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Catherine Broom

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Change and Continuity in British Columbian Perspectives as Illustrated in Social Studies Textbooks from 1885 to 2006

Catherine Broom, Assistant Professor, University of British Columbia, Okanagan, Canada

Abstract • This paper presents an overview of British Columbia's (B.C.) educational history interweaved with descriptions of textbooks. Focusing on social studies textbooks, this article explores change and continuity in the history of public schooling, paying attention to whether citizens were conceptualized as active, passive, or patriotic citizens. It identifies four key periods: the establishment of public schools in B.C., the rise of the progressivist movement in the 1930s and reaction to it, advocacy of Bruner's structure of disciplines in the 1960s, and pendulum swings in philosophic orientations in the latter part of the twentieth century. The article illustrates connections between contemporary philosophies and textbooks, and identifies continuity and change in the content and aims of the textbooks.

Key words • British Columbia, Canada, history of education, social studies, textbooks

Introduction

Textbooks are one of the key resources used by teachers in the classroom. Furthermore, as textbooks in British Columbia (B.C.) have been mandated for use in schools and selected by the government, they also provide insight into the educational philosophies (aims and methods) of the Department of Education (now called the Ministry of Education). This paper presents the findings of a research study of B.C. textbooks and other primary and secondary educational materials. It presents a brief history of schooling in B.C. together with contemporary textbooks. Most textbooks were prescribed by the government for use in schools. The degree of change and continuity in B.C.'s curricula, public policy, and educational philosophies, as well as the presence of stereotypes and nation-building stories, are discussed towards the end of the paper. These illustrate both what a Canadian citizen has been (and is) understood to be, and how he or she was (and is) expected to develop through schooling. The paper focuses on social studies and on the conceptions of good Cana-

dian citizens embedded within school texts, as citizenship was a foundational goal of public schooling.¹

Significant Change in Schools in a Century

An early pioneer recalls of his school days in 1889 that his school – the first to open in what was to become Vancouver – was on the top of a hill behind a lumber mill and that the teacher was Mrs Colbeck. He recollected her as a “kind woman and had complete charge of the fifty-five or more pupils. She ruled with an iron hand tempered with kindness. We were all very fond of her. This was the only school. Mrs. Colbeck had hard work teaching us as we were all in different classes.”² His description contrasts quite markedly with mine, which occurred in the same city 100 years later. My high school housed over 1000 students, with 190 in my graduating class. Students moved from teacher to teacher, each of whom taught his or her own subject. The school had no corporal punishment, students were divided by grade and by age, class size was about twenty five, students had more say in choosing the courses they wanted to take with a credit system, and the school population was increasingly multinational. These contrasting experiences illustrate the development of mass schooling. This fundamental educational change is reflected in curricular and policy changes and textbooks.³

Methodology

A historical study of early twentieth century school textbooks, government policy documents, curriculum guides, educational journals, and general archival material about B.C. schools was conducted by the author in 2010 in Vancouver, B.C. In most cases, the author studied textbooks mandated for use in B.C. schools by the provincial government, as these were the texts that students would have been exposed to during their studies. History is understood to be an interpretation of the past through inquiry-based pedagogy which aims to answer a question posed in the present.⁴ The author identified and analysed key themes through this primary document analysis. Understanding history as interpretation recognizes the contextualized and situated nature of historical analysis.

Elementary Schools in the Nineteenth Century

Colonial schools in nineteenth century B.C. were partisan and class-based. Curricula were traditional; they focused on rote learning and basic aca-

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demic subjects.⁵ During the nineteenth century, the idea of free common schooling gained support from developments in Prussia, France, and the United States. Common schooling was touted as a way of improving society and teaching the working class values and skills deemed necessary in a growing and industrial world.⁶ In B.C., a philosophy imported from Ontario led to schooling that was free and non-sectarian with the 1872 Public School Act and the free textbook system of 1908.⁷ Ontario, under Ryerson, had followed changes occurring in the United States, influenced by the practical initiatives of Thomas Mann.⁸

B.C.'s *Course of Study for Common Schools* of 1890 lists reading, writing, spelling, English grammar, composition and letter writing, arithmetic, English and Canadian history, anatomy, physiology and hygiene as subjects to be taught in order to give students "a good ordinary English Education."⁹ Methods to be used consisted of reading the textbook and memorizing. An 1898 *Teacher's Guide – Programme of Course Study for Public Schools* added that the purpose of school was to prepare students "for the ordinary employments and duties of life."¹⁰ Reading, writing, and arithmetic were to be taught first, followed by natural science, and then history, geography, and civics. The primary education gained was basic and aimed at giving students skills necessary for daily living and inculcating particular morals, as illustrated in the following textbook.

