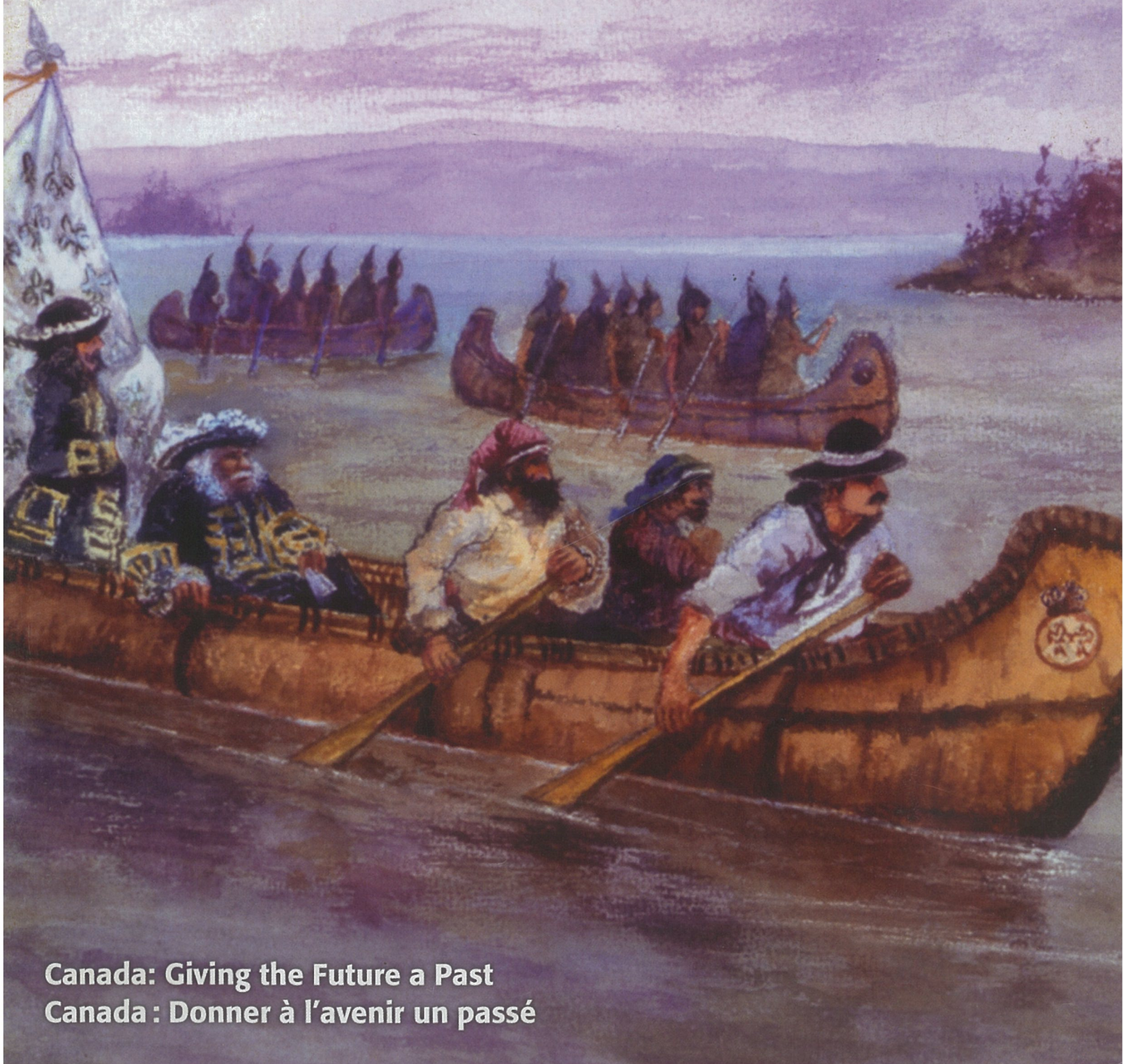


# CANADIAN ISSUES THÈMES CANADIENS

October / Octobre • November / Novembre 2001



**Canada: Giving the Future a Past**  
**Canada : Donner à l'avenir un passé**

## Conference on the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

April 17, 2002 will mark the 20th anniversary of the patriation of the Constitution and the birth of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Association for Canadian Studies (ACS) will commemorate this important date in Canada's history with a major conference to be held at the congress centre in Ottawa, April 17-20, 2002. The conference will examine the many dimensions of the Charter and its evolving influence on Canadian society. It will also explore the events that led up to patriation.

Participants will include several of the major actors involved in the enactment of the Canadian constitution (1982), as well as leading academics, journalists, elected officials, public policy analysts and jurists.

Partners and organizations involved in the conference include the departments of Canadian Heritage, Justice Canada and Foreign Affairs and International Trade, The Canadian Bar Association, universities and law schools, major Canadian law firms, community, 'Human Rights' and non-governmental (NGO) organizations as well as research organizations and the media.

A special banquet dinner is also being organized separately to celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Charter on Wednesday, April 17, 2002.

### FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND TO REGISTER CONTACT:

THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES  
209 Ste- Catherine Street East, Suite V-5140  
a/s Université du Québec à Montréal  
P. O. Box 8888, Downtown Station  
Montreal, Quebec H3C 3P8

Tel (514) 987-7784 • Fax (514) 987-3481  
e-mail: [general@acs-aec.ca](mailto:general@acs-aec.ca)

## Une conférence sur le 20<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés

Le 17 avril 2002 marquera le 20<sup>e</sup> anniversaire du rapatriement de la constitution et de la naissance de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés. L'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC) soulignera cette date importante de l'histoire canadienne lors d'une conférence qui aura lieu au Centre des congrès d'Ottawa du 17 au 20 avril 2002. La conférence portera sur les différentes dimensions de la Charte ainsi que sur l'évolution de son influence sur la société canadienne. Elle explorera aussi les événements qui ont mené au rapatriement de la constitution.

Parmi les participants, seront présents plusieurs acteurs importants impliqués dans la promulgation de la Constitution canadienne (1982), ainsi que des enseignants et des professeurs de marque, des journalistes, des analystes politiques et des juristes.

Parmi les organisations impliquées dans la conférence, on retrouve les ministères du Patrimoine canadien, de Justice Canada et celui des Affaires étrangères et du commerce international, l'Association du barreau canadien, des universités et écoles de droit ainsi que d'importantes firmes nationales d'avocats. De plus, des organisations communautaires, des droits de l'homme et non-gouvernementales (ONG) de même que des organismes de recherche et les médias seront de la partie.

Le mercredi 17 avril, un banquet spécial sera organisé en parallèle avec la conférence afin de célébrer le 20<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la Charte.

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C.P. 8888, Succursale Centre-Ville  
Montréal, Québec H3C 3P8

Tél : (514) 987-7784 • Fax : (514) 987-3481  
courriel : [general@acs-aec.ca](mailto:general@acs-aec.ca)



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**CITC/ACS STREET ADDRESS / ADRESSE CIVIQUE CITC/AEC**

209 St. Catherine E., V-5140, UQAM, Montréal (Que) H3C 3P8

Tel/Tél: (514) 987-7784 – Fax: (514) 987-3481

E-mail/Courriel: general@acs-aec.ca

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# TAKING CHARGE

## of our Past

**BY** Andrew Parkin

IN REFLECTING ON THE THEME "GIVING THE FUTURE A PAST," THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLES YOU ARE ABOUT TO READ TOUCH ON MANY OF THE ISSUES THAT HAVE PREOCCUPIED CANADIAN HISTORIANS OVER THE PAST DECADES. HOW CAN WE CONVINCED STUDENTS THAT HISTORY IS AS RELEVANT AS COMPUTER SCIENCE? HOW CAN WE PREVENT HISTORY AS A DISCIPLINE FROM BEING LOST IN THE FOG OF AN INTEGRATED AND STREAMLINED SOCIAL SCIENCES CURRICULUM? HOW CAN WE PRESENT A COHERENT ACCOUNT OF CANADIAN HISTORY WHILE AT THE SAME TIME GIVING FAIR REPRESENTATION TO THE MANY DIFFERENT HISTORIES EXPERIENCED BY CANADA'S DIVERSE POPULATION? AND, AT THE END OF THE DAY, HOW CAN WE TEACH HISTORY IN A WAY THAT DOES NOT PUT STUDENTS TO SLEEP?

These are important questions upon which to reflect – although Ken Osborne does us a great service by reminding us that such reflection has been going on for at least 100 years. There is a danger, however, of historians adopting the tone of the victim: history is under attack, whether by bureaucrats in education departments or school boards, or by a culture which values technological know-how over wisdom, or by the fragmentation of historical narrative that follows the recognition of the diversity of historical experience. What is encouraging about the articles that follow is the way in which the authors recommend that historians go beyond the role of the victim, by taking charge of their discipline rather than merely lamenting its passing. For example, Osborne points to the need for history teachers to organize themselves in order to support one another, share resources, and promote public debate about the future of our history. Chad Gaffield urges a new approach to the teaching of history that encourages students not just to read history, but to be historians. Jocelyn Létourneau proposes a new metaphor to capture the Canadian historical experience without eclipsing the different perspectives on that experience which are key to understanding the country. And, perhaps most important, Penny Bryden implores historians to come up with good answers to the questions that students inevitably will ask about the relevance of history and the usefulness of a history degree. Not only is Bryden's article one of the clearest and best argued cases for the relevance of history, it also correctly places the onus on history teachers themselves. Practicing historians must be the discipline's most articulate defenders.

Bryden implicitly places her finger on an important problem: at the university level at least, it is sometimes too easy for historians to assume either that the justification for their work is self-evident (knowledge for knowledge's sake) or that a request for a justification is an attack on scholarship itself. Politicians or commentators who dare to ask if SSHRC grants provide "value for money" are dismissed. This will no longer do. As Bryden makes clear, a case for the relevance of historical scholarship can be made, and must be made. It must be made by historians, who see themselves both as researchers and as public intellectuals who do not hesitate to engage in debates with fellow citizens (and not just fellow specialists) about the past, present and future of Canada.

Andrew Parkin - Centre for Research and Information on Canada

*Throughout this special issue dedicated to the study of our history, we are pleased to include various photographs of important and interesting moments in Canada's past. We hope you enjoy them, as well as the words of our esteemed contributors.*

— the editors

# PRENDRE NOTRE passé en mains

EN RÉFLÉCHISSANT SUR LE THÈME « DONNÉ À L'AVENIR UN PASSÉ », LES AUTEURS DES TEXTES QUE VOUS VOUS APPRÊTEZ À LIRE ABORDENT DES SUJETS QUI PENDANT DES DÉCENNIES ONT PRÉOCCUPÉ LES HISTORIENS CANADIENS. COMMENT PEUT-ON CONVAINCRE LES ÉTUDIANTS QUE L'HISTOIRE EST AUSSI PERTINENTE QUE L'INFORMATIQUE? COMMENT PEUT-ON PRÉVENIR LA DILUTION DE L'HISTOIRE DANS UN CURRICULUM CONDENSÉ ET INTÉGRÉ AUX SCIENCES SOCIALES? COMMENT PEUT-ON PRÉSENTER UNE IMAGE COHÉRENTE DE L'HISTOIRE CANADIENNE ET EN MÊME TEMPS TENIR COMPTE DES DIFFÉRENTES HISTOIRES VÉCUES PAR LES DIVERSES POPULATIONS DU CANADA? ET, ENFIN, COMMENT PEUT-ON ENSEIGNER L'HISTOIRE DE MANIÈRE À CE QUE LES ÉTUDIANTS NE S'ENDORMENT PAS?

PAR Andrew Parkin

Ce sont des questions importantes qui méritent réflexion. Ken Osborne nous rend un immense service en nous rappelant qu'une telle réflexion est en cours depuis au moins 100 ans. Par contre, le danger est bien réel que les historiens adoptent la position de la victime : l'histoire se fait attaquer par des bureaucrates dans les départements d'éducation ou dans les conseils scolaires, par une culture qui met plus d'importance sur le savoir-faire technologique que sur les connaissances, ou par la fragmentation des narrations historiques qui suit la reconnaissance de la diversité des expériences historiques. Ce qui est encourageant des articles qui suivent, c'est la manière par laquelle les auteurs recommandent que les historiens dépassent le rôle de la victime en prenant leur discipline en main plutôt que de simplement se lamenter de sa disparition. Par exemple, Osborne mentionne la nécessité pour les historiens de s'organiser de manière à s'appuyer entre eux, à partager leurs ressources et à promouvoir un débat public sur le futur de notre histoire. Chad Gaffield insiste sur une nouvelle approche de l'enseignement

de l'histoire qui encourage les élèves à ne pas seulement lire sur l'histoire, mais à devenir historiens. Jocelyn Létourneau propose une nouvelle métaphore qui capte l'expérience historique canadienne sans éclipser les différentes perspectives qui sont nécessaires à la compréhension de notre pays. Dans le texte le plus important, Penny Bryden implore les historiens de trouver les bonnes réponses aux questions inévitables que les élèves poseront sur la pertinence de l'histoire et l'utilité d'un diplôme en histoire. L'article de Bryden présente non seulement une des positions les plus claires et les mieux débattues sur la pertinence de l'histoire, mais il place correctement la responsabilité entre les mains des enseignants d'histoire. Les historiens de carrière doivent être les défenseurs les plus articulés de la discipline.

Implicitement, Bryden soulève un problème important, du moins au niveau universitaire, il est souvent trop facile pour les historiens de supposer que la justification de leur travail est évidente (la connaissance pour la connaissance), ou qu'une demande de justification est une attaque contre la connaissance elle-même. Les politiciens ou commentateurs qui osent demander si les subventions du SSHRC procurent un retour sur l'investissement sont ignorés. Ceci ne peut continuer. Comme l'explique clairement Bryden, un cas sur la pertinence des bourses d'histoire peut être fait et doit être fait. Il doit être fait par les historiens qui se perçoivent à la fois comme des chercheurs et des intellectuels qui n'hésitent pas à s'engager dans des débats avec les concitoyens (et non seulement avec d'autres spécialistes) sur le passé, le présent et le futur du Canada.

