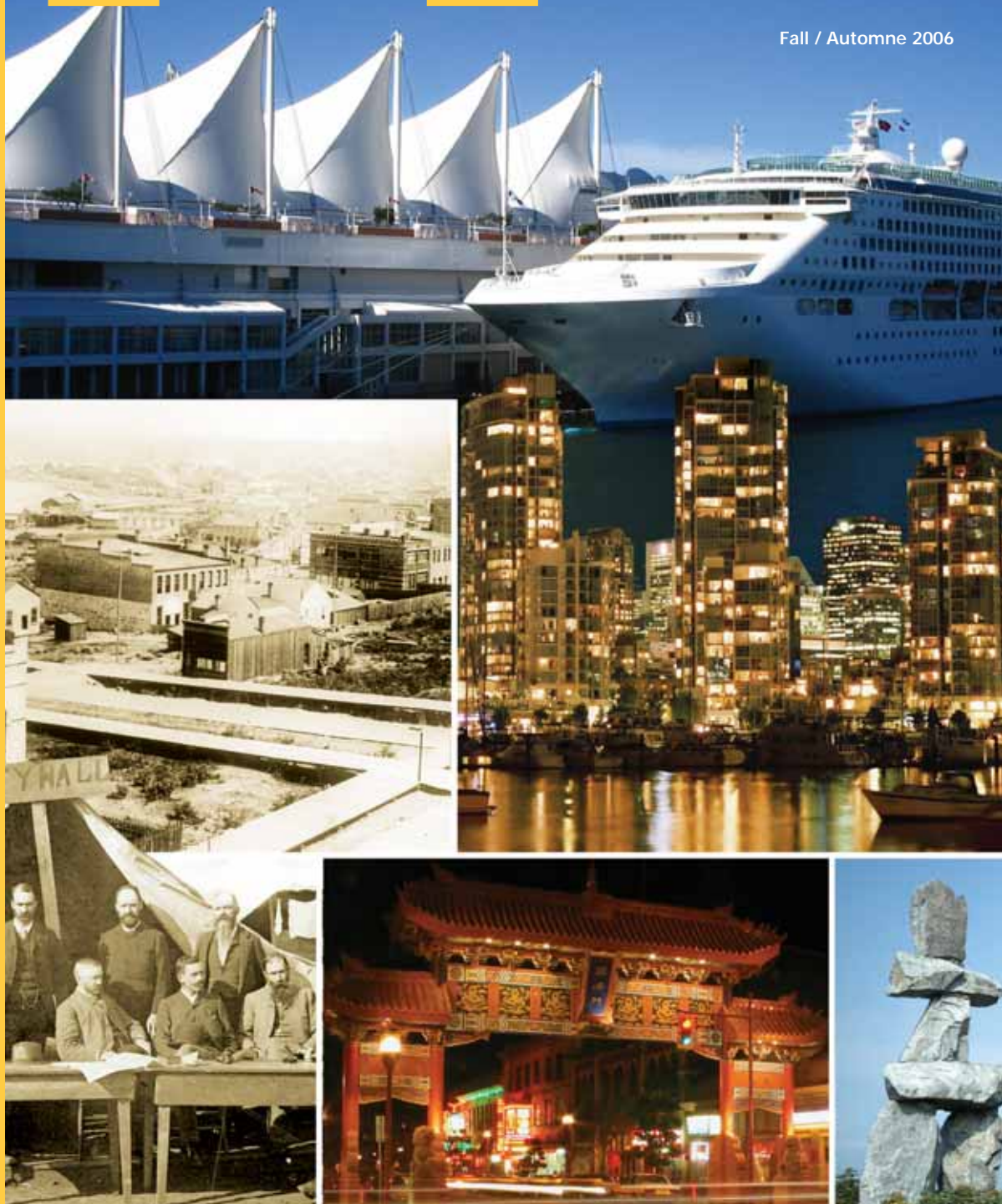


Bev Oda
 Gordon Cambell
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 Charles Hou
 Charles R. Menzies
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CANADIAN ISSUES THÈMES CANADIENS

Fall / Automne 2006



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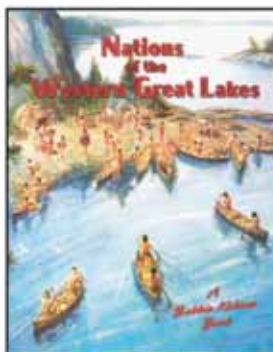
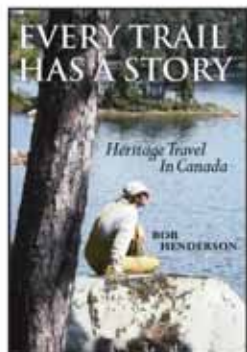
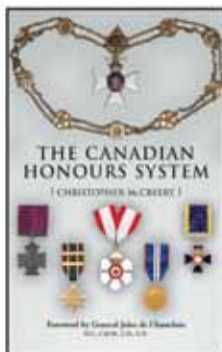


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CANADIAN ISSUES THÈMES CANADIENS

Fall 2006 Automne

- 4 Message from Ellen Ellis
Conference co-chair
- 5 Message from Peter Seixas
Conference co-chair
- 6 Message from the Honourable Beverley J. Oda
- 7 Message from the Honourable Gordon Campbell
- 8 Message from the Honourable Stan Hagen
- 9 Acknowledgements
- 10 Exhibitors
- 11 Program : Canada West to East:
Teaching History in a Time of Change
Programme : Le Canada d'Ouest en Est :
Enseigner l'histoire en période de changement
- 26 Interview with the Honourable Beverley J. Oda
- 28 Interview with the Honourable Stan Hagen
- 31 Immigration to British Columbia:
Shaping a Province, Defining a Country
By Ian W. Wilson
- 34 National Historic Sites in British Columbia
By Larry Ostola
- 37 Integrating British Columbia – and the Rest
of Canada into Canada's History
By Jean Barmam
- 41 The Price Paid for Neglecting BC History
By Charles Hou
- 44 The Challenge of First Nations History
in a Colonial World
By Charles R. Menzies
- 47 Images of Aboriginal People in British Columbia
Canadian History Textbooks
By Penney Clark
- 53 Unwelcome Settlers from the West:
People from the "Far East" in British Columbia
By Patricia Roy
- 58 Doing History with Wah Chong's Washing
and Ironing
By Peter Seixas
- 61 Here and There: Re/collecting Chinese
Canadian History
By Imogene L. Lim
- 66 Gender Imbalance in Early British Columbia
By Hugh Johnston
- 68 Learning by "playing": Engaging Students
in digital history
By Stéphane Lévesque
- 72 Behind the Net: History and Internet
Use amongst Canadian Youth
By Jack Jedwab
- 75 Putting the Mystery Back Into History
By John Lutz
- 80 La crise du programme d'histoire au Québec :
quelles leçons en tirer ?
Par Christian Lavoie
- 87 Faut-il craindre une autre histoire
du Québec ?
Par Jocelyn Létourneau
- 91 Teaching about Racism and Anti-Semitism
in the context of Quebec's History Programs
Par Brian Young

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canadien Canadian
Heritage

Canadian Studies Program

Programme des études canadiennes

CITC is a quarterly publication of the Association for Canadian Studies (ACS). It is distributed free of charge to individual and institutional members of the Association. CITC is a bilingual publication. All material prepared by the ACS is published in both French and English. All other articles are published in the language in which they are written. Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the ACS. The Association for Canadian Studies is a voluntary non-profit organization. It seeks to expand and disseminate knowledge about Canada through teaching, research and publications. The ACS is a scholarly society and a member of the Humanities and Social Science Federation of Canada. The ACS is also a founding member of the International Council for Canadian Studies.

CITC est une publication trimestrielle de l'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC). Elle est distribuée gratuitement aux membres de l'Association. CITC est une publication bilingue. Tous les textes émanant de l'Association sont publiés en français et en anglais. Tous les autres textes sont publiés dans la langue d'origine. Les collaborateurs et collaboratrices de CITC sont entièrement responsables des idées et opinions exprimées dans leurs articles. L'Association d'études canadiennes est un organisme pancanadien à but non lucratif dont l'objectif est de promouvoir l'enseignement, la recherche et les publications sur le Canada. L'AEC est une société savante, membre de la Fédération canadienne des sciences humaines et sociales. Elle est également membre fondateur du Conseil international d'études canadiennes.

CITC acknowledges the financial support of the Government of Canada through the Canadian Studies Program of the Department of Canadian Heritage and the Canada Magazine Fund for this project.

CITC bénéficie de l'appui financier du Gouvernement du Canada par le biais du Programme d'études canadiennes du ministère du Patrimoine canadien et du Fonds du Canada pour les magazines pour ce projet.

LETTERS/LETTRES

Comments on this edition of Canadian Issues?

We want to hear from you.

Write to Canadian Issues – Letters, ACS, 1822A, rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal (Québec) H3H 1E4. Or e-mail us at <mp.desjardins@acs-aec.ca> Your letters may be edited for length and clarity.

Des commentaires sur ce numéro ?

Écrivez-nous à Thèmes canadiens

Lettres, AEC, 1822A, rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal (Québec) H3H 1E4. Ou par courriel au <mp.desjardins@acs-aec.ca> Vos lettres peuvent être modifiées pour des raisons éditoriales.

CANADIAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM 25 years under the Charter

LES DROITS ET
LIBERTÉS CANADIENS

Les 25 ans de la Charte

April 16-17, 2007
16 et 17 avril 2007

Ottawa, ON



Minority Language
Educational Rights

MESSAGE FROM ELLEN ELLIS

Conference co-chair

Dear participants,

You will be given many opportunities during this conference to consider how and why we teach history in this country. Each presenter will provide a small glimpse of the answer and from that we will make changes in our philosophy, strategies and techniques in teaching history.

British Columbian teachers will be given an opportunity to evaluate our model of teaching history through a curriculum review in the near future. You will be asked to think beyond the confines of the current model and envision the classroom of the future. What do you dream about teaching? How would you teach it? How would technology change your classroom?

This is the time to think big, do not be limited by the past. Our students deserve it.

The Association for Canadian Studies asked the BCSSTA a year ago to co-sponsor a national conference for history teachers. We were excited by the possibilities and have worked during the past year to bring together students and teachers of history from across Canada and from all levels of the education system.

The workshops, plenaries, learning exhibition and publishers displays bring together the teachers, resources and partners in education to promote Canadian history. We thank you for participating, the presenters for sharing their ideas and expertise, and the organizing committees for the time and energy in planning an outstanding conference.

Ellen Ellis
President, British Columbia Social Studies Teachers' Association

MESSAGE FROM PETER SEIXAS

Conference co-chair

Dear ACS Conference Participants,

It is my great pleasure to welcome your participation in the Association for Canadian Studies conference “Canada West to East.”

Over the past several years, often with very tentative commitments from funders, the ACS has had the foresight and tenacity to organize a most stimulating and rewarding series of conferences on the challenges and opportunities of teaching history. I am certain that this year’s conference will continue the best aspects of that tradition.

For those of us involved with history on the west coast, it is also a pleasure to host a conference that inverts the more traditional conception of Canada’s land. In that spirit, I hope that you will have plenty of opportunity in the next couple of days to think in new ways about Canada’s past.

Sincerely,

Peter Seixas, Co-Chair
Director, Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness,
University of British Columbia



Ottawa, Canada K1A 0M5



Our history is the foundation of our society. To ensure that our past remains relevant and vibrant and our collective achievements remain a source of continuing pride and inspiration, we have to find interesting ways to communicate them to Canadians, and especially our youth. This is the goal of the 2006 conference *Canada West to East: Teaching History in a Time of Change*.

As Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of Women, I commend the BC Social Studies Teachers Association and the Association for Canadian Studies for organizing this timely and wide-ranging conference.

I wish you many fruitful discussions.

Notre histoire est le fondement de notre société. Afin de faire en sorte que notre passé demeure bien vivant et que nos réussites collectives continuent d'être une source de fierté et d'inspiration, nous devons trouver des façons intéressantes de les mettre en valeur auprès des Canadiens, plus particulièrement des jeunes. Voilà précisément l'objectif que vise la conférence *Le Canada d'Ouest en Est : enseigner l'histoire en période de changement*.

À titre de ministre du Patrimoine Canadien et de la Condition féminine, je tiens à remercier la BC Social Studies Teachers Association ainsi que l'Association d'études canadiennes d'avoir organisé cette conférence d'envergure.

Je vous souhaite des discussions des plus enrichissantes.

Beverley J. Oda

Canada



October 20-22, 2006

A Message from the Premier

As Premier of the Province of British Columbia, I am pleased to welcome everyone to Vancouver and the Teaching, Learning and Communicating the History of Canada conference. I am also pleased to extend a special welcome to everyone who has travelled from within and outside of the province to be here.

I understand that this year's conference will host a diverse group of members from the teaching community from across Canada, providing a valuable opportunity for everyone to meet, gain new knowledge and address current issues in the teaching of Canada's history.

I would like to recognize everyone from the Association for Canadian Studies, as well as the sponsors and volunteers for their work in coordinating this event. The agenda offers everyone access to information on a variety of interesting topics, and I am sure there will be many constructive discussions.

On behalf of the people of British Columbia, welcome to Vancouver. I am sure the conference will be a great success.

Sincerely,

Gordon Campbell
Premier

MESSAGE FROM HONOURABLE STAN HAGEN

Minister of Tourism, Sports and the Arts



On behalf of the provincial government, I'm pleased to welcome you to British Columbia. I hope you enjoy your time here, and that you are challenged and ultimately inspired by the topics presented during this conference, *Canada West to East: Teaching History in a Time of Change*. I'd like to thank the B.C. Social Studies Teachers' Association for the hard work and dedication they have shown in organizing this national conference.

In 2008, B.C. will celebrate 150 years of shared history, rich cultural diversity and proud achievement since the founding of the Crown Colony of British Columbia in 1858. British Columbia has a fascinating story to tell – from the rich ancient culture of our First Nations, to our gold rush explorers and homesteaders, to our 21st-century achievers – and it is thanks to your passion and commitment as educators that our story is told well. I want to thank you for that.

This conference is an excellent opportunity for teachers, scholars and museum administrators to explore dynamic and innovative ways to engage our youth. The more our young people learn and understand the past, the better equipped they will be to lead the way into the future.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Stan Hagen".

Stan Hagen
B.C. Minister of Tourism, Sport and the Arts

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Conference Partners:

- Association for Canadian Studies
- Canadian Heritage – Government of Canada
- Library and Archives Canada / Canadian Heritage Information Network
- The British Columbia Social Studies Teachers Association

Conference Sponsors:

- The Historica Foundation
- Canada's National History Society
- The Government of British Columbia Ministry of Tourism, Sports and the Arts
- Parks Canada – Historic Places

Conference organizing Committee

- Ellen Ellis, President, British Columbia Social Studies Teachers Association
- Peter Seixas, University of British Columbia
- Deborah Morrison, Canada's National History Society
- Gabrielle Blais, Library and Archives Canada
- Merna Forster, University of Victoria, Author
- Penney Clark, University of British Columbia
- Tom Morton, Vancouver Teacher
- Charles Hou, Vancouver Teacher – Retired
- Maurice Basque, Universite de Moncton
- Penny Bryden, University of Victoria
- Carla Peck, University of British Columbia
- Jacqueline Gresko, British Columbia Historical Federation
- Jan Hamilton, British Columbia Teacher
- Pat Roy, University of Victoria
- Hoberly Hove, British Columbia Teacher-Principal & The Historica Foundation
- Jack Jedwab, Association for Canadian Studies McGill University

Conference Coordination:

- Association for Canadian Studies:
- Jack Jedwab, Executive Director
- James Ondrick, Director of Programs and Administration
- Catherine Lachance, Coordinator of Events Office Manager
- Marie-Pascale Desjardins, Coordinator of Events & Director of Publications

Graphic Design

Bang Marketing, Montreal, Quebec

EXHIBITORS

Learning Exposition

A multimedia exposition of history and social studies teaching resources. This hands-on exhibit provides bright new ideas for the classroom and exciting tools for the history enthusiast

Open:

- October 20, 2006, 8:00 am – 5:00 pm
- October 21, 2006, 8:30 am – 5:00 pm

Featuring:

- Library and Archives Canada / Canadian Heritage Information Network (Virtual Museum of Canada)
- The Historica Foundation
- Canada's National History Society
- The Canadian Museum of Civilization / The Canadian War Museum
- The Dominion Institute
- Statistics Canada
- The Government of British Columbia / BC Heritage
- National Film Board of Canada
- Parks Canada – Historic Places
- History and Heritage Directorate, National Defence Canada
- McCord Museum of Canadian History
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation / Digital Archives
- Parks Canada - In Schools Program
- Parliament Hill – A Treasure to Explore

CANADA: WEST TO EAST

Teaching History in a Time of Change

LE CANADA D'OUEST EN EST

Enseigner l'histoire en période de changement

PROGRAM | PROGRAMME

A National Conference on Teaching, Learning and
Communicating the History of Canada

Une conférence nationale sur l'enseignement,
l'apprentissage et la communication de l'histoire du Canada



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BRITISH COLUMBIA



PROGRAM | PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2006 | VENDREDI 20 OCTOBRE 2006

8:00 am – 5:00 pm

Learning Expo | Foire pédagogique

Kiosks demonstrating educational materials available from the following organizations:

Kiosques sur le matériel pédagogique des organismes suivants :

- Library and Archives Canada / Canadian Heritage Information Network (Virtual Museum of Canada)
Bibliothèque et Archives Canada / Réseau canadien d'informations sur le patrimoine (Musée virtuel Canada)
- The Historica Foundation | La Fondation Historica
- Canada's National History Society | La Société d'histoire nationale du Canada
- The Canadian Museum of Civilization | The Canadian War Museum
Le Musée canadien des civilisations | Musée canadien de la guerre
- The Dominion Institute | L'Institut du Dominion
- Statistics Canada | Statistiques Canada
- The Government of British Columbia – BC Heritage
Le gouvernement de la Colombie-Britannique – BC Heritage
- National Film Board of Canada | L'Office national du film du Canada
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Directorat – Histoire et patrimoine de la Défense nationale
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- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Digital Archives | Les Archives numérisées de Radio-Canada
- Parks Canada – In Schools Program | Programme scolaire de Parcs Canada
- Parliament Hill – A Treasure to Explore | Un trésor à découvrir – Colline du Parlement

8:30 -9:00 am

Welcome and Opening Remarks | Remarques préliminaires et mot de bienvenue

Crystal Ballroom

- First Nations Welcome – Bob Baker
- Doug Rimmer, Assistant Deputy Minister, Library and Archives Canada
- Jinny Sims, President, British Columbia Teachers Federation
- Ellen Ellis, President, British Columbia Social Studies Teachers Association (BCSSTA), Conference Co-Chairperson
- Peter Seixas, Director, UBC Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, Conference Co-Chairperson

9:00 am -10:30 am

Plenary 1

Aboriginal Perspectives on Teaching History

Les perspectives autochtones sur l'enseignement de l'histoire

Crystal Ballroom

- Grand Chief Edward John, First Nations Summit Task Group
- Jean Teillet, Pape Salter Teillet
- Gindajin Haawasti Guujaaw (invited)

10:30 am – 10:45 am

Break | Pause

10:45 am – 12:00 pm

Breakout Session 1

The Peopling of British Columbia: The Early Settlement

Le peuplement de la Colombie-Britannique : le premier établissement

Crystal Ballroom

- Cole Harris, University of British Columbia
- Patricia Roy, University of Victoria
- Hugh Johnston, Simon Fraser University
- Jean Barman, University of British Columbia

Breakout Session 2

Living History: Students as Explorers of the Past | Vivre l'histoire : étudiants, explorateurs du passé

Burrard Inlet

- Jay Lunday, Voyageur Adventures
- Ross MacDonald, David Thompson Bicentennial Initiative
- Ross MacDonald, Parks Canada

This workshop will feature both the North American David Thompson Bicentennials Partnership, with their current community and classroom initiatives nation-wide in connection with the 2007 to 2011 David Thompson Bicentennials, along with Voyageur Adventures, an activity-based company providing adventures for students. The NADTBP is an international alliance of partners is organizing projects and events to recognize explorer, fur trader and surveyor David Thompson on the anniversary of his trans-mountain exploits.

The latter presentation, entitled "Paddle Into The Past: A Voyageur Adventure" is a fascinating session introducing the approaches Voyageur Adventures uses to instill in youth an appreciation of Canadian history. Voyageur Adventures works with educators and high school students in half, full day and overnight adventure-based learning programs using 35 ft replica Voyageur canoes, introducing youth to history, leadership, and outdoor education through the legacy of the Voyageurs, those hardy and skilled adventurers who represented the pride, passion and perseverance that eventually formed our nation.

Breakout Session 3

First Contact: Bias, Perspective and Point of View | Premiers contacts : perspectives et opinions

False Creek

- Jim Monro, Monro Communications

Workshop Description:

James Monro, President of Vancouver based Monro Communications with co-developer Frank Lavalley, Executive Director

of Algonquins of Pikwakanagan offer a hands-on demonstration of First Contact: Bias, Perspective and Point of View, a story of the often contrasting viewpoints of Samuel de Champlain and the peoples of the First Nations in 17th Century Quebec.

First Contact is a highly engaging interactive Web site containing Timelines, Interactive maps, Animated videos, Subject

related links, Teacher Resource Centre, and the Movie Studio where students can author their own 'First Contact' movies completely online. The resulting movies can be emailed to others for sharing, debating or teacher evaluation.

Critical thinking skills and understanding are developed as students question the bias, perspective and points of view in historical sources as they author their own movies about Champlain and the First Nations. Frank Lavalley's site Voices of Pikwakanagan will also demonstrate how Aboriginal communities are creating their own online movies using First Contact technology.

The Memory Project and Passages to Canada | Le Projet Mémoire et les passages au Canada

- Jeremy Diamond & Tina Edan The Dominion Institute

The memory Project: A project which includes material engaging veterans to encourage them to share their experiences with students and Passages to Canada: A speakers bureau and digital archives that includes more than 500 immigrants sharing their immigrant stories with young people in their community.

Breakout Session 4

The New Family History and its Potential for the Curriculum

La nouvelle histoire familiale et son potentiel pour le curriculum

English Bay

- Ruth Sandwell, OISE, University of Toronto
- Eric Sager, University of Victoria

Breakout Session 5

Strategies for Inclusion of Aboriginal Studies in The Classroom

Stratégies pour l'intégration des études autochtones au curriculum

False Creek II

- Charles R. Menzies, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Anthropology, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, UBC
"Returning Home: Anthropological Research and Curriculum Development with Gitxaala Nation"
This paper documents and critiques the ongoing research relations between UBC and Gitxaala Nation. Drawing upon the author and his colleagues' research in, and curriculum development for, Gitxaala an argument is advanced that places a primacy upon First Nations epistemology and pedagogy in the development of inclusive curricula.
- Keith Thor Carlson, University of Saskatchewan
- Heather Morin, B.C. Ministry of Education
- Becky Burns, Historica Fairs

Breakout Session 6

The debate on the Quebec History Program: What lessons may be learned in Quebec and the rest of Canada

Le débat sur le programme québécois d'histoire : quelles leçons en tirer au Québec et au Canada?

Pavilion Room

- Michèle Dagenais, Université de Montréal, Chairperson
- Christian Laville, Université Laval
- Jacques-Paul Couturier, Université de Moncton

12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Lunch | Diner

Crystal Ballroom

- The Honourable Bev Oda, P.C., M.P., Minister of Canadian Heritage (invited)

1:00 pm – 2:15 pm

Plenary 2

Helping Students Think About History | Aider les étudiants à réfléchir à l'histoire

Crystal Ballroom

- Roland Case, The Critical Thinking Cooperative (TC2), Professor, Simon Fraser University

When studying history many students do very little thinking. Instead they do lots of "re-searching" of the answers-whether in their textbooks or on the Internet-that others have found to historical questions. Even when developing historical position papers, student rarely have the tools to undertake this analysis in a critically thoughtful way. Efforts at teaching historical thinking are generally incomplete and often misapplied

(as is the case often when students are taught to distinguish fact from opinion, and primary from secondary sources, or to develop historical empathy). Building on the work of Peter Sexias, Roland will illustrate how to embed historical thinking throughout the curriculum by teaching students to address six kinds of problems raised by the study of History.

Roland's talk is based on the The Critical Thinking Consortium's newly published resource, *Teaching about Historical Thinking*, which is available to Conference participants at a one-time price of \$5.00 courtesy of the BC Social Studies Teachers' Association

Dr. Roland Case is executive director and co-founder of The Critical Thinking Consortium. He is recently retired as professor of social studies education at Simon Fraser University. Roland has edited or authored over 100 published works. Notable among these are *Understanding Judicial Reasoning* (Thompson Publishing, 1997), *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies* (Pacific Educational Press, 1999) and *Critical Challenges Across the Curriculum*-an award winning series of 21 teaching resources for critical thinking in various subject areas. In addition to his teaching career as an elementary school teacher and as a university professor, Roland has worked with 15,000 classroom teachers across Canada and in the United States, England, Israel, Russia, India, Finland and Hong Kong to support the infusion of critical thinking. Roland is this year's recipient of CUFA's Distinguished Academics Career Achievement Award.

2:15 pm – 2:30 pm

Break I Pause

2:30 pm– 3:45 pm

Breakout Session 7

Historica – Heritage Fairs in BC and Youth Links

Historica – Les fêtes du patrimoine en Colombie-Britannique et Interjeune

Burrard Inlet

- Gail Sumanik, Historica Fairs
- Scott Anderson, Historica Youth Links

Breakout Session 8

Teaching History in New Ways | Enseigner l'histoire d'une nouvelle manière

Pavillion Room

- Deborah Morrison, Canada's National History Society, "Engaging Kids with Kayak"
- John Lutz, University of Victoria, *The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History*, "Solving Historical Cold Crimes Online"
- Nathon Gunn, "Serious Play"

A demonstration of HistoriCanada, the world's first popular computer game about Canadian history. Built on the engine of Civilization, with content powered by Historica's Canadian Encyclopedia, HistoriCanada combines the features and fun of one of the best selling computer games of all time with important lessons on Canada's history and heritage. Heralded by historians and educators alike as one of Canada's most significant innovations in educational technology and new media, the goal of the HistoriCanada project is to distribute the game (free of charge) to 100,000 Canadians ages 12-18, beginning in late 2006.

This presentation will take educators through the evolution of serious games, up to and including what the immediate future holds. It will include an interactive demonstration of HistoriCanada, as well as a selection of lesson plans to illustrate how the game can serve as a valuable in-class or extra-curricular resource. Feedback gathered from this presentation will be incorporated into the final design modifications made to HistoriCanada in advance of its official launch.

Breakout Session 9

On-line Resources for Canadian History | Ressources en ligne pour l'histoire canadienne

False Creek II

- **Teaching Resources of 7th Floor Media**, Noni Mate & Julie Zilber, 7th floor Media
- **"Images and Web tools from Keys to History : a Canadian Social Studies lab for students
Un laboratoire pour la classe d'histoire"**, Marie-Claude Larouche, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal, Quebec

Breakout Session 10

History of Sport | Histoire du sport

False Creek I

- Allison Mailer & an athlete to be confirmed

This workshop will focus on the educational resources available from the BC Sport Hall of Fame and Museum from on-line teaching lessons, primary source documents, historic footage, and guided tours. The BC Sports Hall of Fame and Museum has a collection of over 22,000 artifacts spanning over 100 years of sport history. Each artifact is based on a moment in our province's history and tells a unique story of the person who used the hockey skate, wore the skating dress or raised the trophy.

Breakout Session 11

Two Pathways to the Same Destination: A Comparison of two provincial approaches to teaching Canadian Identity Deux routes – une destination : comparaison de l'enseignement de l'identité canadienne dans deux provinces

English Bay

- Lois Axford, Centennial Secondary School, Coquitlam, B.C.

This workshop focuses on the value of teaching Canadian identity in the Social Studies classroom. It will focus on the complexity of our national identity with reference to our historical, economic and geographic diversity and the challenge of making it meaningful for our ever-changing multicultural clientele. Comparisons will be made between the provincial curriculums of Saskatchewan and British Columbia, both jurisdictions in which the presenter has taught

Lois Axford has taught high school Canadian studies for over 20 years in a Saskatchewan school district before moving the Greater Vancouver area. She is currently a classroom Social Studies teacher at Centennial Secondary School in Coquitlam.

3:45 pm – 5:00 pm

Breakout Session 12

Museums and the Presentation of the Past | Musées et présentation du passé

False Creek II

- Joan Seidl, Vancouver Museum
- Bob Griffin, Royal BC Museum
- Jill Baird, UBC Museum of Anthropology

Breakout Session 13

Canadian History and Representing Canada's Aboriginal and Multicultural Peoples on Television L'histoire canadienne et la représentation des peuples autochtones et des groupes multiculturels à la télévision

Pavillion Room

- Penney Clark & Darren Bryant, University of British Columbia "Teaching with Canada A Peoples History"
- Madeline Ziniak, Omni Television "Representing Multicultural Communities in Canada's History"

Breakout Session 14

Historic Sites and the Re-creation of the Past | Les sites historiques et la récréation du passé

Crystal Ballroom

- Larry Ostola, Director General, Historic Sites, Parks Canada
- Jennifer Lonergan, PhD, National Historic Sites, Parks Canada
- Jennifer Iredale, BC Heritage

Breakout Session 15

Teaching with Media and Film | L'enseignement et les médias / films

English Bay

- Cathy Wing, Media Awareness Network
- Mark Mietkiewicz, CBC Archives
- Gerry Flahive, NFB

Breakout Session 16

Hands-on History | L'histoire pratique

False Creek

- A workshop presented by representatives from the BC Museum, Fort Langley and Parks Canada

This workshop will focus on how teachers may take content goals in history and develop practical/hands on activities for their students to motivate learning. Three presenters from provincial and national attractions with historical content will show some of the ways they engage students in learning about history at their sites. Their presentations will introduce some the activities they offer as well as show how teachers could develop activities for their classroom.