An Elementary School Text: *The New Canadian Reader*, 1901

*The New Canadian Reader, Book IV*¹¹ is pro-British. Most readings are from England. It begins with a dedication to Queen Victoria and with her picture, and it contains patriotic poetry. The reader is also religious, with extracts from the bible, Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, a romantic illustration of Jesus, several catechisms, and stories supporting religious morals, such as "Samuel Johnson's Repentance" who asked for "forgiveness of God."¹² Also included are stories on Westminster Abbey, the poem "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," and the Epiphany hymn on the "light and rock of ages." As well, a passage from *Tom Brown's School Days* describes Tom Brown being inspired by his friend kneeling to pray, and a story on the "Burial of Moses."

The book portrays native Canadians negatively. For example, in a long selection called "The Long Sault," an attack by the Iroquois on French "heroes" is described in terrifying detail. The Iroquois had a "rude fort," and they were "revengeful." Other stereotyping phrases include the "uproar of unearthly yells [...] screeching [...] leaping [...] uncertain, vacillating temper common to all Indians [...] swarmed like angry hornets [...] hacking and tearing."¹³ If this was not enough to terrify school children, the story also described how the Iroquois massacred the French and burned three

who were left alive after the attack. They left one alive to torment. Further, they did not keep their promises to their own allies, as “regardless of promises,” they burned the French prisoners.¹⁴ Another story about natives, *Pontiac*, described the “thorough savage” in “squalid” conditions, with his “whiskey bottle.”¹⁵

The third striking feature of the book is its militarism. Several poems in the book describe the life of a soldier as one of inspiring courage, bringing honor to both the individual and the nation. Thus, *Charge of the Light Brigade* by Tennyson is included at the beginning of the book, as are the “Battle of Marston Moor,” the “Battle of Naseby,” the poem of the “Soldier’s Grave,” and the story of Cromwell (“battling for men”). A story on the “Duty of Canadians,” describes how all men should be prepared to defend their country through personal sacrifice and how boys should be trained in rifle shooting in a rigorous environment, as well as learn honour. This piece is followed by a poem in which a soldier earns his reprieve in death. The fourth theme of the book uses romantic pieces to define the expectation for girls to be ladies and wives. Selections include a romantic-style illustration of Sir Gallahad, the *Lady of Shallot*, stories of Laura Secord and Boadicea, and a story about a young, poor orphan girl who meets and marries a prince as she is the most hardworking girl in town. In short, this textbook illustrates racial and gender stereotypes and aims to create patriotic citizens and develop particular values in students.

Traditional High Schools. Morality, Patriotism and Career Preparation

In the nineteenth century, high school education was limited to few students. It was “academic” and focused on subjects such history, geography, Latin, English, algebra, and bookkeeping. It served the middle class and prepared students for university, professional life, or teaching. For example, some of the later occupations of high school graduates included nurses, one mayor, a fire chief, university professors, judges, teachers, and principals.¹⁶ High schools offered commercial education in preparation for middle class careers in “clerking,” or business. Many middle class girls also attended high school to train for teaching jobs.¹⁷ Textbooks, like elementary the school text described, aimed to inculcate students with particular values.

High School Text. *History of Canada* by Frith Jeffers, 1884¹⁸

This small “history primer” presents a compact history of the formation of the “dominion of Canada,” beginning with the arrival of the French and the

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British with each other until they were united into one country, it goes on to list the acts which divided North American lands between the two powers and the major acts that shaped Canada over time. It also chronicles the American war of independence, the 1830s rebellions, the union of the colonies, and the constitution and laws of the new nation.