Andrew Parkin - Centre de recherche et d'information sur le Canada

*Dans ce numéro spécial dédié à l'étude de notre passé, nous sommes heureux d'inclure une variété de photographies de moments importants du passé du Canada. Nous espérons que vous allez les apprécier, de même que les mots de nos collaborateurs estimés.*

- les éditeurs

## LETTERS

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We want to hear from you.**

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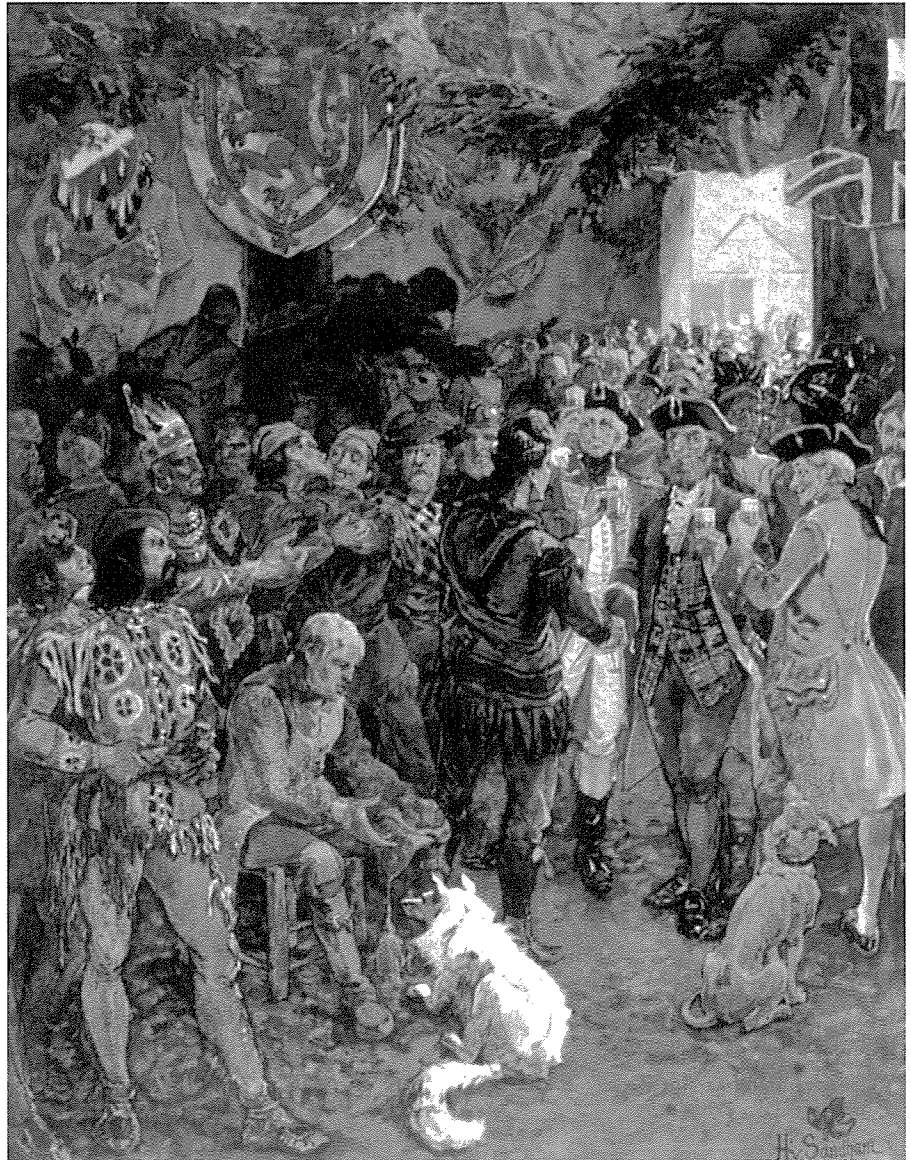
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# TEACHING HISTORY IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS: A Century of Debate

BY Ken Osborne

TWO YEARS AGO MCGILL'S INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF CANADA ORGANIZED A CONFERENCE WITH THE THEME OF GIVING THE PAST A FUTURE. THERE ARE THOSE, HOWEVER, WHO FEEL THAT THE PAST HAS NO FUTURE IN CANADA, AT LEAST NOT IN CANADIAN SCHOOLS, THAT HISTORY IS DEAD.



"Meeting of Fur Traders" by Henry Sandham / National Archives of Canada / C122

History certainly no longer holds the place it once did in school curricula. Where it has not been abandoned altogether as provinces orient their curricula to career preparation, it has been replaced with an interdisciplinary social studies, as in the emerging interprovincial curricula in Atlantic and Western Canada. Surveys reveal that Canadians do not know as much history as many of us would like. Historians, for their part, lament the fragmentation of their discipline and its failure to make contact with the general public.

The news is not all bad. There are even signs that the tide might be turning in history's favour. In 1996 public pressure forced the Filmon government in Manitoba to scrap plans to remove Canadian history from its high school programme, and the current NDP government is committed to keep it there. Quebec, Ontario and Nova

Scotia are strengthening the place of history in their schools. The 1990s saw the creation of Canada's National History Society and the Historica Foundation, both dedicated to the support of history. Researchers are throwing new light on how students understand history and what this means for teaching. The explosion of research, especially in social history, has opened up aspects of the past that were unknown even to specialists a generation ago. The CBC's *People's History* series has demonstrated the existence of a widespread public interest in history that is seen also in attendance at museums and historic sites.

Another encouraging sign that history has a future is the increasing public attention that has been paid to it in recent years. History has become newsworthy. Canada has joined an international debate on the place of history in education.

Regardless of country, this debate revolves around some common questions. What is the purpose of teaching history in schools? What is national history and what is the appropriate balance between it and global history, on the one hand, and local or regional history, on the other? How does one combine the various histories that now exist (women, Aboriginal, labour, ethnic, and the rest) into one teachable synthesis? Whose or what history should be included in curricula? What should be the role of history in educating citizens, and for that matter what is citizenship anyway? Is history a critical inquiry into the past or an affirmation of identity and heritage, be it national or some other? Is history best taught as a chronological narrative or through selected themes or problems? Is broad coverage of many topics preferable to a more intensive study of a few? What is the proper balance between knowledge and skills? Underlying all these questions is another: even if we agree on the problems, are there any rationally or empirically persuasive solutions that go beyond personal inclination or ideological preference? If so, and perhaps even more if not, who should decide what or whose history is to be taught in the schools?

These are all complex and contentious questions, but this has not

slowed down the flood of quick-fix solutions currently on offer. A national curriculum. National standards. A return to the old narrative of political history. History days. Teachers' institutes. More demanding curricula. A return to exams. Flashier teaching resources. The computer and the internet. All have their champions. What is missing is any awareness that the questions are not new, that the debate over the teaching of history has been going on for the last hundred years.

It began in the 1890s when the Dominion Education Association sponsored a contest to produce a national history textbook acceptable to all provinces. Though the winning book was not adopted in all provinces, it pioneered a nation-building narrative that quickly became the orthodoxy of the textbook world. It had its critics, not least among feminists, socialists, trades unionists, pacifists, and farmer radicals, but by the 1920s it defined the history that most students were taught, at least in English-speaking Canada.

In Quebec, until the 1960s, things were different. There history was taught as the story of French and Roman Catholic civilization struggling to hold its own against the forces of Anglo-American materialism. Quebec schools taught a nation-building history, but for them the nation of choice was Quebec.

The problem was that though schools taught a nation-building history, students apparently learned little from it. Reports in 1923, 1930, and 1933 agreed that curricula were ineffective, textbooks were dull, students were bored, and history was poorly taught. Some blamed the policy-makers. Some blamed the teachers. Some blamed the conditions in which teachers had to work. Pedagogical radicals blamed the exam system with its dependence on rote memory questions. All agreed that part of the solution lay in moving away from the political and constitutional history that dominated textbooks and turning instead to a social history of everyday life spiced up with stories of adventure and heroism.

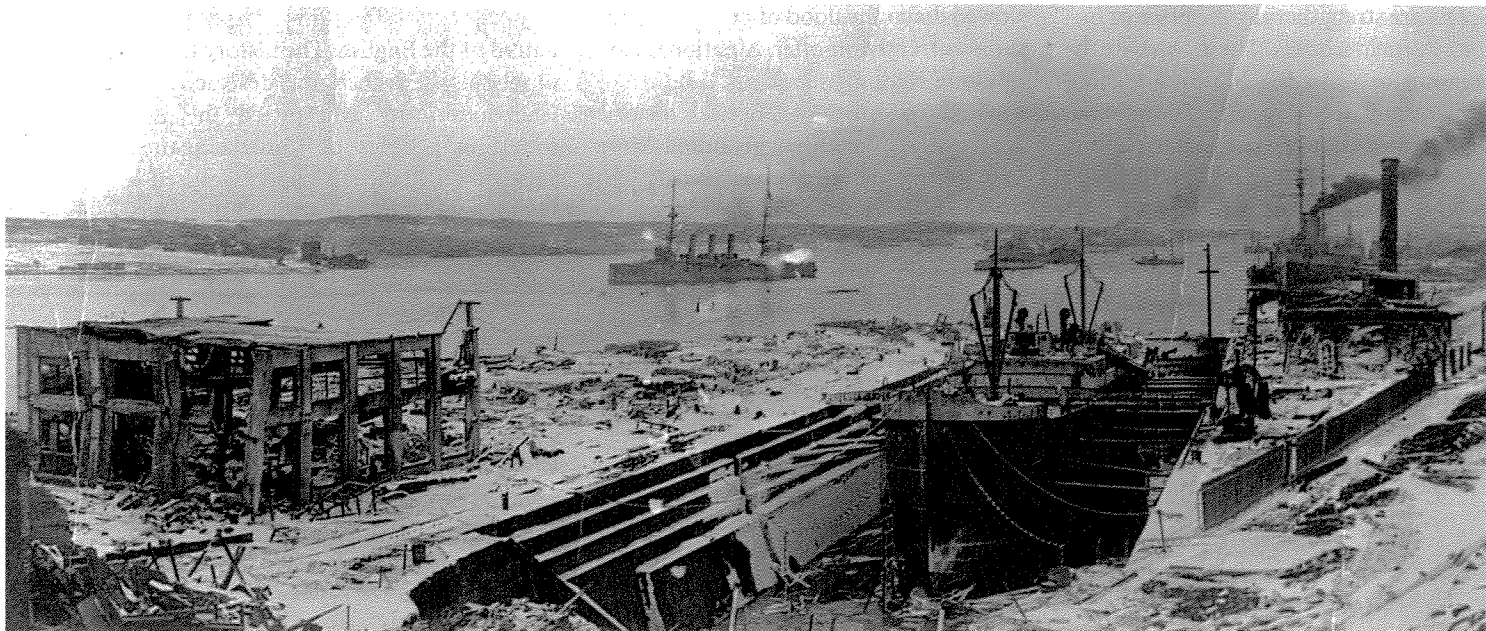
In the early 1940s a new set of concerns emerged when a Laval historian, Abbé Arthur Maheux, accused French-

language texts of teaching what he called hatred of the English. The history taught in schools, he argued, was destructive of Canadian unity and pitted the two founding peoples of Canada against each other. Maheux's charges caused a furore in Quebec and aroused the interest of English-speaking Canada. André Laurendeau investigated the texts in question and concluded that they were too dull to teach anything. The Quebec government in 1943 commissioned an investigation which found that two very different versions of history were indeed being taught, not as part of a deliberate incitement to division and disunity, but rather from mutual indifference and ignorance. In 1944 the Senate called for a uniform national textbook, containing the facts that all Canadians should know as determined by a committee of objective historians. The historians ignored this suggestion, and a survey of leading

*What is national history and what is the appropriate balance between it and global history, on the one hand, and local or regional history, on the other?*

historians in 1950 found them opposed to a single national textbook. Some, however, including Maheux, worked with the Canadian Education Association to create a model history curriculum in 1945.

In the years after 1945 the idea of a standard national textbook was aired from time to time, usually to be dismissed, but the project of identifying those historical facts that all Canadians should know always found some supporters. The worry that French- and English-speaking Canadians were learning two very different versions of history never disappeared. Quebec's Quiet Revolution breathed new life into it in the 1960s when it was discussed in the Parent report on Quebec education in 1965; in the Report of the B & B Commission on education in 1968; and



Halifax Explosion / National Archives of Canada / C19953

***There is a remarkable continuity running through all the reports on history teaching over the last century. Curricula are weak. Textbooks are dull. Students are bored. Teaching needs improvement. History is insufficiently national. Its claims to educate for citizenship are hollow.***

in Hodgetts' survey of history teaching, *What Culture? What Heritage?* of the same year.

In the 1950s, however, the main element in the history debate was the need to protect Canadian identity. The Massey Commission on the Arts in 1951 lamented what it saw as the Americanization of Canadian education and the universities took advantage of the Commission's existence to voice their dissatisfaction with the schools. According to the historian, Hilda Neatby, a member of the Massey Commission, students' dislike of history was surpassed only by their ignorance of it, that is when they could write coherently enough to make themselves understood. In her 1953 polemic, *So Little For The Mind*, she largely blamed this state of affairs on the schools' abandonment of history for American-style, interdisciplinary social studies.

Neatby was right about one thing. History was under threat from the social studies. Beginning in the 1930s, most provinces dropped history from the early grades and replaced it with the kind of community-based, "expanding horizons" social studies still in use today. Invented in the United States in the early 1900s, the social studies had established themselves in American high schools by the 1930s,

despite a stiff resistance from historians. Alberta followed suit, and, though no other province went that far until the 1970s, already in the 1950s, as Neatby noticed, there were signs that the future might lie with social studies more than with history.

Eclipsed by Neatby's polemic, a survey of history curricula that appeared in 1953 went largely unnoticed. Like its predecessors, it found curricula to be poorly organized; textbooks to be dull and boring; and history to be little more than a catalogue of facts to be memorized, and then quickly forgotten once the necessary tests were taken. Given this state of affairs, the report found it hardly surprising that students found history so pointless.

These things stood until the publication in 1968 of A.B. Hodgetts' *What Culture? What Heritage?*, the most influential of all the reports on the teaching of history in Canada. Hodgetts repeated many of the criticisms made in earlier reports. Rather than contributing to national unity, identity or pride, history was doing the very reverse. The history taught in Quebec was at odds with that taught in the rest of Canada. Curricula and textbooks were outdated and dull. The only thing most students were learn-

ing was to dislike history. Only some 7% of history classrooms were doing anything worthwhile.

Hodgetts intended his report to be a call for the reform of history teaching but it contained a contradiction that few people noticed at the time. He insisted that history's value lay in its contribution to civic education and to understanding contemporary Canada. The value of the past therefore lay primarily in the light it shed on the present. In other words, history was a means to an end and that end was citizenship, which inevitably raised the question: if citizenship is the goal, is history necessarily the best vehicle for achieving it?

It is therefore not especially surprising that the influential organization Hodgetts founded to implement his report's recommendations, the Canada Studies Foundation, which existed from 1970 to 1985, did more to advance the cause of an interdisciplinary, present-oriented, social science-based, Canadian Studies programme than it did to promote history. Indeed, when in 1978 Hodgetts outlined a Canadian Studies curriculum for Grades 1-12, history received very short shrift indeed.

This move to an interdisciplinary Canadian Studies was reinforced by the

schools' adoption of multiculturalism in the 1970s. A generation earlier history had been seen as the main vehicle for the Canadianization of children but old-style Canadianization meant assimilation and disregard for minority rights. Moreover, Aboriginal Canadians and women, and cultural minorities also to some extent, rejected the way they were portrayed in traditional history. At the same time historians of education were showing how history was used to cement the hegemony of dominant groups, whether defined in terms of class, gender, or ethnicity. This combination of forces helps to explain the appearance during the 1970s of a series of investigations of how textbooks and curricula treated working people, women, Aboriginals, and minorities. In the words of the most influential of these analyses, the schools were "teaching prejudice." The result was that schools increasingly replaced history with programmes in Canadian studies, women's studies, Native studies, ethnic studies, social problems, and the like, in an attempt to jettison the old biases of history teaching and to make their courses more interesting ("relevant" was the word of choice) to students.

When schools did teach history, it was no longer the traditional political narrative, but increasingly a social history that paid belated attention to aspects of Canada's past hitherto neglected or unknown. Hence the over-heated charges of some critics that schools were teaching "victim" or "black arm-band" history in which the past was seen not as a celebratory story of nation-building but as the record of oppression, exploitation, and persecution.

