as the authors see it, and let students decide whether they think it should be changed.

⁸⁹⁸Veronica Strong-Boag, "Contested Space: The Politics of Canadian Memory," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5 (1994): 2-17.

⁸⁹⁹Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "National Unity and the Politics of Political History," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 3 (1992): 3-11.

Related to this is the question of how to present individuals and groups who were previously ignored or maligned in textbooks. Emma LaRocque, an Albertan Métis, addressed this topic when she wrote in her book, *Defeathering the Indian*, that Native peoples should be portrayed as "human beings--no more and no less."⁹⁰⁰ David Pratt made much the same point when he said that textbooks and textbook analyses should "deal consistently with both the achievements and the failures of all the complex and fallible human groups that at present inhabit the planet Earth."⁹⁰¹

This study has demonstrated the value of the textbook as cultural artifact. A textbook is an important historical data source because it provides evidence of views of the world deemed suitable to place before students during the period in which it was officially approved for use in schools. In this study I have used textbooks to look at selected aspects of the views of Canadian identity presented to British Columbia elementary and secondary school students in three eras over the course of the twentieth century. I have traced ways in which the views of Canadian identity have changed over time due to changing historical circumstances.

Ultimately it is the readers of the texts who will carry those visions of Canadian identity around with them. Here is how one eleven year old British Columbia student recently described her vision of Canada:

You are not only my home, but also my bodyguard against the whole world. You are my wealth, my love, my life.

Sure, you have your downside, but you are where I will always be at home. I was born here and I shall die here. So Canada can be built on top of my deceased self for-ever more.⁹⁰²

⁹⁰⁰Emma LaRoque, *Defeathering the Indian* (Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada Ltd., 1975), 43.

⁹⁰¹David Pratt, "Bias in Textbooks," 164.

⁹⁰²Marena Winstanley, in Ben Wick, *Dear Canada: A Love Letter to My Country* (Toronto: Ben Wicks & Associates, 1995), 56. (Marena is an eleven year old Vancouver girl.).

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APPENDIX

Sample Textbook Profiles

Putman-Weir Era

Burt, A.L. *The Romance of Canada*. Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1937.

Status

Prescribed for Gr. 7 in 1937-38 school year.

Prescribed for Gr. 8 in 1937-38. Prescribed for Gr.8 and Gr. 9 from 1938-39 to 1949-50.

Format

- 400 pages plus a 64 page addition, entitled "British Columbia," by Arthur Anstey
- Larger print than earlier history texts; i.e., Gammell
- 102 illustrations
- Suggests titles for further reading, both literature and nonfiction, at the end of each chapter.

Content

- Chapter headings range from "The Discovery of Canada" to "Canada Comes of Age" (increasing independence and relationships with other nations following World War II).
- Tacked-on section on British Columbia begins with rivalry for North-West coast between Russia, Spain, and Britain. Section concludes in 1930s.

Curriculum Fit

- Gr. 7 - It is unclear why this text was prescribed for Gr. 7 in the 1937-38 school year. Its content fits the previous, 1927-28 curriculum, but not the new *1936 Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools*. This text replaced the Wallace text, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada*, for this one year. The Wallace text may have been out-of-print and no longer available. (Its last printing was 1929.) The Department of Education may have prescribed it for the one year in order to provide teachers with a transition year to make themselves familiar with the new content prescribed for this grade.

Grs. 8 and 9 - Suitable for section of Gr. 8 curriculum, "The Development of

Canada Under British Rule" (21 weeks of school year). It is unclear why this text was prescribed for Gr. 9. The *1936 Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools* does not prescribe any Canadian history content at the Gr. 9 level.

Themes

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender

- "The great majority of the newcomers were young women, because, like most new countries, the colony had a surplus of young men. At first there were complaints that the immigrants included citybred girls, who did not make good farmers' wives, but the mistake was soon corrected by the selection of peasant maidens from the villages of northern France. Nor were the army officers who remained in the country forgotten. They belonged to the gentleman class, and therefore, at the intendant's request, a number of young ladies were sent out to suit their taste. During Talon's day, the feminine population was doubled.
On the arrival of every shipload of prospective wives, there was a merry marriage market, for suitors were waiting in abundance. Then, as now, the men could choose and the women refuse; and, though there was little time for choice, the result seems to have been very happy--except for the young men who could not get partners." (p. 65)
- "And none who lived through those dark days, when every newspaper brought lists of killed and wounded, can ever forget how untiringly the women of the country knitted for their menfolk overseas. Nor can it be denied that many a woman in her lonely house suffered in heart more than husband or son in the trenches suffered in body. All in all, the sacrifice of the soldiers was well matched by the sacrifice of the people at home." (p. 343)