According to Walsh, three main interpretations of history were taught in Canadian schools: (1) the catholic interpretation; (2) the “progress” (or Whig) interpretation; and (3) the limited interpretation.¹⁹ This textbook falls under category 2. The book describes the process of creating “our nation,” with many comments on how, for example, “The new order of things gave an impulse to the country, which now began to make steady progress. New roads were opened up, and the navigation of the St. Lawrence was improved.”²⁰ The author also passes moral judgments on people based on how he evaluated them to help in the “development of Canada”: “The following year D’Ailleboust became governor. He was very diligent in his duties, and Canada became more prosperous.”²¹ Later in the book, the author describes the growth of the country through the union of the colonies, trade, the building of railways, and the successful participation of Canada in trade shows. In one trade show, Ontario was commended for showcasing its school system.

The book presents Americans negatively. Britain was justified in asking for taxes and the war of independence “was very sad, because it was between people of the same blood and language; even families were divided, fathers and sons fighting against one another [...] the loyalists were ready, not only cheerfully to submit to the law, but also to die in the defence of the mother country.”²² The author’s portrayals of other “unfair” acts by Americans, such as the war of 1812 and the Fenian attacks present Americans as violent and hungry predators, wanting to “gain Canada, and make it another State of the Union.”²³ Fleeing loyalists are described as undergoing much suffering in order to maintain their loyalty to the “mother country.”

The book has three main themes. First, it presents a positive account of the creation of the nation of Canada that aims to build pride and a sense of unity; the French are called “Canadians,” and are portrayed sympathetically as people who accepted British rule after the victory of the British over the French. “You will say, that there was little else but war, and you will say truly. First, the French and the Indians, as you have read in the former chapters, and now the English, French, and Indians. It is not pleasant to have to tell of these sad times, and it is hard to believe that people, whose children now live as brethren under the same government, were once shedding each other’s blood.”²⁴

Second, the book aims to create loyal citizens. Americans were disloyal to the “mother country”; loyalists “were true men and women, who chose rather to lose all than give up their allegiance to, and love for, the mother country.”²⁵ The rebellions of the 1830s are negatively portrayed as a lesson in what is the right behavior of good citizens: “rebellion is a

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very great offence against law and order, and all nations and people are agreed that it should be punished very severely, with death or imprisonment, and the confiscation of all property. Rebellion constitutes the crime called high treason.”²⁶ The rebels were portrayed as poorly organized and as not having sufficient cause: the government would have addressed their concerns if they had been more patient. Further, the rebels were seriously punished either by banishment or by being “brought to trial, and condemned to be hanged.”²⁷

Additionally, the author describes the constitution and laws of the government as well as who holds responsibility for making and enforcing laws in great detail. This description aims to have readers accept these “facts” as truth and as the correct way of running the country. The author does not provide any criticism of the government’s structure, laws, and representatives. The aim is to create law-abiding citizens who, unquestioningly, respect the laws and the structures of the government.

Third, the book is moralistic and aims to inculcate certain values in the reader. The author is Christian and makes references to “our creator” and “brethren.” He aims to instil typical Christian morals in readers via the manner in which he describes people and events. He makes moral judgements of historical characters, depending on whether they meet his view of good conduct or not. Those people who work hard are seen to be good and to bring development to the nation: “The following year D’Ailleboust became governor. He was very diligent in his duties, and Canada became more prosperous. The priests, who came out as missionaries, did very much for the people, and the success of the colony at this time was largely due to them.”²⁸ This is in contrast to “The Count de Frontenac who was the next ruler, in 1672. He was a great soldier and a very haughty man. [...] though he seemed desirous of doing great things for the colony, his bad temper led him to quarrel with his council, the intendant, and Bishop Laval. The Bishop was much opposed to the traders selling brandy to the Indians, while the governor took the part of the traders. The king decided against Frontenac, and recalled him to France.”²⁹ The British were described as more industrious in bringing prosperity than the French: “[...] in the short space of thirty years, the British had done more in forming settlements than the French did in all the time since Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence.”³⁰ Aboriginal people were also negatively portrayed, as “savages” without culture, who only appear in the early part of the book as violent participants in wars.