This is the background to the complaints that began to be heard in the 1990s and that have put history in the news. There is an assumption in much of the recent debate that there was a time when history was live and well in the schools, so that all we have to do is get back to the good old days. The reality is that history might have been alive in the schools but it was rarely well. There is a remarkable continuity running through all the reports on history teaching over the last century. Curricula are weak. Textbooks are dull. Students are bored. Teaching needs

improvement. History is insufficiently national. Its claims to educate for citizenship are hollow.

At the same time, the debate has always been about much more than the teaching of history. In the 1900s and 1910s it was about nation-building. In the 1920s it was about building character and social consensus. In the 1930s it was about democracy and internationalism. In the 1940s it was about English-French amity. In the 1950s it was about preserving Canada from Americanization. In the 1960s it was about national identity and unity. In the 1970s it was about multiculturalism and diversity. In the 1980s and increasingly in the 1990s it was about the definition of history as a discipline and its contribution to citizenship.

This summary is of course far too neat. It is not that one concern displaced another but rather that different concerns blended into one another, receiving different degrees of emphasis at different times but never disappearing from the mix. Fundamentally, the debate has always been more about competing definitions and conceptions of Canada, and whose definitions and conceptions should prevail, than about history. This is perhaps why the pedagogical literature is so full of talk about themes, concepts, skills, understandings, learning outcomes, and other heavy-duty educational goals, and so rarely about getting students simply to enjoy history.

There is one other consistent theme. All the reports saw teachers as the crucial agents of change. As was noted in the 1920s, any curriculum is only as good as the teachers who teach it. For the most part, however, the reports proposed doing things to teachers rather than working with them.

Curriculum developers, textbook writers, pedagogical experts, historians, and the rest all have their part to play but the future of history in our schools obviously lies with the teachers. There are outstanding history teachers around the country but they rarely have a chance to meet or confer or to share their expertise with less skilled colleagues. There is no mechanism for it and their working conditions do not allow it. Teachers are isolated, and in many parts of the country under attack. For their part, historians, with a few exceptions, are not involved

with the schools. Canada has neither a national organization nor a national journal, embracing both official languages, that brings together all those interested in the teaching of history and that might provide the self-sustaining and continuing impetus that alone can invigorate it.

The McGill Conference of 1999 took a small step in this direction. Its Winnipeg successor this October represents another. Perhaps, after a century of debate, we are finally ready to do something.

Ken Osborne is a Professor (Emeritus), Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba

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# POUR UNE NOUVELLE MÉTAPHORE de l'expérience historique canadienne

PAR Jocelyn Létourneau

CET ARTICLE A ÉTÉ COMPOSÉ À PARTIR DE FRAGMENTS ORIGINAUX D'ARGUMENTATION ET D'EMPRUNTS À UN TEXTE PRÉCÉDEMMENT PUBLIÉ : « QUELLE HISTOIRE POUR L'AVENIR DU CANADA ? », DANS J. LÉTOURNEAU, *PASSER À L'AVENIR. HISTOIRE, MÉMOIRE, IDENTITÉ DANS LE QUÉBEC D'AUJOURD'HUI*, MONTRÉAL, BORÉAL, 2000, P. 79-107.

Alors que la recherche historique sur le Canada n'a jamais été aussi florissante, nombreux sont les auteurs qui se lèvent en clamant que l'on ne fait plus d'histoire du Canada. Ils ont raison.

Les trente dernières années ont en effet coïncidé avec l'accroissement phénoménal des études monographiques portant sur un aspect ou l'autre de l'histoire du Canada. À n'en pas douter, ces travaux ont énormément contribué à enrichir notre compréhension de la diversité et de la complexité de ce qui a fait le pays. Il est clair maintenant que l'on ne peut plus approcher l'histoire du Canada par la seule lorgnette des politiciens, des entrepreneurs, des non autochtones, des hommes, des immigrants de première vague, des gens d'Ottawa, de Montréal ou de Toronto. Il est tout aussi évident que l'on ne peut plus utiliser une problématique univoque ou simpliste pour saisir l'« expérience canadienne ». Les praticiens de l'histoire sociale l'ont montré, l'aventure du Canada — si tant est qu'une telle idée générique du pays puisse avoir un sens ! — a été vécue sous des formes et sur des modes très variés par les uns et les autres. Il est ainsi un Canada des riches et un Canada des pauvres ; un Canada pour les anglophones et un autre pour les francophones ; un Canada des maritimes et un Canada des prairies ; un Canada des « intégrés » et un autre des « désaffiliés » ; un Canada du Sud et un (second) du Nord ; etc.

La multiplication des perspectives sur le Canada n'a pas été sans effets



Les Patriotes par Jane Katherine Ellice / National Archives of Canada / C13592

majeurs — malheureux aux dires de certains. Elle a ainsi transformé l'histoire du pays en autant de microrécits de l'expérience canadienne, chacun d'eux renvoyant à une vision particularisée du passé du Canada. De cette manière, toutes les « catégories » de

Canadiens ont pu s'offrir le Canada qu'ils voulaient ou celui dans lequel ils se retrouvaient ou se reconnaissaient le mieux. Qui dit mieux à l'ère des identités circonscrites et polyvalentes ?

L'avènement de l'histoire pluraliste a également eu pour conséquence de

soumettre la matière du passé (canadien) à l'empire d'une fausse rectitude scientifique de même qu'à une philosophie plate de la connaissance, celle de l'indifférenciation comme principe d'objectivité historienne et de mise en narration de ce qui fut. C'est ainsi que l'histoire du Canada est apparue à la limite comme l'ensemble de ce que l'on pouvait découvrir et raconter à propos du passé du pays. Pour les tenants de l'histoire pluraliste, le récit historique idéal était en effet celui qui épousait et exprimait tous les points de vue du pays. Ce récit-modèle était en outre celui qui, du fait même de l'ampleur de sa couverture, colmatait les brèches par où d'autres récits, réputés plus «orientés» et donc moins riches, pouvaient faire irruption.

La conséquence la plus éprouvante peut-être de la prédominance de l'histoire pluraliste a été de singulièrement diminuer la possibilité de rendre compte de l'expérience historique canadienne sur un mode global. Certes, la synthèse d'histoire du Canada n'a pas disparu comme genre ni comme projet. Plusieurs très bons ouvrages ont d'ailleurs paru au cours de la dernière décennie notamment. Mais leur contenu a consisté en une histoire des peuples, groupes et minorités du Canada bien davantage qu'en un récit fort et structuré de ce que fut l'expérience historique canadienne comme totalité. Faire l'histoire du pays à partir de l'optique de ses habitants en insistant sur la multiplicité de leurs pratiques empiriques et la diversité de leurs appartenances identitaires est ainsi devenu une alternative, voire une panacée, au défi d'agencer la matière factuelle de l'expérience canadienne autour d'une conception métahistorique du Canada.

Certains intervenants, inquiets à l'idée de voir le pays sombrer dans le vide créé par l'absence d'une mise en narration focalisée, voire fière, de sa destinée historique, ont réagi avec virulence à l'impérialisme réputé du récit pluraliste en affirmant, à mots à peine couverts, que ce récit était rien de moins que fiduciaire d'un néant identitaire susceptible d'étioler la fibre nationale et d'articuler le passé du Canada aux querelles contemporaines de lobbies en mal de légitimité politique.

À la place de pareille narration réputée démissionnaire et déroutante, il était agréable à ces intervenants de voir s'élever un grand récit national(iste) tout empreint des réussites du Canada, façon peut-être de fonder historiquement cette devise, répétée ad nauseam de nos jours par des politiciens en mal d'idées neuves, du Canada comme meilleur pays du monde. Recréer la grande saga nationale d'un État : le Canada, en déclinant son passé à l'aune de la bravoure de ses soldats, du génie de ses politiques et de l'idéologie *all-Canadian*, tel était — et tel est encore — le projet de ces iconolâtres de la canadienneté à tout prix.

On peut tout de même s'interroger : est-il nécessaire d'aller dans le sens de pareil récit transcendant, truffé partout de feuilles d'érable, pour faire l'histoire du pays ? Discrètement, mais catégoriquement, nous répondons non à cette question.

On aurait tort en effet, sous prétexte que l'«on ne fait plus d'histoire du Canada», de vouloir substituer, aux

partout l'«assassinat symbolique du Canada», ce n'est pas la recherche historienne qui fait défaut au pays. Arrimée aux courants les plus novateurs et aux tendances lourdes de la discipline, cette recherche est au diapason de ce qui se fait de mieux dans le monde. Le problème tient au fait que l'on arrive mal à inventer, en s'inspirant sans fraude de ce que fut l'expérience historique canadienne, de nouvelles métaphores du pays qui permettent de penser le Canada dans sa globalité et ses particularités en même temps. Cela ne devrait pourtant pas être. Il y a lieu de croire en effet que l'aventure historique canadienne, qui ne se réduit surtout pas au seul processus politique d'institution de la fédération et de formation de l'État canadien, contient cette matière, cette factualité par laquelle il serait possible de dépasser les insuffisances, sinon les apories, des représentations actuelles du pays et ce, pour renouer avec une pratique renouvelée de la *canadianité*.

Or, quelle pourrait être cette métaphore inspirante et structurante

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microrécits de l'expérience historique canadienne, des mégarécits de cette aventure qui s'enracineraient dans une entreprise de récupération idéologique du pays. La démarche historienne, c'est un truisme de le rappeler, doit avant tout obéir à des critères de rigueur. Si les métaphores avec lesquelles on a, depuis un certain temps, envisagé l'aventure canadienne apparaissent inappropriées pour rendre compte de l'histoire du pays dans sa globalité plutôt que dans ses particularités, il n'est pas nécessairement souhaitable de les remplacer, ces métaphores, par des images synthétiques du pays dont l'unifolié serait tout à la fois le dénominateur inconditionnel et la quintessence emblématique.

De notre point de vue, et contrairement à ce que prétendent certains incendiaires qui constatent et ressentent

qui accueillerait le pays dans ses tensions inextinguibles et indubitables mais qui, plutôt que de vouloir les nier ou les amoindrir, ces tensions, les présenterait comme le ferment à partir duquel s'est historiquement élevé le Canada pour être ce qu'il est maintenant, soit un projet en devenir, aux horizons ouverts et dont la problématique tout à la fois compliquée, originale et pleine de possibilités malgré les blessures qu'elle contient aussi, ne devrait surtout pas — ô misérable abdication ! —, être réduite à quelque artifice du genre : «le Canada comme accomplissement de l'unité dans la diversité», «le Canada comme pays aux mille reflets» ou encore et toujours : «le Canada comme meilleur pays du monde» ?

Sans prétendre faire état dans ce texte d'une proposition indépassable,



Landing at Dieppe, 1942 / National Archives of Canada / PA113245

nous aimerions apporter de l'eau au moulin de la réflexion en proposant l'image de la dissonance — et sa ribambelle de notions apparentées: ambiguïté, ambivalence, équilibre instable, proximité distante, interdépendance orageuse, etc. — pour rendre compte et représenter, dans sa dynamique fondamentale, l'expérience historique canadienne comme une suite de hasards transformés en destin par choix continuels des acteurs.

On sait ce qu'est une dissonance. En composition musicale, la dissonance renvoie en effet à l'intervalle incongru et désagréable entre deux sons qui appelle une résolution par un accord harmonique. Paradoxe intéressant, la dissonance comprend aussi les notes responsables d'un tel réarrangement mélodieux. En d'autres termes, la dissonance est tout à la fois la réunion

déplaisante de sons et l'accord consolant cet effet contrariant ou ennuyeux.

L'image — ou la métaphore — de la dissonance est intéressante pour aborder le cas du Canada qui, tout en générant continuellement des conflits dans le sillage de son devenir, sait précisément se récupérer (au sens littéral et péjoratif du terme, soit se ressourcer, se reprendre et se réhabiliter) grâce aux tensions et réciprocitys asymétriques qui scandent sa mouvance.

À maints égards, l'aventure historique canadienne fut et reste en effet l'expression de frictions incessantes entre forces centripètes et forces centrifuges tantôt partenaires et tantôt antagoniques, tantôt complémentaires et tantôt contradictoires. Cette expérience fut aussi et demeure, par le jeu réfléchi et tâtonnant des acteurs, l'expression d'un dépassement de ces frictions dans des raccords

rendant possible le passage à un ou d'autres états politiques.

Particularité intéressante mais en même temps frustrante pour bien des observateurs, ces raccords, s'ils se veulent enchaînements par rapport à un ou des projets politiques antérieurs, ne furent jamais et ne sont toujours pas résolution de l'«équation canadienne», laquelle ne comporte pas un seul dénominateur commun mais plusieurs dénominateurs conjoints parmi lesquels on trouve, assurément et de manière incontournable, le Québec et les Québécois.

À première vue décevante et déplorable, cette situation mérite pourtant d'être envisagée sous un jour positif car elle a eu, pour le devenir du Canada, des conséquences globalement heureuses et bénéfiques. Historiquement, la non résolution de l'équation canadienne s'est en effet exprimée par et dans une espèce d'ambiguïté d'êtres du pays qui s'est révélée, à plusieurs reprises, féconde et avantageuse pour passer à l'avenir.

Par «ambiguïté d'êtres du pays», nous entendons ici que les épisodes catalyseurs du devenir canadien ont de manière générale débouché sur l'ambivalence plutôt que sur l'univocité, c'est-à-dire sur une certaine infinitude, variabilité et disponibilité de destin plutôt que sur une inflexibilité de parcours. Cela est vrai de 1759, de 1837-1838, de 1840, de 1867, de 1982 et de combien d'autres événements marquants du passé du pays.

En d'autres termes, malgré les tentatives — nombreuses — de la part de petits et de grands acteurs et penseurs pour infléchir la trajectoire canadienne dans un sens en particulier, il n'a jamais été possible de focaliser le devenir du pays sur l'axe des ordonnées d'un seul principe structurant. De même, il n'a jamais été possible de séparer l'avenir du pays de son passé, c'est-à-dire de refonder le Canada en faisant fi des présences antérieures qui l'avaient façonné. Il n'a jamais été possible non plus d'imposer aux habitants du pays une seule pratique et vision du Canada, ni d'ailleurs d'éliminer ou d'omettre la volonté des groupements constitutifs du pays de s'affirmer et de s'épanouir coûte que coûte, avec et contre les autres groupements, dans le paysage canadien.

C'est ainsi qu'en pratique le Canada a évolué et se meut toujours entre, d'un côté, les possibilités continuelles que lui offrent ses acteurs en cherchant à dépasser ses dissonances et ambiguïtés constitutives — celles qui découlent de sa dualité structurelle et structurante en particulier — et, d'un autre côté, l'aporie sur laquelle vient s'échouer toute tentative de résorber ces dissonances et ambiguïtés en «chantant» le pays sur le mode de l'harmonie ou de l'unité nationale.

Autrement dit, la dissonance et l'ambiguïté canadienne — ce qu'on appelle aussi le «mal canadien», pour frustrantes et désolantes qu'elles soient, ne trahiraient ni faillite nationale ni incapacité à être collectivement, ni digression déplorable de destin par rapport à l'idéal-type de l'État-nation. Elles ne seraient pas davantage l'expression d'une impuissance à imposer un projet intégrateur. La dissonance et l'ambiguïté canadienne formeraient au contraire les fondements d'un parcours historique original à reconnaître et à assumer, les assises d'une trajectoire dont il y aurait lieu, peut-être, d'exploiter les ressources pour activer la suite des choses.