Breakout Session 17

Research on Students' Historical Understanding

Recherche sur la compréhension de l'histoire par les étudiants

Burrard Inlet

- Stephane Levesque, University of Western Ontario, Learning by doing: Using Digital History in the Canadian Classroom Apprendre en jouant : utiliser l'histoire digitale en salle de classe

This bilingual presentation will discuss the value and meaning of learning Canadian history using a newly created web-based history program, The Virtual Historian. / Cette présentation discutera de l'importance et de l'intérêt d'enseigner l'histoire canadienne par l'entremise d'un nouveau programme web, l'historien virtuel.

- Stuart Poyntz, University of British Columbia
- Amy Von Heyking, University of Alberta

5:15 pm

BCSSTA AGM

Room to be confirmed

8:30 am – 5:00 pm

Learning Expo | Foire pédagogique

Kiosks demonstrating educational materials available from the following organizations |

Kiosques sur le matériel pédagogique des organismes suivants :

- Library and Archives Canada / Canadian Heritage Information Network (Virtual Museum of Canada)
Bibliothèque et Archives Canada / Réseau canadien d'informations sur le patrimoine (Musée virtuel Canada)
- The Historica Foundation | La Fondation Historica
- Canada's National History Society | La Société d'histoire nationale du Canada
- The Canadian Museum of Civilization / The Canadian War Museum
Le Musée canadien des civilisations / Musée canadien de la guerre
- The Dominion Institute | L'Institut du Dominion
- Statistics Canada | Statistiques Canada
- The Government of British Columbia – BC Heritage
Le gouvernement de la Colombie-Britannique – BC Heritage
- National Film Board of Canada | L'Office national du film du Canada
- Parks Canada – Historic Places | Parcs Canada – Endroits historiques
- History and Heritage Directorate, National Defence Canada
Directorat – Histoire et patrimoine de la Défense nationale
- McCord Museum of Canadian History | Musée McCord d'histoire canadienne
- Canadian Broadcasting Corporation Digital Archives | Les Archives numérisées de Radio-Canada
- Parks Canada – In Schools Program | Programme scolaire de Parcs Canada
- Parliament Hill – A Treasure to Explore | Un trésor à découvrir – Colline du Parlement

9:00 am -10:30 am

Plenary 3

Redress – Minority Communities and Diasporas in Canada

Redressement – Les communautés minoritaires et les diasporas au Canada

Crystal Ballroom

- Peter Li, University of Saskatchewan
- Harold Troper, OISE, University of Toronto
- Marlene Brant Castellano, Trent University

10:30 am – 10:45 am

Break | Pause

10:45 am – 12:00 pm

Breakout Session 18

Using Primary Sources in the Classroom | L'utilisation des ressources primaires

English Bay

- Jan Hamilton, Enver Creek Secondary School
- Charles Hou, "The Power of Interpretation: Having Fun with Primary Sources", The Begbie Contest Society,
- Tanja Hutter, Canada's National History Society

Breakout Session 19

The History of the Chinese in BC | L'histoire des Chinois en Colombie-Britannique

Burrard Inlet

- Imogene Lim, Malaspina University College
- Tim Stanley, University of Ottawa

Breakout Session 20

Teaching our Multicultural History | Enseigner notre histoire multiculturelle

Pavillion Room

- Timothy Savage, Japanese Canadian National Museum, Burnaby, BC
- Kamala Elizabeth Nayar, "The Sikh Diaspora in Vancouver: Three Generations" Kwantlen University College
- Kogila Adam Moodley, University of British Columbia (invited)

Breakout Session 21

Canadians and Their Pasts | Les Canadiens et leur passé

False Creek I

A Presentation of the Community-University Research Alliance (CURA) | Une présentation de l'ARUC (Alliances de recherche universités-communautés)

- Jocelyn Létourneau, Université Laval
- David Northrup, York University
- Maurice Basque, Université de Moncton

Over the next five years, a collaborative team of universities and community groups across Canada, will conduct a major series of studies of how Canadians think about, use, and relate to their various pasts. Part of the work will replicate similar efforts in the United States and Australia, but the Canadian project will pay particular attention to differences across region and language (among others).

Breakout Session 22

Virtual Museum of Canada: Bringing Museums, Teachers and Students Together |

Le musée virtuelle du Canada : réunir les musées, les enseignants et les étudiants

False Creek II

- Presented by Daniel Feeny

Virtual Museum of Canada: Bringing Museums, Teachers and Students Together, is a look at what the VMC is developing to provide students and teachers with online learning tools to encourage knowledge sharing between museum educators and students.

Developed in partnership by the Department of Canadian Heritage and the museum community, the Virtual Museum of Canada (VMC) is an online gateway to heritage held in trust by Canadian heritage institutions. The Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN), an agency within the department, administers the gateway and associated programs, while Canada's museums produce its content. It is full of innovative, multimedia content that educates, inspires and fascinates while celebrating the stories and treasures that have come to define Canada over the centuries.

Library and Archives Canada: Unveiling of the new Web site – Moving Here, Staying Here: the Canadian Immigrant Experience

Bibliothèque et Archives Canada : Dévoilement du nouveau site Web – Le vécu des immigrants. Immigrer et s'installer en terre canadienne

This virtual exhibit tells the exciting story of immigration to Canada from the early 19th century to the outbreak of the Second World War. This story is presented through government of Canada policy records as well as manuscript and published material documenting public views on immigration, and the immigrant's experiences. The visitors not only see first hand the trials of immigration through narratives and documents, they are encouraged to find their own family's history through the databases of digitized documents that are provided.

Cette exposition virtuelle raconte l'histoire passionnante de l'immigration au Canada du début du XIXe siècle au déclenchement de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale. Cette histoire est présentée à l'aide de documents sur les politiques d'immigration du gouvernement, ainsi que des pièces manuscrites et publiées qui documentent l'opinion publique sur le sujet de l'immigration, et les expériences de l'immigrant. En plus de voir les défis de l'immigration à travers les exposés et les documents, les visiteurs peuvent chercher leur propre histoire familiale à l'aide de bases de données qui contiennent des documents numériques disponibles en ligne.

12:00 pm – 1:00 pm

Lunch | Dîner
Crystal Ballroom

- Victor Rabinovitch, President and CEO, Canadian Museum of Civilization

1:00 pm – 2:15 pm

Plenary 4

“How do We Know What Kids Know?”: Towards Benchmarks of Historical Thinking

Évaluation et références de l’alphabétisme au niveau historique – Comment évaluer les connaissances des enfants?

Crystal Ballroom

- Peter Seixas, Professor and Canada Research Chair and Director of the Center for the Study of Historical Consciousness, University of British Columbia

- Tom Morton, teacher with the Vancouver school Board and Past Governor General's Award winner

“Benchmarks of Historical Thinking” is a major new project launched this year by the Historica Foundation and the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness, with funding from the Canadian Council on Learning. During 2006-2007, four districts across Canada (including Vancouver, Toronto, Selkirk MB and a consortium from New Brunswick) will develop new assessments in history, using a Framework developed during the past six months by a team of international experts and teachers from the participating districts. This session will further explore the Framework (introduced by Roland Case in Plenary #2), and explain how it will be used in student performance assessment.

2:15 pm – 2:30 pm

Break | Pause

2:30 pm – 3:45 pm

Breakout Session 23

Examining History from a Social Justice Perspective Explorer | L’histoire d’un point de vue de justice sociale

Burrard Inlet

- Scott Parker, teacher, Burnaby Central Secondary

This workshop presents classroom activities on literacy and social justice, human rights and Canadian history. Activities include simulation and role playing, debating, essay writing and more. A thirty page teacher and student friendly workbook will be distributed.

Breakout Session 24

Do Canadians Know Their History? New National Survey Results

Les Canadiens connaissent-ils leur histoire? Nouveaux résultats d’un sondage national

False Creek I

- Jack Jedwab, Association for Canadian Studies

Breakout Session 25

Assessing Historical Knowledge and Understanding: New Models and Approaches

Évaluer la connaissance et la compréhension historique : nouveaux modèles et approches

Pavillion Room

- Carla Peck, University of British Columbia & “Benchmark” Team Members

This hands-on session will explore strategies for assessing students’ historical understanding, based on the work of the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project and current research on students’ conceptions of historical significance in Canadian history.

Carla Peck is a PhD Candidate in UBC’s Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness (CSHC). Her research interests include students’ understanding of history and their conceptions of democratic concepts. She is currently the Project Manager of the Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project, an initiative of the CSHC and the Historica Foundation.

Breakout Session 26

Bringing parliamentary democracy alive in your classrooms

Donner vie à la démocratie parlementaire en classe

False Creek II

- Janet Williams, Ambassador for Educational Programming from the Parliament of Canada, Teacher, MacKenzie, B.C.

- Karen Aitken, Manager – Public Education & Outreach, Legislative assembly of British Columbia

The participants of this workshop will become acquainted with the education section of the Parliament of Canada web site, and learn where to access information about educational programs and resources available from the Parliament of Canada. Further, participants will receive Parliament of Canada resources and printed information to take away.

3:45 pm – 5:00 pm

Plenary 5

Reconciliation with the Past | Réconciliation avec le passé

Crystal Ballroom

- Dean Oliver, The Canadian War Museum
- Sandy Ramos, The Royal Canadian Mounted Police
- Hector Mackenzie, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

6:00 – 7:00 pm

Cash Bar | Bar payant

Crystal Ballroom

7:00 pm

The 12th Annual Pierre Berton Award Gala Dinner hosted by Canada’s National History Society

Banquet gala offert par la Société d’histoire du Canada / 12^e Prix Pierre Berton de l’histoire canadienne

Crystal Ballroom

- Host: Vicky Gabereau

Keynote address and 2006 Pierre Berton Award recipient: Ken McGoogan, celebrated Canadian author of *Fatal Passage*, *Ancient Mariner*, and *Lady Franklin’s Revenge*

9:30 am – 11:00 am

Plenary 6

Surviving the History Wars: International Perspectives

Crystal Ballroom

- Stuart Macintyre, Ernest Scott Professor of History, Dean of Arts and Laureate Professor, University of Melbourne;
(as of 2007) Chair of Australian Studies, Harvard University
- Gary Nash, Professor of History, University of California, Los Angeles, Director, National Center for History in the Schools

Gary Nash and Stuart Macintyre are two of the most eminent historians in the English-speaking world. Unlike many of their academic colleagues, both have been on the front lines of struggles for history education reform in the schools.

Among the thirty books authored, co-authored or edited by Macintyre is *The History Wars*. Among the nineteen books authored or co-authored by Nash is *History on Trial: National Identity, Culture Wars, and the Teaching of the Past*.

Both historians have generated at times bitter controversy in their own countries. Of the media blizzard that surrounded *The History Wars*, Macintyre comments:

“A lot of people said I must be pleased about the controversy — that it was good for history to be in the news. In one sense that’s true. In another, it wasn’t really a discussion of history but a discussion of political issues that are ascribed to what historians do.”

11:00 am – 11:15 am

Break | Pause

Delegates to Canada West To East are also invited to attend the Association for Canadian Studies Annual Conference “Diasporas and Discovery” Sessions 1-9 below:

11:15 am – 12:30 pm

Session 1

African Diaspora in Canada | Le diaspora africain au Canada

Burrard Inlet

- Korbala Peter Pupilampu, Grant McEwen College & Wisdom J. Tettey, University of Calgary, *Ethnicity and the Identity of African-Canadians: A Theoretical & Political Analysis*
- Korbala Peter Pupilampu, Grant McEwen College & Wisdom J. Tettey, University of Calgary, *Border Crossings and Home-Diaspora Linkages Among African-Canadians: Analysis of Translocational Positionality, Cultural Remittance, and Social Capital*
- Phil Okeke, University of Alberta, *New Women in the New World: African Women Immigrants & the Search for Identity*
- Charles Quist-Adade, Kwantlen University College, *The Story of Ghanadians: The Making of the Ghanaian Diaspora in Canada*

Session 2

Documenting Diaspora | Documenter le diaspora

False Creek I

- Robyn Green, Laurentian University
Identity Sickness: Archive Fever at the National Archives of Canada
- Katarzyna Rukszto, Wilfrid Laurier University
Diaspora Space & the National Imaginary at the Canadian War Museum
- Helene Demers, Malaspina University College
Letting Go: Redefining the Role of the Oral History Researcher

Session 3

Indian Diaspora I Le diaspora indien

False Creek II

- Dhiru Patel, Identity, Heritage, Belonging and Belonging Among the Second Generation: Emerging Issues & Challenges
- Jaya Subramaniam, Lumbini Arts Society, Ottawa, Contending Sources of Identity for the Indian Diaspora in Canada: Social Class Versus Religion and Culture
- Minelle Mahtani, University of Toronto

12:30 – 2:00 pm

Lunch Roundtable Session

35 years of Canadian Multiculturalism Policy

Les 35 ans de la politique sur le multiculturalisme canadien

Crystal Ballroom

- Kristina Namiesniowski, Canadian Heritage
- Will Kymlicka, Queens University (invited)

2:00 pm – 3:15 pm

Session 4

Acadian Diaspora I Le diaspora acadien

Burrard Inlet

- A.J.B. Johnston, Parks Canada, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Diasporas and Discovery
- Wayde Brown, University of Georgia
Remaking Landscape., Finding Memory: The Acadian Diaspora and Return
- Maurice Basque, Director, Center for Acadian Studies, Université de Moncton

Session 5

False Creek I

- Jennifer Kelly, University of Alberta
Diasporan Identities as Sources of Learning: A Case for Diasporan Literacy
- Jane Ku, Trent University, Becoming Ethnic: Race, Class, Gender and Ethnicity in the Settlement and Integration of Racialized Newcomers
- Cheryl Sutherland, Queens University
What About Emotions?

Session 6

Diaspora and War I Le diaspora et la guerre

False Creek II

- Judy Maxwell, PhD candidate, Australian National University
Chinese Canadian Military Museum, From Chinese sojourners to Canadian Citizens – How the Sino-Japanese War made Overseas Chinese into Canadian Citizens
- Alexander Freud, University of Winnipeg, Was there a German Diaspora in Canada after the Holocaust?

3:15 pm – 3:30 pm

Break I Pause

3:30 pm – 5:00 pm

Session 7

Burrard Inlet

- Andrew Nurse, Mount Allison University, Social Migration and the Metaphysics of the Self: Social Mobility and Identity
in Alistair MacLeod's, *No Great Mischief*
- Anne MacLennan, York University, A Meeting of Founding Cultures in the North English, French & Native Cultures Connected through Radio in the North in the 1970s

Session 8

Religion and Diaspora | Religion et diaspora

False Creek I

- Shirin Shahrokni, McGill University, Exploring the Process of Diasporic Identity Formation among Second Generation Immigrants of Iranian Origin Living in Montreal
- Glenda Bonifacio, University of Lethbridge, Faith and Citizenship: Uniting Filipino Communities in Canada
- Terry Mahoney, Omni Television, Vancouver, British Columbia

5 pm

ACS AGM

Burrard Inlet

Do You Know Your Canadian Issues?

Paule Beaugrand-Champagne
Télé-Québec

Candis Callison
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

H. Hon Adhienne Clarkson
Governor General of Canada

Terence Corcoran
The Financial Post

Christopher Dornan
Carleton University

Gordon Fisher
Carwest Global Communications Corp

Thierry Gascon
Université de Montréal

Kenneth Goldstein
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NoREEN Goltman
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April / Avril 2003

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Université Laval

George Sioui
Author/Artist

Denis Vaughan
Western Journal

Victor Rabinovitch
Canadian Museum of Civilization

Ian E. Wilson
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Êtes-vous au fait de vos Thèmes Canadiens?

INTERVIEW WITH THE HONOURABLE BEVERLEY J. ODA

Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of Women

1) How important is it for the people of Canada to have knowledge of the country's history?

Canada's history is the foundation of our nation. It forms the base of our decisions and influences our views of our country and the world. By recognizing and understanding our past we are guided as we move into the future.

As Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of Women, I have seen how Canadians value our history and how it permeates everything we do as a government.

Our Government knows it is important for Canadians to have a strong sense of our history. Canada's history of being founded through the union of two founding communities gives us the richness of a bilingual, diverse people working as Canadians, as immigrants, together with the Aboriginal peoples.

2) What are the most important reasons for people possessing knowledge of history?

The most important reason for knowing our history is that it is a source of pride for all Canadians.

Canada is known and envied throughout the world as a diverse and welcoming country. Our history as a bilingual and multicultural nation, rooted in the values of all its people, gives us cause to celebrate our unique heritage. We welcome immigrants from around the globe, and strive to include them in our society, and to appreciate and accept their contributions to Canadian life. I believe the quality of life we enjoy today as Canadians can be traced to the significant contributions made by Canadians of all cultural backgrounds throughout our history.

Another important reason for people to know and understand our country's history is so that we can learn from our past. It was philosopher George Santayana who said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it." Canada has evolved through periods of social evolution, and has grown and matured as a result. There have been historical incidents in our past that are not reflective of the Canada we know today. It is through the knowledge and understanding of our history that we will be able to prevent such incidents in our future.

3) What are the biggest obstacles to improving knowledge of the country's history?

Certainly one of the biggest challenges – and opportunities – that we face is making history easy to understand and fun to learn. We need to impart historical knowledge to Canadians in a way that makes sense in their own lives, and in a way that is accessible. When history is distant or remote, it isn't absorbed into our collective conscience.

In today's world there have been many changes to how Canadians access news, information and education, and many demands for their time. We need to present our history in new and interesting ways, to make our history relevant to our daily lives. We need to use new technologies, such as the internet, to ensure the past becomes a part of our future.

THE HON. BEVERLEY J. ODA
Minister of Canadian Heritage and Status of Women

4) How can your Department effectively contribute to improving knowledge of Canada's history?

Canadian Heritage plays an important role in the cultural and civic lives of Canadians. Through our mandate, we strive to ensure Canadians can express and share their diverse cultural experiences with each other and the world. We also work to ensure Canadians live in an inclusive society built on cross-cultural understanding and citizen participation.

My portfolio spans areas of Canada's linguistic, artistic, and cultural heritage. We will continue to work toward improving and preserving our history. I am also responsible to Parliament for Canada's national museums, and for Library and Archives Canada, which has the mandate to acquire and preserve Canada's documentary heritage in all its forms. It also provides Canadians with easy, one-stop access to the texts, photographs and other documents that reflect their cultural, social and political development.

5) In the job market, what are the advantages of knowing the country's history?

Not only for the job market, but also for life in general, having knowledge of history helps us to make good decisions. Understanding where we come from is the first step in planning for a successful future.

Many careers require knowledge of the social, economic, and political developments in the history of our country. But more importantly, history can also inspire us. Canadian success stories in business, medicine, technology, and the arts provide our youth with proof that hard work and creativity can have a lasting impact on their lives, and even the course of history.

6) What do you think are the most important events that have marked the country's history?

This is a difficult question. There are so many important events from which to choose!

From the beginning of our history, we have shown a remarkable ability to work together. The Charlottetown Conference, in 1864, while originally called to discuss Maritime union, ended in an agreement to discuss the broader union of all British colonies. The next conference, held in Quebec, led to the Confederation of our country in 1867. This resulted in the *British North America Act* being passed by the British Parliament and

coming into effect on July 1st, 1867, our first Canada Day.

All of these events, made possible by our forefathers working together, despite their linguistic and religious differences, formed the basis by which our country was shaped. We continue to work together, not only as English and French, but as people from all nations and all languages, for the betterment of our union.

Also of importance to Canada's history, although from much more recent history, is the passing of the *Canada Act*, 1982 by the British Parliament. Under this law, Britain relinquished constitutional and legislative authority over Canada and patriated our constitution. It was the last step in our becoming a completely independent nation.

We continue to work together and the success of this young country is due to the strong ties economically, politically and culturally we hold with both Britain and France while extending our reach to countries around the globe which share Canadian values.

7) Is there an event in Canada's history that personally influenced your vision of the country?

A Canadian of Japanese heritage, I was born in Thunder Bay at a time when Canadians of Japanese origin had been interned or displaced from the West. I saw first hand the effect this had on the lives of my family and my community.

I realized that people's behaviour and opinions are influenced by their ethnicity, and by the ways in which they are treated. As a country and a people, Canadians are tolerant and inclusive.

As the Prime Minister said when he apologized for the Head Tax imposed on Chinese immigrants, "We have the collective responsibility to build a country based firmly on the notion of equality of opportunity, regardless of one's race or ethnic origin." Canada's New Government believes it is important for all Canadians to understand our history, including the more difficult periods.

INTERVIEW WITH THE HONOURABLE STAN HAGEN

Minister of Tourism, Sports and the Arts

1) How important is it for the people of Canada to have knowledge of the country's history?

It is very important. A country's identity is shaped by its history, and without its formal memory a country's sense of itself can start to drift.

That's one of the reasons B.C. is so proud that Vancouver is hosting this year's National History Conference in October. By learning from our past, we are better able to shape future actions and decisions.

2) What are the most important reasons for people possessing knowledge of history?

With increasing globalization and high-speed communication systems, understanding the history of our nation, its traditions and values becomes extremely important in identifying who we are and what we stand for as a country. Without this knowledge and awareness, we can quickly lose those unique qualities that make us a great nation.

3) What are the biggest obstacles to improving knowledge of the country's history?

Unfortunately some Canadians are not interested in history. This is partly because history is too often portrayed as a series of unrelated events, dates and quaint stories. History needs to be made more relevant by relating the daily issues and concerns of a diverse population to the memories, traditions and values of Canada, not the other way around.

In 2008, our province will celebrate the 150th anniversary of the founding of the Crown Colony of British Columbia. This milestone celebration is a great opportunity to showcase and reflect on our provincial history, as we continue to do the exciting work of shaping the future.

4) How can your Ministry effectively contribute to improving knowledge of Canada's history?

By supporting local, provincial and national heritage initiatives, my ministry is inviting British Columbians to participate in – and appreciate – our collective heritage. By engaging people at the grassroots level and onwards, we're helping to build momentum for heritage conservation in our own province, and across Canada.

5) In the job market, what are the advantages of knowing the country's history?

Canada is one of the best countries in the world to live and that didn't happen by accident. Throughout our country's history many different people, from all walks of life, have made decisions that led us to where we are today, including many decisions within the employment market. Eliminating discrimination and unfair hiring practices, for example, is an obvious one. By understanding Canada's history and values, Canada can be an even better place to live and work.

THE HON. STAN HAGEN
Minister of Tourism, Sports and the Arts

6) What do you think are the most important events that have marked the country's history?

The arrival of our First People and the rich cultural diversity we find in Canada now; the founding of our nation not by war, but through a negotiated agreement by English and French Canadians; the building of the CPR linking the country with a single transportation route; the settlement of Western Canada where the Northwest Mounted Police brought law and order before the settlers arrived; two World Wars where Canada was prepared to defend its values globally and matured as a nation; a made-in-Canada Canadian Constitution; and of course let's not forget the '72 Russia/Canada Hockey Series.

7) Is there an event in Canada's history that personally influenced your vision of the country?

I well remember our 1967 Centennial celebrations, which I believe helped bring us closer together as a nation.



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Immigration to British Columbia:

SHAPING A PROVINCE, DEFINING A COUNTRY

ABSTRACT

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway changed the face of British Columbia. Not only did the railway lead to the establishment of a significant Chinese-Canadian community, but it also provided, for the first time, a direct link between the province and the rest of the country, encouraging settlement.

Like the waves that wash up on the shores of Vancouver Island, the history of immigration to British Columbia can be described as an ebb and flow of encouragement and deterrents. Over the years, many immigrants have come to the province, lured by opportunity and dreams of prosperity. Others have found themselves pushed away by forces of exclusion. Since the mid-19th century, waves of immigration have shaped British Columbia, giving it a unique character.

Early settlement in British Columbia occurred as a result of the same desires that brought immigrants to the eastern shores of Canada. It was explorers, traders and hunters from the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company who went west initially, driven by the promise of natural riches. In such limitless lands, it seemed that any and all dreams could come true.

These adventurous men were followed by the first British settlers, who sought to plant a firm stake in the far-flung colony. Many of them hoped to recreate a Little England in this rugged and wild territory. Recruiters encouraged migration, appealing to settlers to become "guardians of an outpost of the Empire." The Okanagan Valley, billed as a "Garden of Eden," was particularly attractive.

Sir James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island from 1851 to 1863, presented his immigration schemes to officials in London. He had the idea to sell land to more prosperous settlers who would be required to bring a minimum number of people to help work the land. This resulted in a large community of "gentlemen farmers" who brought their Victorian social mores with them. By 1901, British settlers in the province numbered close to 100,000, giving British Columbia a very English feel; British-styled schools and churches offered a "home away from home."

Circumstances altered Governor Douglas's vision and the province's demographic makeup soon became very different. Governor Douglas had a good reputation for treating racial minorities fairly and this attracted new settlers. The first African-American migration to Victoria took place under his watch and the newcomers reported that they were "received most cordially and kindly by His Excellency the Governor and heartily welcomed to the land of freedom and humanity."¹

The discovery of gold in 1858, and again in 1862, brought an influx of American, European and Asian immigrants to the province despite the Governor's attempts to keep the new resource a secret. Mostly young men, these immigrants came seeking fame and fortune, and dramatically altered the face of the province. In a short two months, the population of Victoria swelled to almost 20,000. The gold rush was short-lived and once it was over, few stayed.

Although prosperity attracted immigrants to British Columbia from around the world, downturns in the economy sometimes made it a hostile environment in which to reside. Chinese immigrants first came to Vancouver, via San Francisco, during the

Fraser River Gold Rush of 1858. During boom periods, they worked as merchants and as shopkeepers; when the economy slowed, they toiled in mines and in low-paying service industries. The economic situation in China often prevented them from returning home and so they settled in British Columbia.

From 1881 to 1884, these first Chinese immigrants were joined by a great number of their compatriots. They were recruited by railway officials to build the Canadian Pacific Railway in return for assisted passage and the promise of lucrative contracts. Over 15,000 Chinese immigrants arrived during these years. Even after the railway was completed, they continued to come, drawn from their poor economic situations to a land of riches with established Chinese communities. However, as the economy slumped, residents of British Columbia began to resent these immigrants. Organized labour groups were particularly incensed that Chinese workers would accept lower wages than what European immigrants expected. Provincial authorities soon began to pass laws to restrict and discourage Chinese immigration and called on Ottawa to do the same.

As settlement in British Columbia increased, the reaction in Ottawa was to reconcile many competing interests and opinions on immigration to the “west beyond the west.” Although successive prime ministers such as John A. Macdonald, Wilfrid Laurier and Robert Borden were sympathetic to provincial demands for immigration restrictions, they balanced the economic need for cheap labour with the political need to retain important provincial votes. When contractor Andrew Onderdonk informed Sir John A. Macdonald that the construction of the railway would take “12 years longer than necessary” without the help of Chinese workers, the prime minister opted for speed.

In 1885, with the railway completed, Parliament passed the *Chinese Immigration Act*, which introduced a head tax of \$50 to dissuade Chinese immigration and appease dissatisfaction in the west.² British Columbians were still unhappy, but Ottawa dismissed further calls to legislate until 1923, when Chinese immigration was stopped almost entirely under the Act. The terms of this prohibitive legislation remained in effect until 1947.

In the early days of Confederation, forces in British Columbia were very interested in immigration questions since settlers would shape the nature and direction of the province within the new Canadian federation. Yet, as much as the province lobbied for certain kinds of immigration,

the responsibility for this matter remained with the federal government. As a member of the British Empire, Canada had specific responsibilities with regard to sharing its wealth and furthering the community of nations. Often, it was Canada’s westernmost province and most ocean-accessible territory that was forced to confront first-hand the challenges these immigration movements posed.

The signing of the Anglo-Japan Treaty in 1906, for instance, meant that Japanese immigrants were not subject to the same restrictions that the Chinese immigrants were, even though British Columbia politicians and community leaders had lobbied for full exclusion. On September 7, 1907, a protest organized by the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council (which also sponsored the Asiatic Exclusion League) turned violent as participants rioted down Powell Street (Little Japan) and through Vancouver’s Chinatown. They damaged property and assaulted innocent bystanders. The incident created national controversy and attracted international attention. Mackenzie King, then Deputy Minister of Labour, was dispatched to Vancouver to investigate, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier’s government reassured Japan about the situation in British Columbia. Eventually, the Japanese government restricted the number of labourers and artisans immigrating to British Columbia so that the racial balance would not be “unduly” disturbed. The Japanese community in British Columbia continued to grow, thanks in part to “picture brides,” a practice allowing arranged marriages from a distance. By 1921, there were 40,000 Asians in British Columbia, representing almost six percent of the province’s total population. Elsewhere in Canada, the Asian population represented less than one percent.