Race/Ethnicity

- "a horde of fiends" [Iroquois] (p. 55)
- "But, like wild beasts who had tasted blood, they would not obey their old master." [the Iroquois] (p. 75)
- "red demons" [Iroquois] (p. 77)
- "insolent" [Iroquois] (p. 72)
- "Never has any white man displayed a greater genius for handling red men. He could play upon their natures as a master plays upon a violin. The Iroquois quickly came to the conclusion that this great Onontio, as they fondly and reverently called him, would be a kind, loving father if they were good, but a terrible avenger if they were bad." (pp. 73-74)

- "The Oriental population now numbers many thousands, and a large proportion of these were born in the province. They have shown themselves energetic and resourceful, and are engaged in farming, fishing, lumbering, and many other types of industry. Their presence constitutes a social and economic problem. Like so many other problems that make up the story of the past, it will need to be solved by wise and patient effort." (p. 63)
- "Every year more of our population are native-born Canadians, and we are more truly a nation." (p. 362)

Teaching of Virtue

Characteristics of Heroes and Heroines

- **Brave** - "There was wisdom in his advice, for the settlement around Quebec was weak, and the new arrivals were going to establish a second weak settlement nearly two hundred miles away. But there was heroism in Maisonneuve's reply. He said that he had no choice; he was sent out to begin a colony on the island of Montreal, and he was going there 'even if every tree in that island were to be changed into an Iroquois.'" (p. 53)

"If ever there were martyrs, these Jesuits were martyrs, and Roman Catholic authorities have recently honoured their memory by proclaiming them to be saints of the church." (p. 56)

[Dollard and his men] "made the heroic decision to die fighting rather than to retreat." (p. 57)

"The heroic tale of Madeleine, the fourteen-year-old daughter of the seigneur of Verchères, belongs to these days. In the absence of both her parents, she assumed command of the little fort of Verchères, when it was attacked by forty or fifty Iroquois; and, though she had a garrison of only three men and two boys, she held the savages at bay for a whole week until help came." (p. 77)

"Frontenac is one of Canada's greatest heroes." (p. 78) - [vanquished the Iroquois]

"Two heroes of Canadian history are Brock and Tecumseh, the White Man and the Red." (p. 170)

"The Indians were quick to see that these fearless riders of the plains, clad in scarlet, gold, and blue, had come, not to make war upon them, but to protect them from all wicked men, whether they be white or red. It was not unusual for a single constable to ride into a native camp and arrest a wrongdoer in the midst of his armed people." (p. 318)

- **Intelligent** - "It was not easy to tame them, for they numbered about thirty-six thousand; the country was huge, and the dangerous border was nearly a

thousand miles long. But the police did it, though they were only a handful--three hundred in all. This is one of the miracles of Canadian history. It is explained by the fact that these were no ordinary men. They were carefully selected. They had strong bodies and bold spirits, and they had something more. They had intelligence and education; they were able to think quickly and act wisely in emergencies." (p. 317)

- **Self-Sacrificing** - "Worse than travelling with the Indians was living with them. Only beasts or saints could survive being cooped up in a birch-bark hut with unclean savages, half-tamed dogs, and myriads of fleas, eating filthy food, and having their eyes continually blinded by smoke. These missionaries were heroic saints." (p. 47) [Since they were clearly not beasts, the author concludes that the missionaries were heroic saints.]

Conception of Canada as a Nation

Part Played by Conflict and Cooperation

Conflict

- "The government in Ottawa refused to accept the country, because a rebellion had broken out in it. For this, the Canadian government was much to blame. In buying the country, it had paid no attention to the people living there, although they were the most concerned in what was happening. They felt as if they had been sold with the land like so much live stock. The white people, numbering about fifteen hundred, had hoped for self-government, but they learned that they were to be ruled by a lieutenant-governor and a council appointed in Ottawa and controlled from Ottawa. And who was this man who was coming to govern a country he had never seen? He was William McDougall, a Canadian politician, one of the leaders in the attack on the Hudson's Bay Company, the worst possible choice the Dominion could have made. All who had been connected with the company, a large portion of the colony, naturally looked upon him as an enemy.