Au fond, plutôt que de déboucher sur l'équivoque paralysante ou de favoriser l'hégémonie d'un seul pouvoir dominateur, la dissonance et l'ambiguïté canadienne auraient rendu possible et sanctionné en même temps l'expression des contraires. Certes, il ne s'agit pas de voir dans cette situation la preuve d'une tolérance ou d'une aptitude à la conciliation, uniques au monde, de la part des Canadiens les uns envers les autres. Pour être franc, cette tolérance et cette aptitude apparente à la conciliation ont été maintes fois démenties par les faits. Les francophones, les autochtones, les métis et combien d'autres sont là pour rappeler, à l'ordre de l'exactitude historique, tous ceux qui voudraient écraser les raisins parfois ronçoux du passé canadien dans une cuve de bois d'érable pour en faire un grand cru sans lie. La dissonance et l'ambiguïté canadienne découleraient plutôt de ce qu'aucun pouvoir latent ou constitué à l'intérieur de cet espace d'interrelations sociales et politiques qu'on appelle le Canada n'a pu imposer sa seule raison aux pouvoirs concurrents, bien que de nombreuses asymétries de réciprocité se soient manifestées entre ces

pouvoirs s'exprimant, se rencontrant et se disputant dans l'arène publique.

Si ma vision des choses est exacte, la dissonance et l'ambiguïté d'êtres du Canada témoigneraient donc tout à la fois de la pérennité des tensions marquant l'expérience canadienne et de l'incapacité manifeste des pouvoirs dominants d'imposer leurs logiques politiques jusqu'au bout et ce, par suite de la détermination inébranlable des forces concurrentes à s'affirmer et à s'épanouir, c'est-à-dire à être et à obtenir reconnaissance au cœur de l'espace politique institué du pays. On ne saurait en aucun cas minimiser l'importance de ces forces concurrentes dans la destinée canadienne. À maints égards, on pourrait d'ailleurs soutenir que le Canada s'est historiquement forgé comme un ensemble de paris perdus par la raison intransigeante des pouvoirs dominants ou des majorités contre l'insistance des acteurs ou des minorités à perdurer dans le temps en ne cessant jamais de s'affirmer et en cherchant à composer avec la réalité des choses et celle des autres plutôt que de la refuser ou de s'exiler dans des lieux d'êtres exigus.

Il est deux conséquences que l'on peut tirer de l'argumentation qui précède. La première est d'ordre historiographique et s'énonce comme suit : la meilleure façon de rendre compte de l'aventure historique canadienne n'est pas d'envisager le pays sous l'angle de ses convergences (de son unité) ou de ses divergences (de sa diversité), mais sous celui de ses tensions constitutives et indépassables, notamment entre ses grandes communautés linguistico-culturelles (les autochtones y compris, à ce titre), et ses régions et ses provinces (comme sièges de pouvoirs locaux) avec et contre le gouvernement central (comme lieu du pouvoir pannational). Autrement dit, la façon la plus appropriée de saisir et restituer l'aventure canadienne n'est pas de la raconter sous la contrainte d'une quelconque culpabilité politico-historiale («à chacun son Canada pour n'indisposer aucun Canadien»), sous celle de l'angélisme délirant («le Canada comme paroxysme de la raison généreuse et de la bienséance politique») ou sous celle de la grande saga d'un État-nation s'édifiant à coups de triomphes continuels contre l'adversité interne et externe. Le défi qui

s'offre aux historiens — notamment — est plutôt de présenter l'aventure canadienne comme une histoire de possibilités découlant des ambivalences et ambiguïtés produites par la présence irrépressible, au sein de l'espace canadien, de dissonances fécondes et de tensions inexorables entre ses groupements et pouvoirs constitutifs.

La deuxième conséquence à tirer du texte est d'ordre politique. Elle consiste à dire que toute tentative qui vise à en finir avec la dissonance structurelle et structurante du Canada en fixant une fois pour toutes son évolution dans des

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matrices invariables, une telle tentative, donc, est la façon la plus probable de diminuer les possibilités d'avenir pour le pays. Le Canada comme pratique du dissensus mise en œuvre et contenue par une éthique de la discussion : n'est-ce pas ce qui a fait largement et qui pourrait faire encore, malgré les vicissitudes des processus de délibération et les inévitables déchainements de la part des pouvoirs, l'expérience historique canadienne ?

Jocelyn Létourneau est Titulaire de la Chaire de recherche du Canada en histoire, économie politique du Québec contemporain, Université Laval

# TOWARDS THE COACH in the History Classroom

**BY** Chad Gaffield

The scholarly rethinking of the history curriculum in recent years has been redefining course objectives. Rather than designing the history curriculum for the purpose of transmitting to students the interpretations of leading historians, educators are now exploring how courses can help students discover the past for themselves. In my own case, an analogy from sports encouraged me to make the transition from seeing myself as a «content provider» to seeing myself as an «historical coach.» In the history courses I took in school in the 1960s, we read about history, talked about history and wrote about history; we never actually did history. If I had learned basketball in this way, I would have spent years reading the interpretations and viewpoints of great players, watching them play games, and analysing the results of various techniques and strategies. Instead, though, I was soon dribbling a basketball and trying to shoot it into the hoop after just a few instructions. In my history courses, by contrast, I did not begin to do any historical research until the end of my undergraduate years, and even in master's seminars, the focus was still on learning about the various viewpoints of historians rather than directly coming to grips with the past. In basketball terms, I began in earnest to play the sport only at the doctoral thesis level.

At the core of the conventional history curriculum is a division between the interpretations of historians (called «secondary sources») and historical evidence (called «primary sources»). Until recent decades, the assumption has been that students must first acquire a solid familiarity with secondary sources before attempting to study primary sources. Indeed, the media debate of the late twentieth century was sparked by growing public concern that Canadians had forgotten or had never learned the major research findings of the leading historians. Some observers lamented that school children, university students and the general public could not often recall the names of those individuals and events considered by well-known historians to have been the key features of Canadian history. However justified was (and is) this concern, it ignored the fact that scholarly research was undermining the established pedagogical assumptions about primary and secondary sources. An increasing number of historians were moving away from seeing themselves as simply interpretation-providers or fact-identifiers for students, and were moving toward a role much like a coach.

In the new educational setting, teachers and professors focus on helping students discover the past by developing historical perspectives in keeping with the evidence and with their own sense of themselves as well as with previous research results. For this purpose, students at all levels are increasingly working with both primary and secondary sources; in terms of the sports analogy, they are being coached while they try to dribble, pass and shoot the historical ball. Within this process, the learning of accepted «facts» (such as the identity of Prime Ministers) is required but is seen as a step along the path of historical understanding rather than as something to be valued for its own sake. More importantly, though, the learning of specific

DURING THE CLOSING DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, A FALSE DEBATE DISTRACTED PUBLIC DISCUSSION IN CANADA ABOUT THE TEACHING OF HISTORY IN SCHOOLS AND IN HIGHER EDUCATION. THIS DEBATE ADDRESSED A SEEMINGLY STRAIGHT-FORWARD QUESTION: HOW MUCH HISTORY SHOULD STUDENTS LEARN? UNFORTUNATELY, THOUGH, THIS QUESTION DIRECTED ATTENTION AWAY FROM SERIOUS ENGAGEMENT WITH THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF SCHOLARLY ACTIVITY DURING THESE YEARS. THE PUBLIC DEBATE ONLY RARELY DID JUSTICE TO THE CONTINUAL RETHINKING OF CURRICULUM OBJECTIVES AND DELIVERY POSSIBILITIES IN LIGHT OF THE «NEW SOCIAL HISTORY» OF THE 1970S, THE «LINGUISTIC TURN» OF THE 1980S, AND THE COMPUTERIZATION OF RESEARCH ACTIVITIES IN THE 1990S. AS A RESULT OF THESE DEVELOPMENTS, HISTORIANS HAVE BEEN MOVING TOWARD A FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE ON THE NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE CURRICULUM. PARTS OF THIS NEW PERSPECTIVE SURFACED IN THE DEBATE ABOUT HOW MUCH HISTORY STUDENTS SHOULD LEARN BUT, OVERALL, PUBLIC DISCUSSION ASSUMED THAT THE ISSUE WAS A QUESTION OF QUANTITY RATHER THAN SUBSTANCE.

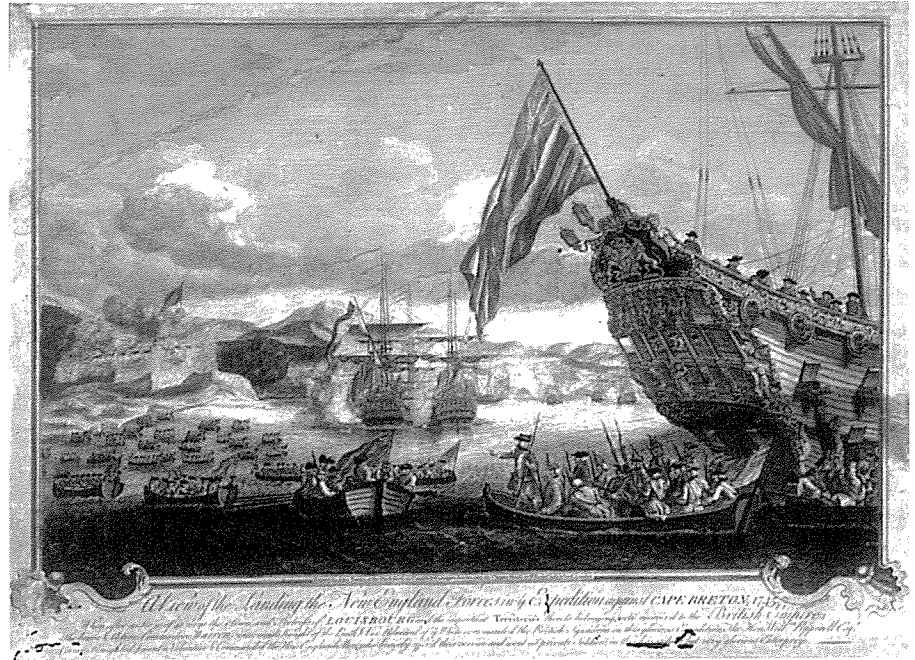
kinds of information occurs within the student's own discovery of the past and thus «facts» are contextualized and made significant as part of the development of historical understanding. In this sense, the new approach does not simply focus on the question of how much history should be taught but also on how it is learned.

The advantages of engaging students in the discovery of primary and secondary sources relate to student motivation, cognitive processes, and current scholarly conceptualizations of the historical discipline. In terms of motivation, every educator knows that a desire to learn something plays a key role in determining educational success. However, recent research results suggest that, however well-acknowledged, motivation is even more important to achievement than previously considered. These results emphasize more than ever that it is the extent of demand for knowledge by students rather than simply the amount of knowledge supplied to students that will determine educational outcomes. In other words, the more that students want to learn about the past, the more they will do so (assuming, of course, they have the opportunity).

The emphasis on student motivation is encouraging the discovery approach to the use of primary sources in the history curriculum. As the authors of the National Standards for History in the United States concluded, «perhaps no aspect of historical thinking is as exciting to students or as productive of their growth in historical thinking as 'doing history'.» This conclusion is increasingly being reached at all educational levels even in graduate programs. One example of student interest in undertaking historical research comes from the University of Kentucky where Professor William W. Freehling gave his graduate seminar students the chance to design their own course. The students immediately seized on the chance to tilt their program away from the analysis of secondary sources so that less time would be spent on «picking writers apart.» In the students' own course design, «they wanted less historiography. They wanted more history.» The students argued that

«Without a secondary source telling us what to think about primary sources, we could cultivate our own understanding of the evidence, both independently at home and collaboratively in class....Does historiography have its place? Certainly. But too much historiography suffocates the original documents. Let *us* read the

experts while, at the same time, to assimilate this wisdom according to their own personal characteristics. Conversely, too much instruction before attempted implementation undermines creativity, and makes the individual less able to adapt to even slightly changed circumstances. In terms of the history



H. Stevens / National Archives of Canada / C1090

contemporaries — let *us* determine for ourselves what they believed.»

Happily, the enthusiasm of students for «doing history» in addition to reading about it dovetails with the increasing

curriculum, this approach supports a balanced primary-secondary source focus at all educational levels. The belief is that students will be more enthusiastic, will learn more about previous

***In terms of motivation, every educator knows that a desire to learn something plays a key role in determining educational success. However, recent research results suggest that, however well-acknowledged, motivation is even more important to achievement than previously considered.***

enthusiasm of cognitive psychologists for active learning. Researchers have now shown that individuals learn much more effectively as a result of combined instruction and doing. To use the sports analogy, coaches have found that a novice advances much more rapidly if a little instruction rather than a complete description is immediately followed by attempts to perform the skill. Researchers have found that this combined instruction-doing approach allows the individual to acquire the established wisdom of the coaching

research findings (including those famous names and dates!), and will contribute more to their own and society's historical understandings.

Primary sources have, of course, often been used in the history classroom. Their role, however, has characteristically been quite different from that now being developed in both schools and higher education. The familiar excerpts in textbooks and books of documents or even the full reproduction of sources such as constitutions have certainly been used to illustrate or support

the interpretations offered in lectures or secondary sources; however, teachers rarely use them to engage students in actual historical research. Even in the well-established courses that privilege the writings of famous individuals (such as «The Great Minds of Western Civilisation»), students are usually

***However, for a rapidly increasing number of history classes, computerization is now affording the possibility of genuine research within the learning process.***

encouraged to see themselves as receptacles of historical information rather than as engaging in historical research in order to create understandings for themselves. In addition to the pedagogical priority given to historians rather than history, the predominance of secondary sources is also explained by the conventional difficulty of getting student access to primary sources. This difficulty is one of the reasons for the long-standing success of published collections of documents designed to supplement course textbooks. Fortunately, though, computerization is now revolutionizing access to archival material. During the past two decades and especially since the mid-1990s, the massive amount of primary source material that has been digitized for immediate remote use has encouraged teachers and professors to help students do history. In the Canadian context, recent government initiatives promise that the speed of this development will continue accelerating for at least the decade. It remains to be said that the vast majority of primary sources will never be easily available to history students; no more than a tiny fraction of archival holdings will ever be digitized. However, for a rapidly increasing number of history classes, computerization is now affording the possibility of genuine research within the learning process.

How will students acquire the skills required to examine primary sources? The most unpromising possible answer to this question relates to the dreaded methods courses that have played a small and unappreciated role in the conventional undergraduate history curriculum. Few professors or students enjoy these

classes because they are not really seen as history courses. Rather, they usually focus on learning to use the library, to create bibliographies, and to write term papers that use secondary sources to support a thesis statement. Indeed, the «methods» involved have little to do with real historical research. Thus, such courses would be a poor example of how students could best learn to examine primary sources. Moreover, it would seem unwise (given the problems of methods courses) to develop specific classes on how to do history. Rather, the most promising approach appears to involve an integrated and constant attention to both primary and secondary sources throughout the curriculum. Students will certainly benefit from instruction and guidance in the use of both types of sources but, just as a coach continually helps an athlete interrelate theory and practice in learning a sport, all history educators might best see themselves as responsible for both methods and content.