Another strategy to limit immigration without the enactment of overt prohibition was to use regulations to manage population movements from certain countries. Again, this was a federal strategy, but one that affected the province of British Columbia most. In 1914, the *Komagata Maru*, a boat carrying immigrants from India’s Punjabi province, attempted to land in British Columbia. The Canadian government had added the “continuous passage” clause to its regulation, which required that only those individuals who embarked on a direct passage to Canada could land in the country. Threatened by the arrival of the 376 passengers, locals raised the spectre of an Asian invasion. British Columbia officials wanted to prevent the passengers from landing, but

Ottawa had its relationship with the rest of the Commonwealth to consider. Canadian courts eventually ruled that the immigration regulation should stand. The ship was turned away, but not before a two-month standoff, which generated a great deal of ill will.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway also changed the face of British Columbia. Not only did the railway lead to the establishment of a significant Chinese-Canadian community, but it also provided, for the first time, a direct link between the province and the rest of the country, encouraging settlement. Suddenly, the West was accessible. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, destitute farmers from the Canadian prairies hopped the rails and headed “west of west” in the hope of finding fertile lands.

British Columbia’s unique position as a province of the Pacific means that it has attracted different groups of immigrants compared with the rest of the country. The violence of the 1907 race riots and the 1914 *Komagata Maru* incident gave the province a reputation of being intolerant – a place of race riots and fear-mongering. Yet, so much of British Columbia’s reaction to unwelcome immigration can be attributed to the fact that the province’s legislators had no control over which immigrants were drawn to its shores. For

better or for worse, the politics of international treaties and national interests interfered with British Columbia’s ability to shape its own destiny.

Today, immigrants from around the world continue to be drawn to the province for its idyllic landscapes, rich natural resources and Pacific outlook. Chinese immigrants, many from Hong Kong, represent a growing and vibrant community in the province. In fact, British Columbia’s 25th lieutenant-governor, David Lam, came to Canada from Hong Kong in 1967. Just as the ocean’s waters continue to lap against Canada’s western shores, immigrants from many countries continue to come to Canada, ready to embark on a new life in a land of promise.

Endnotes

- ¹ According to the leader of one of the early groups of immigrants from the United States. *Strangers Entertained*, John Norris. Vancouver: Evergreen Press Limited, 1971. The papers of Sir James Douglas are held at the Provincial Archives of British Columbia. Library and Archives Canada holds copies of these originals.
- ² Library and Archives Canada holds a variety of *Registers of Chinese Immigration*, which document the payment of this tax by Chinese immigrants to Canada from 1885–1949. A copy of the *Register* from the Port of New Westminster is available at www.collectionscanada.ca.

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

ABSTRACT

National Historic Sites are found in every province and territory and define important aspects of our common heritage. This article provides an overview of the broad spectrum of National Historic Sites which are found in British Columbia and which underline the province's important role in Canada's history.

National historic sites serve as tangible reminders of Canada's past and of the persons, places and events that have shaped it. From Pier 21 in Halifax where over a million people first set foot in Canada, to the Battlefield of Lundy's Lane in Ontario which was the site of a major engagement in the War of 1812, to the Bar-U-Ranch National Historic Site in Alberta which commemorates the ranching industry, they are a testament to our diverse yet common historical heritage. In addition, many national historic sites also welcome millions of visitors each year and provide exceptional opportunities for Canadians to learn about and experience their heritage first-hand through interpretive exhibits, educational programs, special events and original historic resources.

Designations of persons, places and events of national historic significance are made by the federal Minister of the Environment based on recommendations from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), a statutory advisory body created in 1919. The board is made up of representatives of every province and territory and meets twice annually to review submissions made to it by different groups and individuals from across Canada. In recent years, particular emphasis has been placed on the evaluation of submissions related to aboriginal and women's history, and the history of ethno-cultural communities in Canada so as to better reflect the contributions of all segments of Canadian society within the scope of national commemorative activity.

In British Columbia, there are eighty-six National Historic Sites which reflect the province's important place in Canadian history. While some of these sites are directly administered by Parks Canada, the vast majority are owned and managed by various institutions, other levels of government or by dedicated local groups interested in heritage preservation. Fort St. James, for example, a Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post which was founded by Simon Fraser in 1806, is managed by Parks Canada. The site boasts an exceptional collection of original buildings and costumed staff provide visitors with the opportunity of learning more about a significant chapter in Canada's economic and social history through on site programming.

Similarly authentic, the Gulf of Georgia Cannery National Historic Site in Steveston brings the west coast fishing industry to life, and details both the technical operation of the cannery as well as the lives and working conditions of the workers who were employed there during the industry's heyday. The site is operated by the Gulf of Georgia Cannery Society and benefits greatly from the pride, engagement and enthusiastic support of the local community which continues to have strong links to the fishing industry. At McLean Mill National Historic Site in Port Alberni, the early twentieth century lumber industry is commemorated through a complex of buildings and associated equipment and like the Gulf of Georgia cannery, it is also operated by a local group dedicated to preserving and presenting this significant piece of Canada's past.

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One of the best-known National Historic Sites in British Columbia is Fort Langley. While the fort is directly associated with the fur trade on the Fraser River and with the history of First Nations, it also has the distinction of being the place where in 1858, Governor James Douglas formally proclaimed the establishment of the colony of British Columbia. As part of an effort to increase awareness of and visitation to National Historic Sites generally, Fort Langley was chosen as one of the participating sites in a national marketing pilot project which has been undertaken by Parks Canada. It is hoped that through this project insights into the needs and expectations of current and future visitors will be gained, client-responsive programs and services will be created which will more actively engage diverse audiences, and ultimately that opportunities will be provided for visitors to create their own memorable experiences at national historic sites such as Fort Langley and establish a meaningful personal connection to Canada's historical heritage.



Fort Langley National Historic Site of Canada

Also of note are the national historic sites which are associated with British Columbia's rich First Nations heritage. These include Nan Sdins the site of a Haida village within Gwaii Haanas National Park Reserve of Canada, the 18th century Gitwanga hilltop fortification in Kitwanga and Xa:ytem, a national historic site in Mission which was occupied by the Sto:lo peoples.



Xa:ytem National Historic Site of Canada

In addition to those national historic sites like those previously mentioned which actively offer programs and services to the visiting public, there are a great many others in British Columbia which have been designated for their national significance but which have maintained their original vocations. The Church of the Holy Cross National Historic Site on the Skookumchuk Reserve for example, which was commemorated for being an exceptional example of a 'carpenter's gothic revival' mission church constructed by Salish craftsmen still serves as a place of worship for the community. Similarly, the Abbotsford Sikh Temple National Historic Site, the oldest Sikh temple in Canada continues to actively function, as does the Congregation Emanu-el Temple in Victoria, the oldest surviving synagogue in Canada, which dates from 1863.

Additional examples of national historic sites which continue to fulfill their original roles include Stanley Park National Historic Site in Vancouver which was commemorated as an outstanding example of a large urban park, the Lion's Gate Bridge in Vancouver, which was recognized as an outstanding engineering achievement, the Empress Hotel in Victoria, a landmark chateau style railway hotel and the Victoria City Hall which was recognized as the oldest extant town hall in western Canada.



Stanley Park National Historic Site of Canada

For some national historic sites, their use has changed over time. Hatley Park, an Edwardian estate with superb gardens is now the home of Royal Roads University, while St. Ann's Academy, which played a significant role in early education in British Columbia and specifically the teaching of young women, is now being used by staff of the Government of British Columbia.



St. Ann's Academy National Historic Site of Canada

National Historic Sites in British Columbia are a reflection of the province's significant place in Canada's history. They are an enduring record of nationally-significant persons, places and events and they, like hundreds of other national historic sites across Canada define important aspects of our shared heritage and identity as Canadians.

For more information regarding Parks Canada, the National Historic Sites program and the on-line curriculum-based educational resources which are available, please visit the Parks Canada website at www.parkscanada.gc.ca. For more information about the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada and the designation process please also consult the Parks Canada website.

Integrating British Columbia – and the Rest of Canada

INTO CANADA'S HISTORY

ABSTRACT

Canada's history tends to consider the provinces only so far as they diverge from a central core grounded in Ontario and Quebec. Attention to migration between provinces gives a means to integrate British Columbia – and the rest of Canada – into Canada's history. To make this argument, three groups of migrants to British Columbia are considered: French Canadian fur traders, Maritimers arriving with the completion of the transcontinental rail line, and Prairie migrants moving west during the Depression and after the Second World War.

Histories of Canada struggle to integrate the provinces, and their pasts, within a national story. The focus is usually on Ontario and Quebec, with a dash of the early Maritimes, not unexpectedly so given their longer settlement histories. The National Policy and the Montreal-Ottawa-Toronto axis of political and economic power reinforce such a perspective. This central core becomes the whole against which all else is measured for inclusion into Canada's history. Be it textbooks, web sites, or classrooms, the rest of Canada is included principally when events there so diverge from this mainstream that they have to be considered.

With British Columbia, inclusions tend to be of two kinds. The first describes the distinctiveness of the Aboriginal population. Coastal people's reliance on salmon and cedar, their artistic creativity, and the cultural ceremony of the potlatch are popular themes. The second inclusion turns attention to the province's Asian presence, which was historically much greater than anywhere else in Canada. Favoured topics highlight the racism and discrimination experienced by British Columbians of Chinese, Japanese, and South Asian heritage. Both interjections serve to set British Columbia apart from Canada's history as it is usually conceived.

An alternative to depicting British Columbia – and the rest of Canada – as “a bit of a bother,” to quote a comment I recently heard, is to attend to the ways in which we have come together as a nation. The transfer of ideas through the printed word and federal initiatives have played a role, but even more so has the migration of peoples from one part of Canada to the other. Such movement has not affected provinces equally, some more being donors than recipients of peoples and their ways of life, others the reverse. Both directions have brought Canada together as a nation.

British Columbia's high rate of population growth since entering the Canadian Confederation in 1871 has made it principally a recipient of fellow Canadians. The population has expanded a hundred times since 1881, the first national census to include the province. British Columbia grew 22 times over the course of the twentieth century, which was almost twice the rate of the three Prairie provinces, four times of Ontario, five of Quebec, and twelve times that of the Maritimes. A small part of British Columbia's growth came through natural increase, much of it through immigration, but a goodly part, as Table 1 indicates, through migration.

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Table 1. British Columbia Population Born Elsewhere in Canada, 1881-2001

	Maritimes	Quebec	Ontario	Prairies	Total born elsewhere in Canada
1881	784 (3.3%)	396 (1.7%)	1,572 (6.6%)	38 (neg)	3,541 (14.9%)
1891	5,395 (7.6%)	2,567 (3.6%)	11,658 (16.5%)	967 (1.4%)	20,699 (29.2%)
1901	9,575 (6.4%)	4,329 (2.9%)	23,642 (15.8%)	3,194 (2.1%)	40,976 (27.4%)
1911	18,569 (5.0%)	7,496 (2.0%)	45,518 (12.2%)	13,097 (3.5%)	86,364 (23.2%)
1921	19,235 (3.8%)	8,240 (1.6%)	50,361 (10.0%)	30,117 (6.0%)	108,876 (21.7%)
1931	20,853 (3.1%)	9,226 (1.4%)	54,486 (8.1%)	57,970 (8.7%)	143,420 (21.4%)
1941	19,639 (2.5%)	9,627 (1.2%)	54,160 (6.8%)	115,627 (14.6%)	199,213 (25.1%)
1951	24,906 (2.2%)	14,968 (1.3%)	69,818 (6.1%)	249,608 (22.0%)	359,300 (31.6%)
1961	28,366 (1.8%)	17,704 (1.1%)	76,016 (4.8%)	323,025 (20.3%)	445,111 (28.0%)
1971	41,275 (1.9%)	31,465 (1.5%)	107,295 (5.0%)	451,760 (21.2%)	631,795 (29.6%)
1981	58,160 (2.2%)	52,640 (2.0%)	173,345 (6.6%)	542,940 (20.6%)	827,085 (31.3%)
1991	65,000 (2.1%)	61,905 (2.0%)	200,660 (6.4%)	582,360 (18.4%)	911,010 (28.8%)
2001	71,195 (1.9%)	71,795 (1.9%)	240,720 (6.4%)	559,925 (14.9%)	956,950 (25.5%)

SOURCES: Census of Canada, 1941, 4: 662; 1951, 1: Table 45; 1961, catalogue 92-547, Table 51; 1971, 92-727, Table 34; 1981, 92-913, Table 1A; 1991, 93-316, Tables 1 and 2; and 2001, data courtesy of Statistics Canada .

NOTES: Percentages are of the total British Columbia non-Aboriginal population. The earliest federal census to include British Columbia was 1881. Newfoundland is included within the Maritimes. Prairies include Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, whose proportions are minute.

We can get some sense of the diverse ways in which internal migration has helped to link British Columbia to Canada by looking at three groups arriving at three moments in historical time. The first were French Canadians during the fur trade, the second Maritimers following the completion of the transcontinental rail line, the third Prairie migrants during the Great Depression and after the Second World War. When we observe British Columbia from these perspectives, we also begin to understand that the ties creating the nation we know as Canada might well bypass the centre in their impetus and effect.

The almost 400 British Columbians included in the 1881 census as born in Quebec, indicated in Table 1, were the tail end of a phenomenon

helping to ensure that Canada as a nation reached west to the Pacific coast. During the first half of the nineteenth century, over a thousand French Canadians laboured in the Pacific Northwest fur trade extending south through today's Washington and Oregon. Both at the time and during British Columbia's mid-century years as a British colonial possession, their presence was critical to maintaining the future province as a distinct place as opposed to being gobbled up by the expansionist United States. While some French Canadians returned home, as described by historian Allan Greer in *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant*, many stayed on.

Over time the French Canadians who settled in British Columbia would be joined by others, some of them Métis, migrating west from the Prairie fur trade. By the end of the century the numbers born in Quebec reached 4,000, almost twice that by the First World War. Because most French Canadians were of fairly modest means and tended to opt for outlying areas, their presence was for the most part overlooked by the dominant society. This attitude worked to their favour in maintaining familiar ways of life, including adherence to Catholicism and some French language retention, through the generations.

Maritimers similarly contributed to making British Columbia Canadian. The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the mid-1880s made it possible to speed across the continent in little over a week and encouraged Maritimers to do so. The younger province promised opportunities no longer available in longer settled Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Many of the 5,000 arrived by 1891, double that a decade later, were professionals – Presbyterian and Methodist ministers out to tame frontier sensibilities and teachers enjoying much higher salaries. Even though Maritimers' proportion of the British Columbian population was relatively small, migrants occupied pivotal positions possessing bases of authority external to their settings.

Prominent Canadian intellectuals like Nova Scotia-born George Monro Grant firmly believed that Maritimers were the most influential in nation making. Preaching and teaching embodied taken-for-granted outlooks migrants transferred west to British Columbia as a matter of course. It was not only men but also women who did so. Indeed, women were in many ways more effective, for their ways of life were much more taken for granted and thereby more seamlessly integrated into the everyday. The largely mundane character of most women's lives makes their contribution to

nation building difficult to detect except where an exceptional source of everyday knowledge survives, as with the McQueen family correspondence now available on the web through the Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives at the University of New Brunswick. I drew on the correspondence for a book exploring this broad topic entitled *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen*.

Half a century later it was Prairie migrants who headed west. From just under 60,000 in 1931, the number of British Columbians born in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or Alberta moved upwards to reach, Table 1 shows, fully a third of a million three decades later. Depression and drought sent some packing, British Columbia's booming war and postwar economy acted as a magnet, yet others came to retire in a generally more benign climate or for a new adventure.

Whereas Maritimers' impact was greatest in the social and cultural realms, Prairie arrivals gave British Columbia a new political orientation. Many brought with them a disposition towards – or at the least familiarity with – the party in power in their old province. In Saskatchewan this was from 1944 the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and in neighbouring Alberta Social Credit. Not only did the CCF and later the New Democratic Party acquire broad appeal in British Columbia, the populism that animated Social Credit moved west from Alberta in the person of Maritimes-born W.A.C. Bennett, who for a full two decades, 1952-72, had charge of British Columbia in very personalistic fashion. Not only that, three years later he was followed by his son, Bill Bennett, who ruled, albeit more sedately, for another decade.

Just as with French Canadians and Maritimers, Prairie influence extended across multiple dimensions of British Columbian life. In the cultural baggage taken west was a particular religious disposition, and British Columbians' orientation altered in ways consistent with the new arrivals. Conservative Protestant denominations – Baptist, Mennonite, Reformed, Pentecostal and various evangelical and fundamentalist groups – appealed to many of the same Prairie migrants who embraced Social Credit. At the beginning of the Depression these denominations attracted just 4 to 5 of every 100 British Columbians but by the 1970s 7 to 8 out of every 100.

These three groups of migrants make an important larger point about Canada's history. The ties joining us as a nation do not depend on

province's correspondence to a centre grounded in Ontario and Quebec with a possible dash of the Maritimes. We have been stultified in thinking of the nation according to the longstanding perception that it is the centre that equates with Canada's history. The provinces have repeatedly formed each other through migration in ways consistent with our sense of self as a nation. These constructions might, but do not necessarily, move through the centre in their impetus and influence.

Yes, Canada is a big and disparate country, but that does not mean we cannot teach about its past and present in ways that respect the country as a whole. The attributes that distinguish each of the provinces are also part of Canada's history, and need to be recognized as such. British Columbia has been formed by its Aboriginal people and by Asia, but it has also been created from within Canada. All of the provinces have been, and continue to be, formed through interaction with each other as well as with the centre. Today it is Newfoundland workers who are finding employment, and in some cases new lives, in Alberta, tomorrow who knows? This proposed entryway for integrating British Columbia – and the rest of Canada – into Canada's history is also an entryway to teaching Canada's history in a more meaningful and comprehensive fashion.

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THE PRICE PAID FOR NEGLECTING BC HISTORY

ABSTRACT

The year 2008 will be the 200th anniversary of Simon Fraser's trip down the river which bears his name, and the 150th anniversary of the Fraser River gold rush and the founding of the crown colony of British Columbia. In the year 2010 the province will host the Winter Olympics. The Canadian presentation at the closing ceremonies in Turin in 2006 did little to convey the spirit of modern day Canada, and even less to portray the spirit of BC. The celebrations in 2008 and 2010 present an opportunity to showcase the history and culture of British Columbia in a more inclusive way and highlight the place of BC in Canadian history.

British Columbia recently paid a high price for neglecting its history. At the 2006 Winter Olympics in Turin, the province was given eight minutes to sell itself to the world. Many BC citizens, including Premier Gordon Campbell, were mortified by the result. Rather than an attention-grabbing display of what makes British Columbia a great place to hold the next games, viewers were presented with a clichéd and somewhat garbled version of what it means to be Canadian. There was little in the presentation to tell the world why BC was selected to host the next Olympics or why they should visit the province in 2010.

How can we explain the deficiencies in the Turin presentation? For many years our schools and universities did a poor job of educating students about our history. The textbooks used in British Columbian schools until the 1980s were published in eastern Canada. They focused on the history of Quebec and Ontario and paid scant attention to BC history, particularly native history. When native history was mentioned at all it was usually dealt with superficially or in a negative way. Women, labour and ethnic groups also received scant attention. University history departments for years taught Canadian history in a similar fashion. As a result generations of Canadians, and British Columbians in particular, grew up with an incomplete knowledge of their past.

One of the most important events in our history, for example, was British Columbia's entry into Confederation. As someone educated in BC, I knew only that the province became part of Canada in 1871. When the provincial curriculum changed in the 1980s a whole unit was devoted to the topic. I did some research in the provincial archives and found that there was a serious and very interesting debate in the colony in 1870 over whether BC should join Canada or the United States. Much to my surprise I found that there were two major annexationist newspapers published in Victoria at the time. Another surprise was that BC chose to join Canada in part because the residents would acquire responsible government. Even the Americans could not promise that. In school and university I learned all about Upper and Lower Canada's struggle for responsible government and but never realized that BC went through a similar process. To make the subject interesting to my high school students I put together an extensive collection of primary sources presenting the arguments made by both sides, and had the students re-enact the 1870 debate in the Legislative buildings in Victoria.¹ The re-enactment was a great way to teach my students about BC history, as every event in the province's history up to 1870 was relevant in the debate.

The James Cook bicentennial celebration in 1978 provides another example of what happens when people do not know their history. Cook anchored off the west coast of Vancouver Island in 1778 and was the first European to set foot in BC. Given

CHARLES HOU
Retired teacher and author Charles Hou was the first recipient of the Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History and the originator of the annual Begbie Canadian History Contest.

the way Canadian history had been taught in the past, I knew that the government of the day would tend to focus on Cook and ignore the fact that there were native people living in the area at the time of his arrival. In 1975 I took a group of students to Victoria, where they demonstrated on the front steps of the Legislature to support honouring the Nootka chief Maquinna, as well as Cook, during the bicentennial celebrations. Chief Maquinna, who likely met Cook at Friendly Cove in 1778, was a skilled diplomat who dominated the sea otter trade on the coast for many years and played the British and Spanish diplomats for all they were worth.^{2,3} I think we actually convinced the governing New Democratic Party to include native people in the bicentennial celebrations. Unfortunately, we did not lobby the Social Credit opposition, who soundly defeated the NDP in the fall election.

The native people of the west coast asked the government for funds to rebuild a native settlement at Friendly Cove in time for the Cook bicentennial. This could have created a major tourist attraction on the west coast analogous to Louisbourg in the east. It might well have included some Spanish buildings, as the Spanish built a fort at Friendly Cove in 1789 to challenge Britain's claim to the area. The reconstruction would have provided an opportunity for people to both celebrate Cook's voyage and learn more about BC history and native culture. Unfortunately the new government turned down the native request and the opportunity was lost. Instead of erecting a statue of Maquinna greeting James Cook at Friendly Cove, the government erected a statue of Cook in Victoria facing the Empress hotel, with his back to the site of an early native settlement across the bay.

The year 2008 will be the bicentennial year and the sesquicentennial year of major events in British Columbia history, providing BC with another opportunity to promote a more inclusive version of our past.

In 1808 Simon Fraser descended the Fraser River from a point south of Prince George to the river mouth, completing the river route across Canada which Samuel de Champlain started in 1608. The most difficult section of the river to navigate was the Black Canyon, a section of the Fraser River that cuts through a gap between the Cascade and Coast Mountain ranges. The native people in the canyon, who wanted to trade with the newcomers, helped Fraser on his trip and welcomed and fed him at settlements now known as Lytton, Spuzzum and Yale⁴. Like other explorers

who made their way across Canada, Fraser could not have achieved what he did without the help of local guides. Fraser was disappointed to find that the river was not navigable and that it was not the Columbia River. The Fraser Canyon would nonetheless become the transportation equivalent in western Canada of the St. Lawrence River in eastern Canada, providing a route for an important Hudson's Bay Company trail, the Cariboo Wagon Road, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian National Railway and the Trans-Canada Highway. The canyon and the HBC trail would make a great location for a new museum and a park to celebrate both Simon Fraser's accomplishment and the place of native people in Canadian history. A new museum would also provide an opportunity to shed light on the importance of women, labour and the many ethnic groups involved in the development of BC. The federal government is reportedly investing \$110 million in Quebec City's 400th anniversary celebration and could surely contribute to the construction of a museum and the acquisition of land for a park in the Fraser Canyon.

The year 2008 is also the 150th anniversary of the gold rush and the founding of the crown colony of British Columbia. In 1858, 30,000 gold miners headed up the Fraser Canyon in their search for the richest deposits of gold. They came from all over the world, with most coming from the United States. The miners trampled on the land and rights of the native people, and a major confrontation was narrowly averted.⁵ Disease inflicted further harm on the native people and they later lost much of the land the government set aside for them during the construction of the Cariboo Wagon Road, the CPR, the CNR and the Trans-Canada Highway. To make matters worse, the churches and government set out to destroy the native languages and culture. To its credit, the BC government is currently trying to make up for past wrongs by providing the native people with the resources to sustain their communities and take control of their educational system.

The Winter Olympics in 2010 also provides an ideal opportunity to celebrate British Columbia's history and culture. Almost everyone is impressed by native art, but not all realize that native masks were made not to hang on walls but for dancers to wear during their performances. If the BC government made a commitment to teach the world about native history the native people might be willing to perform the dances they have rarely shared with outsiders. If colourful native costumes

and dances were added to those of the Spanish and British who sought control of BC at Friendly Cove, the French-Canadian and Scottish voyageurs who traveled with Simon Fraser, the Americans attracted to the gold rush, the Chinese who helped build the CPR, the East Indians and Japanese attracted to the Lower Mainland, and the many Europeans and others who helped build the CNR and the Trans-Canada Highway or who settled in BC, we could provide the world with a spectacular show. All of the performers could then be invited to dance together. This would be a unique way to respect native people and the people from all over the world who have made a home in BC.

The years 2008 and 2010 give us an opportunity to tell the world our story. I hope that we will not make the same mistake in 2010 as we made in 1978, and that all Canadians will be able to take pride in our Olympic year.

Endnotes

- ¹ Charles Hou and Marlena Morgan, *The Destiny of British Columbia: Confederation or Annexation? 1866-1871*. Vancouver, BC Teachers' Federation, 1984.
- ² Robin Fisher, "Muquinna," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, vol. IV, pp. 567-69.
- ³ Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890*. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1977.
- ⁴ W. Kaye Lamb, ed., *Simon Fraser: Letters and Journals*. Toronto, Macmillan, 1960.
- ⁵ Donald J. Hauka, *McGowan's War*. Vancouver, New Star Books, 2003.

THE CHALLENGE OF FIRST NATIONS HISTORY IN A COLONIAL WORLD

ABSTRACT

Drawing upon his research and personal experiences, Menzies documents the private and semi-private narratives of colonialism that makes teaching First Nations history and anthropology challenging.

As a university-based Indigenous scholar I have come to the position that teaching First Nations subjects to non-Indigenous students and with non-Indigenous colleagues is necessarily an act of anti-racist pedagogy. Hired to conduct research with and teach courses on northwest coast societies at UBC in 1996 I have found that the simple act of providing good, effective, and rigorous scholarship is not a sufficient pedagogical approach in the context of a colonial society.

My teaching and research practice has necessarily become a transformative practice: that is, the process of learning/teaching needs to involve real change, challenge, discomfort, and ultimately transformative experiences. To teach First Nations history and anthropology one must start from the position of an anti-racist anti-colonial pedagogy that aims to disrupt the dominant colonial narratives and practices.

This perspective emerges out of the complexities and contradictions of my life and work. I grew up the son of a fisherman in a world in which my aboriginal-eurocanadian ancestry was a social fact that shaped what and how I learned about the world around me. As an Indigenous academic I am acutely aware of the politics of race and ethnicity. I am also aware of the damaging legacy of colonialism¹ for First Nations people today – one very real aspect of it being the ways in which public education is provided and taught.²

In what follows I document a series of ‘stories’ told in the context of my work on commercial fishing boats in my home town of Prince Rupert. My goal here is to highlight and pull into the light of day the background narratives that pose a significant challenge to the teaching of First Nations history and anthropology.

A small gathering of men were relaxing in the quiet time between the end of work and heading up town or home for the night. Ed³, a crewmember from an adjacent boat, joined our circle and began to talk about his exploits of the previous evening. He had spent most of his shore – time participating in a 20th year High School Reunion – by all accounts it had been a smashing success.

Ed is a respected member of the local fishing community, an accomplished storyteller and an effective public speaker (the public here being a group of predominantly Euro-Canadian fishermen). I had begun to tune out – I’d heard this story before – at least versions of it – drink, party and drink... I had almost decided to leave when Ed’s story took an unexpected turn away from the typical masculinist narrative line of drunken abandon.

“Jim had all this paint up at his place so we loaded it into my car and drove back downtown. Parked off third, took a look for the cops and then went to it.”

“Doing what,” I asked.

“Hey? What do you think we were doing?”

“Painting the town red,” somebody said to a chorus of laughs.

“No,” said Ed. “We were painting the town white. Yeah, we painted a bloody

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Charles Menzies, an associate professor of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia,
is Gitksana Tsimshian and an enrolled member of the Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska.

white cross-walk from the Belmont right into the Empress. Help all those drunken Indians make it across the street.”

“But why is it so jagged? It’s crooked.”

“That’s the beauty of it,” said Ed.

“It’s designed just right. Your Indian stumbles out of the bar, into the street. ‘Hey look,’ he says, ‘a cross walk.’ And he’s right over into the other bar. First class.”

The tragic irony of Ed’s own drunkenness seemed to have escaped him in the recounting of his previous night’s escapades. He plays up popular explanations of the so-called “Indian Problem.” Yet his story is only one example in a multitude of narratives of colonialism in which the disparate threads of racial superiority and intolerance are wound. Ed’s story is part of the day-to-day experience of social inequality felt by people of aboriginal descent.

Once, while working on the same boat as Ed he confronted me in a more direct and personal way. A couple decades my senior, Ed wanted to set me straight on the issue of First Nations land claims.