In sum, this “progress history” aims to inculcate young people, through carefully crafted “stories” from history, with a sense of loyalty and pride in “our country” and a belief in, respect for, and submission to the laws and government of Canada. It also presents a united (and limited) account of people who are “Canadians,” and thereby excludes individuals on account of race. The government had reasons for approving such a textbook

in the early “nation building years of Canada.” At the time that the book was published, Canada had been a confederation for less than twenty years, within the span of people’s living memory. Those in power wanted to ensure that the young country would remain and flourish.

Tomkins wrote that demands for Canadian studies grew during the twentieth century.³¹ This book, however, demonstrates that “Canadian studies” already existed before this, and that the government saw in schools a way in which to “socialize” the types of citizens it wanted by teaching patriotic myths. Interestingly, Canadian historians opposed this approach early in the twentieth century. In 1923, historians at the University of Toronto prepared a report for the National Council of Education in which they rejected the use of school history for moral ends and argued that history should not be used to teach patriotism or internationalism, which is presumably associated with imperialism. Rather, it should be taught in an objective way that gave students realistic knowledge of the world and understanding of conflict and compromise in international relations.³²

Transforming High Schools. The Rise of Mass Public High Schools

Change in schools continued in the early 1900s. As in the United States,³³ B.C.’s schools adopted a social efficiency (business) approach to school organization and emphasized the practical utility of schooling.³⁴ Social changes including industrialization and urbanization led to increasing student numbers. These influences combined with the desire to socialize students in schools and resulted in substantial school restructuring. Mass schooling included the implementation of compulsory attendance and child labor laws, the introduction of grade levels by age, procedures to stream students into varied programs of study, and a more complex bureaucratic hierarchy. Furthermore, teachers increasingly gained status as professionals through certification in normal schools.³⁵ These changes led to curriculum reform, as new vocational education programs were developed for an increasingly varied student body.

The first alteration was the introduction of industrial arts as a subject for boys and home economics for girls. Both aimed to ensure that working class children develop into good workers, at a time when the working class began to attend schools in increasing numbers.³⁶ The second key change in B.C. was the release of the influential Royal Commission report by Putman and Weir in 1925.³⁷ This report led to the new course on “social studies” which aimed to develop “intelligent, responsible and socially conscious citizens.”³⁸ The curriculum included character education. Students were to develop the “right ideals,” to have “tolerance and respect for all nations,” accept majority rule, understand their democratic re-

sponsibilities, respect private property, be open minded, value the dignity of labor, be law abiding, and develop “a whole hearted love for Canada [...working...] to make Canada greater and nobler.”³⁹ Teachers were to teach the new social studies course using textbooks such as the *Canadian History Readers*. As the following section shows, the texts maintained traditional features alongside some new progressivist changes.

Textbooks of the 1930s. Change within Continuity

*Civilisation in Europe and the World*⁴⁰ describes the evolution of western civilization with the aim of fostering a sense of identity and pride in it. The imposingly thick text emphasizes the grand story of the difficult struggle over the centuries for democracy, which is described as a feature of western nations at that time. It also presents war in a negative light (it invariably leads to negative consequences) and advocates interdependence, harmony, and the appreciation of others in solving international disputes. (It is ironic to think that this was the focus of school textbooks on the eve of the Second World War.)

Similarly to the 1885 text, McCaig’s *Studies in Citizenship*⁴¹ describes the structures and processes of the three levels of government and the benefits derived from the government, such as the police force, public health, education, and the protection of life and property. It supports taxation [“Government lets us live well”⁴²] advocates following the law, and describes citizens’ rights and responsibilities. The rights are listed as: the right to protection of life and property, to protection against disease, to free speech, to freedom of worship, to trial by jury, to healthful surroundings, and to a good education. Duties are listed as: obedience to the law [“Obedience to the law and respect for authority is the distinguishing mark of a good citizen”⁴³] the paying of taxes, serving in the army if necessary, voting, holding office (if worthy thereof), participation in jury service, maintenance of good health, and doing one’s best in school. Citizens are thus understood to be passive supporters of the current state.