The half-breeds, who numbered nearly ten thousand, had further grounds for fear. The few Canadians in the country had treated them with scorn and had talked of swarms of Canadians coming to fill the land. Then what would happen to the Métis? They were afraid. The French Canadians of Quebec, on becoming part of the Dominion, had insisted upon laws to protect their language and their religion, but the French-speaking and Roman Catholic people on the banks of the Red River, the greater part of the Métis, were to be herded into the Dominion without any such protection in their own, their native country. The Métis also suspected that their lands were to be stolen from them. They were sure of it when they saw surveyors, sent from Ottawa, beginning to run their chains all over the country-side. The Dominion government received warnings from many men, even from the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the West, Bishop Taché, who visited Ottawa in June; and yet it did nothing to quiet the suspicions that were running like wildfire along the banks of the Red River." (pp. 283-285)

- "And one of them, an Ontario youth named Thomas Scott, was tried and shot. His death was one of the greatest tragedies in Canadian history. The people of Ontario cried out for the blood of Riel, while the people of Quebec rallied passionately to the defence of one who belonged to their religion and their race. In the West, Scott's execution left bitter memories which are dying only now. Without it, there might have been no second Riel Rebellion, and Louis Riel might have been remembered by all Canadians as a hero in the fight for constitutional government, instead of being regarded by many as a criminal whose hands were stained with blood." (p. 286)
- "In the early 'seventies, the death of Scott roused such angry passions in Ontario and Quebec that the government feared for the unity of the Dominion if Riel were captured and tried for murder. It secretly advanced him money to remain out of the country, and when he came back, it banished him. These passions flamed up again in 1885, after he had returned to lead another rebellion, the story of which will be told in the next chapter. He was caught and condemned to death for treason. The sentence tore the country, and the government faced an awkward situation. Should it satisfy Ontario by letting him die, or Quebec by letting him live? After much hesitation, Macdonald's cabinet chose to please Ontario, and from that moment Quebec began to turn against his party." (p. 307)

Relationship to Great Britain

- "It left a suggestion that Canadian interests had been sacrificed for British interests. This thought rankled in the minds of many Canadians, who failed to see that the sacrifice was the price paid for being able to call upon the British navy whenever necessary. They also overlooked the fact that the mother country had bought out Canada's Fenian claim by guaranteeing a large Dominion loan." (p. 304)
- "In throwing themselves into the struggle [W.W. I], the people of this country were inspired by two great feelings. One was loyalty to the mother country and the desire to stand shoulder to shoulder with her in the great hour of trial. The other was a belief in the righteousness of the Allied cause. . . . These two feelings--loyalty to Britain and loyalty to a peaceful civilization--ran together and roused an intense conviction that Canada's honour was at stake, and that no sacrifice should be spared in maintaining this honour before the world." (p. 340)
- "Canada was no longer content with this relationship of inferiority. The change sprang from no resentment against Britain, no desire to break away from the mother country. It was caused by our war effort, which awakened in us a fuller sense of nationality than we had ever felt before." (p. 367)

Relationship to United States

- **Resentment** - "Much greater than the feeling against Britain was the resentment against the Americans for forcing open our fisheries and refusing to reopen

their market for our produce. The fear that had given birth to the Dominion survived as a certain anti-American feeling which, being quickened, helped to build a Canadian national sentiment." (p. 304)

- **Peace and friendship** - "Canada and the United States have set an example to the world by living side by side in peace and friendship for over a century." (p. 165)

"long and happy peace" (p. 179)

- War of 1812 - (pp. 165-179) - a fair treatment of this topic, presenting both perspectives

French/English Question

- "They [the Canadians] also made the delightful discovery that the British, whom they had feared as terrible enemies, were really excellent fellows. Immediately the fighting ceased, the soldiers befriended the habitants, even assisting them in the fields, and the officers proved to be kindly rulers." (p. 138)

"These four years are of immense importance. They planted in French Canadian hearts that trust in the justice of British rule which has preserved this country from being pulled apart by its double nationality. These years are also a turning point in the history of the Empire." (p. 138)

- [One of the few texts in this period to discuss conscription crisis.] "The war also strained the national unity of the country. Until 1917, our army was raised by voluntary enlistment, and it soon became apparent that the two great races which comprise our population were not supplying recruits in equal proportion. There were several very good reasons for this." (p. 344)

In What do Canadians Take Pride?