“So they say we took all their land away from them,” Ed said. He was standing, feet planted firmly on the deck blocking my way past him off the deck. We’d been on deck for several hours and I wanted to have a cup of tea before our brief break from fishing ended.

Ed had other thoughts.

We had been talking about the new aboriginal fisheries strategy and the so-called disappearance of sockeye from the Fraser River in 1992. Ed wasn’t willing to concede that First Nations’ rights either existed or, if they did, should be respected. I was tired, we’d already been out six days and the trip did not look like it would be over soon. Standing there, clad in my heavy fishing gear, soaked through with sweat and salt spray, I wasn’t particularly in the mood to argue the point.

“Okay, so the land was lost. But not the rights,” I said. “Now it’s time to make it right. Let’s go in and get a cup of tea.”

Fighting to keep our balance as the deck rolled and bucked under our feet, Ed continued on.

“Okay, let’s say we took their land, hey? Just say we did. Okay add it up, how much did they lose? Tell me a number, any number. I’ll double it. Put it here,” he said putting his hand up level with his shoulder.

“Now,” he says. “How much have we given them, hey?”

I knew what he was going to say. I had heard him tell this story several times before and as I

waited for him to finish I looked around the work deck of the 60 foot fishboat and realized that with the exception of the skipper, the entire crew was listening and watching Ed’s performance.

“I’ll tell ya,” he said.

“We gave ‘em welfare and they don’t got’ta pay taxes. We give ‘m free education. They don’t got’ta buy a license, the government gives it to them free; no questions asked. Just keep on adden. I’ll tell you when to stop. We pay for their houses, build their boats. They don’t got’ta do a thing. Okay so you put it all there.” He pointed to a spot next to his first imaginary pile.

“So they want to take the fish; they want a land claim. We’ll give it to them. You know what? –they’re gonna come up owing us hey. I’ll tell ya this Charlie, they ain’t gonna like it. But too fucken bad. They don’t like it? I’ll get out my gun and blow their effing heads off.”

Ed’s story came to an abrupt end: it was time to start working. The skipper had come down from his wheelhouse as Ed was finishing his story.

In the transition from the private to the public, these narratives are cleansed of their more offensive and violent rhetoric. Public representatives speak in carefully measured tones constantly reminding their audience that they are not racist, that they are not self-interested. But rather, they are proponents of the greater good, of democratic interests, and of individual rights.

We can see this in the public opposition that emerged in response to the Nisga’a Agreement in Principle (AIP). Writing in the Prince Rupert Daily News then Reform Party Member of Parliament for Skeena, Mike Scott, argued that the Nisga’a AIP (and by extension treaty settlement in general) is a “recipe for disaster [because], inherent in the AIP is the notion that communism can be successfully reinvented.” Scott praised the Nisga’a for not engaging “in acts of obstruction, civil disobedience and even violence.” He elided discussion of the content of the AIP (except to incorrectly label it as communist) and targeted the process instead. According to Scott:

The Nisga’a AIP is anti-democratic to its very core. It ignores the basic principle of equality before the law, entrenching inequality as a major feature. It is the product of a grand vision held by social engineers who want to do good by righting historic wrongs without regard to history’s lessons.

But what are history's lessons? Scott was certainly not responding to the history of colonialism in which aboriginal ownership and control over their territories and resources was gradually eroded and placed under the control of a colonial state. Scott's commentary is in fact part of a larger history of denial presented in the polished language of public discourse. Buried beneath his apparent concern with democracy, inequality and disaster are all the private conversations of men like Ed, the men who put Scott and others like him in positions of power.

Even though Scott does not explicitly use racist language and is careful to point out his own perceived persecution, his remarks need to be understood in the context of the stories told by Ed which form quiet, semi-private backdrop to Scott's particular view of Canada.

Ed's narrative is a European fantasy of the Indian: drunken, out of control, and need of the firm hand of the white man to demarcate, to paint the boundary lines of the Indian's life. Scott's column is also a fantasy of (re)placement. By invoking the quasi progressive language of individual rights, Scott denies the collective presence of the Nisga'a as a people. Rather, they are simply a group of displaced individual property owners who should be paid off. Together, these stories are part of a continued attempt to, as Ed says, "paint the town white."

An important part of my writing details the semi-private stories of Euro-Canadian men and the role their storytelling plays in the maintenance of colonial structures⁴. These are emotionally wrenching stories. They form the terrain around which and through any discussion of teaching First Nations education must pass.

It may seem that these stories are exceptions; even exaggeration. Sadly, they are not. I hear variations of these stories everyday. Students and colleagues speak of indigenous peoples as objects to be held up and examined. Well meaning teachers extol the virtues of ecological Indians to my children. All around misconceptions and half-truths abound.

The challenge for teaching First Nations history and anthropology is that it must challenge these colonial half-truths with an anti-racist pedagogy combined with effective scholarship. Simply relying upon a liberal ideology that 'good information will undermine poorly conceived ideas or misconceptions' does nothing to address the underlying racism of contemporary society. Effective teaching of First Nations history and anthropology must

necessarily challenge the private and semi-private narratives of men and women like Ed who, even in the face of fact and logic, are unable to relinquish their privileged membership in a colonial society.

Endnotes

- ¹ Menzies, 2004: "First Nations, Inequality, and the Legacy of Colonialism." In James Curtis, Edward Grabb, and Neil Guppy (eds). *Social Inequality in Canada* (4th Edition). Toronto: Prentice-Hall, pp. 295-303.
- ² See, Paul Orlowski 2004: "*What's Ideology got to do with it? Race and Class Discourses in Social Studies Education*. Unpublished dissertation, UBC. Orlowski makes a strong case for a progressive social studies curriculum that is fully aware of the legacy of the racialized and class-based structures of BC society. Among other things, Orlowski points to the colour-blindness of contemporary social studies teachers who seem unable to appreciate the injuries of race or class in their students (pp. 191-193).
- ³ With the exception of public figures, such as politicians, all names are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity of those quoted in this paper.
- ⁴ See for example: Menzies, 1994 "Stories from Home: First Nations, Land Claims, and Euro-Canadians" *American Ethnologist* Vol. 21(4):776-791, and; Menzies, 1997 "Indian or White? Racial Identities in the British Columbian Fishing Industry" in Anthony Marcus (ed) **Anthropology for a Small Planet: Culture and Community in a Global Environment** St. James, New York: Brandywine Press, pp: 110-123.

IMAGES OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA CANADIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

ABSTRACT

This article examines British Columbia history textbooks over time for their changing representations of Aboriginal people. It also discusses implications for instruction.



British Columbia Schools Magazine, Vol. 1 (February 1946), p. 43. Permission for use granted from BC Archives.

This compelling photograph appeared in *British Columbia Schools* magazine in February of 1946. It was intended to provide an example of progressive education in action in British Columbia schools: child-centered, cooperative activities, resulting in a tangible product; in this case, an Aboriginal village. However, what may be most striking to a contemporary viewer is the perspective on Aboriginal people that is portrayed.

The primary-grade children are posed proudly around a model they have presumably made. One is wearing a ring of construction paper “feathers” on her head. Another has a bow and arrows. The caption reads:

Indians, Indians tall and red,
With arrows and spears of very sharp head,
Dressed in fine feathers . . .

Miss Rita Boyer’s class at Westridge School No. 2 really learned how Indians lived.¹

We can only speculate about what these students *really* learned about Indians from the evidence in the photograph. What jumps off the page is an assumption that Indians existed only in the past and are not part of the world in which these children live. It is particularly interesting to note the “fine feathers” adorning the little girl’s head. It is to be hoped the students were not learning about Aboriginal people living in what is now British Columbia, because most did not wear feathers.²

What is also interesting is that this classroom scene from the 1940s is both suggestive of the 1970s Canadian multicultural “Celebrate Our Differences” approach and perhaps not so different from what we might see displayed in an elementary school classroom today. With its focus on the material culture of the past, this approach overlooks the impact of European colonization on Aboriginal people. It is a benign and safe approach that allows us to distance ourselves and our students from the residual injustices and inequities of colonialism.

This investigation uses a series of “snapshots.” The first illuminates eighteen textbooks published before mid-twentieth century, when Aboriginal activism was slight, their population was small, and they were largely assigned to reserves. The second snapshot draws from findings of Canadian studies conducted from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, under the auspices of various organizations, such as provincial human rights commissions, provincial departments of education, and Aboriginal organizations. Canadian history texts were under intense scrutiny for their representation of various societal groups, but particularly Aboriginal people, during these two decades, and it was a period of increased Aboriginal activism. In the third period, the 1990s to present, I examined twenty-six textbooks, comprising all of the Canadian history texts authorized in British Columbia in the period. One might expect to see increased tolerance in textbooks in this period, as a result of both changing attitudes in the broader society and the previous period of scrutiny.³

Aboriginal Person as “Other”: To Mid Twentieth Century

Two predominant attitudes toward Aboriginal people are prevalent: paternalism and repugnance. Jacques Cartier “scattered among them glass beads, combs and other trinkets for which they scrambled like eager children.”⁴ They sometimes went without food because “they were very improvident children.”⁵ “The Hudson’s Bay Company was a wise father to them.”⁶ They were “almost child-like in their simplicity.”⁷ The poem “Who Calls?” epitomizes this paternalistic attitude:

Who calls?
The Red man, poor and sick,
He calls.
Who comes?
The White man, rich and strong,
He comes.⁸

The Métis resistances were based on an unfortunate misunderstanding. *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* says, “No one explained to them [the Métis] that Canada intended to treat them fairly.”⁹ 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.”¹⁰ A lot of unnecessary fuss could have been avoided if someone had only explained to these “ignorant occu-

pants” 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.

Repugnance is evident in phrases such as “like veritable demons,”¹¹ “worthless Indian,”¹² “unreasonable savages,”¹³ “savage hearts,”¹⁴ “blood-thirsty nature,”¹⁵ “ignorant savages,”¹⁶ and “savages stood round in gaping wonder.”¹⁷ Living with Aboriginal people qualified white men for sainthood: “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.”¹⁸

Robert F. Berkhofer, in *The White Man’s Indian*, maintains that the image of the Indian as “savage” was essential for justification of both imperialist and evangelical goals. He argues that “not only did the image of the savage Indian rationalize European conquest but it also spurred missionaries to greater zeal and their patrons to larger contributions.”¹⁹ Imperialism became an altruistic endeavour.

The Turbulent Decades: Mid-1960s to Mid-1980s

As newspaper headlines such as “Slanted Textbooks”²⁰ attest, there was a great deal of public interest in the mid-1960s in textbook representations of marginalized groups. The subsequent studies found errors of fact, glaring omissions, and negative stereotyping in Aboriginal representations. I will highlight only a few of these studies.²¹

It was Aboriginal people themselves who first pointed to their negative representations in textbooks. A 1964 study initiated at the Indian and Métis Conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, concluded Aboriginals were either ignored or presented in a derogatory fashion as “fierce and predatory savages; [or] as simple and innocent sub-humans.”²² The texts emphasized drinking, gambling, and fighting as habits of Indians and not of white people. One book mentioned that all tribes had probably lived in Alaska at some point over the course of wandering about North America. This experience “deadened their minds; it killed their imagination and initiative.”²³

Teaching Prejudice (1971), by Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, analyzed 143 social studies textbooks for their representations

of various groups. This study, which took on iconic status in Canada, concluded that:

Indians emerged as the least favoured of all the groups. An overwhelming number of them were portrayed as primitive and unskilled; not infrequently they were shown as aggressive and hostile as well. Although most have worn western dress for generations, 95 percent were shown in tribal dress or only partly clothed. In 86 percent of the illustrations, one or more Indian males were shown wearing feathers or feathered headdresses... *none* were shown in skilled or professional occupations.²⁴

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, in *The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks*, found “the main failure of the textbooks under review is their tendency to treat the Native as an impediment to be removed so that the goals of European ‘progress’ can be realized...”²⁵ Other studies at this time added support for these findings. Aboriginal people were presented in a negative light, savage and warlike in the early years of European settlement and mostly absent in later years.²⁶

Prevailing Images: 1990s to Present

It is reasonable to say that a transformation has taken place in the ways Canadian history textbooks depict Aboriginal people. They have more of a presence in the texts and are depicted in more positive, albeit still limited ways. Textbooks now discuss life on reserves, land claims negotiations, treaty rights, and Native self-government, among other issues.

It is also reasonable to say that the texts have not come far enough in facilitating understanding that abuses are carried out through institutional practices and have legacies within collective identities. For example, they may now acknowledge that Aboriginal people assisted European explorers and colonists but fail to acknowledge the colonial relationships of power in which such interactions occurred.

Aboriginal people seem to be depicted in six ways: spectator, savage warrior, invisible, exotic, problem, uniquely spiritual, and protestor. I will discuss two of these here: invisible and uniquely spiritual.

It is standard practice for Canadian history textbooks to discuss the ways in which Aboriginal cultural groups lived prior to the arrival of Europeans, followed by an emphasis on interaction through the period of exploration and the fur trade. In the later nineteenth century there are discussions of treaties and the 1869 and 1885 Métis

(and Aboriginal in 1885) resistances. With the occasional reference to involvement of Aboriginal soldiers in World War One or Two, Aboriginal people do not appear again in textbooks for almost a century – from Métis leader Louis Riel’s execution for treason in 1885, to the 1960s, when native singer Buffy Sainte-Marie began writing and singing protest songs. (Sainte-Marie is an obvious choice for inclusion because she fits both the categories of “exotic” and “protest.”) Students must wonder what they are to make of this. Where were Aboriginal people and what were they doing the rest of the time?

The absence of Aboriginal people can be attributed to three causes. First, they did not figure prominently on the political scene until the late 1960s and Canadian history texts, in keeping with provincial curriculum requirements, have featured political and economic developments. They are outside the real action of the textbooks because they are seen as outside the narrative of progress that is Canadian history. Second, there is little academic research to support textbook authors. Ken Coates and Robin Fisher have pointed out that “despite the proliferation of fine writing in the field, enormous historiographical gaps remain. Academics have documented comparatively little about twentieth-century developments related to First Nations (particularly the post-Second World War period), despite the fact that there is no shortage of detailed government and other records relating to the era.”²⁷ As more Aboriginal people become academics, and as interest in such research continues to increase in the broader research community, this void will be filled. Third, contemporary historians rarely write history textbooks for a pre-university audience, with the result that existing academic research does not necessarily find its way into textbooks.

*For thousands of years
I have spoken the language of the land
and listened to its many voices.
I took what I needed
and found there was plenty for everyone.
feeling the blessing of the Supreme Spirit.
I lived in the brotherhood of all beings.*²⁸

This poem is representative of the image of unique spirituality coupled with environmental stewardship found in the texts. I note that this image is also evident in the Western Canadian Protocol (2000) documents, a regional curriculum initiative involving several western provinces and the three territories. According to the foundation

document: “Aboriginal people have a unique relationship with the land and their environment, and that relationship is strong and spiritual.”²⁹ There is controversy among historians regarding the accuracy of this image of custodians of the earth. Some contend that Aboriginal people have had a special reverence for the earth and a unique wisdom about it, because of their closeness to it and dependence on it. Others argue that this is an excessively romantic view which has been promoted in self-serving fashion by the contemporary environmentalism movement.³⁰

Some Implications for Instruction

There is a story to be told in school history texts, and in telling that story, choices must be made as to what is to be included and what is to be excluded. The narrative is one of progress – progress in taming the wilderness and the people who lived in it at the time of European arrival; progress in establishing orderly (European) systems of law and government; progress in building efficient networks of transportation, communication, and trade.

Aboriginal peoples are “othered” in this narrative of progress. They are present in relation to the European settler story. Thus, textbooks typically include a section called something like “Native Peoples in North America Prior to Contact,” as if Aboriginal lives were conducted in a sort of anteroom to the real business of the project of European colonization and settlement. There is a sense of timelessness in this representation, as if nothing changed until the arrival of Europeans. Next we see “Native Peoples and Their Role in the Fur Trade.” They appear in their canoes at the fur forts. But there is no indication as to what they are doing the rest of the time.

There are pedagogical implications, of course. We need, as educator Ken Osborne once put it, to “demystify and dethrone”³¹ the textbook; to topple it off its pedestal in the classroom and make room for other resources. We can use materials developed by Aboriginal people themselves. Aboriginal educator Susan Dion has called for this change: “Only when literature written by First Nations writers and art produced by First Nations artists become part of the curriculum... will students begin to recognize that there is far more to being First Nations than beads and feathers and that our identity is not something that can be pulled on and off like a pair of jeans.”³² She continues, “through the act of (re)telling, we are claiming a space within which Canadians are called upon to begin the

work required to face a shared history that requires responsible attention.”³³

Walter Werner has suggested the metaphor of the “montage” as a way of combining diverse primary and secondary sources without the overlay of a unifying narrative. Students have to make sense of the array of accounts before them without input from the textbook author. (Of course, note must be taken that someone has selected these various accounts.) “Viewers are then forced to make sense of the event by correlating bits of evidence, weighing their relative importance, raising questions, and defending conclusions about what happened, who was involved, and with what consequences.”³⁴

Finally, teachers can help students disrupt the traditional curriculum narrative by asking such questions as: Where were Aboriginal people between 1886 and 1970? What were they doing? How have they been shut out of this account? As John Willinsky has written, “a critical space needs to be created in the classroom that allows students to stand apart from this representation of the world, to take issue with its inevitable and its readily available limitations in peering into and rendering sensible the lives of others.”³⁵

History educator, Linda Levstik has reminded us that, “It takes courage to challenge official stories, myths and assumptions, to ask sometimes uncomfortable questions, to demand support for assertions, and to develop supportable interpretations of the past... this is risky business.”³⁶ This, along with listening to the stories of those who have been “othered,” is a task for everyone involved in history teaching and textbook development, selection, and use: Department of Education bureaucrats, members of textbook selection committees, textbook authors and publishers, history teachers, and, finally, students.

* This article is a distillation of a chapter which will appear in *Teaching the Difficult Past: Violence, Reconciliation and History Education*, to be published by Rowman & Littlefield. The project, which was sponsored by the Carnegie Council on Ethics & International Affairs and the Spencer Foundation, includes case-studies of secondary school history teaching and textbooks, examining how they promote (or fail to promote) political and societal reconciliation in nations where atrocities have occurred. Case-studies include: Northern Ireland, Germany, Guatemala, Russia, Zimbabwe, and Japan.

Endnotes

- ¹ Rita D. Bowyer [sic], "Indian Life," *British Columbia Schools* 1 (February 1946), p. 43.
- ² See Arlene B. Hirschfelder, "The Emergence of the Plains Indian as the Symbol of the North American Indian," in *American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children: A Reader and Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J.: London, 1982).
- ³ A complete list of the textbooks examined is available from the author.
- ⁴ George M. Wrong, Chester Martin, and Walter N. Sage, *Story of Canada* (1929), p. 14.
- ⁵ A. L. Burt, *The Romance of the Prairie Provinces* (1931), p. 18.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ⁷ Arthur Anstey, *The Romance of British Columbia* (1924), p. 50.
- ⁸ D. J. Dickie, *How Canada Was Found* (1925), p. 110.
- ⁹ Burt, *Romance*, p. 169.
- ¹⁰ I. Gammell, *History of Canada*, BC ed. (1921), pp. 223.
- ¹¹ D. J. Dickie, *In Pioneer Days* (1928), p. 36.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 122.
- ¹³ D. J. Dickie and Helen Palk, *Pages from Canada's Story*, rev. ed. (1931), p. 77.
- ¹⁴ Gammell, *History of Canada*, p. 37.
- ¹⁵ Duncan McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (1927), p. 66.
- ¹⁶ Celesta Hamer-Jackson, *Discoverers and Explorers of North America* (1937), p. 149.
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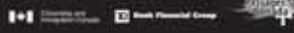



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Unwelcome Settlers from the West:

PEOPLE FROM THE "FAR EAST" IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

ABSTRACT

British Columbia was long unique in Canada in having a significant portion of its settlers come from the west, that is, the so-called "Far East" of China and Japan. Although these people contributed to the development of the provincial economy, for a variety of intertwined reasons white British Columbians long opposed their immigration and attempted to restrict their activities.

In 1884, a federal government pamphlet reported that British Columbia was keen to have settlers; there was a caveat, they were to be white "to take the place of Chinese workmen, who are not regarded with favour...[because]... they form an inferior class apart, and are not adapted for mingling with or forming part of the civilization of the Caucasian or white race."¹ The Chinese continued to come. Within the decade, Japanese immigrants also began to arrive. They were equally unwelcome though not always for the same reasons. The basic arguments against the Asian presence were set in the first half century of British Columbia's existence from 1858 to 1914 when, alone among Canadian provinces, it experienced significant immigration from the west, that is, from Asia. By the time of the First World War, both the Chinese and the Japanese were well established and together formed seven to ten percent of the province's population.²

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) allowed some Chinese to move east of the Rockies but about 70% remained in British Columbia where almost every city and town had a Chinatown. Some consisted of only a few individuals who operated restaurants and laundries or worked in nearby market gardens as in Vernon and Nelson; others such as Barkerville were relics of the gold rush era or, in the case of Kamloops, the construction of the CPR; some, Nanaimo and Cumberland, grew up around coal mines where Chinese had found employment after the gold rush faded. Several were quite large. In 1911, both Victoria and Vancouver had about 3,500 Chinese residents.³ A few communities such as Penticton and some Kootenay mining towns had driven out potential Chinese settlers and had no Chinatowns.

In contrast to the overwhelmingly male and widely dispersed Chinese population, the Japanese, who came later, brought in wives, formed families, and were concentrated at the coast. In 1911, of the province's total Japanese population of about 8,600, approximately a quarter lived in Vancouver, mainly around Powell Street and the sawmills on False Creek. Their other major settlement was the fishing village of Steveston at the mouth of the Fraser River. Smaller groups resided at Cumberland and at fishing communities and lumber camps scattered along the coast.

As settlement patterns imply, the Chinese and Japanese earned their livings in several ways. By 1900, the Japanese held 45% of the gill net licenses on the salmon-rich Fraser River. Their quick success aroused the enmity of white and native fishers especially when they did not fully join strikes for higher fish prices.⁴ The Chinese did not face such opposition in the fishing industry since few white people wanted the unpleasant work they did in the canneries. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese and Japanese mined for coal only at Cumberland with its several

Chinatowns and “Jap” towns.⁵ Claiming that that Asians accepted lower wages and poorer working conditions, worked during strikes, and endangered safety by not knowing English, white miners, through legislation and moral suasion, had forced them from the other mines and kept them out of the metalliferous mines. The lumber industry also employed Asians. White workers accused the Asians of being “cheap labour” and “unfair competitors”; employers claimed they were less efficient than white men but relied on them. In 1901, the Japanese and Chinese were 25 and 12 per cent respectively of the labour force in the province’s lumber and shingle mills usually doing unskilled tasks.⁶ Their wages were low. In 1904, for example, unskilled white labour in lumber mills earned \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day; Japanese, \$1.00 to \$1.60; and Chinese, 90 cents to \$1.30.⁷ A few Japanese were loggers mainly cutting shingle bolts. The provincial practice of denying employment to Asians on crown lands, however, limited their opportunities since most timberlands were leased from the government.

Asians were accepted in a few occupations. Since the time of the gold rush, Chinese had engaged in market gardening and through their own distribution system supplied the white community with fresh vegetables at reasonable prices. A handful of Japanese worked on Okanagan farms and ranches but the major move of Japanese into agriculture came after 1914. In the meantime, white settlers were happy to hire Chinese and Japanese to clear their land. In the cities and towns, whites patronized Chinese laundries and restaurants although white competitors alleged, without much evidence, that the Chinese conducted their businesses in filthy, unsanitary conditions. Yet, many white middle class households employed Chinese as cooks and general servants and a few had Japanese houseboys.

What drew Asians to British Columbia? Although some individuals sought adventure or desired to leave uncomfortable family circumstances, the majority simply wanted a better economic life. China was crowded and its government unstable. Japan had a stable government but limited land. Even “cheap labour” in British Columbia was highly paid by Asian standards. The Chinese first came in search of gold. Little was said about them in the colonial era. With provincial status and the promise of a railway link with the rest of Canada, the Chinese question came to the fore since the only large supply of accessible labour for the west coast was in China. Given a choice of not

having the railway or accepting new Chinese immigrants, British Columbians reluctantly accepted the “necessary evil” of letting agents for CPR contractors advance wages and travel costs to an estimated 15-16,000 Chinese labourers.⁸ To discourage the Chinese from staying or more from coming, the legislature, having disfranchised them in the 1870s, passed several more anti-Chinese measures such as special taxes which the courts declared *ultra vires*; Ottawa disallowed an immigration law. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, who shared British Columbians’ notions of an “alien race” of “semi-barbarian” Chinese⁹ that could not assimilate, appointed a Royal Commission to investigate Chinese Immigration. Following its report, Ottawa passed a Chinese Immigration Act imposing a \$50 head tax on all Chinese entering Canada effective 1 January 1886, six weeks after the driving of the last spike on the CPR. The tax was raised to \$500 in 1904 but was cancelled in 1923 when Parliament passed an exclusionary Chinese immigration law. It is to the surviving head tax payers and their spouses that the Canadian government recently offered \$20,000 as compensation.

When Japanese immigrants began to arrive in the 1890s, partly in response to a temporary decline in Chinese immigration because of the head tax, British Columbians treated them like Chinese. After disfranchising them in 1895, the provincial government regularly added “and no Japanese” to the standard clause in its contracts that “No Chinese should be employed.” The legislature also sought to halt further immigration from Asia. On seven occasions between 1900 and 1908 it passed such laws, usually a “Natal Act” by which that African colony used a language test to keep out Asian immigrants. Because Japan had signed commercial treaties with Great Britain and concluded a formal Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, “for imperial reasons” Canada could not let such measures stand and disallowed all but the one reserved in 1907 by Lieutenant-Governor James Dunsmuir whose Vancouver Island coal mines employed Asians.

Why was there such opposition to these immigrants from the west? The notion that they could not form part of a Caucasian “civilization” persisted but it was only one of many intertwined reasons for antipathy. The *Victoria Daily Times* in 1913, for example, asserted that it was “prompted by the instinct of self-preservation.” and was “based principally on economic grounds, although unquestionably national and social considerations enter

into the situation.”¹⁰ Disentangling the causes of hostility or ranking them in any order is impossible but they can be considered under several headings:

As already indicated, many British Columbians regarded Asians as “cheap labour” who undercut white wages and took jobs; sometimes that was linked to conflict between capital and labour. Another economic argument was the belief that they were sojourners who sent their money home to their families or saved it before returning to Asia to live in relative comfort. In the meantime, it was alleged that by living frugally in crowded, unsanitary conditions, and eating little but imported rice, they did not build up the province. That complaint was particularly directed to the Chinese who, because of the head tax, could rarely afford to bring families to Canada. In fact, many Chinese remained because they did not earn enough to return to China. Many Japanese were also sojourners but, without the burden of the head tax, they could send for wives. After the Gentlemen’s Agreement, a high proportion of the new immigrants were brides in their peak childbearing years so the Japanese population grew mainly through natural increase. By 1914 or so when more Japanese children began appearing in the schools, white British Columbians predicted that a high birth rate would let the Japanese “swamp” the province.

Before 1914, the common concept of “swamping” was that “the hundreds of millions of people in Asia,”¹¹ could overwhelm white British Columbia. A telling cartoon pictured a crowd of Asians gathered around an elderly white man displayed as a museum specimen under the caption: “At one time very numerous in this province.”¹² Whenever the number of Asian arrivals rose as it did, for example, in the spring and summer of 1907, partly because of a demand for labour and a revival of emigration from Japan after the Russo-Japanese war (1902-05), British Columbians reacted strongly as shown by the activities of the Asiatic Exclusion League and its ill-fated parade and rally that culminated in Vancouver’s Anti-Asian riot in September 1907. Embarrassment over the riot led Canada to negotiate the Gentlemen’s Agreement whereby Japan limited the number of passports issued to emigrants to Canada. Despite this diplomatic settlement and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that gave Japan responsibilities for defending them, even then British Columbians feared a Japanese military invasion.

Behind much antipathy was racial prejudice. In the words of Premier Richard McBride, we have a “sacred and imperative duty” to preserve “this

country for the white race.”¹³ As the federal immigration pamphlet suggested, many Anglo-Saxons believed in a clearly defined racial hierarchy with “whites” at the top. Yet, sentiment grew that the people across the Pacific could “no longer be regarded as inferior.”¹⁴ “The Yellow Peril,” warned the *Victoria Daily Colonist* in 1913, “is no longer one of brute force; it is one of brains.”¹⁵ That, of course, made Asians a more formidable “menace.”