History, the book argues, teaches us “lessons” and illustrates the virtues all citizens should have, including courage, unselfishness, loyalty [“Our great and young country has need of our loyal, devoted service”⁴⁴], patience, and justice. It also uses history to celebrate democracy by narrating the many sacrifices “our ancestors” made in order to bring citizens the privileges of freedom and democracy they are portrayed as enjoying at that time. The text aims to build national pride and sentiment; the British Empire is “the greatest and the freest that the world has even known.”⁴⁵

In a deviation from older texts, however, the book includes more “social” and “economic” information and a citizenship education program called “community civics.” The latter was a new approach to citizenship education advocated in the 1916 American

report which founded social studies as a course in the United States.⁴⁶ People, the text argues, depend on each other to live. As “our welfare is tied to others’ [...] each one must play his part.”⁴⁷ Society is understood as necessary social connections, and social institutions are defined as “an association formed for a particular purpose.”⁴⁸ Government is an institution that aims to meet social needs: “this working together to accomplish certain things for the benefit of the whole we call government.”⁴⁹ As the government is understood to work in people’s interests, everyone ought to follow the government and its laws and put the nation first. The book’s organizing theme is “community,” that is, appreciating and working with others, although the definition of who is considered to be a member of this community is limited. Some progressivist American influences are apparent in the movement and in the textbook. Reaction to this progressivism set in during the Second World War.

Change, Reaction and Response from the 1940s to 1970s

After the Second World War, student numbers grew rapidly. The 1955-1956 *Public Schools Report* described the major challenges of the day as managing social changes and population growth.⁵⁰ Administrators attempted to deal with these changes by developing practical curricula. The report stated that the “purposes of the curriculum is to prepare young people for life in adult society.”⁵¹ A Curricula Advisory Board, therefore, had been established the year before to investigate curricula, and changes were made to existing textbooks or new textbooks were issued for most subjects. Curricula could no longer be “academic.”⁵²

Reaction to progressivism and practical education arose during the 1950s when there was a move towards a more academic or traditional program. Canadians were influenced by the work of American and Canadian scholars, such as Hilda Neatby whose book stimulated educational debate across Canada.⁵³ This more traditionalist stance was reflected in the Royal Commission’s recommendations for a more academic curriculum.⁵⁴ As a result, B.C.’s Department of Education issued a new social studies curriculum in 1968, which adopted Bruner’s “structure of disciplines” approach.⁵⁵ This approach encouraged teachers to use a number of texts with different interpretations as well as inquiry-based learning.

A 1960s Text. *Making Canadian History*

One of the recommended texts, *Making Canadian History* provides a good example of Bruner’s approach.⁵⁶ It was interactive and included inquiry and “doing” activities, as opposed to reading formal prose passages and

answering fact-based questions, as found in earlier texts. The activities aimed to have students “work this year as a historian” and “think about how history is written” and included the tasks of reading and interpreting historical narratives, learning how word use evolves over time, and interpreting historical accounts, pictures, and narratives.⁵⁷ This change in the pedagogical organization of textbooks was also apparent at the end of century.

Towards the End of the Century. Politics, Change and Continuity

A practical work focus was advocated in the 1970s by the Bremer Commission.⁵⁸ This commission, directed by a progressivist, was not successful, as society was becoming increasingly conservative and the desire for “accountability” became more prevalent in the government and among some of the general population.⁵⁹ In the late 1970s, government policy moved from an open and experimental focus under the left-leaning New Democratic Party (NDP) to an increasingly conservative and structured focus under a right-wing party called the Socreds. These philosophic pendulum swings have continued to the present day.