- **Contribution to World War I** - "Though our soldiers played a relatively small part in the war, none surpassed them in ability and valour." (p. 340)

"We may ever be proud of the glory won by Canadians on the battle-fields of Europe, but we should never forget the great price paid for it." (p. 342)

Conception of the Student Reader

Pedagogy

- [Attempts to make Canadian history interesting to students by treating it as a story.]
- "The requirements of individual interests may be met, further, by the socializing of the instruction suggested throughout the exercises." (p. 8) [influence of progressive education movement]

- ["Suggestions for Further Study" at the end of each chapter - Kinds of activities: sand table model, comparison of modern warfare with warfare in the eighteenth century, writing first person letters home to friends in France, making charts, reading tables. (Many of the same kind of activities and questions which one might expect to find in a contemporary text!)]

Additional Comments

- "The author has a thorough grasp of Canadian affairs but stresses the technicalities of our political life at the expense of the spirit which should animate it. Pupils are not challenged with the task of keeping democratic institutions in a world which is on the verge of discarding them." (*A Report on Text-books in Social Studies in the Dominion of Canada and Their Relation to National Ideals*, p. 47)

Chant Era

Deyell, Edith. *Canada: A New Land*. Toronto: W.J. Gage Ltd., 1958.

Status

Prescribed for Gr. 10 in 1970-71 as "B" issue - total number of books selected from all those prescribed for the history component of Gr. 10 could not exceed the total of two "B" issues. "B" issue was one text per pupil in the largest group receiving instruction at any one time but not to exceed 50 percent of total grade or course enrolment if more than one class under instruction. Authorized from 1979-80 to 1981-82. Authorized, but out-of-print, from 1982-83 to 1987-88.

Format

- 476 pages
- 8 colour paintings of historical scenes by Grades 7 & 8 students
- Black-and-white drawings and maps

Content

- Deals with Canadian history from Native peoples prior to European contact to 1848.
- This text is Volume One in a two-volume series. Second volume is *Canada: The New Nation*, which deals with Canadian history from 1820 to mid twentieth century.

Curriculum Fit

- Gr. 10 title is "Canada in her North American Setting." This text covers most of the topics for the history component of this grade. It does not deal with Confederation and Expansion--Emergence of the West, Confederation, and the Macdonald Era.

Themes

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender

- "When your father puts money on the collection late at church each Sunday morning" (p. 107) [Why not mother?]
- [Judging from Dickie, and now Deyell, female authors seem to take the most interest in the King's daughters. Deyell devotes a full page to this topic (p. 128)]

- "Now, at thirty-six, he [Groseilliers] was a fur trader, with a nice little wife to make things pleasant when he came home." (p. 138)
- [Includes quote from Hearne with no discussion]:

"Women were made for labor; one of them can carry or haul as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, and keep us warm at nights; and in fact there is no such thing as travelling any considerable length of time, in this country, without their assistance. Women, though they do everything, are maintained at a trifling expense; for as they always stand to cook, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times is sufficient for their subsistence." (p. 311)

- "Children cried, women quarrelled; there was noise and confusion everywhere." (p. 370) [On ships crossing the Atlantic in 1800s] [Men didn't quarrel?]

Race/Ethnicity

- "The Canadian government has now forbidden potlatches because Indians left themselves in want by trying to give more gifts than their neighbors." (p. 10)
- "A few natives went home with him. They were souvenirs of his trip, as were the bright-coloured birds, the tobacco plants, and the potatoes." (p. 40)
- "Perhaps the sailors made friends with the Indians, as you would make friends with a puppy--by offering something to eat." (p. 66)
- "The hat [beaver], full of holes, ended its life on the head of a naked African negro who got it in trade from the Portuguese!" (p. 68)
- "He [Champlain] grew fond of them as one grows fond of children, and he made plans to help them, as you will see later." (p. 97)
- "They [Iroquois] swooped down on the mission at St. Joseph when Father Daniel was holding early Mass. The priest, in his white vestments, stood in the doorway to protect his people from the savages, but they struck him down and threw his battered body into the flames of his burning chapel. Shrieking with joy they murdered all the Hurons they could find." (p. 111)
- "Then black days settled over Montreal. It had been founded to bring the story of Christ to the Indians, but the Iroquois would not listen to the teachings of the missionaries. Instead the savages made life miserable for the French." (p. 115)
- "The Indians decked themselves in their new finery and flashed their new steel knives. They shouted and laughed like happy children. Next summer they would be waiting, never fear! They would bring more furs so that they could take away more knives and trinkets! They would tell their friends." (p. 133)