As the 1884 pamphlet implied, many white British Columbians believed that Asians did “not assimilate, nor [was] it desirable that they should do so.”¹⁶ Assimilation could simply mean living apart in “Little Tokyos” and especially in Chinatowns where, a local magazine alleged, lived “drab-faced, pig-tailed, almond-eyed, rat-eating, opium smoking, leprosy tainted, filthy, hypocritical, polygamous, lecherous, thieving, heathenist, alien Mongol slaves who, like swarms of locusts... spreading over the land, greedily devoured... [British Columbia’s] substance.”¹⁷ Medical health officers reported that sanitary conditions in Chinatowns were generally no worse than elsewhere in the community but the press viewed the effects of an epidemic in Chinatown as “horrible to contemplate.”¹⁸ The most common forms of Chinese “immorality” were gambling and smoking opium, among the few recreations available to most Chinese. Until 1908 the manufacture and sale of opium was legal as Mackenzie King was shocked to realize when he had to authorize the Canadian government to compensate owners of opium factories whose premises were damaged during the 1907 riot.¹⁹ The use of opium continued. Social reformers alleged that the Chinese created “white slaves” by introducing young white women to the narcotic. In its extreme form, assimilation meant miscegenation but neither Chinese, nor Japanese, nor whites favoured that. The “mixing of color degrades both types,” declared the *Nanaimo Free Press*.²⁰

Despite discrimination, the settlers from the west helped make British Columbia by providing necessary labour. Their descendants, especially after the removal of racial barriers let them enter a variety of trades and professions, continue to contribute to the development of the province and the nation. Alas, it had taken another half century for white British Columbians to recognize that Asians were not an “inferior class” and could “mingle” with their “civilization” to the benefit of both.

Suggestions for further reading

On the Chinese and Japanese respectively the best overviews are still Edgar Wickberg, ed., *From China to Canada: A History of the Chinese*

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DOING HISTORY WITH WAH CHONG'S WASHING AND IRONING

ABSTRACT

Starting from a photograph of a Vancouver laundry establishment in 1884, this article explores fundamental concepts of historical thinking: historical evidence, historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, and the moral dimension of historical investigation. It shows how these concepts can be used to generate the questions and strategies that underlie all of historical research, and thus that can be helpful in the history classroom.



City of Vancouver Archives BU P403 N387 #1, taken circa 1884.

Around 1884, Wah Chong assembled his family in front of his laundry shop in Vancouver, and posed for the picture that survives today in the Vancouver Public Library's photograph collection. What uses can we make of a trace, an archived remnant, in opening up early British Columbia history? How can it help us to understand the process of doing history? At best, a small fragment of the past suggests conjectures and questions, rather than offering firm conclusions. This article uses six historical concepts to explore the picture and what it has to offer as a starting point for historical investigation. They demonstrate the potential for history as an active process, involving choices and decisions by the historian, teacher or student at every step of the way.

The Photograph as Evidence

The obvious starting point is the family. The father is sitting in the centre (an indication of patriarchy?) while the others stand, in front of his store. There is a mix of Asian and European legacies in this North American setting: the store sign is in English, but a sign with Chinese characters hangs in the window. The family's clothing is Asian, but someone must have spoken English in order to run a business for a non-Chinese clientele. Did they all speak English? Who wrote the sign? Three family members hold umbrellas, prepared for the rains of British Columbia. The wooden

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sidewalk (elevating posers and walkers above a street of dirt) also locates the west coast scene in the town with an abundance of available lumber. The family's position suggests that they were all involved in the work of the laundry and ironing. Ironing! In this frontier outpost, who sent their clothing out to be pressed into straight creases?

The photograph, with the family alone, offers little evidence of Wah Chong's relations with the rest of the residents of Vancouver at the time. In what ways was the family isolated; what kinds of relations did they have with other Chinese immigrants and with non-Chinese communities? Was the photograph session, itself, one of the interactions between Chinese and non-Chinese? Whose purposes were realized in the production of the photograph? Who saved it and why? Some of these questions may not have answers.

Looking at this one photograph, we might use it as evidence of healthy Chinese-Canadian family life in early British Columbia. But that would be a potentially misleading direction. By juxtaposing this remnant with other fragments that survive by chance or in purposeful collections, in family memories and historians' analyses, we fill in more of the picture. With the railroad completed, the Canadian government moved to restrict Chinese immigration with a \$50 head tax in 1885. This prohibited further growth of Chinese family life in Canada. It was now out of the question for an immigrant worker to bring an entire family along. An anti-Chinese riot in 1887 – sparked when lumber contractors brought 25 Chinese workers from Victoria to log a wooded property – drove out all the Chinese from Vancouver other than five laundrymen.¹ It is not clear what happened to Wah Chong in the attacks, but there are memories of his children, and theirs, who survived in Vancouver.²

In addition to the questions which this picture has already suggested as a piece of historical evidence, it is also possible to use it to open up other lines of questioning. Five other historical concepts – in addition to “evidence” – open up these lines: significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective-taking, and moral judgment.³

The Significance of Wah Chong

The concept of significance leads us to ask whether, and how, the scene portrayed in this photograph is historically significant. Though Wah Chong may have been a power in his own family, personally, his actions did not have a deep effect

over a long period of time on a large number of people (in the way that Winston Churchill could be said to be historically significant). Nor was his laundry the site of the signing of a declaration of war or a treaty of peace. Nevertheless, it connects to the history of Canada, as we now think about it. The fragment of a story suggested by his surviving photograph suggests a larger one of hardship, struggle, accomplishment and resilience. Moreover, it connects to the history of multicultural Canada in ways that are central to our current conception of the growth of this country. As we use the photograph to uncover this aspect of Canada's past, Wah Chong himself achieves significance. Like the photograph as evidence (which depended, for its status as evidence upon our questioning), Wah Chong's significance lies not only in his life, but in the way that we, as historians (and teachers and students), weave his life into larger themes of Canadian history.

Continuity and Change Since 1884

The linked historical concepts of continuity and change help to start to weave the larger story in a way that carries the ending into our own era. What has continued and what has changed, as we compare this photograph and the scene it depicts, to life in the present? The use of photography to provide records of the family unit continues against a backdrop of change in conventional poses, photographic technology, and the ease with which photographic images are circulated. The importance of family, and specifically, the importance of the extended family unit in providing the economic, social and emotional supports for new immigrants to Canada, is one aspect of continuity. But it can be set against change in the shape of families (does Wah Chong have a second wife in this photo?), the role of children in the workplace, and the growth of state institutions to provide some of those supports through new institutions. How did the overt racism of white Canadians towards the Chinese change through the 20th century? In what ways do race and racism still structure Canadian social relations? These questions suggest a further set of evaluative questions that are answered in terms of progress and decline. In what ways have Canadian race relations progressed; in what ways have they declined? Assessments of progress always depend on who is in the centre of the picture.

Cause and Consequence

Continuity and change lead to the fourth set of historical concepts, cause and consequence,

when we ask the question, “why?” The answers provide historical explanations. Consider the question of the race riot of 1887 that took place shortly after the pleasant scene depicted here. Its cause is not a simple matter. The forces of capitalism, where workers competed against each other in an unregulated labour market were certainly a factor. Some of the cause must be attributed to employers’ willingness to cut costs by hiring Chinese workers at a fraction of what white workers were being paid. The racism of white workers is also part of the mix. Cause can be located in institutions, in ideologies, and in the actions of groups and individuals. When we move from a single incident in 1887, to the larger questions of continuity and change over the course of a century, explanations become exponentially more complex. Choices of emphasis result in historical explanations of very different kinds.

Historical Perspective-Taking

The world of Wah Chong and his family was in many ways unimaginably different from the world we know today. Is it possible for us to understand what he, his wife, his children, were thinking and feeling as they posed for this photograph? How did they conceive of themselves in this frontier society, and how can we imagine how they conceived of themselves, at a time before the terms “identity” or “racism” were used by anybody? The more evidence we have, the more we can reasonably infer what was going on for them, but the problem never vanishes. We always look at the past, with hindsight, through the lens of the present. The experiences of a recent Chinese immigrant family might provide some insight, but they have left a very different world behind, and have arrived in a very different Canada.

The Moral Dimension

Finally, we have to assess what the situation that surrounded the Wah Chong laundry means for us today. We can admire him and his family for his resilience and his bravery. Perhaps. But, if we have difficulty with historical perspective-taking, we take risks in such judgments. And if positive judgments are risky, so too are negative judgments about the racism of the white rioters, a racism that was part of the fabric of 19th century European thought. On the other hand, demands for compensation for the head tax, for memorials of exemplary lives, and commemoration of tragic events all *demand* that we come to grips with the moral implications of past crimes, sacrifices and

heroism alike. Here, more than anywhere else, we see the implications for today of choices we make in making histories of the past.

Starting with a single photograph, a remnant of life in Vancouver in 1884, this short piece has used six concepts basic to historical thinking in order to open out directions for questioning and research. The dialectical interplay – between these fragments of the past and our own questions in the present – constitutes the high-stakes game of doing history.

Endnotes

- ¹ Stephen M. Beckow, “Keeping British Columbia White: Anti-Orientalism in the Canadian West.” *Canada’s Visual History* CD-ROM, (Canadian Museum of Civilization and National Film Board, 1996).
- ² Jennie Wah Chong, one of the children in the photograph, married Goon Ling Dang and had at least two children of whom there are traces from the 1920s and 30s. “One Family’s Struggle,” Vancouver Courier Online Edition, updated, April 23, 2001. <http://www.vancourier.com/issues01/04401/ent2.htm>, accessed 8/18/2006.
- ³ These concepts are defined by the “Benchmarks of Historical Thinking” Project, accessible through www.history.ca after January, 2007.

Here and There:

RE/COLLECTING CHINESE CANADIAN HISTORY

ABSTRACT

By reflecting on a trip taken to Alert Bay, the author explores the question of Chinese Canadian history as part of BC's history and its relationship to that of Canada's. Documentary evidence, problems in its preservation, as well as the role of family and community oral histories, are considered.

Although I have lived much of my life on the West Coast, I had never visited Alert Bay on Cormorant Island (one of the Northern Gulf Islands off of Vancouver Island, BC) until August 2006. In my mind, Alert Bay was synonymous with the Kwakwaka'wakw peoples and was for this very reason on my list of places to visit. But, through a colleague I was introduced to the fact that there had been a Chinese community sizable enough to be known as "Chinatown" (Figure 1). With my interest piqued, I put aside other tasks to make the trek. In doing so, I met one of the members of the last families who was part of this early Chinatown.



Mr. Skinner's delivery service in front of Wong Toy & Sons, Alert Bay, BC, undated. This is the general area where Chinese businesses (or "Chinatown") were located. Photo courtesy of Chuck T. Wong.

The Association for Canadian Studies conference, "Canada West to East," has given me an opportunity to reflect on this Alert Bay visit regarding BC and Canadian history. As someone who is probably more knowledgeable than many regarding Chinese Canadian

history, why was I initially surprised at Alert Bay's Chinatown? As well, why did my contact there not know some of the basics about Chinese Canadian history? These two questions lead to intertwining themes worth addressing: the historic contribution of BC to Canada, the place of BC in Canada's history, and the challenge of teaching BC history. Examining early Chinese Canadian history brings these themes together.

History in BC, in Canada, as in many other western countries, is about those who were viewed as successes by the dominant society. As trite as the saying is, history for the most part has been about "famous dead white men." The supporting "actors" behind these men are those whose histories are missing, i.e., the labourers, the small businesses, the service people, etc. Without all those behind-the-scene players, the famous would not have garnered the fame that they did.

One of the more notable examples of this is the gathering of individuals depicted in the photograph of the "Last Spike" ceremony at Craigellachie, BC (Begg 1894:438). The directors of the Pacific Railway Company are surrounded by officials and labourers. Only European faces are shown even though "hundreds of workmen of all nationalities who had been engaged in the mountains, were present" (Begg 1894:439). Chinese labour was critical in the timely completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Many a book or article on the topic includes this particular photograph; yet to the casual viewer, all those shown suggest that those who built

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the railway were only of European ancestry. In contrast, how many have seen the documentary, *Canadian Steel, Chinese Grit* (Lee 1998), or the Chinese Canadian opera, *Iron Road* (Brownell 2001), which give another perspective of the work and the conditions faced by Chinese? One could even query how many are even aware of the existence of these resources. In terms of the numbers of Chinese involved in the railway, figures suggest that “over 17,000 Chinese immigrants [came] in the four years of railway construction” (Wickberg 1988:22).

Clearly, this was no small number of individuals. Census data from 1881 list the total number of males in BC as 29,503; of those, 4,350 were Chinese (see Roy 1989:269). In the next census, 1891, the numbers basically double. Since the CPR was completed in 1885, not all who came to work stayed; but, those who did remained primarily in BC.

For this reason, the history of the Chinese in BC is synonymous with that of Chinese in Canada. Roy’s table (1989:269) of the Chinese population in Canada and BC from 1881-1911, adapted below, illustrates this point:

Chinese in Canada and BC, 1881-1891

Year	Canada	BC	%
1881	4,383	4,350	99.24
1891	9,129	8,910	97.6
1901	16,375	14,201	86.72
1911	27,774	19,568	70.45

Only in the 1951 census is the Chinese population in BC less than 50% of the total Chinese in Canada (Wickberg 1982:302). Any discussion about the early history of Chinese in Canada *must* be derived from BC.

What do we know of those who stayed to make BC (and Canada) home? This becomes one of the challenges of teaching Chinese Canadian history. Where are the teaching materials? Chinese Canadians represent for the most part those who were viewed as “behind-the-scene” historically; thus, records (arrival, birth, marriage, death) may exist with some searching but daily life experience is minimal. That documentation also is not always obvious (see Yu’s comments on the General Register of Head Tax Certificates [2006:77-78]). As noted by Lim, in the 1881 census of Victoria “[g]ender and age were the only identification for 1,931 individuals who were listed as ‘Chinaman,’ ‘Chinawoman,’ ‘Chinaboy,’ or ‘Chinagirl’” (2002:20). Individuals disappear to become just one mass.

The question remains as to who they actually were. “Almost no Chinese records or diaries have been found that survive from that time” (building of the CPR) (Wickberg 1982:22). This may be true in Canada, but letters and photographs to families in China may still exist.

In the past few years, collections of photographs from the early part of the 20th century in BC have become more widely known, such as, those of C.D. Hoy in Quesnel (Moosang 1999) and the Hayashi/Kitamura/Matsubuchi Studio in Cumberland (Thomson 2005). Some of these images, no doubt, were sent to family members in the old country and were the reason for their existence – to affirm health and well-being from afar. Denise Chong (1994) in her memoir and Colleen Leung (2001) in her documentary mention seeing the same photographs found in their homes as those found in their relatives in China. Nevertheless, rare are the images that are identified.

For example, while preparing my piece for the *Shashin* volume (Thomson 2005), I reviewed the photographs from the collection in the Cumberland Museum and Archives. Photograph CMA 140-130 was of two unidentified young men: one standing, one seated. Only the number, 140, suggested that the image was one belonging to the Japanese community, but in CMA140-130, I “discovered” my uncle, Kelly (Kai Soon) Lim, as the seated individual. In a somewhat similar fashion, Shirley Chan wrote of an image, “Unidentified family, 1922,” that was included in the *Gum San/Gold Mountain* catalogue (Vancouver Art Gallery 1985:42); it was the very same that hung on her mother’s living room wall (2006:2).

These photographs provide the tangible evidence of lives lived. If only they could speak, what stories and experiences might be told to us the viewers. In some are seen families, while in others a lone man in working clothes looks out at us with his labours etched on his face and marked on his hands. The Chinese labourers who completed the CPR did not all find work in the cities, they went where opportunity allowed. This meant going to Cumberland, to Quesnel, to Lillooet, to Yale, and even to Alert Bay, not just to the big cities of Victoria and Vancouver. That work also meant being employed in other resource industries, that is, fishing, coal mining, and logging. In other cases, a small business was opened to support those who worked as labourers. Such was the case of my paternal grandfather in Cumberland; he went from coal mining to resume the traditional family occupation of making tofu. If I really thought

about it, a Chinatown in Alert Bay should not have been a surprise.

The history of Chinese Canadians was/is found in rural BC, not just in the urban areas, and those who were/are the keepers of this have tended to be the families for those fortunate enough to have had such; this fact also is a part of Chinese Canadian history and experience – of hardships due to racist legislation and attitudes, and of family separation due to restrictive immigration policies (see Yu 2006:75-76). As “behind-the-scene” personalities, their lives were primarily part of the community’s oral history, not typically the mode accepted in establishing historical significance or relevance. How many people have read the *History of Alert Bay and District* (Healey 1958) to recognise the names Dong Chong or Jin King? Nonetheless, such people had a huge impact on the community. In the case of Dong Chong (Figure 2), he is one of the few identifiable individuals of Chinese ancestry whose name marks a geographic feature, unlike the multitude of place names with “China”-something, such as, China Butte or China Nose Mountain. In each case, the word China refers to the fact that early Chinese worked in the area (BC 2001a). The eponymous Dong Chong Bay refers to the booming ground of his Hanson Island logging operation (operated with two other partners) (BC 2001b).



Dong Chong (right) and sons, Bill and Jim, at the opening of Chong Supermarket, Alert Bay, BC, 1961. Photo courtesy of Chuck T. Wong.

Although not from rural BC, consider also Nellie Yip (a.k.a. Granny Yip or Nellie Yip Guong), 1882-1949, who was known for her linguistics skills, but even more so for her midwifery (Lim 2005). Acknowledged within the Vancouver Chinese community, she is mentioned in *The Concubine’s Children* (Chong 1994:116-117), *The Jade Peony* (Choy 1995:96), and *Saltwater City* (See 1988:54-55). Outside the Chinese community, she “disappears” from any standard historical source.

Learning about the history of early Chinese in BC (or Canada) is not an easy task given the circumstances of written accounts (preservation, collection, etc.), nor is there a section in the school curriculum that requires it to be taught. Early Chinese pioneers, like other members of minority populations, are viewed as “footnotes” in BC history. For this reason, there are some who regard those of Chinese appearance as newly arrived, not realising that Chinese families also have made BC (and Canada) home since the late 1800s.


In recollecting Chinese Canadian history one is automatically faced with reflecting on the historic contribution of BC to Canada, BC’s place in Canada’s history, as well as the challenge of teaching BC history. My musings on this Alert Bay visit has brought me full circle: recognizing and acknowledging the early contributions of one group of British Columbians, Canadians, who also happened to be of Chinese ancestry.

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


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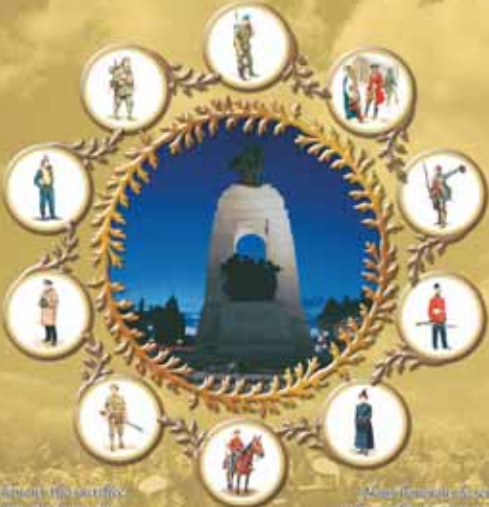
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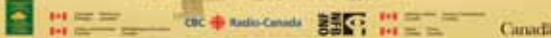



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GENDER IMBALANCE IN EARLY BRITISH COLUMBIA

ABSTRACT

This article concerns the gender imbalance that characterized British Columbia for more than half a century after Confederation: the differences in male/female ratios among immigrant and occupational groups; and the economic roles of women in a preponderantly male society.

A tremendous gender imbalance persisted in British Columbia long after its entry into Confederation. A demographic historian would readily recognize this as feature of a frontier society growing mainly through the immigration of men. The one sector of the population that always had an equal ratio between male and female was that of the native people. One of the striking facts about British Columbia at the beginning of the twentieth century was that 30 percent of the births in the province were among native people, although they made up only 14 percent of the population. This did not reflect a high birth rate, but rather the paucity of women in the rest of the population.

The most striking early imbalances were among Chinese and South Asian (mainly Sikh) immigrants. Canada's discriminatory immigration policies were a factor. The head tax applied against the Chinese, and the regulatory obstacles put in the way of South Asians, stopped their women from coming. But economic and cultural factors also operated. Men had originally left their families behind in Asia because they preferred to keep them in their traditional settings, and because it would have been too expensive to support them in British Columbia. As a consequence, at the time of the 1911 census, 96 percent of the Chinese and 99.87 percent of the South Asians in the province were men.

These were extreme cases, but every immigrant group possessed a preponderance of men. Among central Europeans, Italians and Japanese there were four men for every woman and among Scandinavians the figure was close to that. Even among immigrants from eastern Canada, the United States and Great Britain there was a striking shortage of women. In the population as a whole, through periods of rising and falling immigration, right up to the First World War, there continued to be more than twice as many men as women.

Throughout much of this period, British Columbia had not been easily reached. It was a distant and costly destination, especially when the routing was indirect over American railway lines and roads. The completion of the CPR in 1885 did less for immigrant traffic than one might have guessed because the Canadian railway offered only first and second class fares, not the third class fare that was the choice of working class immigrants. Wages were much higher in British Columbia than in Eastern Canada, but so were living expenses. The differences were even greater away from the urban areas of Vancouver and Victoria. All of these factors encouraged the immigration of adventurous youth who were more likely to be men than women. The families that came generally belonged to the merchant, managerial or professional class and they characteristically settled in Vancouver or Victoria or vicinity or in the more established towns of the interior and Vancouver Island. This was true among the Chinese and other immigrant minorities as well as the Anglo majority.

The gender imbalance of early British Columbia served to reinforce and perpetuate racial and ethnic lines of segregation. British Columbia did not offer a welcoming environment for Asians or even Eastern or Southern Europeans and that was a fac-

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tor for many men who came alone and chose to stay alone. But the sojourner attitude among them was also important. They saw their British Columbia adventure as a temporary one; and their long term goal was generally to go home, even when they failed to do so. In the meantime, they tended to live and work among their expatriate countrymen and to build few bridges beyond that community. Those who brought wives from home or who found wives in British Columbia and who began raising a British Columbia-born generation were putting down roots and promoting the process of assimilation and integration. These men were making the mental shift from sojourner to settler, but they were a minority in nearly every immigrant group right up to the First World War.

As we have observed, even among immigrants of eastern-Canadian, American or British origin, women were in short supply. Of course, the immigrants included the entrepreneurial, professional and managerial elite of the province who were most likely to arrive with families or to form families without too much delay. If families or married couples immigrated, it was mostly likely from Eastern Canada or the United States. British and other European immigrants were more likely to come out singly and with a preponderance of males. As a consequence, there were many households in British Columbia with British husbands and Canadian or American wives.

Given the costs of travel and the challenges experienced on arrival, it was difficult for women to enter the province on their own. For this reason, it is not surprising that, at the turn of the century, 75 or 80 percent of the women in BC were married or widowed and that most of these women were homemakers or informal partners in their husband's farms or businesses. In contrast to eastern Canada, with its greater industrial base, very few BC women found factory jobs. It was true that First Nations women had been employed seasonally in the salmon canneries of the Fraser Valley and the Skeena from the 1870s and 1880s; but this was not work that white women in BC sought. Still, there was a contingent of single white women with regular employment outside the home. Their earliest opportunities were in teaching, domestic service, dressmaking or keeping boarding houses. With the urban development of Vancouver and Victoria some gained positions as sales clerks or stenographers and by 1891 there were a few telephone operators. After 1900, nursing emerged as another field of employment.

One can see a sharp change in the first decade of the twentieth century as immigrants poured into the province and the economy diversified. The percentage of women in the paid work force in BC doubled between 1901 and 1911 with immigration promoting this development. By 1911, both domestic service and teaching were attracting immigrant women. In the beginning, white families had recruited domestics from First Nations communities. By 1900, they were relying mostly on Chinese men; but in the first decade of the 20th century immigrant women from England and Scotland were taking over this line of work. Teaching was another expanding area after 1900 and one that employed mostly women. A third of them came from outside the country – Britain, and the United States. Some were local women, but many had come out to BC from eastern Canada, mainly Ontario and the Maritimes. Most of the positions they found were in the vicinity of Vancouver or Victoria in the settled Okanagan. But they also served in one room schools in remote areas across the province.

By 1911, women made up 8 percent of the paid work force in BC. In Ontario they made up 25 percent. The difference illustrates the frontier nature of BC, with its resource-based economy and its unsettled population. The subsequent growth of the BC population, with the expansion of its major urban centres and the diversification of its economy, moved it towards Canadian norms in percentage of females in the population overall, and in the percentage of women in the paid work-force. But it took a long time for BC to completely lose the gender imbalance of a frontier province. Not until 1971 did the numerical discrepancy between the sexes disappear completely.

Learning by “playing”:

ENGAGING STUDENTS IN DIGITAL HISTORY

ABSTRACT

Computational developments of the last two decades have had an enormous impact on education. From Internet, through to hypermedia, wireless computers and smart boards, teachers now have access to a plethora of technological tools to teach their subject and engage their students. Yet, until recently very little was designed specifically for history educators. This article presents an overview of current developments in digital history. It suggests that unlike previous initiatives, the study of the past with hypermedia and computer programs can help achieve the goal of authentic, inquiry-based learning.

Introduction

There is a growing body of studies suggesting that students learn best history when they are actively engaged in investigating authentic, meaningful problems of the collective past using disciplinary history tools. Inquiry-based learning would provide students with opportunities to apply and transfer historical knowledge in personal, novel ways. Using a powerful analogy from sports, Chad Gaffield (2001) recently argued that teaching students to think like an historian must be closer to “coaching” than “professing”. Students, he observed, must be “coached while they try to dribble, pass and shoot the historical ball” (p. 12). From this perspective, the acquisition of substantive knowledge of the past (facts, dates, events) becomes only a prerequisite to meaningful historical understanding in the same way basketball or hockey players need some knowledge of the game (rules, strategies, statistics) to be able to perform and ultimately become skilled at it.

Because of the kind of material, tools, and support structure that such historical performances require, many past initiatives to teach students to “play history” have not been widely accepted or adopted. The recent transformations in computer technology and hypermedia are now regarded as a possible solution to classroom inquiry-based learning. Digital history in particular offers new hopes to all those like Gaffield interested in teaching as “historical coaches”.

Four reasons can account for the present optimism in history education. First, the study of the past using electronically accessible sources and hypermedia has, voluntarily or not, liberalized access to and use of history. Until not so long ago, only a small number of “experts” had the time and opportunity to access archival materials and produce historical knowledge. The result was an almost complete domination of historical knowledge production and dissemination by established authorities in the domain. With the advent of the Internet and new digitization technologies, not only are historical publications and productions more readily available in electronic format, but an increasing number of previously disregarded amateurs, genealogists, teachers, and even students have developed significant interests in the study of their past. In this sense, liberalization has gone hand in hand with the decentralization of knowledge and access to information.

Closely related to this liberalization is the remarkable intensification of digital archival activities. Since the 1990s, the technology allowing for scanning and publishing sources in electronic format has had an enormous impact on the access, retrieving, and use of primary and secondary sources. From personal computers, it is now possible to search, acquire, and manipulate masses of records and artifacts

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originally stored in repository sites located at thousands of kilometers away from the users. While the number of sources available online remains relatively low compared to the total amount of physical records, it is nonetheless possible to have access to millions of megabytes of information, including more than 9500 Canadian periodicals and books at the Library and Archives Canada alone. Many provincial archives, museums, and local historical sites have also engaged in the process of making available online parts of their collections (see, for instance, the McCord Museum of Canadian history www.mccord-museum.qc.ca).

Equally interesting, the current digitization of sources has not only benefited users of museum and archival sites, it has also rendered available online many private collections that had not been archived yet. Amateur historians, genealogists, as well as families, trusts, regiments, and schools do possess valuable records and relics but rarely have the financial means and resources to create official repositories and catalogues. Since the 1990s, the web has reduced significantly the costs associated with the design of exhibits. In fact, it has virtually eliminated the traditional barriers to publication and dissemination – with all the potential pitfalls of such low-cost electronic production and delivery. The “Pier 21” national historical website from Nova Scotia (www.pier21.ca) and the “September 11 Digital Archives” (<http://www.911da.org>) are emblematic illustrations of this new transformation in digital archival activities.

Third, digital history has rendered the study of the past more friendly and communicative. By virtue of their digital formatting and design, historical sources are easier to search and locate and, by extension, more rapidly and effectively manipulated and used than original ones. Computer-literate users can, for example, creatively download, copy, and paste various sources (including sounds, videos, and 3D artifacts) directly into their own productions from the simple click of their computer mouse, without all the annoyances of traditional research. Similarly, the combination of digital history with electronic communication allows for greater and faster exchanges of information. Students are now able to establish networks with colleagues and professionals based on a variety of topics and subjects of interest (see H-Net www.h-net.org and Blogs such as <http://digitalhistoryhacks.blogspot.com>). These socio-educational networks, as Lee (2002) argues, “are enabling students and historians to

communicate and interact in ways never before possible” (p. 4).

Finally, and perhaps more important for educators, digital history has the enormous potential of promoting and enhancing the active learning of history. As long as history education was defined in terms of delivering a master-narrative, traditional lectures and textbook readings seemed appropriate. Yet, with the new constructivist learning paradigm, the focus has shifted from behaviorism to complex acts of meaning- and sense-making. Both educators’ and students’ roles have changed drastically. Digital history has great potential because of the kind of things it offers users. Unlike classroom textbooks, encyclopedias or worksheets, digital history provides students with multiple, authentic historical sources (print, audio, video, and artifactual) in a computational mode already familiar to them. More interesting, digital history puts students in the virtual shoes of apprentice historians investigating aspects of the past. Because digital history is not structured around the delivery of an official story, students are more directly and actively involved in historical inquiry and form of “dialectic reasoning” – that is, the ability to study and entertain multiple perspectives on an issue (Brush & Saye, 2006).