In the 1980s, the Socreds, during a time of economic restraint, brought in tougher standards and reintroduced provincial exams in 1984. They advocated a number of other conservative means aimed at accountability, leading to protest against what was perceived as “education under siege.”⁶⁰ The Sullivan Commission of 1988 opposed these traditionalist measures by arguing, in a more progressivist manner, that schooling should be made applicable to all students.⁶¹ As a result, the year 2000 program instituted by the Socreds demanded that students be active in their own learning and that teachers be aware of the different ways in which students learn. Premier Harcourt saw it as a failure in 1993, and so introduced a new program focused on “basics and standards.”⁶² The NDP then changed school courses to focus on practical skills in 1995.⁶³

By the end of the twentieth century, in short, governmental policies swung between right wing (accountability-based) and left wing (student-centred) policies and resulted in curriculum documents that were increasingly multilayered and complex, with elements of various philosophies.⁶⁴ One major change, on both the federal and provincial levels, was the development of laws and policies including the Canadian and B.C. Multiculturalism Acts, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and the B.C. Human Rights Code. These supported multiculturalism, that is, they recognized and validated Canada as a pluralistic and inclusive nation whose identity was composed of multiple ethnicities. The continuity and change found in public policy was reflected in social studies texts at both the elementary and high school levels.

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By the end of the twentieth century, readers had been removed from schools. Teachers could choose a number of varied stories to read and discuss with their elementary students, including *Charlotte's Web*, the *Laura Ingles Wilder* series, *Never Cry Wolf*, and *The Island of the Blue Dolphins*.

High School. *Horizons, Canada Moves West*.⁶⁵ Grade 10

This textbook is similar to the 1884 textbook in several ways. It presents an analogous “progressive” history of the formation of Canada. The choice of facts and the description of events are similar, although this book contains more B.C. content. It has the same patriotic flavour, continued focus on history and geography, and carefully selected details shaped into the unfolding story of a nation.

However, this textbook differs from the 1884 text. It is more colourful, and is filled with idealistic pictures presented in warm tones. It includes more social history, to the point of starting each major unit with a fictional social history in the form of a diary or personalized narrative. Further, reflecting the development of multiculturalism, groups such as natives and Asians who were excluded from or marginalized in earlier histories, are included in sympathetic accounts. More differences illustrate the rise of the discipline of social studies, as conceptualized by early twentieth century American thinkers including John Dewey, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Harold Rugg. For example, the book is more focused on connecting the past with the present; it includes more economic history and relates this to the economy today. It also contains many “cross current” activities that link the historical content presented with events or issues considered relevant today. The textbook also features “critical thinking” activities in which students are asked to interpret various types of data,⁶⁶ and it focuses more on social and economic history, rather than on political and legal history.

Generally, the textbook awkwardly blends traditional philosophy (as found in earlier texts) with progressivist philosophy, but the mix is uneasy and the aim – that of creating good citizens loyal to the nation of Canada by the telling of national myths – remains paramount.

***Counterpoints Exploring Canadian Issues*.⁶⁷ Grade 11**

This textbook has more differences to the 1884 text. As the title itself implies, it focuses on problems concerning *people* in Canada during the twentieth century. It does so in an insular manner, as it makes little reference to the world beyond Canada, except where material is directly relevant to Canada. Further, this book does not provide a simple and positive, pro-

gressive history like the one presented in grade 10. It is dark and depressing; it grimly chronicles the world wars, the Great Depression and issues concerning Canada over the twentieth century. Its pictures aim to shock, with photos of Holocaust survivors, the world wars, starving children, and environmental destruction. These are supplemented with some appropriately dark and gloomy paintings.

The book includes less traditional historical narrative. It concentrates more on economics, geography (expanded into social, urban, environmental, developmental and economic directions from its earlier cartographic focus), political science, and law. This content is focused on explaining and commenting on the world today. It includes “critical thinking” and “skills building” activities and tasks, such as: interpreting political cartoons, considering opposing points of view on complex issues, and analysing primary and secondary sources and statistics. The book also features content on groups excluded in earlier textbooks as well as on human rights (a complete chapter) and multiculturalism.