- "The trade canoes that went inland carried French brandy for the red men. It is hard to say when the Indians first tasted it and named it 'firewater'; but it became a favorite drink very quickly. The Church said it was bad for the Indians; it turned them into beasts just as the priests were beginning to soften their ways. . . . So brandy, like the coureur de bois, became a regular part of the fur brigade that left Montreal to trade in the interior of the new continent." (p. 135)
- "Another fort had fallen before the cunning of the red men." (p. 216)
- "The habitant's home was a gay community centre any day of the year. As a rule it had just one big room downstairs. But there was always a red glow in the fireplace, always a pot of pea soup simmering on the hob, always a cradle to rock, and always a warm welcome to visitors.
Habitants loved to sing. Women had songs for churning and weaving, and lullabies for singing their babies to sleep. Men had rollicking chanties for chopping and sawing, and for paddling their canoes. Whenever the French got together, singing and laughter rang out." (p. 131)
- "The Acadians were a happy and light-hearted people. They loved weddings and birthdays and events that gave them a chance to get together. Especially in winter, when the crops were in the barns and the ice turned the rivers into roads, they visited back and forth. Sounds of dancing and singing rang through the solid old houses long into the night." (p. 197)
- "No Canadian can ever feel like a stranger in Europe." (p. 32)
- "How the Indians would have stared if they could have seen their furs displayed in front of gilt-edged mirrors! How they would have gaped at the auctioneer!" (p. 304)

Teaching of Virtue

Characteristics of Heroes and Heroines

- **Brave in Battle** - "A brave group of French lads stepped forward to save the settlement." (p. 115)

"Like the young heroes who flew out to defend British skies in 1940, these men took on their heroic task." (p. 116) [Dollard]

"Stories say that Mrs. Laura Secord, the wife of a United Empire Loyalist, was the heroine of the day; they claim that she walked the twenty miles from her home to Beaver Dams to warn FitzGibbon that she had heard of the planned attack. To avoid the suspicion of the enemy sentries she drove her cow before her through the forest and thick underbrush. Whether it is true or not we like to believe that the women of Upper Canada showed the same kind of bravery as the women in New France in the days when Madeleine de Verchères fought off the Indians." (p. 294)

"There are many tales told of these fights with the Indians, but none is more heroic than that of Madeleine de Verchères. She won the praise of all New France when she saved her father's seigneurie from the Indians in 1692. Her story is told excitingly in a book named *Madeleine Takes Command*." (p. 187)

- **Industrious** - "A new hero, the settler, stands before the footlights. . . ." In British Columbia, too, the settler is the hero. He grows fruit, he fishes for salmon, cod, and mackerel; he works in the lumber business, in the mines, on the ranches, and in the canneries." (p. 302)

[Note: This text belies Osborne's point that the fur trader is not glorified as a hero in Canadian history texts.] "The fur trader, hero of the early days, has left the stage." (p. 302)

"How eagerly they sought their furs! How staunchly they pushed their way into the Indians' country with priest, explorer, and trader! How they quarrelled and fought with each other for the riches of the fur trade!" (p. 464)

"Well done, Nor'Westers! Without your work, Canada might have had no western ports at all!" (p. 349)

"The fur trader was not idle while the boundary was making its way across the West. He was struggling through great changes into better days. When we left him, he had just finished the long hard race to the Pacific; the air was full of cheers for the winner: 'Well done Nor'Westers!'" (p. 350)

"Modern surveyors who have checked Thompson's work have been amazed that they needed to correct so little. Many of the familiar features on your map of Canada were put there by Thompson. He earned his title, 'Canada's greatest geographer.'" (p. 347)

"What tasks they faced! What strength and courage they showed as explorers and pioneers! How they loved and fought for freedom!" (p. 464)

Authorial Moralizing

- "Like Hudson, he managed his men badly. He drove them too hard; he thought they should be able to keep up with an exceptional person like himself. His haughty, stern ways built up hatred in the men's hearts. Out on the trail one of them shot La Salle and left him lying in a Texas river thicket. Like Henry Hudson, he paid for his poor leadership with his own life." (p. 151)
- "Why did Hudson meet his death on a trip from which other men returned safely? It was not the fault of the ship, for it returned in safety. It was not that he lacked skill in handling the vessel, for he brought it out of some tight spots. If he had been able to win the trust and co-operation of his men, do you think he might have lived to try for the Passage again?" (p. 60)