Is playing history “natural”?

Saying that digital history can support students’ understanding and practice of history is not to say, however, that when confronted with authentic digital sources students will intuitively perform the tasks demanded or arrive at sophisticated forms of thinking. As Sam Wineburg (2001) has convincingly revealed, historical thinking is an “unnatural act.” To become more expert, students must be guided and encouraged in their performance. And, so far, it is fair to claim that schools have been largely ineffective in their ability to teach the “unnatural” thinking of historians.

Many teachers have presented, not necessarily without reasons, their reservation for adopting an inquiry-based learning model using computer technology. Digital history can be perceived as overwhelming, creating an overload of disconnected and mismatched information from the web. Empirical studies on the subject present mixed responses from teachers who have employed digital history, notably in the form of WebQuests. Students often adopt a “path-of-least-resistance,” scanning the material for quick and easy cut-and-paste answers (Milson, 2002). Related to this last

point, a recent U.S. study also reveals that technology training and access to computer resources have a direct impact on the type of instruction employed by teachers (Friedman, 2006). Those who have direct access to technology, as well as adequate computer training, tend to use digital history more repeatedly and effectively than those who do not.

Despite these limitations, growing evidence suggests that students can learn to do history and that the practice of such guided investigations and ability to “think unnaturally” about the past lead them to more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the issues at hand. Students who have been exposed *progressively* and *repeatedly* to historical practice have developed a more acute sense of critical thinking and historical ownership. They are more self-responsible for their learning and also more likely to understand what historical narratives entail and mean to them. But how do teachers successfully engage students in digital history?

According to recent studies and technological initiatives in the field, success appears to be related to at least three factors: (1) the nature of the task, (2) the connection to students’ interest and development, and (3) the supporting structure of the learning tool. First, to be meaningful and enduring, investigation must not revolve around trivial issues in history (e.g., Who fired the first shot at Lexington Green?). Instead, they must engage students in significant problems at the heart of history, which historians might have already studied at length but do not have a self-evident answer (e.g., Was Prime Minister Trudeau’ decision to invoke the War Measures Act in 1970 justified?). One strategy is to view history and curriculum guidelines synoptically so as to reveal “bid ideas” that can be converted into meaningful problems.

Second, the power of historical investigations resides not only in the task to perform but in their ability to spark interest and promote uncoverage. Too often learning activities developed in textbooks deal with problems that are either too complex for students to resolve in class (do not recognize students’ inexperience and lack of necessary resources) or too simplistic for deep understanding of a complex issue (focus on trivial tasks). The investigations should be such that they build on students’ prior knowledge and effectively lead them to inquire and make sense of important issues that they do not understand yet or appreciate their significance in history – and for themselves. Writing an argumentative essay on Trudeau’s controversial decision, for example, requires the design of an engaging and intriguing

mise-en-scène around French-English relations, citizenship rights and freedoms, and domestic terrorism with supporting sources and scaffolds.

Finally, and perhaps more important, because this active form of learning requires different cognitive abilities than those developed in traditional history lectures, it is unworkable to believe that inexperienced students will instinctively undertake disciplinary inquiries when given opportunities to do so. As with any sport, combined instruction-practice and guidance (such as scaffolds) are necessary to help novices develop their own expertise. As Robert Bain (2006) observes, “students’ preinstructional habits [are] deeply ingrained, not easily replaced even by authentic disciplinary activities” (p. 106). Transplanting disciplinary inquiries into history classrooms is, therefore, unrealistic unless teachers revise and adapt such investigations by employing a variety of pedagogical tools and support structures such as: appropriate search engine and websites, interactive documents (with summaries, hyperlinks), multimodal and multiple perspective sources of information on the issue (print, visual, audio, video), and reading and writing strategies. Students, even at the senior level, have great difficulties reading primary sources, comparing perspectives, weighing significance, and empathizing with predecessors. Teachers must therefore train students to think like historians and not simply “observe them from the computer bench”. And this, in turn, implies having access to and being familiar with computational technologies in the field.

Digital history programs, such as the newly created Virtual Historian (www.virtualhistorian.ca) in Canada and the PIHNet (<http://pihnet.org>) in the U.S., will not replace teachers or magically turn bored students into professional historians. It is totally illusory to put such pedagogical aspirations in the hands of computer programmers and web designers. Rather, teachers must view digital history as a powerful learning tool for engaging students into what it means to practice history. But like any sport, the development of meaningful performance must be both gradual and sustained. It is unlikely that students will become more expert if they only get to play history sporadically. Although there is much we need to know about the role and impact of computational technology on students’ historical learning, one thing is increasingly clear: teachers reluctant to use such technologies do it at their own peril. The use of the computer in the classroom, as Donald Spaeth and Sonja Cameron (2000) put it, “is no longer the issue” (p. 341). What is at issue is what teachers want to do with it.

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Behind the Net:

HISTORY AND INTERNET USE AMONGST CANADIAN YOUTH

ABSTRACT

The article offers preliminary observations around the relationship between internet use and inquiry into the topic of history of Canada's youth. While calling for more research into the degree to which the internet either enhances or detracts from interest in history, the author contends that youth with internet access are more inclined to exhibit interest in knowledge about Canadian history than those without such access.

Over the past few decades there is no question that advances in information technology have been the single most important consideration in learning and teaching. Access and availability to information on the internet has considerably enhanced student's capacity to collect information. Ongoing changes in the application of technologies have resulted in the need for adjustments by students and teachers alike in their acquisition and dissemination of information. According to a survey conducted for Industry Canada by the Media Awareness Network, students in Grade 10 and 11 prefer to use the internet over the library by a ten to one margin. Very often those who are more adept at using the technology are at an advantage in producing work in a variety of domains. Half of those surveyed say the internet makes no difference in the quality of their school work.

There is significant competition for space and time on the internet as we are bombarded with information and increasing efforts are directed at reaching users.

That which follows will focus on the extent to which younger Canadians express interest in accessing history related materials online. Issues arising from internet access and the degree to which it is used to learn about history will be considered. Data from a 2004 survey commissioned by the federal government will be employed to provide some partial insights into the link between internet use and interest in history. This is the beginning of a research project on the issue which ultimately seeks to develop a profile of those Canadians that are interested in history. By identifying the particular characteristics of such individuals it may help determine what works best in reaching Canadians in this subject area. So as to situate history in some comparative context, access to other disciplines is considered. The findings are broken down between early and late teen respondents to determine whether interest in history is influenced by age.

Interest access does not appear to diminish interest in learning about Canada and in fact those with such access are more inclined to indicate a desire to acquire such knowledge. Some 78% of those surveyed between the ages of 12 and 15 with internet access express a desire to learn more about Canada (rating 7-10) versus approximately 68% of those in the same age group that demonstrate similar interest but do not have access to the internet.

JACK JEDWAB
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Table 1

Please tell me whether you agree/disagree with: 1) I am interested in learning more about Canada, its history, geography, people and institutions?

12-15 years of age	have access to the Internet	Do not have access to the Internet
1-3 disagree	10	1
4-6 Neutral	66	16
7-10 agree	271	37
Total	347	54

Source: Ipsos-Reconnecting Government with Youth, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004

In the 16-21 cohort, some 70% of those with internet access report an interest in learning more about Canada versus some 68% that do not have access.

Table 2

Please tell me whether you agree/disagree with: 1) I am interested in learning more about Canada, its history, geography, people and institutions?

16-21	have access to the Internet	Do not have access to the Internet
1-3 disagree	33	3
4-6	135	13
7-10	394	34
Total	562	50

Source: Ipsos-Reconnecting Government with Youth, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004

While access may appear to enhance interest in Canada, the desire to acquire such knowledge seemingly varies according to the amount of time spent on the internet. For purposes of this study we have divided the internet use into low (less than 5 hours per week), moderate (5-10 hours per week) and high (more than 10 hours per week) consumers of this medium. Amongst low internet users in the 12-15 age category, some 85% say they are interested in learning more about Canada. The share drops amongst the moderate internet users and then rises slightly for high internet users. In the 16-21 cohort the gap narrows across the age cohorts as regards to being interested in learning more about Canada.

Table 3

Please tell me whether you agree: I am interested in learning more about Canada, its history, geography, people and institutions (in percentage)? On average, how many hours per week do you use the Internet?

	12-15	16-21
Less than 5	85.4	72.3
5-10	70.7	67.2
More than 10	75.0	70.7

Source: Ipsos-Reconnecting Government with Youth, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004

As observed below, of those youth between the ages of 12 and 15 that have access, some two-thirds say they are likely to look up things on history on the internet. In the next cohort (16-21) they are somewhat less likely to look up historical matters on the internet (62.4%). The likelihood of looking up a historic topic on the internet is greater than it is for Parks and Geography. Moreover there is a drop-off in such inquires between the 12-15 and 16-21 cohorts which as in the case of history is likely explained by the requirements of school curriculum on the students. The extent to which youth look for science and technology is similar to the degree to which history is sought online. Not surprisingly of the four areas examined here, it is arts, sports and leisure that are the object of most attention by youth in internet inquiries. It is worth noting that the 12-15 year old respondents are more inclined to say that it is very likely they will look up arts, sports and leisure than the 16-21 age cohort

Table 4

How likely you would be to look the following on the Internet: History, Parks & Geography (12-15 and 16-21 years of age)

	12-15		16-21	
	Very Likely	Some-what Likely	Very Likely	Some-what Likely
History	26.8	40.5	21.1	41.3
Parks & Geography	11.7	42.5	10.8	37.0
Science & Technology	27.0	40.3	22.9	42.9
Arts Sports & Leisure	50.2	36.9	39.7	40.6

Source: Ipsos-Reconnecting Government with Youth, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004

Does the degree of internet use influence the likelihood of looking up history? As observed below, those who spend less time on the net-the lower users-are more likely to look up history in the 12-15 cohort than the high users of internet in that age group. In the 16-21 cohorts however, the gap is significantly modified with low and high users equally likely to look up history on the internet and the moderate users slightly more inclined to do so. By comparison looking up arts, sports and leisure is also more common amongst the low users in the 12-15 age cohorts than the moderate to high consumers. However, the pattern is reversed in the 16-21 cohorts with low users being less inclined than high users to look up arts, sports and leisure on the internet

Table 5

How likely you would be to look it up on the Internet: History, Parks & Geography (12-15 and 16-21 years of age)

Age	History		Arts Sports & Leisure	
	12-15	16-21	12-15	16-21
Less than 5	77.3	60.3	92.3	76.1
5-10	70.5	66.0	86.3	78.9
More than 10	60.0	60.9	84.0	85.7

Source: Ipsos-Reconnecting Government with Youth, Department of Canadian Heritage, 2004

Conclusion

There remain important questions around the best way to disseminate historic material on the internet and the relative space the discipline occupies amongst Canada's youth. Schools are the principal body in directing students to historical research and thus getting them to make their queries on the internet. With the survey data some preliminary observations were made about the possible influence of internet use on interest and inquiry into history and other areas. The data raises several questions about the profile of individuals that are interested in history and whether other identity and demographic considerations influence such choices. Further research is necessary to determine the most effective strategies to enhance youth interest in history and carve out a dynamic place for it on the internet.

PUTTING THE MYSTERY BACK INTO HISTORY

ABSTRACT

This article argues that our history can only be boring if we make it that way. History contains the sum of human crises, suffering, triumphs and challenges. Yet, despite having the richest palette of any discipline to draw upon, we have taken the fascination and fun out of 'doing history' in the classroom in the rush to cover a vast syllabus.

New directions in student-centered learning, in historical methods, and the availability of new technology offer many possibilities to put the 'mystery' and fun back into Canadian history. The article introduces one such attempt to marry the fun and the serious, using digital technology: the "Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History" project.



Did the whole village know that one little girl, Aurore Gagnon, was living a nightmare that culminated in her death in Fortierville, Quebec in 1920? Who should have been held responsible? Photo courtesy of: Alliance cinématographique canadienne/France-Film Archive.

Should learning history be intriguing, challenging, intellectually stimulating, and even – enjoyable? James Joyce, whom some high school students read in English, captured the sentiments of many when he wrote: "history is a nightmare from which I must awake!"

History class is a nightmare to many students, not because it is scary – they would like that – but because it is dull. The present is not dull. We have terrorist attacks, wars, armed confrontations between First Nations and armed soldiers, threats of new diseases, or from climate change or weapons of mass destruction, famines, natural disasters, corrupt and philandering politicians and celebrity romances.

The past, by contrast, is made of, well... come to think of it, – terrorist attacks, wars, armed confrontations between First Nations and armed soldiers, threats of new diseases.... Tomorrow, those same stories that rivet us today are part of our past. The work of history is selecting the most interesting and relevant parts of the past. Blood, gore, love, sacrifice, bravery, cowardice or betrayal infuse almost every document box in every archive.

The past is not boring so history can only be dull if we make it that way. We have taken the fun out of it by teaching a desiccated "Coles Notes" version, already pre-digested by others. Typically, we ask students to commit this to memory and regurgitate it at exam time instead of teaching the detective work: the critical skills of the historian applied to evidence from the past. In our enthusiasm to cover the syllabus, to show the big picture, the vast canvas of history, we have squeezed both the fun and the fascination out. To go from "Plato to NATO" we take the flesh from the stories and deliver only the skeleton.¹ It need not be this way, as the most able teachers, historical writers and many writers of historical fiction have shown us.

JOHN LUTZ
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History becomes dull when we take the mystery out of it and deprive students of the real work of the historian: finding clues and solving puzzles. Philosopher R.G Collingwood knew this a half century ago: “The hero of a detective novel is thinking exactly like an historian when, from indications of the most varied kinds, he constructs an imaginary picture of how a crime was committed, and by whom.”² CanadianMysteries.ca says it this way: “‘Doing History’ is the work of the detective, the gumshoe, the private eye. As historians, all we are left with is traces, clues, hints and allegations. Putting those together, weighing the evidence, assessing the credibility of witness accounts, sorting out contradictions, and showing how your solution to the mysteries is the best of all the alternatives – that is ‘Doing History’.”

Not that history is the same as ‘entertainment’. Quite the opposite. History is serious business. Deadly serious. Many of the current wars and civil wars are the result of historical myths passed off as truths to a populace without the tools to critically evaluate and ‘deconstruct’ those stories. Writing about America, historian Richard Slotkin pointed out that these historical myths “are ‘stories’ drawn from a society’s history that have acquired through persistent usage the power of symbolizing that society’s ideology and of dramatizing its moral consciousness.” Another historian, Richard White, observed that, “as people accept and assimilate myth...the myths become the basis for actions that shape history.” Our imagined history has the power to “cast the future partly in its own image.”³

The ability to critically recall and evaluate the past is so fundamental to the functioning of society that it is imperative for us to teach it well. Our students, indeed all of us, need to understand the path taken to get to where our society is today. History explains where racism comes from, what causes wars and what their outcomes usually are. It shows, for example, how thriving wealthy societies have consumed their way to extinction in the past. History tells us who we are, where we have come from, and reminds us when we are lost, where we thought we wanted to go.⁴



Racism, slavery, judicial torture and fire all emerge as themes when students investigate whether the slave Marie-Josèphe Angélique deliberately set Montreal on fire in 1734 to cover an escape with her white lover. Painting by Annie Beaugrand-Champagne, 2005.

As individuals we cannot function with no memory. Each morning we would have to start fresh, not knowing who was in the bed with us, how to wear slippers, what in our house was edible, what coffee was or how to make it. Without memory we as individuals, and as a society, cannot reason based on experience or learn. Quoting R.G. Collingwood again, “historical knowledge is no luxury, or mere amusement of a mind at leisure from more pressing occupations, but a prime duty, whose discharge is essential to the maintenance, not only of any particular form of reason, but of reason itself.” Teaching history is a serious undertaking but the learning can and should be fun.⁵

Storytellers have long since known how to combine the fun and the serious. Scholarly historians turned their back on these ‘popular historians’ three centuries ago; but three decades ago, the craft of conveying the big picture in small stories, was recaptured by European scholars in a method called ‘microstoria’ or ‘microhistory’. Microhistory is a return to the story of real people with all the messy, fascinating, sometimes microscopic details of their lives. But the goal in exploring the details is to see the larger forces at work, forces which are invisible when the scope is much larger. Microhistory is the asking the big questions of history and looking for the answers in small places.⁶

Teachers, and those who teach teachers, have in the last decade begun to re-discover the fun of asking their students to be detectives and solve historical puzzles by engaging with primary source materials from the past. This is sometimes known as “document-centered learning.” It is part of the larger goal of turning the classroom from a place

where students sit and listen to a teacher who tells them what they need to know, to a place where the teacher guides the students in “student-centered learning”. The underlying idea is that the undergraduate degree and even a high school diploma, become more active and research-based rather than based on taking notes.⁷

At the same time, the computing technology has evolved and become so widespread that we can begin asking the questions: How can we deploy the new technologies to best teach historical thinking? Can we imagine ways to teach history that we could not before? Can we use the new technologies to make the serious matter of teaching history fun?⁸

The Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History project is one attempt to answer these three questions. The premise is simple. Take an intriguing mystery – a story that has no single, clear resolution, put all the kinds and range of evidence you can find on the internet, and challenge students and others to solve the mystery. In fact we provide the first part of the story, and the tools for students to write the ending. The method is micro-historical so the mysteries are not random. They involve some of the big issues that concern Canadians: race, gender, ethnicity, immigration, religious intolerance, terrorism, war, climate change, aboriginal–non-aboriginal relations, wrongful convictions, and child abuse to name a few.

Ruth Sandwell and I accidentally started the project with Ruth’s discovery of the mysterious death of William Robinson, a Black man killed in his cabin on Salt Spring Island, British Columbia in 1868. An all-white jury convicted an aboriginal man after a short trial and a five-minute deliberation when the evidence was totally contradictory and an alibi disregarded. We put the documents regarding this case on the Internet back in 1997, primarily for our own classes, and were taken by surprise when the experiment was picked up all over the country and in other countries too. As the world was riveted to the O.J. Simpson trial where race was an overarching factor, this case spoke to race and justice in Canada as well as the importance of land to colonial-era immigrants. By chance, we had made the link between active learning, an intriguing story, and the new technology. And it was fun, or at least it seemed so at first.

We might have left it there but the student feedback asked us to rethink some of our basic assumptions. Most students loved the mystery but were ill-equipped to do historical work. They had trouble creating a story out of documents that were not already laid out for them in a chronology.

They did not know what to do if two documents contradicted each other. They did not even all know the difference between a primary source (created at the time) and a secondary source (an interpretation built on primary sources.)

We thought the “William Robinson” method was sound but that a series of such assignments was necessary to build the skill levels of an historian, so we invited Peter Gossage to work with us on two new mysteries. The series was born. Ruth, Peter and I continue to co-direct the series which has been funded by the Department of Canadian Heritage, with help from the University of Victoria, Université de Sherbrooke, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Sheridan College, The Critical Thinking Consortium, Arius 3D and other private and public sector partners.

For the fall of 2006 we have six mysteries available for students, as well as teachers’ guides with lesson plans, and a companion website, MysteryQuests.ca which has shorter assignments aimed at Middle and High Schools. Three more mysteries are under development. All online content is available in French and English.



Who attacked the Donnelly family in their home near Lucan, Ontario, setting it on fire and killing four in February 1880? Trying to understand why no one was convicted in this mass murder leads students into history of immigration, popular justice, ethnocentrism and the violence of everyday frontier life.
Creator: W.A. Winter (Maclean's Magazine).

These are great mysteries, not because they are famous, but because of the amazing access they give us to the lives and issues of real people facing dramatic and often violent crises. New for this fall are three mysteries: “Torture and the Truth” which looks at whether the Black slave Angélique actually did set fire to Montreal in 1734 to cover an intended escape with a white lover, as a way of exploring slavery, racism, judicial torture and the ever present danger of fire in pre-industrial

Canada. "Heaven and Hell on Earth: The Massacre of the "Black " Donnellys" looks at the religious tensions in late 19th century Ontario that culminated in the vigilante deaths of the Donnelly family, and why no jury would convict the murderers. "Explosion on the Kettle Valley Line," provides new forensic evidence that may help solve the death of Peter 'Lordly' Verigin, leader of the Doukhobors, whose train car blew up in southern British Columbia in 1924, killing him and seven others. Each of these mysteries takes advantage of the web's capacity for multimedia with three dimensional reconstructions of key historical events.

These new mysteries join "Who Killed William Robinson?", the mystery of what caused and who won the Chilcotin War of 1864, and how did little Aurore Gagnon die in the small Quebec village of Fortierville in 1920, all already online. In the spring of 2007 they will be joined by an archaeological mystery, "Where was Vinland?" the Viking 'land of grapes in North America', as well as "The Mystery Man of Baie St Marie" about a mute man who washed up with no legs in Acadia in 1864, and the mystery of "Who Really Discovered Klondike Gold?"

The project represents a new kind of interdisciplinary scholarship involving a team of historians, programmers, designers, webmasters, teachers, teacher-trainers, translators, students, and private sector firms. At any one time as many as 30 people are working on the project, spread between Victoria, British Columbia, where the project is based, to L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland, and from southern Ontario to Dawson City, Yukon Territories.

The Mysteries Project shows that the fascinating stories from our past can be used as a window to the big questions of then, and now. It is just one example of how learning history can be serious and fun at the same time.

Endnotes

- ¹ Ruth Sandwell "School History vs. the Historians," *International Journal of Social Education*, (vol. 30, no. 1 Spring 2005).
- ² R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, (Oxford University Press, 1951) 243.
- ³ Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in the Twentieth Century America*, (NY: 1992 5-6); Richard White, *Its Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, (Norman Ok and London 1991, 616, 623); thanks to John Herd Thompson, "Canadianizing the Myth of the West," *Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens* (Winter 2005) 38-40 for reminding me of these writings on myth.
- ⁴ Keith Barton, "Committing Acts of History: Mediated Action, Humanistic Education and Participatory Democracy" in W. Stanley, ed. *Critical Issues in Social Studies Research for the Twentieth Century* (Greenwich CT: Information Age Publishing, 2001), 119-48; Peter Seixas, ed. *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, (Toronto: UTP, 2004).
- ⁵ Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 227-8; Suzanne De Castell and Jennifer Jenson, "Serious Play." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (35(6): 2003) 649-665.
- ⁶ George G. Iggers, "From Macro- to Microhistory: The History of Everyday Life," *Historiography in the Twentieth Century from Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. (Hanover/London: Wesleyan University Press, 1997). Two classics of the genre include: Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, Trans. John and Anne Tedeschi. (Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Original in Italian 1976. English 1980.); and Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983).
- ⁷ Chad Gaffield, "Primary Sources, Historical Thinking, and the Emerging Redefinition of the B.A. as a Research Degree," Facsimile, 23-25, (200-2001), 12-17. Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).
- ⁸ John Lutz, "Riding the Horseless Carriage to the Computer Revolution: Teaching History in the Twenty-first Century," *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, (Vol. 68. November 2001), 427-436.
- ⁹ Ruth Sandwell, "Who Killed William Robinson? Exploring a Nineteenth Century Murder," *Social Education*, (vol. 68, no. 3, April 2004).

LE NOUVEAU PROGRAMME
D'HISTOIRE DU QUÉBEC

THE NEW HISTORY
PROGRAM OF QUEBEC

La crise du programme d'histoire au Québec :

QUELLES LEÇONS EN TIRER ?

RÉSUMÉ

Au Québec, l'enseignement de l'histoire est de nouveau en crise. De quelle nature est cette crise? Quelles leçons pourrait-on en tirer?

Leur démarche s'inscrit dans le mouvement haïssable de la réécriture historique telle qu'elle se pratique dans toutes les dictatures, tyranniques ou pas.

Denise Bombardier, journaliste¹

Une fois de plus, le Québec connaît une crise de l'éducation historique. L'analyse de cette crise est riche de leçons à tirer sur la conception que l'on se fait de la nature et du rôle de l'éducation historique publique en notre début de siècle. Nous commencerons par rappeler les faits, puis évoquerons ces leçons.

Les faits

À la fin du siècle dernier, le ministère de l'Éducation du Québec lance une vaste opération de mise à jour des programmes scolaires, qui datent alors d'une vingtaine d'années. Toutes les disciplines sont concernées. Dans son esprit, la réforme entend réaffirmer le principe d'une pédagogie centrée sur l'élève, une pédagogie de l'apprentissage plus que de l'enseignement, dont l'élève tirerait les compétences diverses qui fondent l'autonomie personnelle. En cela, rien de vraiment nouveau ni original. C'est en gros ce qui se fait à la même époque ailleurs en Occident. En outre au Québec – comme au Canada et dans d'autres pays dans le monde –, est apparue une préoccupation pour l'éducation citoyenne qui, dans le cadre général de la réforme, est attribuée de façon particulière à l'histoire.

La tâche de préparer la révision du programme d'histoire du secondaire a été confiée à un comité qui, en 2004, a proposé un programme d'histoire de l'Occident (ouvert sur le monde) pour le premier cycle du secondaire. Le programme a été facilement accepté par les autorités du ministère puis par la communauté, et implanté sans problème dans les écoles.

En 2006, c'est le tour du programme *Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté* du second cycle du secondaire, le programme devant remplacer celui jusqu'alors nommé *Histoire du Québec et du Canada*. Avant même qu'il ne soit achevé, le journaliste Antoine Robitaille publie le 27 avril, en première page du journal *Le Devoir*, une charge violente à son endroit, sous le titre : « Cours d'histoire épuré au secondaire ». « Épuré » de quoi? Le sous-titre le suggère d'emblée : « Québec songe à un enseignement "moins politique", non national et plus pluriel ». À cette fin, affirme le journaliste, le programme aurait été épuré d'un certain nombre d'événements et de dates essentiels. Nous précisons cela plus tard.

Depuis, cette question du programme d'histoire n'est que bruit et fureur. Les médias en sont envahis, les médias francophones surtout mais aussi des anglophones du Québec et même du Canada, comme le *Globe and Mail* et le *National Post*. Des éditorialistes, des chroniqueurs chevronnés, des journalistes expérimentés, des historiens et des professeurs d'histoire, des dizaines de lecteurs de divers horizons le mettent en accusation. Non sans excès à l'occasion. Sur un site Internet, on

invite à « descendre dans la rue »;² le leader nationaliste Gilles Rhéaume y déclare le programme « stalinien »;³ la chroniqueuse Denise Bombardier reprend l'accusation dans *Le Devoir*, où elle nous fournit en plus la citation mise en exergue de ce texte. Les insultes pleuvent, certains vont jusqu'aux menaces physiques : ainsi, dans un courriel, quelqu'un menace un collègue supposé sympathique au programme de lui casser la figure⁴.

Finalement le 15 juin, au terme de deux mois de débats quasi quotidiens, le ministre de l'Éducation cède : une version révisée du programme est publiée, qui intègre les demandes d'ajouts factuels des opposants.⁵ En revanche, la structure pédagogique originelle est préservée.

D'autant de bruit et de fureur, que retenir pour les programmes et l'enseignement de l'histoire ? Quelles leçons pourrait-on tirer ?

Des leçons à tirer

Au départ, posons comme observations, sinon comme objets de discussion, quelques caractères de la crise.

Un drame national – Le problème du programme serait donc qu'il y manque la mention de nombreux faits et dates historiques. De quoi s'agit-il exactement ?

Dans son premier article, le journaliste Robitaille déclarait le programme « épuré » de la bataille des plaines d'Abraham, de la Proclamation royale, de l'Acte de Québec, de la saga de Meech, du rapatriement unilatéral de 1982... Tous des faits d'histoire politique. Dans le débat ouvert par l'article, d'autres faits ont été mentionnés à répétition : la Conquête, la Rébellion, la Confédération, le serment du test, la crise de la conscription, etc. Tous, encore, des faits d'ordre politique. Foin d'histoire sociale, économique, culturelle, des « nouveaux objets » auxquels les historiens s'intéressent depuis les années 1970.⁶

Or il se trouve que ces faits politiques – rappels de tensions et de conflits du passé –, sont ceux qui par tradition servent à fonder la question dite nationale, celle de la place du Québec dans le Canada. Plusieurs les estiment indispensables à l'entretien de la flamme nationaliste. La trahison soupçonnée, alors, résiderait-elle simplement dans la non-mention explicite de ces faits, qui mettrait en danger l'aboutissement dans l'indépendance de la question nationale ? Le déclencheur de la crise serait-il que l'on croit, comme Denise Bombardier, que « les auteurs farouchement antinationalistes tentent de contrecarrer un enseignement de l'histoire qui reproduirait

de nouvelles générations de séparatistes » ?⁷

De fait, quand on regarde la liste des nombreux adversaires du programme, on voit qu'ils proviennent en grand nombre des rangs de la militance nationaliste, celle dévouée à l'indépendance du Québec. Ainsi la vingtaine de « personnalités » qui ont signé le manifeste de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste⁸ contre le programme sont des militants historiques de la cause. C'est aussi le Parti québécois qui tente d'amener l'affaire devant l'Assemblée nationale⁹ et c'est dans son orbite qu'est lancée l'idée d'une censure du programme par le gouvernement¹⁰, idée qui sera souvent reprise ensuite.