But are inexperienced students really capable of undertaking genuine historical research?

If we judge by the reports of an increasing number of teachers and professors, the answer is resoundingly positive. At the school level, the most well-known indicator of student interest and ability to engage in historical research is

***This pattern is changing, however, as more and more professors recognize that changes since the 1960s have undermined the view of students as containers awaiting content and of history as a Truth to be revealed.***

the Historica-funded annual Historical Fairs for which students develop their own research projects under the guidance of teachers. The potential of such initiatives for the not-too-distant future is indicated by the work of University of Ottawa doctoral student John Bonnett and his colleagues at the National Research Council and in Ottawa high schools. Under Bonnett's leadership, curriculum units for high school students are being developed in which students use primary sources to create Virtual Reality images of nineteenth-century buildings along Sparks Street in downtown Ottawa. In their work, students build their own historical understandings

as they confront pieces of historical evidence that inevitably offer inconsistent or contradictory information. For example, a visual image suggests that a certain building is a specific height but a fire insurance map states a different height. Was the photograph doctored? Was an error made on the fire insurance map? Is it possible for each document to accurately reflect the perspective of its creator? Which secondary sources shed light on these issues? By coming to grips with such questions, students learn both about the past and about how to think about historical change. And they do so actively by engaging in their own discovery guided within a structured curriculum unit.

Innovative projects such as John Bonnett's and major efforts such as the Historical Fairs build upon a long tradition of using primary sources in history and social studies classes even in elementary schools. In fact, students are still more likely to see primary sources in schools than in undergraduate programs. This pattern is changing, however, as more and more professors recognize that changes since the 1960s have undermined the view of students as containers awaiting content and of history as a Truth to be revealed. Professors are now reforming the curriculum to enhance the student's intellectual process of historical knowledge-building. Courses are now seeking to help individu-

als develop understandings of the past in keeping with the historical evidence and in keeping with themselves. In other words, both teachers and professors are increasingly acting like coaches dealing with athletes. As this approach becomes more widespread, we can hope that public attention will focus on historical discovery rather than on the memorization of selected names and dates. We can also hope that the real debate can begin in earnest about the need for adequate financial support for genuine engagement with Canada's past.

Chad Gaffield is Professor of History and Director, Institute of Canadian Studies

# "PEOPLE LIKE US CAN'T GO INTO A PLACE LIKE THAT":

## The need for multicultural diversity in Canadian History

BY Audrey Kobayashi

### STORIES

I REMEMBER A FAMILY HOLIDAY WHEN I WAS A CHILD. DRIVING THROUGH THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, PARENTS IN THE FRONT SEAT, KIDS PILED IN THE BACK, WE STOPPED TO VIEW THE BREATHTAKING SITE OF LAKE LOUISE. WHILE DULY IMPRESSED BY THE SPECTACULAR MOUNTAINS PLUMMETING INTO THE SMALL GLACIAL LAKE OF THE MOST BRILLIANT BLUE AND MILKY GREEN, I WAS COMPLETELY ENCHANTED BY THE CHATEAU THAT COMMANDED THE SHORELINE. WITH ITS IMPOSING STONE, ITS TURRETS AND MASSIVE ARCHED WINDOWS, IT WAS THE GRANDEST EDIFICE I HAD EVER SEEN. IT EVOKED TO ME EVERYTHING TO WHICH ONE MIGHT ASPIRE IN MAKE-BELIEVE. THE PEOPLE PASSING NONCHALANTLY THROUGH ITS IMPOSING ENTRANCEWAY MUST BE FROM SOME OTHER PLACE, A PLACE THAT I COULD JUST BEGIN TO IMAGINE. WHEN MY MOTHER SUGGESTED, A LITTLE TENTATIVELY, THAT WE MIGHT JUST WALK UP AND LOOK AROUND IN THE LOBBY, MY FATHER OBJECTED VEHEMENTLY. "PEOPLE LIKE US," HE SAID, "CANNOT GO INTO A PLACE LIKE THAT." HIS FEAR, TINGED WITH BITTERNESS, SUFFUSED OUR OLD CAR AS WE REVERSED OUT OF THE GRAND DRIVEWAY AND HEADED BACK TO OUR CAMP-SITE IN THE NEARBY PROVINCIAL PARK. WE CHILDREN TURNED TO KNEEL IN THE BACK SEAT, LOOKING BACK, NOT QUITE UNDERSTANDING WHAT HAD ELUDED US, KNOWING THAT SOME IMPERMEABLE BARRIER SEPARATED US FROM THAT GLITTERING WORLD. THE TENSION IN THE FRONT SEAT WAS PALPABLE. MY MOTHER RAILED, UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND WHY MY FATHER SHOULD DENY HER REQUEST. MY FATHER KEPT DRIVING, HIS FACE SET IN SILENCE.



The internment of Japanese-Canadians / National Archives of Canada / C046355

Many years later, as a student of geography, both graduate and undergraduate, at the University of B.C., I learned to read that Rocky Mountain landscape, and the Lake Louise resort, as a statement of the power of class and money to command nature, to transform it into a means for the rich and leisured to travel in search of the an imagined sublimity. Adventurous travellers from the East, or from Britain, appropriated the entire Canadian landscape, newly opened to them by the Canadian Pacific Railway, which built luxury hotels, strategically placed to maximize the experience between train stops. And more than a playground for the rich, it represented the power of the railways in constructing the geography of Canada, and the complex symbolic iconography through which to interpret the 'national dream' of a railway linking east to west – and everything that that railway signified and facilitated. That landscape cannot be essentialized as simple beauty or nature's grand design, but needs to be understood as socially constructed according to the dominant mores and interconnected aesthetic tastes of the time. Class and taste were intertwined, fed fantasies of power and status, expressed as access to that which very few had the privilege to view. The shores of Lake Louise and the imposing edifice on its banks played reciprocal roles in this construction.

But my professors did not teach me that the social history of Lake Louise had anything to do with my childhood memory of my first view of that sublime scene, for I went to university in the days before 'ethnic studies' were part of the standard undergraduate curriculum. I began to discover things for myself, however, when, during the late 1970s I joined the small but growing group of students beginning to explore the meaning of their own long neglected pasts. Embarking on research for

my master's degree, I found in the archives of the University of British Columbia a photograph of a large group of porters at Hotel Vancouver – another Canadian Pacific Hotel – during the 1930s. They were all Japanese Canadians, mostly Nisei, or second generation. At that time, people of colour were barred entry to the Hotel Vancouver, and other CPR hotels such as the Lake Louise Resort, except as porters or other domestic workers. All those workers, of course, were fired from their jobs in 1941 when – having declared war on Japan – the government stripped all its Canadians of Japanese 'racial background' of their rights as citizens, and subjected them to a period of dispossession, uprooting and internment that lasted until 1949. Their national dream was perhaps a little different from that articulated in Ottawa or in the boardrooms of Montreal and Toronto.

Finding that photograph also shed new light upon my understanding of my father's emotional reaction to the suggestion that our family might traipse through the lobby, as tourists, viewing not only the grandeur of the hotel and the beautiful lake, but also the beautiful, rich and white people who had access to that place, who were a part of that landscape rather than observers from its margins. My research also taught me that just a short crow's flight from the Lake Louise Resort, Japanese-Canadian men, undoubtedly some of them the same men recently fired from their jobs as porters at the Hotel Vancouver, were placed into forced labour to build the Roger's Pass, a road link across the Rocky Mountains that has been just as important – if not as romantically symbolic – as the railway in forging the transportation geography of Canada.

This new perspective on the landscape of Lake Louise, and for that matter on the Rocky Mountains, repositioned my understanding of how I might understand the Canadian landscape as a deeply racialized manifestation of one of the fundamental aspects of social relations in Canada. Of course, when I was a student at UBC, few even thought of the Canadian landscape as racialized. It was therefore with a deep sense of both consternation and intellectual discovery

that I worked my way towards an understanding of the processes that have built this country, and of the place of my own community in that national story. This learning process was all the more difficult because it also brought the realization that my past had been kept from me as a child, by the teachers responsible for inculcating among their charges a sense of what it is to be 'Canadian', and by my parents – Japanese-Canadian father and English-Canadian mother – who, like so

his seat. He told them that he had arrived early and obtained a seat, and they should have done the same. They attempted physical force to remove him. The young man resisted, a scuffle ensued, the police were called, and he was taken away and placed in a provincial prison. Without benefit of trial or other legal process, he languished there until after the end of World War II. His wife and two children were never informed of his whereabouts, but he did

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many other parents in the Japanese-Canadian community of the 1950s and 1960s, did not want to exhume the horror of the 1940s. I grew up with a vague sense of something terribly wrong, of a deep and terrible secret, but not knowing the full extent of the actions taken by the Canadian government just one short decade prior to my own childhood.

Recently, wanting to find out more about those uniformed porters smiling so proudly in front of the Hotel Vancouver whose lives had touched mine in this tangential but poignant manner, I began searching for any who might be alive today, to find out what had become of them after they had been dismissed from their positions at all the Canadian Pacific hotels strung across the Western Canadian landscape like markers in a power board game. In the course of my research, I interviewed the nephew of one of those porters. This is the story he told me. His uncle and his family were interned at one of the interior concentration camps in 1942. Japanese-Canadian internees were not allowed to travel freely, but he received a special permit to visit another camp. He was sitting on the full bus, waiting for the journey to begin, when two members of the air force boarded the bus. Spying a Japanese Canadian, they went up to him and demanded that he vacate

manage to write one letter, to his sister, in which he told her, in coded language that he hoped might get past the censors who regularly turned letters into spaghetti strips, that he was writing from a "dark place". Filled with the sense of shame, he never told his family of the experience. His children grew up believing that he had abandoned them during the war and, as a result, they were estranged. Many years later their cousin (the one who recently recounted the story to me) told them what had actually happened. The result was a partial reconciliation, but the explanation could not undo the emotional and psychological damage that this experience had created.

As I heard this story, I remembered once again, and even more vividly, that moment in my parents' car when my innocent childhood mind could not quite grasp the hurt, anger, and desperation, the horrible dark secret, that filled the air like a noxious cloud. My experience was much, much less damaging, of course, than that of a man wrongfully imprisoned and of an entire family affected by a nearly forgotten incident on a bus. But when I connect the two stories, I realize how major historic events insinuate themselves into so many lives, in different but connected ways, to profoundly condition how one's

life chances are structured. Japanese Canadians are all tied by their common past experience, a string of trauma and bitter memories that runs through their community, weakening no doubt among the current generation, but still securely tied to many of us.

### MULTICULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CANADIAN HISTORY

These stories provide a didactic opening to stress a number of points about why we need to pay attention to multicultural diversity in Canadian history. The landscapes that emerge from my stories have diverse meanings that can be appreciated only by presenting a complex tapestry of the many and diverse people who have traversed those landscapes. So, I begin my plea for multicultural diversity with the simple statement that a complete history includes the experiences of all Canadians and is therefore by definition diverse. We need to tell many stories.

But demographic diversity is of course only a part of the justification for multicultural history. More compelling is the fact that the diverse experiences of Canadians from wide-ranging cultural

backgrounds occur across a landscape of inequality. We may provide equal space in the history books, therefore, but that would not redress the balance of differential power, or address the human rights issues surrounding the experiences of, especially, minority ethnocultural groups of colour. For this reason, scholars have been somewhat split on the issue of whether 'ethnic' history is about providing balance, or about redressing historical wrongs. Do we want to promote exoticism or activism?

My personal inclination is to provide a balance. By all means let students learn about both their own backgrounds and those of others, but let them do so in a manner that reinforces multiculturalism as more than a collection of 'others', or as a romantic vision of cute dances and exotic foods. Let them learn to be critical about their past, and about their future, about both the important contributions that have made Canada what it is, and about the many human rights issues – some of which remain unresolved – that also define Canada's history. Perhaps if more people were better informed about First Nations history, for example, we

would make better and more rapid progress towards settling treaty claims. If they understood more of the experiences that immigrants have faced, especially the experiences of immigrants of colour, new Canadians may be treated more fairly today. And better education about these and all other concerns of Canada's diverse populations would undoubtedly have an effect in improving our ability to develop public policies to meet the needs of a diverse population.

Our stories define us. The stories we tell not only provide a window on the past through which we may see the diverse peoples and issues through which we have created our history, but also say much about the dominant norms according to which we imagine ourselves as a nation. That imagination needs to be encouraged to express itself in all its diversity, connecting past to present and future in such a way that by learning history we also help to ensure that no one in future will say that "People like us can't go into a place like that."

Professor Kobayashi teaches geography at the Institute of Women's Studies, Queen's University

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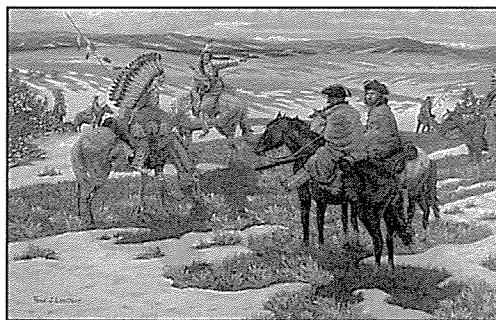
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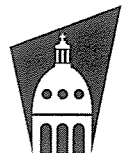
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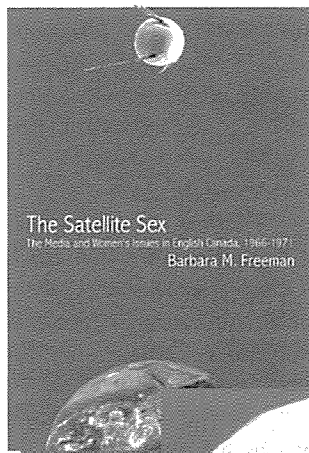
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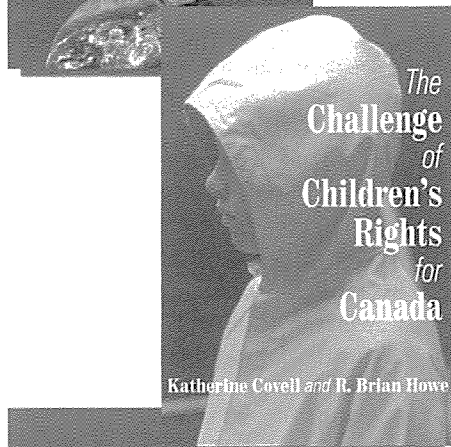


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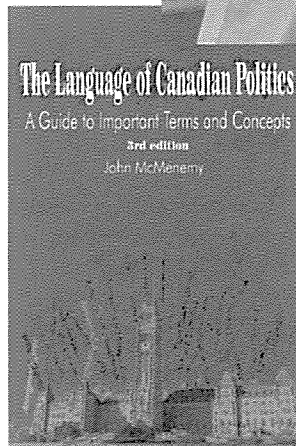


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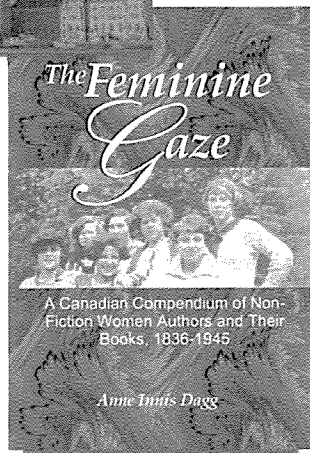


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# HISTORY AND CANADA'S International Relations

BY Hector Mackenzie

EARLIER THIS YEAR, IN A SPEECH IN TORONTO ANNOUNCING A MAJOR INVESTMENT BY THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA IN CANADIAN ARTS AND CULTURE, THE PRIME MINISTER DESCRIBED THE PLANNED NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY AS «A MAJOR STEP TOWARDS THE CREATION OF AN INSTITUTE OF CANADIAN HISTORY.» WE ALL KNOW HOW DIFFICULT IT IS TO TRANSLATE A PHRASE OR AN INTENTION INTO A DEED OR A PROGRAMME, PARTICULARLY WHEN THERE ARE SO MANY COMPETING DEMANDS FOR SCARCE RESOURCES AND THE CONCEPT ITSELF IS A NEBULOUS ONE. STILL, THAT ANNOUNCEMENT WAS A MANIFESTATION OF THE FACT THAT THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLY MORE ATTENTION TO PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF CANADIAN HISTORY – HOWEVER DEFINED OR ASSESSED – IN RECENT MONTHS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OTTAWA THAN THERE HAS BEEN FOR MANY YEARS. AS A PUBLIC HISTORIAN, I MUST CONFESS A PERSONAL AS WELL AS A PROFESSIONAL BIAS IN FAVOUR OF THIS TREND, THOUGH THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S COMMITMENT FOR OUR WORK AND FOR THE PROFESSION GENERALLY ARE NOT YET CLEAR. TO SOME EXTENT, MY CAUTION MAY BE EXPLAINED BY THE FACT THAT THE OVERALL TENDENCY IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE WITH RESPECT TO VALUING THE STUDY OF HISTORY AND EMPLOYING HISTORIANS EFFECTIVELY DOES NOT SEEM SO POSITIVE AS THE PROMISE OF A NEW INITIATIVE.