Conception of Canada as a Nation

Part Played by Conflict and Cooperation

Conflict

- "Growing up is quite an adventure for children and for nations too. You saw the provinces becoming as restless as teen-agers; you saw them trying out their own methods to get free from their mother's apron strings; you have your own ideas about the method which worked best." (p. 409)
- "He [Douglas] heard that the miners were making their own laws. There was quarreling over claims. There was fighting with the Indians, who did not want white men on their river. There was stealing and lawlessness. Douglas took a company of Royal Engineers up to Hope and Yale in a steamboat armed with a cannon. He showed the newcomers that the law could follow them into the wilderness." (p. 447)

Relationship to Great Britain

- "Canadians are no longer a part of the British Empire. We have graduated from that great nursery to become a nation in ourselves, and a partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The common bond between us and our Commonwealth partners is *our beginnings in the British Empire*." (p. 360)
- "Perhaps Britain's ideas on bringing up children in the 1780's will sound very odd to you. Like all other parents of those times she thought children lived for the benefit of their parents. When she began claiming colonies here and there across the world, she chose ones which would be useful to her. If they did not supply her with gold, they gave her goods from which she could get gold in trade--such goods as cod, timber, wheat, tobacco, cotton, and palm oil. She told them to grow the kind of goods she needed most, and to buy all their manufactured goods from their Motherland.
Like many children the colonies grumbled about the restrictions and took as their due the advantages resulting from belonging to the British family. And there were real advantages! Britain defended her colonies by forts built on her taxpayers' money, and by soldiers paid by the British people. She paid the salary of the men she sent to govern the colonies. She gave the colonies favors when they had surplus goods to sell to her." (p. 387)
- "Children know how to 'get around' their parents. Each one of you has his own best method which you worked out by trial and error. Many men worked to get reform in the colonies." (p. 389) [Joseph Howe, William Lyon Mackenzie, etc.]

Relationship to United States

- **A threat** - "Which way would the colony go? With her feet turned southward and her head turned toward the British colonies in the East, she was ready to make some kind of move that would decide her future." (p. 463)
- **"Uneasy friendship"** - "We watched the British Colonies begin their uneasy friendship with the United States." (p. 464)
- [This text has a great deal of information about the U.S. - American Revolution, background to War of 1812, growth - 1818-1862.]

In What Do Canadians Take Pride?

- "From the first the settlers had enemies. With far-seeing selfish eyes, the merchants in Bristol pictured a day when settlers would sell their fish and buy their goods where they liked. What a loss that would be! 'Keep Newfoundland a fishing station,' the merchants urged the king. 'Don't let settlers take root there.' To press their point they sent gangs to wreck the new log buildings and scare the settlers away. But their plan failed. These hardy men did not scare easily, and the settlements grew. Newfoundland school children feel proud when they read stories of the first pioneers who 'stuck it out' in those early days." (p. 162)

Conception of the Student Reader

Citizenship Duties

- "Then we will be able to lend our youth and energy to the task of being good Canadians in our own country and good citizens in the great world which lies around us." (p. vii)
- "School children are the best defence our frontier can have. You study each other's histories at school, and learn that there is more than one side to a story; you get acquainted as pen pals, you welcome each other as tourists; you learn that good neighbors have to give and take. 'The will to live in peace,' is a stronger defence than stone or steel. Friendship, like a music lesson, has to be practised." (p. 430)

Pedagogy

- "This is where the 'history explorer' takes over. He knows his way back into the past. He turns at once to his best guides--books and records." (p. 109)
- [Provides same seven-step method for teaching history as in *Canada--The New Nation*:]

- (1) Teacher's preparation - reading widely on the topic

- (2) Introducing the topic, locating the key problem, and subdividing into smaller problems if necessary.
 - (3) "Hunch" solution - predicting the solution to the key problem. "Trial solutions by the children are almost essential to pupils' acceptance of the problem as their problem." (p. 475)
 - (4) Observation and recording - using reference materials and other sources
 - (5) Interpretation - "Interpretation is the important step of bringing together all the answers and deciding what they mean." (p. 476)
 - (6) Application - Making records by means of maps, charts, diagrams, pictures, summaries, letters, diaries, and reports
 - (7) Testing and evaluation - "by examination, pupils discover what they have learned through their study. They evaluate their proceedings, noting strengths and weaknesses." (p. 476)
- "Can every teacher hope to teach history successfully? I think our success depends upon three fundamentals: we must believe that the teaching of history is important; we must know history ourselves and continue to be students in history; we must be able to help pupils organize topics from a take-off point in their own experience, and to direct them in their search for knowledge." (p. 475)
 - [Does not provide student questions or activities.]
 - [Attempts to draw connections between events described in the text and students' own experiences]: "There may be boys and girls in your own class who can say with pride: 'My ancestors were United Empire Loyalists. They left the United States because she broke away from Britain; and they came to Canada to make homes in the wilderness.'" (p. 266) [Also compares moving from the U.S. to Canada today with the way in which the Loyalists moved.]