Le pouvoir des médias – La crise du programme d'histoire se vit essentiellement dans les médias. C'est un journaliste qui soulève le couvercle. La foule, ensuite, se précipite sur son contenu, en répercute puis en amplifie la teneur. Cela rappelle de ne pas oublier, encore moins de sous-estimer le pouvoir des médias.

À suivre les multiples interventions, on constate vite qu'un bon nombre des intervenants n'ont pas vraiment lu le programme qu'ils contestent, que d'une critique à l'autre, on retrouve calqués les mêmes faits, les mêmes phrases, les mêmes objections. Jusqu'à l'imprudence. Ainsi les auteurs du mémoire de la chaire Hector-Fabre (principalement financée par la nationaliste Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste¹¹) qui affirment péremptoirement : « Jamais (le souligné est des auteurs), dans tout ce document, ne retrouvera-t-on les mots comme communauté, collectivité, solidarité, etc. » Or, sans chercher beaucoup, j'ai trouvé les mots communauté p. 16 et 45, collectivité p. 12 et 30, et solidarité p. 90.

Le rôle de mobilisation des médias est donc de première importance. Il est vrai que le journaliste Robitaille est du *Devoir*, un quotidien auto déclaré indépendantiste, et que le grand nombre des interventions publiées le sont dans ses pages. Mais il ne faudrait pas ignorer l'effet d'entraînement. Bien d'autres journalistes et médias hors de la mouvance indépendantiste ont accroché leurs points de vue à celui du journaliste du *Devoir*. Ainsi à *La Presse*, où l'éditorialiste André Pratte, que l'on ne peut soupçonner de vellétés indépendantistes, finit lui aussi par s'en prendre à l'absence des dates traditionnelles dans le programme : « Les pédagogues de Québec ont voulu faire table rase, écrit-il. Ils ont concocté une histoire sans dates. »¹²

Au Québec, certains semblent penser que le projet indépendantiste est en voie d'essoufflement, qu'il n'arrive plus à mobiliser de jeunes énergies. Il est vrai que les principaux haut-parleurs de

l'opposition au programme *Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté* paraissent issus du giron indépendantiste traditionnel. Mais – est-ce encore un effet des médias? – il faut bien constater que la crise a mobilisé une quantité notable de jeunes gens, depuis les étudiants en histoire de l'Université du Québec à Montréal¹³ jusqu'à bon nombre des 2500 signataires d'une pétition demandant le retrait du programme¹⁴, ainsi qu'un nombre appréciable d'assez jeunes enseignants.

N'est-il pas remarquable qu'un journaliste simplement armé de son clavier d'ordinateur ait pu mobiliser ainsi la foule? Mais aurait-il pu y arriver aussi facilement si le mouvement indépendantiste était en somnolence comme certains semblent le penser?

L'aveuglement volontaire – «Dans l'analyse qui suit, écrivent les membres de la chaire Hector-Fabre, nous mettons explicitement de côté toute discussion sur la dimension proprement pédagogique de ce projet de programme.»¹⁵. Comment peut-on vouloir examiner un programme scolaire – je souligne: un programme scolaire – en écartant *a priori* la dimension pédagogique? Évidemment, une telle entrée permet ensuite de n'examiner le programme que sous l'angle de faits historiques manquants, dans l'esprit exposé ci-devant.

Sans ouvrir les yeux, on ne voit rien. Effectivement, la plupart des interventions ignorent les éléments de contexte indispensables à la compréhension du programme. C'est le cas notamment des paramètres de la réforme en cours, qui s'appliquent à l'ensemble des matières. Tous les programmes sont ordonnés autour de compétences à acquérir ou développer. Ce ne sont pas des programmes de contenus factuels. D'ailleurs, en histoire, le dernier programme-catalogue – une espèce de table des matières de trente pages bien tassée – date de 1970¹⁶. S'il est vrai que le programme ne détaille pas les contenus factuels, c'était déjà le cas du précédent, et si on vise maintenant à faire acquérir des compétences, ce n'est pas différent en substance de ce que l'on visait antérieurement sous l'appellation habiletés ou savoir-faire¹⁷. Or, combien des critiques sont remontés aux sources?

On n'ose croire à un aveuglement volontaire. Et pourtant, ces informations sont disponibles pour tous d'un simple «clic» de souris. Plus, s'il est vrai que le programme n'entre pas dans le détail des contenus, c'est aussi le cas du programme d'histoire du premier cycle du secondaire. Celui-ci, rappelons-le, a déjà été implanté dans les écoles, sans que personne ne se soit inquiété du manque

de faits et de dates historiques. Il est pourtant construit de la même manière et vise les trois mêmes compétences que le programme contesté. S'il n'a pas connu le sort de celui-ci, c'est probablement qu'il n'est pas en histoire «nationale».

Les pédagogues de salon – Un éternel problème de l'éducation historique reste que tout un chacun se sent qualifié pour en traiter. Chacun ne vit-il pas dans l'histoire, n'a-t-il pas étudié l'histoire en son temps sur les bancs de l'école? De là à se croire expert en matière d'éducation historique, il n'y a qu'un pas à franchir et il est vite franchi. Dans la plupart des champs de savoir, le profane accepte raisonnablement le fait qu'il n'est pas expert. Par exemple, il accepte de prendre un médicament sans prétendre à la science du pharmacien ou du chimiste. En éducation historique, si le profane ne sait pas ou ne comprend pas, ce doit être parce que c'est mauvais! C'est ainsi que le journaliste Christian Rioux s'en prend au supposé «charabia» du programme, un programme composé, écrit-il, «à coup de concepts fumeux», et il nomme le «vivre-ensemble», «l'alphabétisation sociale», «l'actualisation des compétences de l'élève»¹⁸, etc. Qu'y a-t-il de fumeux dans ces mots? Ils ne sont même pas du langage spécialisé!¹⁹

Il faudrait enfin reconnaître que l'éducation historique, au fil des dernières décennies, est devenue un champ scientifique jouissant d'une bonne autonomie. Elle n'est plus un simple dérivé de l'histoire savante comme à sa naissance. Elle a ses propres buts et dispose d'un appareil conceptuel adapté. Historiens et profanes devraient en être conscients lorsqu'ils lancent des affirmations étonnantes pour des professionnels de l'éducation. Ainsi, en guise d'illustration, ces historiens de l'Université de Sherbrooke qui, après avoir signalé que le programme vise à développer des capacités critiques, de choix, d'interprétation et à éveiller l'intérêt pour les enjeux sociaux, nous mettent en garde: «Un élève du secondaire peut-il atteindre ces objectifs, qu'on assigne habituellement aux études universitaires?» Vraiment? Ou les mêmes, expliquant qu'«il faut aborder des questions comme la langue, l'éducation, la religion, les arts... Il y a de quoi passionner les élèves!»²⁰ Or toutes les recherches – sinon la moindre expérience de terrain – montrent qu'au contraire ces matières sont au secondaire celles pour lesquelles les élèves ont le moins d'intérêt. Que dire encore de ceux qui comme l'historien Denis Vaugeois s'étonnent que l'histoire puisse servir à l'éducation à la citoyenneté²¹: n'aurait-elle pas servi à ça, depuis un peu plus d'un siècle qu'elle

enseignée dans les écoles du Québec et d'ailleurs en Occident?²²

La théorie du complot – Mais ce qui marque le mieux cette crise, c'est l'évocation continuelle d'un complot.

On le voit sous une première forme, celle des accusations portées contre le gouvernement du Québec. Voyons-en deux expressions. Un dénommé Pierre Lincourt écrit dans une lettre au *Devoir*: «Le tollé qu'a provoqué la découverte d'un programme d'histoire édulcoré s'explique en partie par le fait que ce projet a été élaboré sous un gouvernement dont l'objectif principal est le bon fonctionnement de la fédération dénaturée en 1982, un gouvernement dont la devise est "je me nie".»²³ De son côté, l'écrivain Bruno Roy écrit: «Penser que la censure est l'apanage des gouvernements totalitaire est une illusion. [...] Le projet d'histoire censurée actuellement à l'étude au ministère de l'Éducation se greffe à l'histoire universelle du contrôle des idées jugées néfastes pour l'exercice du pouvoir.»²⁴

On le voit surtout sous sa forme d'un complot canadien et fédéraliste. Parmi une bonne dizaine d'expressions dans cet esprit, celle de l'écrivaine de romans historiques Micheline Lachance, pour qui l'agenda caché du nouveau programme est d'«en venir à un manuel unique du Canada»²⁵. De même l'historien Alfred Dubuc: «On cherche à nous imposer une histoire canadienne, qui déforme notre identité. On veut nous imposer une identité canadienne»²⁶. Ou encore Lysiane Gagnon, chroniqueuse au journal *La Presse*: «On serait porté à croire qu'il s'agit d'une gigantesque entreprise de propagande fédéraliste.»²⁷ Encore également Félix Bouvier et Laurent Lamontagne, tous deux responsables, le second à titre de président, de la Société des professeurs d'histoire du Québec: «Il s'agit de rien de moins qu'un pur exercice de propagande fédéraliste qu'on veut imposer à l'enseignement secondaire en histoire nationale.»²⁸

Et, au cœur du complot on voit, comme souvent, la fondation *Historica*. Alexandre Lanoix, associé de la chaire Hector-Fabre, s'en explique dans *Le Devoir*: «La fondation *Historica* [...] vise ouvertement à faire de l'enseignement de l'histoire un instrument de constitution du nationalisme canadien.»²⁹ À tort ou à raison, *Historica* est devenue l'épouvantail que l'on dresse, du côté des nationalistes, mais aussi de celui des adversaires de toute intervention illégitime en éducation, dès que l'histoire est en cause au Québec.³⁰

Or, il faut être bien mal informé – je n'oserai penser mal intentionné – pour voir une main étrangère ou des comploteurs fédéralistes là où il

s'agit de l'œuvre d'enseignants issus de la communauté. De fait, une fois connues les grandes lignes pédagogiques et structurelles des programmes en général, tels des programmes «par compétences», la confection des programmes disciplinaires jouit d'une large autonomie. Celui d'histoire, comme les autres, a été préparé par un comité de consultation et un sous-comité de travail composés essentiellement d'enseignants. La plupart sont des enseignants praticiens venus des écoles. Ils sont une quinzaine en tout, issus des différentes régions et communautés du Québec. L'identité de chacun est connue.³¹ Il y a bien un coordinateur venu du ministère, mais on devine que dans les circonstances son poids de personne unique s'avère très relatif.

Alors, avant d'attribuer au programme des intentions inavouées, il serait prudent d'en faire sereinement l'examen, sur pièces et non sur des présomptions. On constaterait probablement que les auteurs du programme ne sont porteurs d'aucun «agenda caché». On reconnaîtrait plutôt, je crois, que le programme est le résultat de ce qu'ils estiment nécessaire comme éducation historique moderne pour les jeunes Québécois.

En conclusion : Une grande illusion

À réexaminer les faits, on garde l'impression d'une crise provoquée et d'une réaction exagérée. Mais la question reste: qu'en attendre?

En fait il se pourrait bien que tout ce débat autour du programme repose sur une grande illusion. Félix Bouvier et Laurent Lamontagne lui reprochent de taire «des côtés historiques de notre passé qui amènent *logiquement* un développement de l'identité québécoise.»³² C'est moi qui souligne le mot *logiquement* et on devine ce dont il s'agit. Micheline Lachance de son côté, au sujet de la fonction nationaliste-identitaire de l'enseignement de l'histoire, déclare: «Il faut qu'on accepte que l'histoire, c'est engagé.»³³ Idée que semble partager Denis Vaugeois lorsqu'il dit: «Je donne beaucoup de valeur de formation à l'histoire... Le nationalisme québécois [repose avant tout] sur une histoire.»³⁴

La vraie question est là: à notre époque, peut-on encore penser qu'au moyen d'un récit historique déterminé l'enseignement de l'histoire puisse réguler les consciences et inspirer les allégeances? Déjà, dans la seconde moitié du siècle précédent, bien des cas ont laissé croire que l'éducation historique n'y réussit pas fort. Rappelons-en deux.

En ex-Union soviétique pour commencer. Là, pendant plusieurs décennies, à l'aide de l'histoire on avait enseigné, *grosso modo*, que le capitalisme

était l'enfer, mais que le socialisme ouvrirait les portes du paradis. Cela au rythme de deux heures par semaine, pendant toute la scolarité, d'un cours d'histoire basé sur le matérialisme historique. Qu'ont fait les Russes et les membres des diverses républiques dès qu'ils en ont eu l'occasion? Ils ont choisi l'enfer!

Le passé du Québec offre lui-même un exemple éloquent. Pendant plus d'un demi-siècle, l'histoire y a été employée à enseigner aux Canadiens français – comme on disait alors – la nécessité de la survivance comme peuple, et l'importance de protéger la langue et la foi qui en étaient les conditions, outre l'adhésion au grand tout canadien qui en était la garantie. Encore en 1959, lisait-on dans le programme : « L'étude de l'histoire de notre pays contribuera à mieux former le bon citoyen du Canada de demain ». Pourtant, à la première occasion, au tournant des années 1960, les Québécois ont pris en quelques mois l'exact contre-pied de ce que le cours d'histoire leur avait enseigné jour après jour. Et ce Canada qu'on avait voulu leur faire chérir, quelque temps après la moitié d'entre eux ont dit vouloir s'en séparer!

De tels exemples – et on en connaît des dizaines d'autres – incitent à croire que l'idée de gouverner les consciences à travers les contenus de l'enseignement de l'histoire repose sur une illusion, une illusion éventuellement porteuse de grandes désillusions. Dans un contexte d'éducation historique et à la citoyenneté, se battre pour maintenir des récits historiques déterministes risque de ne faire que des perdants, tant sur le plan des identités que sur celui de la vie démocratique.

Notes

- ¹ Dans « Les belles histoires des pays d'en haut », *Le Devoir*, 29 avril 2006.
- ² www.vigile.net. Rapporté par Graeme Hamilton dans « Quebec propose making history less anti-English », *National Post*, 28 avril 2006.
- ³ *Id.*
- ⁴ Plus précisément, la menace s'exprimait comme suit : « Si je vous croise dans la rue, je ne vais pas me gêner pour vous sacrer un osti de coup de poing dans face ». Le collègue avait eu le malheur d'expliquer au journaliste : « Il s'agit de sortir du cadre habituel d'une histoire structurée autour des conflits entre les francophones et les anglophones pour faire une histoire plus rassembleuse ». Propos rapporté par Antoine Robitaille, *op.cit.*
- ⁵ Disponible sur le site du ministère : www.mels.qc.ca.
- ⁶ Parmi les rares exceptions, celle de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française qui dans son mémoire au ministre écrit : « Soulignons également que l'inventaire des connaissances fait peu de cas des nouveaux champs qui se sont

développés au fil des dernières décennies ». Voir *Avis sur le projet de réforme du programme Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté du deuxième cycle du secondaire*, 16 août 2006, p. 3. (http://www.cam.org/~ihaf/quoideneuf_fichiers/ReformeHEC2006.html)

- ⁷ « Les belles histoires... »
- ⁸ Voir Katia Gagnon, « Enseignement au secondaire. Sus à l'histoire "censurée" », *La Presse*, 14 juin 2006.
- ⁹ Voir Antoine Robitaille, « Histoire: le PQ demande un débat public », *Le Devoir*, 26 mai 2006.
- ¹⁰ Voir « Suite de l'histoire », *Le Devoir*, 14 juin 2006.
- ¹¹ Par l'intermédiaire de la Société du prêt d'honneur, une de ses filiales.
- ¹² « L'histoire sans date », *La Presse*, 28 avril 2006.
- ¹³ Voir Mourad Djebabla, « La pluralité ne doit pas gommer la singularité », *Le Devoir*, 1^{er} mai 2006.
- ¹⁴ « Suite de l'histoire », *op. cit.*
- ¹⁵ On trouve ce document intitulé *Quelle histoire du Québec enseigner?* sur le site Web de la chaire : www.chf.uqam.ca
- ¹⁶ Ministère de l'Éducation, *Histoire 41. Plan d'études*, 1970, 31 p.
- ¹⁷ À ce sujet, on lira Daniel Moreau, « Y a-t-il (enfin) un didacticien dans la salle? », à paraître dans *Traces*, 2006.
- ¹⁸ Dans « Suicide assisté », *Le Devoir*, 5 mai 2006.
- ¹⁹ Dans tous ces discours contre le programme, on ne peut s'empêcher de relever l'expression d'un certain mépris pour les pédagogues et la pédagogie : « Affligeante philosophie », « stupide », « Seigneur, préservez-nous des pédagogues », écrit Lysiane Gagnon (dans « L'histoire pour les nuls », *La Presse*, 29 avril 2006), « carencés affectifs », ajoute Denise Bombardier (dans « Les belles histoires... », *op. cit.*)
- ²⁰ Guy Laperrière *et al.*, « Nouvelle mouture du programme d'histoire au secondaire. Du programme à l'enseignant », *Le Devoir*, 25 août 2006.
- ²¹ Émission « Pourquoi l'histoire? », Radio-Canada, 22 août 2006. À ce sujet, voir aussi les propos brumeux du mémoire de la chaire Hector-Fabre, *op. cit.*
- ²² Plus pardonnable certainement, car ce n'est pas son métier, mais révélateur d'une conception de l'histoire obsolète, cette opinion du premier ministre Jean Charest qui semble encore penser que l'histoire est une simple somme de faits, et que ces faits sont objectifs : « Les événements sont les événements » (cité par Antoine Robitaille dans « Programme d'histoire au secondaire – Une nouvelle version sera prête en juin », *Le Devoir*, 29 avril 2006).
- ²³ Le 2 mai 2006. Ironiquement, c'est l'ancien gouvernement du Parti québécois qui est à l'origine de la réforme.
- ²⁴ Dans « L'engagement de l'histoire », *Le Devoir*, 15 juin 2006.
- ²⁵ Émission « Pourquoi l'histoire? ». L'historien Alfred Dubuc renchérit dans la même émission.
- ²⁶ Dans *id.*
- ²⁷ « L'histoire pour les nuls », *La Presse*, 29 avril 2006.
- ²⁸ D'emblée, le titre de leur article parle : « Quand l'histoire se fait outil de propagande » (*Le Devoir*, 28 avril 2006).

²⁹ « La fondation Historica, l'enseignement de l'histoire et le *nation building* », 8 mai 2006.

³⁰ Voir également l'écrivain Yves Beauchemin, « Le culte du vide », *Le Devoir*, 16 juin 2006. Historica semble effectivement devenue l'épouvantail dont on se sert pour déqualifier la pensée adverse sans avoir à s'expliquer. Ainsi, lorsque Jean-Pierre Charland publie un roman sur la période d'avant-guerre au Québec, il n'est que d'invoquer Historica pour le condamner : l'auteur, écrit le critique Jean-François Nadeau, est « lié de près à la fondation Historica, laquelle est touchée de plein fouet par ce projet de révision douteux des programmes d'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec » (dans « En aparté – L'enfer brun », *Le Devoir*, 27 mai 2006). Il faut bien avouer, cependant, que la fondation n'est pas avare de maladresses dans ses tentatives auprès des Québécois. L'épisode des agendas scolaires produits par la fondation, destinés à faire la promotion de l'identité nationale canadienne, en constitue l'exemple le plus récent. Voir « Commission scolaire de Montréal – Un agenda fédéraliste banni des écoles », *Le Devoir*, 9 septembre 2006.

³¹ Voir la lettre qu'ils ont signée dans *Le Devoir*, « Programme d'histoire – L'avis des professeurs consultés », 5 mai 2006.

³² « Quand l'histoire se fait outil de propagande », *op. cit.*

³³ Émission « Pourquoi l'histoire? », Radio-Canada, 22 août 2006.

³⁴ *Id.*



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FAUT-IL CRAINDRE UNE AUTRE HISTOIRE DU QUÉBEC ?

RÉSUMÉ

Le programme « Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté », qui entrera en vigueur dans les écoles secondaires du Québec à l'automne 2007, est le sujet de vives controverses. Si ce programme n'est pas exempt de lacunes, le débat qu'a suscité sa diffusion portait, ne nous leurrions pas, sur la pertinence de proposer aux jeunes une « nouvelle » histoire de l'expérience québécoise dans le temps. Désavouée, cette initiative a été portée aux gémonies. Retour sur une polémique pathétique, emblématique de la difficulté d'une société à se mettre en histoire autrement qu'à travers les cadres sociaux de sa mémoire.

On dit de l'histoire qu'elle est sous surveillance. La preuve en fut donnée au Québec au printemps dernier. Un texte paru à la une du *Devoir* annonçait en effet que le gouvernement du Québec était sur le point d'avaliser un nouveau programme d'histoire qui répudiait littéralement la vraie nature du passé québécois. Au dire du scribe incendiaire et de ses suiveurs plus ou moins montés¹, le programme en question était une insulte à la mémoire collective de la nation. Il dérogeait au grand récit collectif fondé sur le conflit pérenne entre Français et Anglais. Il ne construisait plus l'histoire de la nation sur la série d'échecs, de défaites et d'humiliations qui avaient scandé son parcours dans le temps. Le passé du Québec cessait d'être mis en scène comme une tragédie sans fin. Il était au contraire le lieu de productions et de réalisations positives. Il n'était plus cette pièce où les Québécois – et les Canadiens français avant eux – jouaient le rôle de Vaincus et de Victimes. Selon le journaliste et ses émules scandalisés, l'orientation du nouveau programme était rien moins qu'indécente et inquiétante. C'étaient le sens et l'essence du Nous Autres les Québécois qui risquaient de pâtir irrémédiablement de ce nouveau programme. Mais le plus grave restait à venir. À terme, les jeunes ne sauraient plus se définir comme Québécois à partir d'un récit où ils apparaissaient comme les héritiers d'éternels *Manqués*. La crainte de ne pas être disparaîtrait possiblement de leur imaginaire. Ils cesseraient dès lors d'être Québécois. Car ce qui définit principalement un Québécois, c'est sa souffrance de ne pas avoir été ce qu'il aurait pu être ou dû être – à cause de l'Autre, bien sûr.

Sur le plan du fond, le débat du printemps dernier n'a rien produit de positif. Il n'a suscité aucune réflexion consistante sur l'interprétation à donner de l'expérience historique québécoise. Les « excités de la mémoire » ont pris le crachoir médiatique et ils ont imposé leurs visions. L'argument qu'ils présentaient était d'autorité. Il se résumait à ceci : Pas touche à notre mémoire ni à notre histoire. Le grand récit collectif accrédité des Québécois a statut d'évangile. Il ne peut être remis en cause, ni *a fortiori* remplacé par les historiettes de salon confectionnées par les tenants de la nouvelle histoire. Ceux-là ne sont que des « feds » déguisés en profs. Ils veulent dépolitiser le passé québécois. Ils veulent cesser d'en faire un lieu d'éducation nationale. Ils veulent inoculer aux jeunes le germe du doute par rapport aux interprétations acquises du passé collectif. Ils veulent sortir les jeunes d'un espace mémoriel et historial qui est le cocon de leur identité. La descendance nationale est en péril. Et la transcendance nationale de même...

Bien sûr, deux ou trois impies se sont élevés contre le délire des vestales de la Nation québécoise. Détail intéressant, ces « athées » provenaient tous de l'Université Laval!² Leur propos était assez nuancé. On pourrait le résumer à ces quelques points :

- Non, le nouveau programme n'est pas l'expression d'un complot fédéraliste. Il a été conçu par un groupe de spécialistes de divers horizons professionnels et sans doute de différentes allégeances politiques. Mais leur affiliation idéologique n'a pas été un critère de recrutement. Pour confectionner le programme réformé, ses concepteurs ont d'ailleurs consulté ou sondé des dizaines d'experts – pédagogues, didacticiens, enseignants et chercheurs – tous compétents et rigoureux dans leurs approches.
- Attention avant d'attaquer le programme proposé par le ministère sous prétexte qu'il ne charrie pas la matière habituelle de l'histoire du Québec. Il faut comprendre que ce programme en est un d'éducation citoyenne où l'on vise, par l'histoire, à initier les jeunes aux particularités de la société dans laquelle ils vivent *maintenant*. Ce que l'on trouve dans le document de consultation du ministère n'est donc pas, comme tel, un programme d'histoire nationale.
- Et même s'il s'agissait d'un programme d'histoire nationale, il faut admettre que le passé québécois est quelque chose de complexe. Le réduire à une histoire simple et univoque, par exemple celle de la « Nation conquise, estropiée et mise en réserve par l'Autre », n'est pas la meilleure façon d'en rendre compte. Le défi actuel de l'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec n'est-il pas d'ailleurs d'ouvrir le passé national, comme le recommandait il y a dix ans le comité Lacoursière?³
- Dernier point mais non le moindre: les jeunes ne sont pas des cruches à remplir, mais des esprits à stimuler. L'école est précisément le lieu où l'on peut les initier au raisonnement systématique et à la pensée critique. Or, transmettre aux jeunes le goût de l'analyse rigoureuse et le réflexe critique est aussi important que leur transférer des masses de faits. L'acquisition par les jeunes de « compétences transversales » vise justement à développer leurs habiletés intellectuelles. Cet objectif pédagogique est la marque d'une progression, pas d'une régression ni d'un détournement de conscience.

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Malheureusement, la manifestation de raison des profs n'a pas eu d'effet. La vague de critiques contre le programme fut comme une « déferlante »

irrépressible! Devant le tollé de protestations, le ministre a craqué. Rapidement, il a donné instruction pour que l'on réintroduise plus de conflit dans l'histoire du Québec. De même, il a affirmé qu'il n'était pas question de proposer aux jeunes une histoire du Québec qui ignore les faits structurants de l'expérience québécoise dans le temps. Il a littéralement comblé les dénigreur du programme en ajoutant que la perspective de cette histoire ne devait pas être liée aux besoins du présent, mais qu'elle devait refléter le passé tel qu'il fut vécu⁴. Et le programme d'être révisé en conséquence – comme s'il péchait effectivement de tous les vices qu'on lui imputait!

Le remaniement du programme plaira-t-il aux intégristes de la mémoire nationale? Certainement pas! Leur campagne de persiflage se poursuit de plus belle dans les blogues et sur les sites Internet. Selon eux, le programme met trop d'accent sur les compétences à maîtriser et pas assez sur les connaissances à acquérir. En d'autres termes, les apprentissages l'emportent sur les contenus, ce qui est mauvais pour la formation de petits nationaux. Pis, la trame narrative servant de support à l'histoire racontée demeure trop iconoclaste par rapport à ce qui serait souhaitable. Imbu de rectitude politique, le programme aseptise le passé au lieu de le révéler dans la tourmente de ce qu'il fut. Si bien que les jeunes risquent d'oublier qu'ils ont eu une histoire pleine de peines et de déveines. Et qu'ils appartiennent à une nation meurtrie.

Ce diagnostic est évidemment contestable. On pourrait au contraire penser que la révision effectuée par le ministère traduit une mise au pas de la raison scientifique et pédagogique par les impératifs de la politique. En clair, les pressions exercées sur le ministère par les harangueurs nationalistes ont fait mouche. Le ministre a cédé aux diktats des surveillants du patrimoine historique québécois.

Une preuve à ce repli? Comparons simplement les titres des grandes thématiques historiques privilégiées par le programme révisé aux titres initialement prévus par les gens du ministère. Dans la première version du programme⁵, on parlait ainsi d'« émergence de la société canadienne » pour désigner la période qui va du 16^e siècle à la Conquête. Quoique peu conventionnelle, cette interprétation est valable. Or, dans la version révisée du programme, on revient à une « appellation contrôlée »: l'émergence d'une société en Nouvelle-France⁶. Il en est de même pour la période allant de la Conquête à la Confédération. Dans la première mouture du programme, on titrait – maladroitement sans doute, mais pas

fausseté : « l'accession à la démocratie dans la colonie britannique ». Dans la vision révisée, on parle de « changement d'empire et d'expérience du parlementarisme dans la colonie britannique ». Quoi de plus classique – et de rassurant – pour les chantres du récit accrédité de l'histoire du Québec ?

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Loin de nous l'idée de prétendre que le document du ministère – première ou deuxième mouture – est sans problème. Il importe toutefois de saisir les critiques pour ce qu'elles n'ont jamais cessé d'être au fond : une crainte – si tant est que l'on va de l'avant avec le nouveau programme – de voir les jeunes adhérer à une autre histoire du Québec. Par « *autre histoire* du Québec », on entend ici un récit qui présenterait l'expérience historique de la société québécoise sous un angle qui ne serait pas fondamentalement celui de la lutte d'un peuple pour sa libération nationale. Or, pour un grand nombre d'intervenants, il y a là crime de lèse-majesté. Sortir de la matrice nationalitaire pour faire l'histoire du Québec, c'est non seulement nier le passé de la nation québécoise, c'est fragiliser son avenir. Tant du point de vue de la rigueur que de celui de la pertinence, un tel récit se veut, aux yeux des cerbères de « l'histoire vraie » du Québec, l'expression d'un révisionnisme dangereux.