The book, in short, is framed within a progressivist conception of social studies. Its primary aim is to expand students’ awareness of the multiple problems Canada has faced and continues to face. It does share one major aim with the 1884 textbook, for both books aspire to make “citizens,” who behave as the government would like, who know and abide by the laws. As the 2001 text states, in a manner reminiscent of that of 1884, “We are lucky to live in a country that observes the rule of law.”⁶⁸ Interestingly, the book then goes on to describe the Magna Carta, as did the 1884 text. Further, it states, again in a manner very reminiscent of that the description of the rebellions in 1884, that:

civil disobedience is the act of intentionally breaking, or refusing to keep, laws one considers unjust [...]. This form of protest has been used by some of the greatest moral leaders of our time [...]. Both [Luther King and Gandhi] of these men embraced non-violent civil disobedience in their quest for justice, and both ultimately died for their cause. If everyone in society disobeyed laws with which the personally disagreed, we might have no effective order. Different people would be living by a variety of rules, and the results would be chaos [...]. Relatively trivial matters do not merit breaking the law, as the harm to society of that violation could be greater than the benefit. As well, those who choose to practise civil disobedience should be willing to face the consequences of their actions.⁶⁹

Conclusion

Studying textbooks provides insights into the informing philosophies of their designers and of those who approved the texts for use in schools.

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This study illustrates that prescribed textbooks shared some features in common with their contemporary educational philosophies and contexts in B.C., Canada. At the same time, the texts illustrate change and continuity in how social studies was understood. In a manner similar to Wertsch's concept of a schematic narrative template (ideas that remain the same over time as they are embedded in unseen structures), some features and aims remained consistently embedded in texts over the century.⁷⁰ At the beginning of the century, textbooks presented positive, "unfolding" (progressive) narratives of the development of Canada, imbued with morality. These narratives were infused with a number of myths about the development of the Canadian nation, including the myths of the Royal Mounted Police as heroic defenders of the law and the role of the Canadian Pacific Railway in shaping Canada.⁷¹ These were supplemented with factual accounts of government and law that aimed to legitimize current structures. These two features remained in texts at the end of the twentieth century. Significantly, that is, one of the government's primary aims for public schooling – that of socializing people into loyal, "nationalistic, or good, citizens" – has remained a feature of texts since the government first instituted mass schooling in Canada over a hundred years ago. This illustrates continuity in the aims of government curriculum developers and may be part of a general and continuing understanding (schematic narrative template in Wertsch's terms; collective memory in other words) of what a "good citizen" is considered to be by particular individuals with political power in B.C.⁷²

What had changed, by the end of the twentieth century, were the texts' pedagogical approaches. The texts had become more student-friendly. They were more colourful and had more pictures and included activities designed to develop "creative thinking and problem solving" as opposed to test factual recall. They aimed to make material relevant to students by linking the past to the present, and some were framed within a more critical perspective. Textbooks have therefore come to adopt a more progressivist orientation by including social history, an issues-based approach, critical thinking activities, and more linking of history to the present. They have also changed their orientation as to who was considered to be Canadian and reflect a more inclusive, multicultural society by including accounts of groups previously omitted from study (although stereotypes and simplifications of cultural groups remain). The increasing attention to multiculturalism and multiple perspectives is related to federal level policies including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms as well as provincial policies such as B.C.'s Multiculturalism Act.

B.C. textbooks, thus, are a complex blend of reflections of their educational and social contexts, underlain by consistent "templates" of particular key concepts, such as what a "good" citizen" is considered to be

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(a nationalistic supporter of the current state). This schematic narrative template of the good citizen is embedded within particular national myths and stories. It has remained largely the same over the century, although some of its features (such as who is considered to be a citizen) have been expanded as a result of social change and advocacy.

¹ Francesco Cordasco, *A Brief History of Education* (Totowa: Littlefield, Adams, and Co., 1976): 115-135.

² John Burnes, *Saga of a Municipality in its Formative Years 1891-1907* (typed manuscript at the North Vancouver City Library): 38-39.

³ For historical reviews, see Tomkins, *Common Countenance*, 1986; Timothy Dunn, "The Rise of Mass Public Schooling in British Columbia 1900-1929," in *Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia*, J. D. Wilson and D. C. Jones, eds. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited., 1986), 23-51; Jean Barman, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus? The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," in *Schools in the West*, N. M. Sheehan, J. D. Wilson and D. C. Jones, eds. (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), 241-264; R. Stamp, "Evolving Pattern of Education: English-Canada from the 1870s to 1914," in *Canadian Education: A History*, J. D. Wilson and R. M. Stamp, eds. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 314-336.

⁴ Robin G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994): 359-425.

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