Additional Comments

- **Idealizes** - "Back in the shanty at night the lumberjacks ate big meals of salt pork, pea soup, bread and potatoes, molasses, beans, turnips, pies, and cakes. They whiled away the evenings with tall yarns; they slept like children. Their lives were carefree." (p. 414)

Canada Studies Era

Wood, Daniel. *Exploring Our Country*. Explorations Program, ed. Carol Langford and Chuck Heath. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre (Educational) Ltd., 1983.

Status

One of three texts in the *Explorations* series prescribed for Grade Three from 1983-84 to 1988-89. In 1989-90 all previously prescribed social studies resources became authorized and only curriculum guides were prescribed. ("To be designated as an authorized teaching or learning resource, the product or products will have been evaluated by the Ministry and found to be the minimum, but adequate, resource needed to implement the curriculum for the majority of students for whom the curriculum is designed.") In 1992-93 all primary social studies texts were changed to recommended status.

Format

- 125 pages
- Organized in two-page spreads
- Colour photographs and sketches

Content

"*Exploring Our Country* develops the concept of the interaction of Canadian communities. Links such as resources, transportation, recreation, tourism, government and art are explored. Six communities in different parts of Canada are seen through the eyes of a young girl, Morgan, as she magically visits Edmonton, Weyburn, Sault Ste. Marie, Quebec City, Burgeo and Cape Dorset." *Explorations Teacher Book*, p. 163

Curriculum Fit

- Deals with the first major concept of the Grade Three curriculum: the interaction of Canadian communities through--use of resources, government, transportation and communication, education, health, and social services, recreation and cultural expression.

Themes

Conception of the Ideal Canadian

Gender

- [Uses device of a little girl named Morgan who magically visits each community

under study. Morgan is an androgynous figure. Even her name is ambiguous. She wears coveralls with various t-shirts. Her favourite activities are described in the following way]:

"She liked making angels in the snow and eating birthday cakes. She liked collecting bugs and climbing trees. She hated being tickled." (p. 6) [The author seems to have carefully chosen activities which are not associated closely with either boys or girls.; i.e., playing dolls]

- **Females are depicted:** picketing; voting; volunteering in a hospital or nursing home; volunteering for the Red Cross, and for Big Sisters; taking or picking up a dog from the S.P.C.A.; working as a city worker digging up a street. a doctor, a fisher, a tractor driver, a miner, a television photographer, an Inuit artist, a teacher, a nurse at a nursing station in Cape Dorset, a salesperson at the West Baffin Eskimo Co-op, a television reporter, at the fish processing plant in Burgeo, at an election polling station, scraping sealskin; enjoying recreational activities such as Klondike Days in Edmonton, cross-country skiing near Sault Ste. Marie, participating in *Le Carnaval de Québec*, playing on a jungle gym, enjoying pets.
- **Males are depicted:** voting; picketing; working as city workers digging up a street, drilling for oil in Alberta, an S.P.C.A. employee, delivering newspapers, farming in Saskatchewan, working at a grain elevator, being an author (W.O. Mitchell), at an election polling station, selling souvenirs at Carnaval de Quebec, fishing off the coast of Newfoundland, painting a boat in Cape Dorset, donating blood to the Red Cross; supporting the Big Sisters organization; in recreational activities such as Klondike Days in Edmonton, relaxing on the banks of the North Saskatchewan River in Edmonton, riding bikes, playing on a jungle gym, enjoying pets, playing street hockey in Quebec city and in Burgeo, participating in *Le Carnaval de Québec*, riding a cart in Burgeo, cross-country skiing.