Mais est-ce bien le cas ? L'expérience historique québécoise peut-elle être racontée autrement que sur le mode d'une téléologie nationale sans mettre en cause la situation politique générale de cette société ? Peut-on dénationaliser l'histoire du Québec sans trahir le passé de cette société ? À ces deux questions, j'offre une même réponse : OUI.

Il ne faut pas craindre par exemple de faire une histoire du Québec à travers le récit des grands processus structurant de la modernité occidentale : l'avènement de la démocratie représentative, l'industrialisation, la création d'un espace public délibératif, la pluralité identitaire, etc. Ce cadrage, qui appelle sa chronologie particulière et son « événementiel » spécifique, est d'ailleurs celui que les gens du ministère entendaient privilégier pour présenter aux jeunes l'évolution de la société québécoise jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Bien que critiqué, ce cadrage est loin d'être inapproprié : il marque à quel point la société québécoise a participé d'une mouvance économique, politique et sociale partagée par d'autres sociétés ; comment, aussi, elle a été traversée de tout temps par des idées, des enjeux et des défis qui s'apparentaient à ceux des sociétés occidentales. La recherche historique des

trente dernières années a montré que le parcours historique de la société québécoise avait représenté une variante particulière d'un parcours général et générique suivi par les sociétés occidentales. Voudrait-on nier l'apport de cette recherche et revenir à une représentation du Québec fondée sur son exception historique ? Dans ce cas, c'est la science qui y perdrait et les jeunes qui seraient bernés.

Cela ne veut pas dire que le développement historique de la société québécoise n'est que la réplique de ce qui s'est passé ailleurs. Les contraintes géographiques, la nature du peuplement, le rôle joué par certains groupes sociaux dans la structuration de cette société sont autant d'éléments qui ont coloré, spécifié et orienté sa trajectoire. Pour en finir avec le débat simpliste visant à déterminer si le Québec a connu un parcours historique « normal » ou « particulier », on pourrait dire de cette société qu'elle s'est développée comme une « société normale particulière ». Dans les faits, le Québec a évolué dans la mouvance des sociétés occidentales tout en inventant ses propres manières de pratiquer cette occidentalité, soit sur le mode d'une canadianité et d'une québecité dont il faut reconnaître l'originalité. C'est d'ailleurs dans cette manière originale de vivre l'occidentalité que se découvre l'identité québécoise, laquelle s'est exprimée dans des aménagements linguistiques, institutionnels et culturels qui différencient cette société – non pas dans son fond, mais dans ses formes – des autres sociétés qui composent la mosaïque occidentale.

Et la question nationale ? Comment traiter du fait national au Québec sans littéralement soumettre l'étude de cette société aux exigences d'une entreprise nationaliste ? À vrai dire, la réponse n'est pas si compliquée : il s'agit d'écouter le passé s'exprimer dans la diversité de ses voix et de rendre compte de cette pluralité discursive et politique plutôt que de la ramener à quelque chose de simple et d'univoque.

Il est clair que la société québécoise est marquée depuis un bon moment par une intention nationale. Celle-ci ne peut être occultée – et les gens du ministère n'ont jamais eu cette ambition ! Mais on ne peut grossir cette intention nationale au point de tout fourrer dans sa panse expansive, comme si l'évolution entière de la société québécoise se résumait à la lente formation d'une nation en lutte pour sa survie et son achèvement historique dans l'État souverain. Par ailleurs, l'intention nationale qui s'est exprimée au Québec n'a jamais été monovalente. Au contraire, elle s'est toujours manifestée d'une manière plurivalente,

voire ambiguë, les Québécois étant tout à la fois animés par un désir de refondation, une volonté de continuation, une appétence pour la collaboration et une envie d'autonomisation. C'est d'ailleurs au carrefour de ces quatre vecteurs d'être – et dans leur tension irréductible – que l'on peut saisir le lieu politique de (p)référence des Québécois.

L'intention nationale est une caractéristique majeure de l'expérience historique québécoise. Elle est un facteur important *dans* l'évolution de cette société. Mais on aurait tort de porter cette variable au rang d'explicateur universel de la destinée québécoise dans le temps. C'est pourtant ce que font, consciemment ou non, tous ceux pour qui l'histoire du Québec est d'abord et avant tout l'histoire de la Nation québécoise. L'histoire du Québec ne peut être présentée, sous peine de simplification abusive et de surdétermination de la méthode par la mémoire, comme l'histoire d'une Nation. L'histoire du Québec est celle de la formation d'une société traversée par une intention nationale diversement portée par ses habitants. Pour avancer comme un ensemble, ceux-ci ont toujours recherché des passages mitoyens et intermédiaires vers l'avenir – passages réformistes plutôt que révolutionnaires, conciliants plutôt que violents, prudents plutôt que risqués. Le fait que la société québécoise se soit historiquement représentée, voire instituée à plus d'un titre, comme une nation ne change rien au fait que l'idée de nation existant au sein de cette société n'a jamais fait l'unanimité chez ses habitants, surtout au chapitre de la forme politique globale à donner à cette nation. Cette hétérogénéité de l'idée et de la pratique de la nation au sein de la société québécoise est encore bien vivante aujourd'hui, n'en déplaise à ceux qui espéreraient que les Québécois se branchent une fois pour toutes.

C'est cette histoire d'une société complexe, tout à la fois universelle et spécifique dans son développement, originale par ses combinaisons d'euroanéité, d'américanéité et d'autochtonité amalgamées au sein d'un creuset identitaire particulier, celui de la canadianéité régénérée dans la québécanité, qui doit être présentée aux jeunes. Nulle intention ici d'omettre quelque fait d'histoire. Mais nulle intention non plus d'enclôtre le passé dans un récit dont les tenants et les aboutissants sont déterminés par une vision historique du Québec répondant à un projet politique d'avenir pour cette société. L'époque actuelle est à la complexification de la référence nationale au Québec, pas à sa simplification. Le récit de l'histoire du

Québec n'a pas à se déployer dans les cadres sociaux de la mémoire nationale des Québécois.

Amener les élèves à découvrir la complexité historique du Québec et leur faire comprendre qu'il ne peut y avoir un seul récit du parcours emprunté dans le temps par la société québécoise, ce n'est pas aseptiser leur mémoire, détourner leur être politique ou les condamner à l'ignorance factuelle. C'est au contraire leur donner les moyens d'aiguiser leur intelligence historique, d'enrichir leurs perspectives critiques et de sortir d'un territoire historial et mémoriel qui les limite au lieu de les libérer.

Notes

- ¹ Plusieurs articles parus dans les quotidiens sont disponibles sur le site <http://vigile.net/> [dossier intitulé «Débats sur l'enseignement de l'histoire»].
- ² Jean-François Cardin, «Les programmes d'histoire nationale : une mise au point», *Le Devoir*, 29-30 avril 2006; Christian Laville, «Un cours d'histoire pour notre époque», *Le Devoir*, 2 mai 2006; Jocelyn Létourneau, «Un débat mal parti», *Le Devoir*, 1^{er} mai 2006; *id.*, «Absolument pas fédéraliste!», *La Presse*, 3 mai 2006.
- ³ Voir «Le rapport Lacoursière sur l'enseignement de l'histoire – dix ans après», *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, 14, 3 (printemps 2006).
- ⁴ Marie Allard, «Le programme d'histoire 'moins politique' suscite un tollé», *La Presse*, 28 avril 2006; Michel Corbeil, «La bataille des plaines d'Abraham demeurera dans les livres d'histoire», *Le Soleil*, 28 avril 2006; Presse canadienne, «Fournier dit non à l'histoire 'rose bonbon'», *Le Journal de Québec*, 28 avril 2006.
- ⁵ Disponible à l'adresse <http://agora.qc.ca/ceq>.
- ⁶ Disponible à l'adresse www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/DGF/dp/programme_de_formation/secondaire/prformsec2e_cyle.h. Voir également le communiqué de presse diffusé par le ministère pour justifier le réaménagement du programme (<http://mels.gouv.qc.ca/cpress/cpress2006/c060615.asp>).
- ⁷ Jocelyn Létourneau, *Que veulent les Québécois? Regard sur l'intention nationale au Québec (français) d'hier à aujourd'hui*, Montréal, Boréal, 2006.

TEACHING ABOUT RACISM AND ANTI SEMITISM IN THE CONTEXT OF QUEBEC'S HISTORY PROGRAMS

ABSTRACT

This article locates teaching about racism and other issues of citizenship in the context of history programs in Quebec. It treats their history and their curricula concluding with the need for new approaches in our teaching of national history.

This brief paper locates teaching about racism within a pedagogical conundrum. For the past half century, history programs in Quebec have been unable to escape a fundamental contradiction between themes that speak to survival of a conquered French Catholic people and those reflecting a persistent and flourishing pluralist society. To give setting, I summarize succeeding programs of national history since the 1960s and speak to their ideological contexts. The basic thrust of the paper, as Quebec authorities move to impose a new program, is the need to refresh our approach in teaching national history and to reduce a deadening tendency to political correctness. As well as suggesting the opening of Quebec's teaching of national history to competing narratives, I plea for a re-thinking of our training of teachers and for restoring the relations between academic historians and Ministry officials responsible for programs. Instead of papering over conflicts in the Quebec past with a view to what Scot historian Michael Fry has called "the inculcation of a sense of fellowship with people in the past", I suggest that by admitting instances of racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, or violence in our history, we can give context and understanding to the civic issues facing young people today.¹

The Setting:

Let's start with certain givens. First, it is not research into the history of neither Jews nor anti-Semitism in Quebec that is lacking. Scholars like Gerald Tulchinsky, Arlette Corcos, and Ruby Heap have shown the struggle for Jewish place in the Roman Catholic and Protestant educational systems, in labor and unions, and in universities.² Historians Denis Vaugeois, Allan Greer, and Sylvie Taschereau have examined the political, social, and economic experience of Jews across the early history of Quebec. The place of Jews in English Canada as "undesirable settlers" or as students to be systematically excluded from institutions like McGill University have been described by Pierre Anctil and are summed up effectively by Irving Abella's and Harold Troper's effective title *None is too Many*.³

The second given is the inexorable link that is made between issues of race and the national question. The refusal to permit Ezekiel Hart, the first elected Jew, to take his seat in the Lower Canadian assembly 1808, xenophobia in the work of Abbé Lionel Groulx, Quebec's most important Catholic nationalist intellectual, and the remarks of Quebec premier Jacques Parizeau concerning the relationship between the loss of the 1995 referendum on independence and the "ethnic" vote, underline

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how issues of racism merge with Quebec nationalism into a sticky ball of wax. Prominent intellectuals like Mordecai Richler and Gérard Bouchard kept this debate on the front-burner while Esther Delisle described an embedded anti-Semitism in the conservative Quebec of the 1930s.⁴ The progress of the independence movement – election of a pro-independence government in 1976 and two sovereignty referendums (1980 and 1995) – have ensured that ethnicity and race remain sensitive issues that lap inevitably into pedagogy and the teaching of national history.⁵ Outside of Quebec, English Canadians have regularly pilloried Quebec nationalism as a modern form of “ethnic self-determination”, “similar to the various minority ethnic movements that sought self-determination within the Habsburg Empire”. Implicit is the sentiment that Quebec is biologically intolerant and undemocratic: “quite simply”, David Bercuson and Barry Cooper concluded in 1991, “Quebec nationalism does not conform to the usual and prudential politics of bargaining and mutual accommodation.”⁶

The Development of Programs of National History

These tensions are mirrored in conflicts over the teaching of national history, the historicism of racism, and methods of teaching citizenship. These debates are not particular to Quebec. France has had fierce controversy over the presentation in textbooks of its colonial experience and, in the United States, the furious polemic around the removal of Paul Revere and other “white male heroes” from centrality in American history has included Lynne Cheney, wife of the Vice President. In China, the re-writing of school histories with little mention of Mao has brought sharp reaction.⁷ Before the secularizing of Quebec in the ‘Quiet Revolution’, the teaching of History was grounded in the link between religion and the survival of the nation.⁸ Courses in Catholic schools emphasized New France, its explorers, and martyrs, the humiliation of the British Conquest in 1759-60, and the struggles of a French Catholic rump in a hostile North American world. Protestant schools in Quebec had their own history program, one that directed students to a sense of the superiority of Britain’s constitutional traditions and economic practices. Students from schools in English Montreal for example, might be taken to the McCord Museum where they observed the world’s finest collection of the memorabilia of General James Wolfe, martyr for the British cause in the Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

We can date the modern period in education in Quebec from the Royal Commission on Education in 1963 (Parent Commission). Its recommendations resulted in establishment of the Province’s first Ministry of Education and institution of a government-approved, common curriculum of history that would be applied universally across the province in both Roman Catholic and Protestant schools; textbooks for these courses required Ministry approval. Secularization had powerful and perhaps unanticipated results. Moral instruction, usually in the guise of civics, was downloaded to history teachers. They had to interpret both historical context and the complex cultural makeup that enveloped issues of race, tolerance, and citizenship. Not surprisingly, classroom teachers had to present history courses that were schizophrenic and torn between an inclusive geographic and social-studies approach and the imperative to give students a sense of what was now referred to as “the Quebec nation”, essentially an ethnic entity perennially threatened in the Canadian federation by an aggressive English Canada.⁹ Social democratic régimes such as those governing Quebec after 1960 turned to the state as an economic lever, as a front-line protector of language and culture, and as the mother lode of national memory and survival. Soon to be named Minister of Education where he would initiate the history program of 1983, Camille Laurin insisted that state intervention had to be used to protect the collective rights of the majority from the English-speaking minority’s untruthful use of the discourses of individualism and liberalism:

Les privilèges de la minorité anglo-québécoise sont ainsi le fruit d’un rapport de force historique et accidentel, mais celle-ci tente de masquer ce fait incontestable et elle cherche surtout à le perpétuer en le présentant comme l’expression d’un droit formel qu’il faut maintenir au nom des intérêts supérieurs de l’humanité.

Cette idéologie prend racine dans les thèses de Stuart Mill, de Hume, des encyclopédistes français et de tous leurs disciples. Or, il est devenu clair que le respect des droits individuels, entendus au sens de cette idéologie libérale, devient un mensonge et une hypocrisie...¹⁰

Curricula for elementary and secondary schools introduced in 1983 remained impaled on these horns. The Grade 11 course, “the History of

Quebec and of Canada” (the course title itself implicitly separating Quebec from Canada) reflected these ambiguities. “National history”, it reported, “must in particular awaken students to problems – keys to their collectivity and contribute to the development of a social conscience.”¹¹ Alongside this understanding of the other, a unit in the same program instructed teachers to “Explain the Conquest, its causes and immediate effects” and to help students understand “the movements at the basis of national history.”¹² Other units brought students back to the “coexistence of different cultures”, “the diversity of interests of social groups”, and the “impact on society of immigration.”¹³

Two other elements are relevant to understanding the framework in which racism would be presented in history courses. First, was the separation, evident as early as the 1980s, of academic historians from curricula, from significant influence with officials in the Ministry of Education, and from contact with teachers in the schools.¹⁴ This is a very different model from the United States where the Organization of American Historians was one of the partners in the Council which developed the National Standards for History.¹⁵ In Quebec, Ministry officials took their distance apparently seeing academic historians as too specialized and too distant from classroom realities. They turned instead to the province’s expanding Faculties of Education and their specialists in the teaching of history. With a primary concern in pedagogy, they were less interested in the narrative and context of historical scholarship and in history as a discipline in the humanities and social sciences. In 1992, the Ministry of Education reinforced this separation placing the training of history teachers (as well as other disciplines) under the responsibility of education faculties.¹⁶

These contradictions re-surfaced in the Task Force on the Teaching of History (Lacoursière Commission) set up by the Quebec Government in 1995. Its laudable goal was to “return national and world history to its rightful place as a fundamental discipline in the education of young people in Quebec.”¹⁷ The Ministry ensured broad ethnic representation and I represented the English-speaking community of British background; another spoke for native people, and another, the cultural communities. Our debates, does this surprise you, focused on the familiar contradiction – what our report called “the structuring of our identity” and “history as a form of civic education.”¹⁸ Our report avoided the term “Quebec nation” opting instead

for the term “Quebec society” and concluded that previous courses had been too

“structured around the historicity of the presence of the francophone community of French origins and to a certain extent around the Anglophone community of British origins. The Task Force believes that special attention should be given to the historicity of the presence of certain cultural communities in Quebec such as the Black, Jewish, Italian and Chinese communities...”

Our report prompted sharp reaction. Jack Jedwab and Max Anderson for example, objected that it was “timid” in failing to expose the “xenophobia” of Lionel Groulx and vague on how to teach about cultural communities.²⁰ On the nationalist side, Jean-Marc Léger, director of the Lionel Groulx Research Foundation, was ballistic in what he saw as the Task Force’s “evacuation of the notion of national identity” in the favour of political correctness. Charging that the Task Force had been intimidated by lobby groups hostile to all that was French, he attacked the insertion of national history into “a multicultural perspective” in which the very mention of French Canadians had been subordinated to that of the question of cultural communities.²¹

In the decade since that report, ministry officials, committees, and consultants have grappled with different models that might structure the program. Quebec for example, might have been included into the larger context of “civilization”, essentially francophone. Inspired by André Malraux and a Gaullist vision of a larger francophone cultural world, this framework was put forward by Denis Vaugeois as early as the 1960s. As the province’s first coordinator of history teaching, he was responsible for the first pedagogical guide of the new Quebec Ministry of Education, *La civilisation française et catholique au Canada* (1966).²² This attempt to establish a comprehensive set of values including equality, liberty, and democracy within the context of a broadly-based and pluralist francophone society can also be observed in the writing of Gérard Bouchard. Perhaps because of the impact of larger concepts of globalization, the place given to ‘Americanité’ as a factor in Quebec culture, or the weakening of ‘Francophonie’ in the face of Hispanic and English-speaking worlds, this approach has not penetrated significantly into actual programs.²³ It has been much more successful as a model for national museums in Canada, to

wit the establishment by both Quebec and Ottawa of museums of civilization.

Multiculturalism with its implied tolerance and equality has been a manna for English Canada since its introduction in 1972. However, its de-emphasis on founding societies and the particular history of a franco-québécois nation has made it a non-starter, an anathema to Quebec intellectuals and authorities. Just as untenable in the past, but a model I return to below, is the narrative of a larger Canadian history in which French Canada would be given a pan-Canadian context and in which French Canadians as a cultural and ethnic entity would be placed in the history of the larger Canadian federation. This approach has been favored by Jean-François Cardin and Claude Couture.²⁴ Another means of introducing diversity into a program on national history is by granting coherent treatment to its composing minorities. This model is central in the National Standards program for teaching history in the United States and was also evident in a Quebec Government inquiry in 1997. The Inchauspé Commission or Groupe de travail sur le réforme du curriculum recommended that the national history of Quebec give prominent place to three elements: native peoples, the English-speaking community, and recent immigrant groups.²⁵

The curriculum now under consideration (2006) for application in an obligatory two-year secondary school course in national history falls between the cracks of these various models. Reflecting the argument of Gérard Bouchard, it places the territory of the St. Lawrence at its core is a territorial model showing the place of natives, French Canadians and later immigrants in this space. The problem is two-fold.²⁶ What, critics ask, is the particular specificity of the St. Lawrence Valley as a “new” society as compared to the larger Canadian society? And from the nationalist quarter, critics decry placing French Canada on an equal footing with natives or other charter members.

The proposed curriculum has other serious difficulties. It places “citizenship” on an equal footing with “history” subordinating the narratives of history to a ‘teaching and learning’ approach.’ The proposed secondary program, “History and Citizenship Education” builds upon elementary school courses in Geography, History and Citizenship. These emphasize concepts of territory in space and time. In the first year of secondary-school, students are to expand this understanding of the organization of territory, are to learn to

interpret these territorial challenges, and are to develop civic conscience on a planetary level.²⁷ In the second year, students are to learn more complex social realities with a view to assuming responsibilities as citizens. Society is presented as “pluralist” and as one with a “diversity of values” giving students “the possibility of understanding their social identity in the respect of differences”. Units such as “Living Together and Citizenship emphasize that political correctness is totally in the saddle: historical narrative and any sustained concepts of ‘Race’ or ethnicity have been washed out in a larger concept of Territory – “a social space to which humans have given particular organization”.²⁸

Conclusion:

While this curriculum is still under review and, before a generation of Quebec students understand the past from its perspective, several issues might be re-considered:

1. The training of teachers of history under the aegis of Faculties of Education needs re-examination. Classroom teachers should be first trained in a discipline with training in pedagogy as a subsequent supplement.
2. A much broader community and academic base should be involved in the actual process of developing a national history program. As it now stands, academic historians are often reduced to newspaper columns or commenting on drafts that produced in the Ministry of Education coteries. This would allow a more coherent treatment of issues such as racism, the charter, and anti-Semitism in the Quebec past. A broadly-based, and public panel of specialists in Quebec and World History should be at the core of the process.
3. Although the program is universal in all Quebec schools, with textbooks approved by the state and testing by a province-wide exam, political correctness and bland statements of citizenship must, in this writer’s opinion, give way to a mission of historical literacy in which students understand cultural, political, and social issues in their historical context. Abortion, gay marriage, violence, smoking and drug use, and anti-Semitism have histories in Quebec and these, albeit painful, are necessary for student understanding of their

society and its demands. Quebec has developed maturity since the Quiet Revolution, a sense of self that should permit presentation of multiple historical narratives that make up the Quebec experience. This approach would combat the lingering alienation of minorities and would foster a sense of national identity. In my view as well, a larger sense of Canadian culture and society must be introduced. Finally, state control over history content must be loosened with confidence shown to the different constituencies that make up Quebec's body politic. This may lead to divergent historical narratives but this corresponds to historical scholarship and to the experience of Quebec's diverse citizenry.

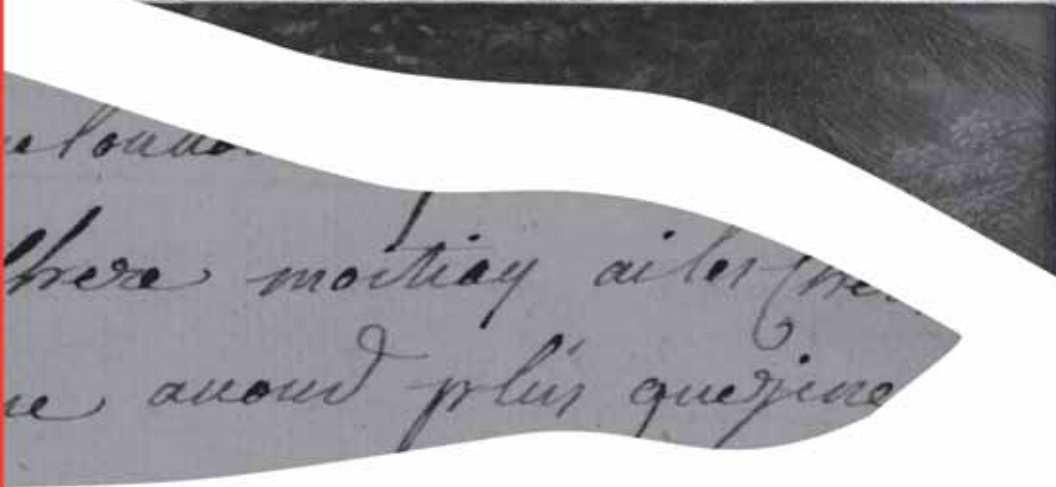
Notes

- 1 Cited in the Guardian, 9 May 2006.
- 2 Tulchinsky, Taking Root : the Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community (Toronto: Lester, 1992); Corcos, Montréal, les Juifs et l'école (Sillery: Septentrion, 1997).
- 3 Taschereau, 'Échapper à Shylock : la Hebrew Free Loan Association of Montreal entre antisémitisme et intégration', Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, 59, no. 4 (printemps 2006), pp. 451-480; for McGill see Pierre Anctil, Le rendez-vous manqué. Les Juifs de Montréal face au Québec de l'entre-deux-guerres (Québec: IQRC, 1988) pp. 59-108; Irving Abella and Harold Troper, None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-48 (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1983).
- 4 Richler, Oh Canada, Oh Quebec (New York: Knopf, 1992); Pierre Anctil, Ira Robinson, et Gérard Bouchard, Juifs et Canadiens français dans la société québécoise (Sillery: Septentrion, 2000); Delisle, The Traitor and the Jew: Anti-Semitism and the delirium of extremist right-wing nationalism in French Canada from 1929-1939 (Toronto: Davies Publishing, 1993), p.44.
- 5 Examples of Jewish alienation abound. See for example, Michael Brown assertion that "...other than Montreal, there are few Jewish communities outside the Arab world today where 80 percent of the population has considered emigrating. Despite the reassurances offered by a number of French-Canadian leaders, there persist among Jews fears of fascism, persecution, and second-class status in the Quebec of the future." Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo-Canadians, 1759-1914 (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1986), p.6; or, see Régine Robin's fear of Québécois "witch-hunting" in 'the Wanderer' cited in Jocelyn Maclure, Quebec Identity: The Challenge of Pluralism (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) p. 115.
- 6 David J. Bercuson & Barry Cooper, Deconfederation: Canada Without Quebec (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1991), p. 8. To this can be added the controversy surrounding Linda Kay's National Post article (6 August 2006) 'The Rise of Quebecistan' attacking the presence of nationalist leaders Gilles Duceppe and André Boisclair in a Montreal march for peace in Lebanon in which Jewish leaders were absent. Even more recent is the uproar over Jan Wong's charge (Globe and Mail, 16 September 2006) that Montreal's three school shootings can be explained in part by Quebec's linguistic intolerance.
- 7 Le Monde, 21 janvier 2006; for the History Standards debate in the U.S. see the New York Times, 3 April 1996 and, for China, the New York Times, 1 September 2006.
- 8 Félix Bouvier, 'La mutation de l'enseignement de l'histoire proposée par le Rapport Parent', Bulletin d'histoire politique, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 131.
- 9 Learning from the Past: Report of the Task Force on the Teaching of History (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1996) p. 11; The Schools of Quebec: Policy Statement and Plan of Action (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1979), p. 26; Gérard Bouchard, La réécriture de l'histoire nationale au Québec. Quelle histoire? Quelle nation? (Chicoutimi: IREP, 1998); p. 5.
- 10 Laurin presenting Bill 101 in the Quebec Legislature, 19 July 1977, cited in Jean-Claude Picard, Camille Laurin. L'homme debout (Montréal: Boréal, 2003).p. 488.
- 11 Guide pédagogique. Histoire du Québec et du Canada, 4e secondaire (Québec : Direction générale du développement pédagogique, 1984) p. 7 : "L'histoire nationale devrait plus particulièrement l'éveiller aux problèmes – clés de sa collectivité et contribuer à développer sa conscience sociale".
- 12 Ibid., p. 52.
- 13 Ibid., p. 14.
- 14 Jean-François Cardin, 'Les historiens et le dossier de l'enseignement de l'histoire: chronique d'un passage du centre vers la marge', Bulletin d'histoire politique, 14, no.3 (printemps 2006) p. 60.
- 15 <http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards1.html>.
- 16 See 'La formation à l'enseignement secondaire général. Orientations et compétences attendues', (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1992) and the protest of historians in the Bulletin de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française (automne 1992), pp. 1-4. Nor was this separation inevitable. In the United States, Gary Nash, director of the National Center for History in the Schools, is a distinguished research scholar of race and class and former President of the Organization of American historians. National Standards for United States History (Los Angeles: National Center for History in the Schools, 1996) p. 261.
- 17 Learning from the Past: Report of the Task Force on the Teaching of History (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1996) p.ix.
- 18 Ibid., p. 4.
- 19 Ibid., p. 48.
- 20 'Retour vers le futur (commentaire sur le rapport Lacoursière)', Bulletin d'histoire politique, vol. 5, no. 1 (automne 1996), p. 52.
- 21 'L'histoire nationale révisée à l'aune du multiculturalisme', Bulletin d'histoire politique, vol. 5, no. 1 (automne 1996), p. 60, 62.

- ²² Daniel Moreau, 'Les réformes de l'enseignement de l'histoire nationale, du rapport Parent au rapport Lacoursière', Bulletin d'histoire politique, 14, no. 3 (printemps 2006), p. 33.
- ²³ Gérard Bouchard, 'La réécriture de l'histoire nationale au Québec. Quelle histoire? Quelle nation?' (Chicoutimi: IREP, 1998), p. 8; for an introduction to the literature of Americanité see Gérard Bouchard et Yvan Lamonde (dirs.), La Nation dans tous ses États. Le Québec en comparaison (Montréal: Harmattan, 1997).
- ²⁴ Histoire du Canada. Espace et différence (Québec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1996).
- ²⁵ Réaffirmer l'école, Rapport du Groupe de travail sur la réforme du curriculum (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 1997) p. 136.
- ²⁶ Gérard Bouchard, 'La réécriture de l'histoire nationale au Québec. Quelle histoire? Quelle nation?' (Chicoutimi: IREP, 1998), p. 19.
- ²⁷ 'Histoire et éducation à la citoyenneté' (Québec : Ministère de l'Éducation, 2006), p. 8
- ²⁸ 'Histoire et Éducation à la citoyenneté' (Québec: Ministère de l'Éducation, 2006), p. 8

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