"The Sovereign Council of Quebec, 1663" by Charles Walter Simpson / National Archives of Canada / C13950

Within the government of Canada, the commitment to historical research has been uneven over the years. Though other departments and agencies have from time to time conducted and published examinations of their own histories, the historical units of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) and the Department of National Defence (DND) are distinct in their continuing work to record and to explain the past. However, after reorganizations and cutbacks, the number of historians employed in both departments is considerably reduced. Moreover, much of the original inspiration for this work, particularly the

linkage to policy-making, has been obscured as both the context and the content of the historical research and writing have been altered. Even so, in a difficult fiscal environment, the survival of such historical units is itself testimony to a lingering sense of the value and importance of history to foreign and defence ministries, not only in Canada but in other countries as well.

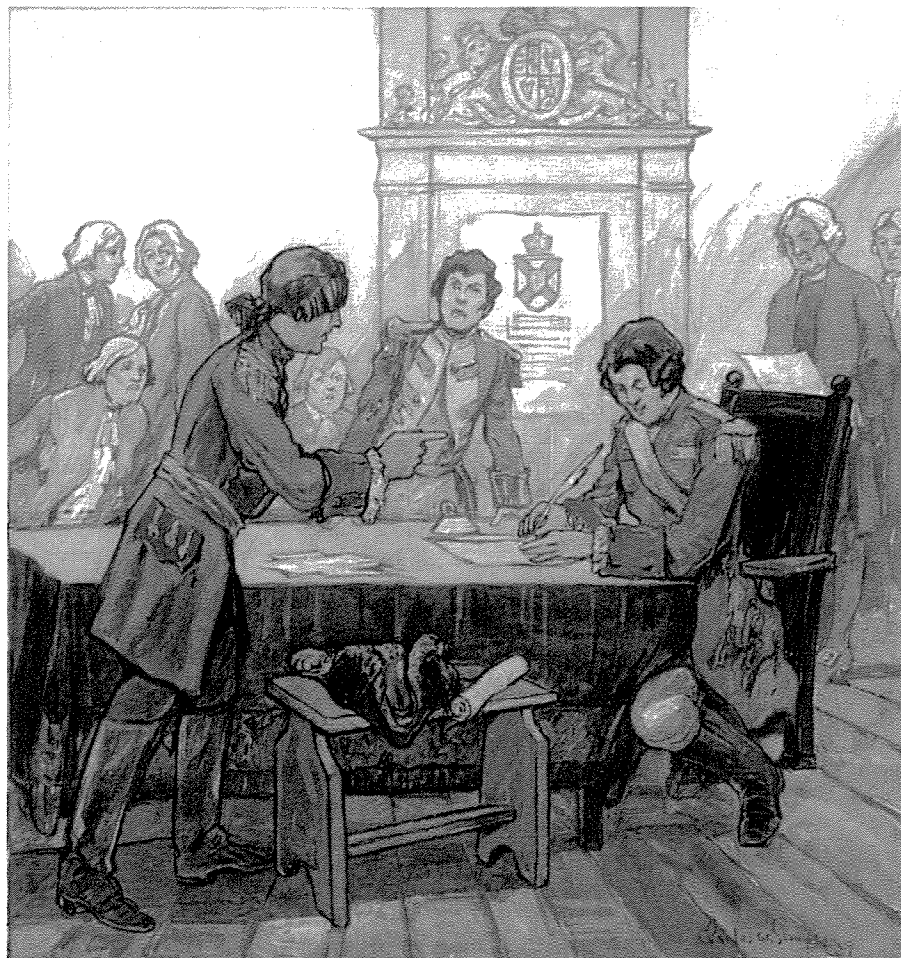
In fact, history and historians have played significant parts in Canada's dealings with the rest of the world from the inception of its foreign ministry. When the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier established Canada's Department of External Affairs (DEA)

in 1909, its first official head was distinguished as much by his knowledge of the past as by his awareness of current affairs. The founding under-secretary of state for external affairs was Sir Joseph

also secretary of state for external affairs – Robert Borden in 1913. More so than Pope, however, Christie was inclined to deploy his historical understanding in the service of policy formulation in

tional law at the University of Montreal. When Skelton devised a competitive entrance examination for a foreign service for Canada, its format and content favoured applicants with an understanding of Canadian history as well as contemporary issues, as demonstrated by the successful candidates in the initial contests. Half of the early entrants were historians, including Lester B. Pearson, formerly of the history department at the University of Toronto, Kenneth Kirkwood, who had taught history at Columbia University, Paul-Émile Renaud, a former professor of diplomatic history and political science at the University of Montreal, and Hugh Keenleyside, who had a doctorate in history from Clark University and whose study of Canadian-American relations was published soon after his recruitment. Another lapsed historian, Hume Wrong, entered Canadian diplomacy by a less direct route when he was hired to work in the legation in Washington by Vincent Massey, himself a student of history, albeit a patrician one whose appointment as head of that mission owed more to wealth and politics than to scholarship. If not a prerequisite for a career in the foreign service, an understanding of history was apparently an asset for early applicants.

While the proportion of historians recruited to the foreign service of Canada declined in later years, the profession was still well-represented, particularly in the senior ranks of the Department of External Affairs and its missions abroad, when Skelton died in early 1941. Though Skelton's successor, Norman Robertson, was an economist, his initial «joint assistant secretaries» – Pearson and Keenleyside – were both historians. The wartime reorganization of DEA to take account of its growing responsibilities was devised by Keenleyside and Wrong. Among those recruited from academe for special wartime service were numerous historians, including G.P. de T. Glazebrook, H.F. Angus, F.H. Soward and J.M.S. Careless, as well as others with historical training, some of whom stayed on with DEA in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings when the opportunity was presented after the war.



British requiring an oath of allegiance from the Acadians by Charles Walter Simpson / National Archives of Canada / CI9556

Pope, who had prepared for publication the memoirs of his former boss, Sir John A. Macdonald. Pope himself was a long-time public servant, whose «institutional memory» – as it would now likely be called – was formidable and whose organizational skills and negotiating talents had been honed by personal experience and informed by a study of the past. In effect, the department responsible for Canada's foreign affairs acquired its background knowledge and its awareness of history through the appointment of Pope and by the adoption of his methods for filling the considerable gaps in Canadian records. A similar respect for precedents, not surprisingly, was shared by the legal adviser of the department, Loring Christie, when he was appointed by prime minister – by then

external relations, especially within an imperial context. Neither Pope nor Christie, however, offered advice that was congenial to Canada's longest-serving prime minister and foreign minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King.

King's choice as Pope's successor and principal adviser was a distinguished political economist, O.D. Skelton, with an affinity for history. At the time of his recruitment, Skelton was best known for his two-volume *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, while his other works included a biography of Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt as well as a study of economic history for *Canada and Its Provinces*. Skelton's first recruit, to replace himself as counsellor, was Jean Désy, a professor of political history as well as of international and constitu-

Likewise, degrees in history were among the qualifications of many of the first women admitted to the foreign service after the war.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, it was an historian, Pearson, who succeeded Robertson as deputy minister in September 1946. Though Pearson would not stay long in that post, his subsequent tenure as secretary of state for external affairs is often identified with a «golden age» for Canadian diplomacy. It was also a favourable time for history and historians in DEA, as the directorate of historical research and reports was established in December 1950 (as of 1952, the historical division) and various studies were initiated, including significant projects by Soward and Kirkwood which were seen as directly related to the priorities of DEA. However, neither the mandate nor the personnel of the division was exclusively devoted to historical scholarship. In fact, the current work of historians in DFAIT began much later, with scholarly access to departmental files and the publication of *Documents on Canadian External Relations / Documents relatifs aux relations extérieures du Canada* beginning in the 1960s and the start of an official history of the department in 1978. These initiatives undoubtedly enhanced the department's relations with the academic community and the professional reputation of departmental historians, but little else survived the «downsizing» of the division to a section in 1985. The work of the historical staff became more exclusively linked to longer-term research projects, with less resources and flexibility to respond to immediate needs or priorities.

By then, the foreign service was also less likely to employ historians than it had been in the past. The examination process devised by Skelton and adapted by his successors over the years, with its stress on broad questions and lengthy answers, so favourable to those with historical training, became impossibly unwieldy for examiners confronted by vast numbers of applications in the 1960s. For a while, the inquisitors selectively scanned the written work of those who met the other qualifications for interviews, before the formal require-

ment for essays was finally discontinued. Clinging to its distinct entrance ritual and its associated elite reputation, the department of external affairs had long resisted the entreaties of the civil service commission (as it then was) to shift the emphasis toward «objective testing» (true/false and multiple-choice questions). Under the weight of applications, that struggle was largely abandoned, as the unique element of the examination for entry into the foreign service increasingly resembled that for its counterparts in the domestic public service. Eventually, the pretence that a quiz on contemporary international affairs could have a meaningful relationship to qualification for a diplomatic career (not unlike the proposition that knowledge of history can be assessed by playing trivial pursuit over the telephone with a polling organization) was itself abandoned.

*Though there was only one occasion when historians and political scientists, among other unwelcome categories, were actually disqualified from selection, the former bias in favour of their skills and background had been removed.*

Thereafter, the screening standards and the interview phase became the critical determinants for entry into the foreign service and the examination in every other respect ceased to be distinct. Though there was only one occasion when historians and political scientists, among other unwelcome categories, were actually disqualified from selection, the former bias in favour of their skills and background had been removed. What is less clear is whether this shift in recruitment strategy was based on a reassessment of the needs of the foreign service in the modern world or simply a response to the logistics of administering the process.

Whatever the explanation, there are not only proportionately fewer historians today in DFAIT than in its formative years, but also fewer members of the foreign service with historical training than in the past (though a few years ago it was still true that there were more doctorates

in history held by members of the policy planning staff than among the department's historians). Whether the lack of historical background will affect the capacity of the contemporary foreign service officers to contribute to another «golden age» for Canadian diplomacy – or simply their ability later in life to write well enough to convince readers of their memoirs that they were part of one – remains to be seen. There is little doubt that the demands of diplomacy and consequently the requirements for effectively representing Canada abroad have changed considerably over the years, as the world around us and the international agenda have both been realigned and redefined.

Still, DFAIT is more aware of its own history and of the significance of historical precedents than most parts of government and it has sustained proj-

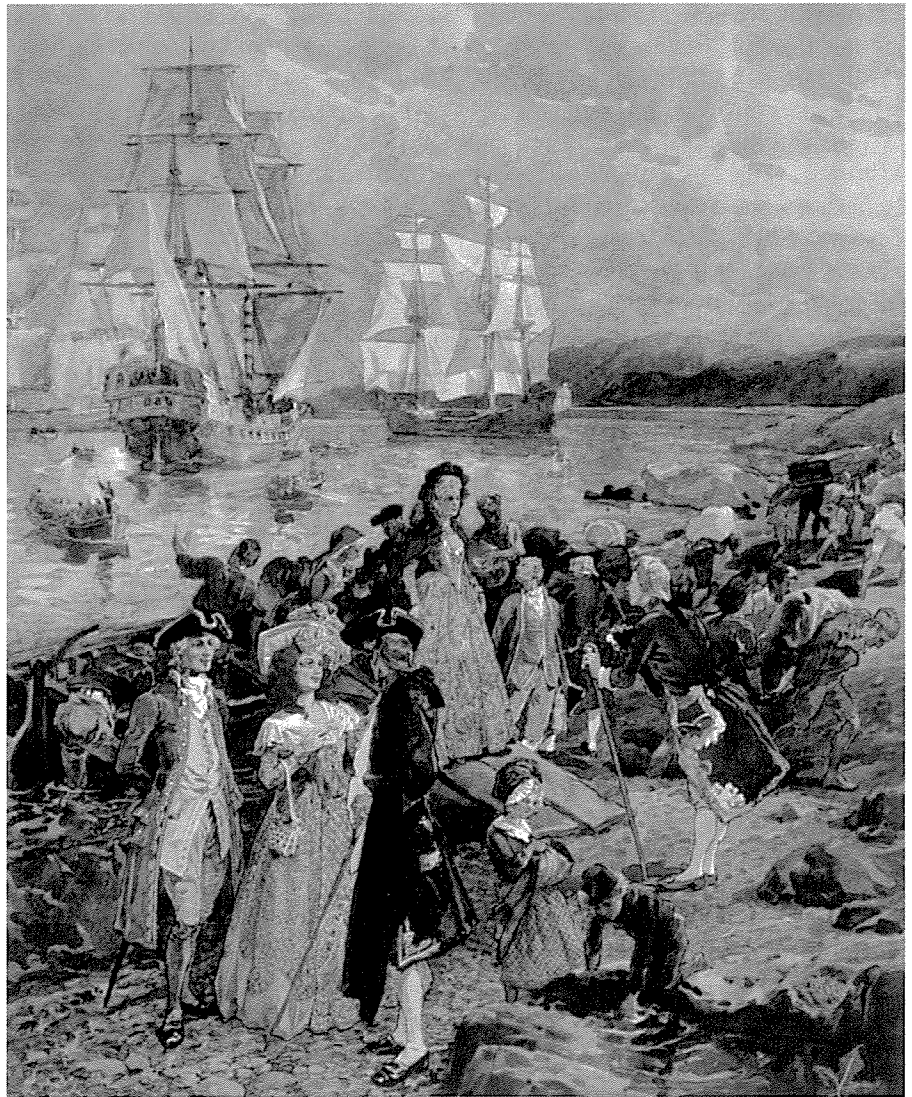
ects that are valuable not only to it but also to scholars and students in Canada and abroad. Some of the adaptations that have taken place in recent years have been significant improvements – for example, work on an educational web site, *Canadians in the World / Les Canadiens dans le monde*, led to the development of an on-line version of the *Documents on Canadian External Relations / Documents relatifs aux relations extérieures du Canada*. That compilation is now available via the history page of the departmental Internet site and its searchability in that format is vastly superior to the table of contents or index for a printed volume. To some extent, the work of historians in DFAIT now has a more narrow scholarly focus than when the historical unit was created; expectations about relevance currently are linked more to the academic audience for these projects than to the possible value of studies that might

serve as background or reinforcement for policy-making.