[Asks these questions]: "Does that mean that women cannot become farmers? Do you think a woman could drive a tractor? Could a man do the cooking and washing for a farm family? Do you think that there are men's jobs and women's jobs?" (p. 43)

Intergroup Relations (Race/Ethnicity)

- Various races are depicted; Caucasian, Black, Inuit, Indo-Canadian

Class

- **Occupations:** primarily blue-collar.
- **Homes:** Few homes shown other than outport houses (pp. 83 & 85) and a small home in an older neighbourhood in Edmonton (p. 25).

Other Categories

- **Age:** Morgan listens to W.O. Mitchell tell a story (p. 40)

An elderly woman sits in a wheelchair. She is being helped by a volunteer (p. 20)

Morgan visits Mrs. Gertrude Parker of Burgeo who is celebrating her 112th birthday. Mrs. Parker tells the television reporter how life in Burgeo had changed over the past hundred years. (pp. 82-96)

[Note: The elderly woman in the wheelchair is a stereotypical representation of an elderly person--weak and dependent on others. Mrs. Parker and W.O. Mitchell get across the point that the elderly have contributions to make to society. W.O. Mitchell is a well respected Canadian author from whom people can learn about life on the Canadian prairies in the past. Mrs. Parker can tell about life in the past in a Newfoundland outport.]

- **Disability:** Child in wheelchair surrounded by friends (p. 58)
An elderly woman in a wheelchair (p. 20).

Conception of Canada as a Nation

Part Played by Conflict and Cooperation

Conflict

- Text discusses several potential sources of conflict:
 - old neighbourhoods vs. parks (p. 25)
 - "Sometimes people make jokes about people from other cultures. They say mean things about the way they talk, the food they eat or the way they look. These jokes hurt people's feelings." (p. 61) The reader is asked, "What is the best thing to do when you hear jokes about other people?"
 - conflict between children playing street hockey and motorists. Resolved in an unlikely manner--by the premier of the province as a result of the intervention of Bonhomme. Teacher Guide suggests that students role-play the situation and then debrief. It asks: "Which approach would more likely result in a solution to the problem--the approach taken in the student book or the approach acted out in the classroom?" (*Explorations Teacher Book*, p. 207)
 - parent-child conflict: A young Inuit boy does not want to go with his family to live off the land for the summer. He prefers to stay in Cape Dorset and see the plane which arrives once annually. (p. 115)
 - more generational conflict: Mrs. Parker doesn't like her great-great-grandchildren watching so much television because she is afraid that it will make them think of leaving Burgeo. (p. 97)
 - "Sometimes the people of the province do not like what the

government decides. They might hold a parade to show their ideas. Then at the next election the people might vote for someone else. They can choose a new government. In that way the people can make the government work for them." (p. 75)

Cooperation

- "People who share the same ideas often get together. They might form a group to improve their community. In every town and city, there are community groups." (p. 20)
- "Community groups might write letters to the newspaper. They might write to the government. Sometimes they have a parade with posters and banners. Sometimes members of the group talk on radio and TV. The groups want to explain their ideas. They want to get other people involved. When citizens work together in a community group, they can get a lot of things done." (p. 21)

French/English Question

- "In Quebec, most people speak French. They want to keep their language and culture. The government gives money for festivals which celebrate Quebec's culture. It has also passed laws about the French language. French is the everyday language of work and government." (p. 75)
- [Does not deal with conflict surrounding this issue. Rather, the chapter on Quebec City focuses on Francophone culture, as celebrated through *Le Carnaval de Québec*, its history, its tourist industry, and the role of the National Assembly.]

In What Do Canadians Take Pride?

- "Morgan had learned that Canada is a big country. It is made up of many separate communities. And these communities are made up of many different people. Morgan also found out that these communities are linked together through work and play. The people in one community help those in another. That is one of the things that makes Canada a **nation**." (p. 121)

Conception of the Student Reader

Pedagogy

- [Each of the six community chapters has a story component which describes Morgan meeting people and exploring the community and at least one two-page spread providing information on some related topic. For instance, in the chapter on Edmonton, Morgan meets a group of people who are picketing. A two-page spread is devoted to the concept of people working together for a better community by means of forming groups and doing volunteer work. Three pages

at the end of each chapter are devoted to student questions and activities. "What is Your Decision?" poses a dilemma. "Thinking About ____" has four sections: "Links with ____," "Working Together," "Comparing Communities," and "Reading a Map," "Reading a Chart," or "Reading a Graph." The "Links with ____" activity demonstrates how the community under study is linked with other Canadian communities. The "Comparing Communities" activity compares students' own community and the communities under study according to five categories: products, transportation, recreation, tourist places, and language."