As mentioned above, the other link between history and DFAIT was forged by the recruitment of students and instructors of history. Foreign service officers today are less likely to possess formal historical training, though they may be interested in the trials and tribulations of their predecessors. As with historians in the public service, the context for diplomatic work and its content have been altered considerably since the early days of the foreign service. Though it may be a cliché, it is nonetheless true that change is the only constant in international affairs. When one considers the pace of world events and the extent to which Canada and other nations must react to hazardous developments as well as initiate proposals for betterment, it is understandable that policy-makers cannot always pause to reflect on the «lessons of the past,» if such examples even exist. Instead, as Antonio remarked in *The Tempest*, albeit when plotting an ultimately thwarted assassination attempt, «what's past is prologue.» In the circumstances, we can understand, if not always forgive, our colleagues for their conviction – not limited to the foreign service – that the ultimate task for a Canadian diplomatic historian is the search for an apt quotation from L.B. Pearson to bolster the case for another new commitment in world affairs.

That Pearson's words, and possibly the notion of «Pearsonian internationalism» as well, still seem to strike a responsive chord not only within the building that bears his name (DFAIT's headquarters) but also with Canadians generally suggests that the history of Canada's international relations has some resonance and possibly relevance, even as attention is understandably focused on the here and now. Moreover, as Prime Minister Chrétien has reminded us often, there is a strong inter-relationship between the national spirit of Canadians and an appreciation of our shared past, whatever the field of endeavour.

In my view, there is also still a place in diplomacy and in a foreign ministry for an appreciation of history and for the application of historical methods, including such critical abilities as the careful analysis of evidence, the aware-



"The Coming of the Loyalists" by Henry Sandham / National Archives of Canada / C168

ness of context and biases as well as the formulation of well-grounded arguments. That these skills have been vital to the development of Canadian government policy was certainly appreciated by Skelton and by those he recruited, including Pearson. Whether this knowledge is still acquired in a curriculum unit or course identified as Canadian history, social studies, civics or otherwise, seems to me to be less important. Consequently, I am not as preoccupied with national standards for Canadian history or with tests – objective or otherwise – of historical information as may be other commentators. That is not to deny the importance of historical education in the classroom, whether in primary, secondary or post-secondary institutions, but simply to temper the reaction to current controversies over how history is taught.

As for popular understanding of Canadian history, the size of the audience

for *Canada: A People's History* suggests not only that there is a «thirst for knowledge» about this subject but also that there are various ways to quench it, outside as well as within the schools. The challenge for historians, now as ever, is to convey to Canadians an understanding of our past as well as a sense of its relevance and purpose in today's life. Ideally, that flexibility of approach and determination to reach a large number of people across the country that so obviously shaped *Canada: A People's History* will also influence how the «institute of Canadian history» is elaborated in the future.

Hector Mackenzie is Senior Departmental Historian, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and President-Elect of the Association for Canadian Studies. The views expressed in this article are those of the author, not those of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade or the Association for Canadian Studies.

# S'INTERROGER SUR LA « NATION » :

## une autre manière d'enseigner l'histoire du Canada ?

CRISE DE LA NATION, CRISE DE L'HISTOIRE, CRISE DE L'HISTOIRE NATIONALE. LE CONSTAT EST PRESQUE DEVENU BANAL POUR AVOIR ÉTÉ SI SOUVENT ÉTABLI<sup>1</sup>. IL N'EN EST PAS MOINS RÉEL ET M'INTERPELLE TOUT COMME BEAUCOUP D'AUTRES, SANS AUCUN DOUTE, QUI ENSEIGNONS L'HISTOIRE « NATIONALE ». DANS CE CONTEXTE DE CRISES, QUELLE HISTOIRE ENSEIGNER ? S'AGISSANT DU CANADA, LA QUESTION NE DEVRAIT POURTANT PAS TROP NOUS ÉMOUVOIR PUISQUE LA DÉFINITION DE LA NATION N'A CESSÉ D'ÊTRE L'OBJET DE DÉBATS ET L'IDENTITÉ NATIONALE NE S'EST JAMAIS CONJUGUÉE AU SINGULIER. DE RARES HISTORIENS DU CANADA LE RECONNAISSENT AUJOURD'HUI OUVERTEMENT<sup>2</sup>. ICI COMME AILLEURS, LES RÉFLEXIONS EN COURS SUR L'HISTOIRE « NATIONALE » M'APPARAISSENT SALUTAIRES ET SUSCEPTIBLES DE CONTRIBUER À RENOUVELER NOTRE MANIÈRE DE L'ENSEIGNER. ELLES DEVRAIENT AUSSI PERMETTRE DE FAIRE AVANCER LE DÉBAT ENGAGÉ ENTRE LES TENANTS DU RETOUR À UNE HISTOIRE DU CANADA UNIFICATRICE ET CEUX QUI EN PRÔNENT UNE VISION PLURALISTE, UN DÉBAT QUI SE RETROUVE PRÉSENTEMENT DANS UNE IMPASSE.

Les premiers souhaitent le retour à l'écriture et à l'enseignement d'une histoire inspirée de la « nation state-building approach » centrée sur les pratiques et les éléments convergents ayant contribué à la formation de la « nation » canadienne, en lieu et place de l'histoire telle qu'elle s'écrit maintenant et qui insisterait essentiellement sur les facteurs de discorde et de division, sur les différences et les « identités limitées »<sup>3</sup>. Les tenants du retour à une version plus centralisatrice de l'histoire canadienne estiment que les historiens sont en bonne partie responsables de l'affaiblissement de l'unité et de l'identité nationales parce que travaillant sur des objets particuliers et proposant des récits partiels de la réalité canadienne. Ils n'ont peut-être pas entièrement tort d'établir un lien de cause à effet entre

PAR Michèle Dagenais

l'éclatement de l'histoire et le morcellement du pays, tant le développement de la discipline historique a été consubstantiel à l'édification des nations. Mais il ne faudrait pas pour autant imputer aux seuls historiens la responsabilité de la crise actuelle de la nation tout comme celle de sa mise en récit. Ce serait faire fi de la « poussée des mémoires et des identités collectives » qui, depuis les années 1960, a contribué à la remise en question du cadre national comme seul principe organisateur du passé, faisant ainsi perdre à l'histoire son principe d'unité<sup>4</sup>.

Justement sensibles à cette poussée des mémoires et des identités collectives, à la diversité régionale, sociale et culturelle de la population canadienne, les historiens du second groupe proposent une autre lecture de l'histoire « nationale » orientée vers les expériences particulières des Canadiens. L'histoire d'un pays conçu de manière homogène et unifiée a été remplacée en bonne partie par une conception pluraliste de celui-ci et inclut les diverses régions, les différents peuples et les multiples destinées canadiennes<sup>5</sup>. Ainsi, l'histoire du Canada qui s'enseigne aujourd'hui s'attarde autant à celle des classes populaires que des élites, des blancs que des autochtones, des femmes que des hommes.

La conception pluraliste de l'histoire « nationale », surtout présente dans les manuels d'histoire, a le grand mérite de fournir une vision du passé beaucoup plus riche et complexe. En revanche, ce type d'histoire dans laquelle tous les points de vue et toutes les expériences tendent à s'équivaloir débouche sur une mise à plat du passé qui le prive de tout sens général. Comme le souligne Jocelyn Létourneau dans un article récent, l'histoire pluraliste du Canada conduit « à une impasse au chapitre de ses représentations globales... qui se traduit... par une sorte d'impuissance politique »<sup>6</sup>. « Étirée « pour englober le plus grand nombre possible, la nation canadienne » n'incarne plus qu'un idéal abstrait... qu'une image ré-enchantée et progressiste, bilingue et multiculturelle, civique et postmoderne du pays »<sup>7</sup>. Cette conception de l'histoire « nationale » évacue ainsi les débats concernant la dualité constitutive du Canada et par conséquent un des facteurs centraux qui rendent problématique la définition de la « nation ». Elle passe aussi sous silence le processus d'exclusion des autochtones lui aussi constitutif de l'émergence du Canada et qui se perpétue depuis, au profit d'une vision de ces derniers comme « premières nations ». De la sorte, l'approche pluraliste avalise la représentation centralisatrice de la nation canadienne plutôt que d'en offrir une lecture critique et de démystifier le projet politique qui la sous-tend. Il est frappant de constater l'absence d'un tel point de vue critique dans l'historiographie canadienne passée et présente, en particulier dans l'historiographie canadienne-anglaise<sup>8</sup>, à l'égard de cette représentation dominante de la nation telle que véhiculée par les élites et les autorités politiques. À quoi attribuer ce silence ? Les promoteurs de l'interprétation pluraliste du passé craignent-ils, à l'instar des tenants d'une histoire consensuelle, qu'une vision critique de la « nation » canadienne ne l'affaiblisse face à la menace d'américanisation<sup>9</sup> ou au mouvement nationaliste québécois ?

À l'évidence, le renouvellement survenu dans l'écriture des synthèses d'histoire canadienne les plus récentes, par l'intégration d'une conception plus diversifiée des composantes du pays et une sensibilité accrue à la diversité régionale, n'a pas

véritablement mis en brèche la vision même du Canada, comme nation bâtie « d'un océan à l'autre » et présentée comme un tout. Si les historiens se sont employés à retravailler le contenu des synthèses, ils n'ont cependant pas remis en cause le contenant. Tout comme dans les synthèses plus traditionnelles, le Canada demeure donc le principe d'unité qui relie tous ces éléments, le principe organisateur largement pris pour acquis.


C'est la principale raison pour laquelle, à mon sens, ni la conception unificatrice ni l'approche pluraliste ne sont satisfaisantes pour enseigner et expliquer l'histoire « nationale » aux étudiants. De quelle manière, alors, aborder l'histoire « nationale », l'histoire du « Canada », ce genre particulier de la discipline historique? Quelle perspective adopter pour enseigner cette histoire dont l'objet central ne devrait-il pas justement être la « nation », aussi problématique que soit ce phénomène; la « nation » comprise comme problème historique, comme construit ?

C'est la posture que j'essaie d'adopter dans mon enseignement de

l'histoire du Canada aux étudiants de première année universitaire et dans celui sur le « Canada anglophone », destiné à ceux de deuxième année. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit de cours de synthèse couvrant la période contemporaine à partir des années 1850. Face à des étudiants évoluant dans le contexte québécois, se pose la question suivante : comment les intéresser à l'histoire d'un « pays » qu'ils pensent connaître bien qu'en réalité cela ne soit pas le cas? Comment les amener à percevoir le Canada en dehors du Québec non pas comme le « ROC » ou le « Rest of Canada », cette représentation que véhiculent généralement les journalistes, monolithique, simplificatrice et dénuée de nuances, mais efficace justement pour ces raisons? Dans un contexte où le débat public est dominé par les querelles entre les nationalistes canadiens et québécois, comment éviter le piège de la dichotomie qui oppose les « autres » à « nous », comment intéresser véritablement les étudiants à l'« Autre »?

Me retrouvant d'emblée dans un contexte où aucune définition singulière de la « nation » canadienne ne peut rallier

à la fois les étudiants nationalistes canadiens et les étudiants nationalistes québécois, c'est ce problème en quelque sorte, c'est-à-dire le problème posé historiquement par la définition de la « nation » et par sa mise en pratique, qui se trouve au cœur de mon cours d'histoire du Canada. Le cours vise à débusquer le caractère construit et contingent de la « nation » de manière à faire prendre conscience aux étudiants de son inachèvement. Il est organisé autour des processus continus d'élaboration d'une « nation » canadienne; une nation dont la définition et l'existence ont été soutenues et alimentées par divers groupes et parties du Canada en même temps que cette définition et cette existence ont été travaillées et parfois revues par certains courants d'opposition et ont fait l'objet de débats. En d'autres mots, le cours porte sur l'histoire du Canada saisi dans son historicité même, comme « projet » politique que l'on pourrait qualifier de projet de gouvernance libérale, comme nous invitait tout récemment à le faire Ian McKay<sup>10</sup>. À chaque époque, ce projet politique s'est élaboré en lien avec des représentations



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particulières de la nation dont il s'agit d'expliquer les sources d'inspiration, les composantes, les finalités, les modalités de mise en application et la manière dont elles se sont concrétisées.

Cette approche de l'histoire du Canada centrée sur la « nation », comprise aussi comme entreprise de structuration des rapports sociaux en fonction d'une représentation spécifique de l'ensemble à l'intérieur desquels ils se vivent, procède forcément de choix qui exclut plusieurs éléments. Aux antipodes d'une certaine tendance encyclopédiste des synthèses actuelles qui cherchent à donner le plus d'informations possible sur le plus grand nombre, une histoire du Canada pensée comme histoire « nationale » doit se concentrer davantage sur les dynamiques liées à l'élaboration de cette entité nationale. Ainsi, plus que les conditions de vie ou les grèves du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle, mon cours insiste sur les batailles scolaires et confessionnelles à la même époque et sur les tensions qui résultent de l'effort de « canadianisation », ou devrait-on plutôt dire pour l'époque de « britannisation », des nouveaux immigrants dans l'Ouest. Au début du 20<sup>e</sup> siècle, la « Belle Époque » n'est guère abordée. Par contre, la résurgence des revendications régionalistes est analysée longuement en elle-même et comme indice révélateur de la difficulté des élites centrales de rendre acceptable aux yeux de tous leur représentation de la « nation » canadienne et sa mise en pratique, toutes deux orientées en fonction de leurs propres intérêts et réalités. De même, une attention soutenue est accordée à l'État, à son développement, à son emprise grandissante sur la société et à son rôle de plus en plus déterminant dans la définition de la nation. Certes, ces choix dénotent-ils de l'importance accordée au politique au détriment d'autres dimensions, mais il faut voir qu'il s'agit d'une conception du politique perçu comme ensemble des rapports de pouvoir au sein de la société canadienne et qui interfère dans le processus de définition et de mise en pratique de la nation et de l'identité nationale. Ainsi considéré, le politique est beaucoup plus englobant que la simple vie politique et comporte, faut-il le préciser, des éléments socioculturels.

Pour sortir l'écriture et l'enseignement de l'histoire « nationale » de son



"Interior of a Wigwam" by Robert Pelley / National Archives of Canada / C105533

impasse actuelle et du dialogue de sourds installé entre les promoteurs d'une histoire centralisatrice et traditionnelle et ceux qui favorisent une histoire pluraliste mais faiblement interprétative, il importe, en somme, de délaisser un enseignement du Canada où le pays est perçu comme un principe explicatif pour enfin le considérer comme le produit d'une histoire<sup>11</sup>. Cela me semble être une manière stimulante d'enseigner une histoire « nationale » qui ne soit pas nationaliste et qui offre aux étudiants la possibilité de réfléchir à la situation passée et présente d'un pays dans sa globalité. N'est-ce pas ainsi, c'est-à-dire en s'interrogeant sur le processus d'élaboration de la « nation » canadienne, comme de toute autre nation d'ailleurs, qu'il devient possible de dégager un sens à l'histoire « nationale » enseignée aux étudiants et de nourrir leur esprit critique ?

Michèle Dagenais est Professeur au Département d'histoire, Université de Montréal

<sup>1</sup> Pour un bon panorama des réflexions sur le sujet qui réunit des historiens de différents pays, voir le dossier portant sur « L'Histoire se libère de la nation », paru récemment : *Le Monde des Débats*, novembre 2000, p.10-19.

<sup>2</sup> Il s'agit pour l'essentiel de Jocelyn Létourneau et Ian McKay. Chacun a publié un article sur la situation de l'histoire canadienne paru dans la *Canadian Historical Review*, dans le cadre de la série « CHR Forum » : J. Létourneau, « L'avenir du Canada; par rapport à quelle histoire? », *CHR*, 81, 2 (juin 2000), p. 230-259; I. McKay, « The Liberal Order Framework : A Prospectus for Reconnaissance of Canadian History », *CHR*, 81, 4

(décembre 2000), 617-645.

<sup>3</sup> Pour un résumé des éléments de ce débat, voir l'intéressant article de Philip Buckner qui défend l'histoire régionale face à ceux qui la blâment d'être en partie responsable de l'éclatement de la discipline : « 'Limited Identities' Revisited : Regionalism and Nationalism in Canadian History », *Acadiensis*, XXX, 1 (automne 2000), 4-15.

<sup>4</sup> Michel Wieviorka, « Retours de mémoires », *Le Monde des Débats*, novembre 2000, 10-12.

<sup>5</sup> Ce dont témoigne le bilan historiographique de Jean-Paul Bernard, au titre fort éloquent : « L'historiographie canadienne récente (1964-1994) et l'histoire des peuples du Canada », *Canadian Historical Review*, 76, 3 (septembre 1995), 321-

<sup>6</sup> Jocelyn Létourneau, loc. cit., p.241.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 242.

<sup>8</sup> S'il se retrouve dans certaines monographies, ce point de vue critique n'a pas encore atteint les synthèses. À ma connaissance, Ian McKay est le seul historien canadien-anglais à proposer une vision critique de l'histoire « nationale » à ce niveau : loc.cit.

<sup>9</sup> Cette crainte de l'affaiblissement de la nation canadienne est très présente dans le texte de Philip Buckner, loc.cit. et discutée dans celui de Jocelyn Létourneau, loc. cit., 242-244.

<sup>10</sup> I. McKay écrit, en substance : « the category 'Canada' should henceforth denote a historically specific project of rule, rather than either an essence we must defend or an empty homogeneous space we must possess. Canada-as-project can be analyzed through the study on the implantation and expansion over a heterogeneous terrain of a certain politico-economic logic - to wit, liberalism. » : loc. cit., p.620-621.

<sup>11</sup> Une approche que discutent André Burguière et Jacques Revel s'agissant de l'identité française : Préface à *l'Histoire de la France*, in Idem, dir. *Histoire de la France*, Tome 1, Paris, Seuil, 1989, p.18.

# HISTORY, CITIZENSHIP and Identity in Canada

BY Jack Jedwab

"Frontenac en route pour Cataragui", par John Henry de Rinzy / National Archives of Canada / C13325



National citizenship tests commonly include questions about a country's history and the one administered by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) is no exception. An analysis of these tests in Canada and elsewhere provides valuable insight into that which governments regard as the essential elements of historical knowledge about a country not only for immigrants but by extension for the entire population. The tendency of citizenship questionnaires is to focus on the origins of a country. In Canada such tests pay considerable attention to aboriginal peoples (i.e. what are the three main groups of aboriginal peoples), the French presence (i.e. who are the Acadian people and when did settlers from France first establish communities on the St. Lawrence River?) and the British presence (i.e. who were the United Empire Loyalists?). The enactment of Confederation is also the object of an important number of questions

(i.e. what does Confederation mean?) in the citizenship test. Questionnaires pay little attention to the period 1867 through 1970 and the next major focus of the Canadian test is around the introduction of the Charter of Rights. For those who are interested, CIC does provide special features on the history of immigration to Canada; however, with regard to citizenship tests, it is fair to assume that only a certain amount of information is integrated about the country's past.

## IMMIGRATION

Much attention has been directed at the impact of the influx of immigrants over the last twenty years on the country's collective memory. The 2001 census will reveal that some one out of five Canadians were not born in Canada. In the United States less than one out of ten persons are not born in that country. Throughout much of Canada the ethnic

DURING THE 1990'S THE STRENGTHENING OF CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT FOCUS OF MANY OF THE COUNTRY'S POLICY-MAKERS AS WELL AS AN IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY. KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL HISTORIES TENDS TO BE REGARDED AS A FUNDAMENTAL DIMENSION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION. IT IS BELIEVED THAT MORE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CANADA'S PAST WILL LEAD TO GREATER ATTACHMENT TO THE NATION AND THIS WILL IN TURN RESULT IN A STRENGTHENING OF CITIZENSHIP. BY CONSEQUENCE, THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING CONCERN OVER THE LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT CANADA'S HISTORY AMONGST THE POPULATION.

composition of the classroom has evolved considerably.

CIC sends the following message to immigrants: 'As a newcomer, you want to enjoy life in Canada without losing what is important to you. You will change as you adapt to Canada. However, you do not have to give up your personal or cultural identity. You may keep your cultural traditions, provided they are not harmful to Canada as a whole or to any individual Canadian. Canadians understand that Canada is a land of many cultures. In part, this is because Canada is a country made up of many peoples. It has been said that Canada is a "nation of immigrants", because all Canadians – except the First Peoples – share common immigrant origins.'

The growing diversity of the population in such a relatively young nation is believed to have significant ramifications for what are regarded as the defining features of Canada. Columnist Gwynne

Dyer has argued that such things as the Meech Lake Accord will be irrelevant to many immigrants arriving from far away places. But it is unclear that the Accord is relevant to non-immigrant Canadians. By consequence, how can we expect new Canadians to possess a good knowledge of the country's history when, according to numerous surveys, so many non-immigrants lack such knowledge? Can we expect them to share a passion for the Canadian past that many of us simply do not possess?

*It would be a mistake to assume that immigrants are less attached to Canada by virtue of their not being as rooted or possessing an inferior knowledge of the country's past. Surveys confirm that with regard to various dimensions of Canadian identity immigrants' degrees of attachment are either equally high or higher than that of non-immigrants.*

It would be a mistake to assume that immigrants are less attached to Canada by virtue of their not being as rooted or possessing an inferior knowledge of the country's past. Surveys confirm that with regard to various dimensions of Canadian identity immigrants' degrees of attachment are either equally high or higher than that of non-immigrants. Whether it is the national anthem, the Canadian flag or the Charter of Rights, vast majorities of immigrants considered them important to Canadian identity (Environics, 2000).

#### **CITIZENSHIP AND IMMIGRATION CANADA, INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS AND QUEBEC'S MINISTRY OF RELATIONS WITH CITIZENS AND IMMIGRATION**

Citizenship tests provide the basis for a governmental history. To prepare for the exam one would consult the information offered by CIC to new Canadians. Given that it has special responsibility for immigration, the province of Quebec offers its own information to new arrivals. It differs considerably in emphasis from the information that CIC disseminates to immigrants around Quebec's historic realities. In

effect CIC avoids giving information that may be construed as overtly political and keeps more to early history and socio-demographic matters. Below are a series of comparisons in the type of information given by the two departments about their respective histories.

#### **BEGINNINGS**

Before the French and the English came to Canada there were groups of First Peoples in every region. Distinct nations of Indians lived on the East

Coast, in the Central area, on the Plains and on the West Coast. The Inuit lived in the North.

The First Peoples in Canada developed unique cultures based on where and how each group lived. In the central plains, where groups of families cooperated in hunting buffalo, they would follow the animals and resettle often. The Indians of the Pacific Coast fished from the sea and were able to develop permanent villages. In the North, the Inuit lived by the sea in the winter and traveled inland in the summer.

Over the years, the First Peoples have worked to raise awareness of their identity among Canadian governments and the general public. They have also worked to apply their distinctive rights to lands and resources and to govern themselves within Canadian society.

The first inhabitants of Quebec were the First Nations people and the Inuit. Some of the First Nations people were the first to raise vegetable crops in the fertile land along the St. Lawrence River. The Aboriginal peoples in this region were fur traders who taught the early settlers how to survive. Today, many Aboriginal communities remain throughout the province. Settlers from

France first established communities along the St. Lawrence River in the early 1600s. Today, Quebec society reflects this heritage.

More than three-quarters of the Canadians who live in Quebec speak French as their first language. Over one-third of the population in Quebec speak both French and English, making it the province with the highest number of bilingual Canadians. The province preserves and promotes the historic language and culture of its French-speaking citizens.

European explorers first came to North America in the 15th and 16th centuries. However, the area that is now Canada was not settled until the 17th century. The British and the French were the first two European groups to move here in large numbers. Each group brought its own language, system of government, laws and culture.

#### **LE QUÉBEC : UNE SOCIÉTÉ PLURALISTE**

Le Québec est une société pluraliste. La majorité d'origine française cohabite avec une minorité d'origine britannique, avec des nations amérindiennes et des gens de diverses origines et cultures venus d'ailleurs dans le monde (CIC).

L'arrivée de tribus asiatiques, via l'Alaska, remonte à plus de 12 000 ans. Quant aux Européens, sauf pour quelques incursions aux IXe et Xe siècles, ils ne s'installent pas sur ce territoire avant les années 1500. À cette époque, plusieurs nations autochtones l'occupent ou le fréquentent déjà.

1534 : Jacques Cartier prend possession des lieux au nom du roi de France, ouvrant ainsi la voie aux activités de pêche commerciale et de traite des fourrures.

1608 : Samuel de Champlain fonde le premier poste permanent à Kébec (Québec), nom qui signifie « passage rétréci » en langue autochtone. Ainsi s'amorce la colonisation de la Nouvelle-France (MRCI).

#### **TO CONFEDERATION**

Formal constitutional development in Canada began with the Edict creating the Sovereign Council of Quebec in 1663, whereby the French established

New France as a royal province and made provision for civil government. Following the transfer of Canada to British rule, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 established, among other things, certain principles respecting civil government in Quebec and relations with aboriginal peoples.

In the years immediately preceding the American Revolution, the British government became increasingly engaged in the question of how to maintain the loyalty of its new Canadian subjects. Mindful of the significant cultural differences between Quebec and the rest of British North America, the Westminster Parliament passed the Quebec Act, 1774, authorizing the use of French civil law and permitting the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. This act is the original legal source of Quebec's subsequent position affirming its continuing recognition as a distinct society in North America (IGA).

In 1837-38, there were revolts in Upper and Lower Canada and demands for a system of responsible government. Constitutional government was suspended. The Durham Report which followed made two key recommendations.

1. That Upper and Lower Canada be joined in a single legislative union, the use of French be proscribed, and the assimilation of the Francophone population by the Anglophone population be fostered;

2. That responsible government be established.

The Union Act, 1840 sought – but failed – to achieve the first objective. Eight years later both English and French were placed on an equal footing for all official purposes. Although the Union Act had not provided for responsible government, this second objective was achieved under Canada's "unwritten" Constitution – the traditions, customs, practices, and legislation of greater or lesser importance that almost inevitably supplement or complement the written constitution of any state (IGA).

Canada was created in 1867 when Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick joined together. This act is celebrated each year on July 1 as

Canada's official birthday. The name Canada may have come from the word "Kanata" in the language of the Huron-Iroquois Indians, which means a village or settlement.

The first Canadian Immigration Act was passed in 1869. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, advertising brought immigrants from Europe. Some settled in towns and cities, and others provided labour for factories, mines and lumber camps. Many were farmers who turned the western prairie into wheat fields. The building of our national railways by immigrants joined the East and West coasts and opened the interior for settlement (CIC).

1759 : Alors que la guerre de Sept Ans oppose la France et l'Angleterre, l'armée anglaise de Wolfe défait les troupes françaises de Montcalm sur les plaines d'Abraham à Québec. 1763 : La France cède le Canada à l'Angleterre, ce qui déclenche un courant d'immigration anglo-saxonne. Cet influx s'amplifie avec la venue de Loyalistes fuyant les États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance (1775-1783). Au milieu du XIXe siècle, le quart de la population québécoise est anglophone. La Proclamation royale abolit les lois françaises et exclut les catholiques des charges publiques. Résolus à conserver leur langue et leur religion, les francophones résistent et assurent leur survivance par une forte natalité.

1774 : L'Acte de Québec rétablit le droit civil français et reconnaît la religion catholique.

1791 : L'Acte constitutionnel instaure un régime parlementaire et partage le pays en deux provinces : le Haut-Canada à majorité anglophone (l'Ontario) et le Bas-Canada à majorité francophone (le Québec). Le nouveau régime permet l'émergence d'une élite politique qui réclame des droits accrus pour le Canada français. L'Angleterre refuse d'accorder un gouvernement responsable au Bas-Canada.

1838 : Le mécontentement des Patriotes mène à des affrontements armés avec les troupes britanniques. Celles-ci en sortent victorieuses.

1840 : L'Acte d'union réunit les deux provinces, ce qui place les francophones en situation de minorité. Il

permet toutefois la reconnaissance de la langue française au Parlement et dans les lois.

1867 : L'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique consacre la fédération des provinces du Canada, alors composée du Québec, de l'Ontario, du Nouveau-Brunswick et de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Le Québec dispose dorénavant de son propre parlement et de pouvoirs exclusifs dans certains domaines tels que l'éducation et le droit civil (MRCI).

## **HISTORIES OF UNITY AND DISUNITY**

Although Quebec has been calling for increased provincial powers for years, the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976, on a platform calling for a dramatic distancing of Quebec from the rest of the Canadian federation, made constitutional renewal seem all the more pressing. In late 1979, the Parti Québécois government released a paper on Canadian federalism that called for a radical recasting of the Quebec-Canada relationship. The paper did not advocate Quebec's complete institutional withdrawal from Canada, but rather called for the creation of a very loose "partnership" between Quebec and Ottawa, called "sovereignty-association". A referendum to seek a mandate to negotiate such an arrangement was set for May 20, 1980. On May 14, the Prime Minister of Canada promised Quebecers a "renewed federalism" if they voted "No" in the impending referendum (IGA).

On October 6, 1980, the federal government indicated that it intended to patriate the Constitution unilaterally (without the consent of the provincial premiers) by introducing a Joint Address to the Queen in the House of Commons. Eight of the provinces immediately protested this unilateral action. Manitoba, Quebec, and Newfoundland referred the matter to their courts and the matter was ultimately referred to the Supreme Court of Canada by the federal government. On September 28, 1981, the Supreme Court of Canada rendered its decision that a "unilateral" patriation of the Constitution was legal. But it added that a "substantial degree" of provincial consent was required by constitutional convention before the federal-provincial

relationship could be fundamentally altered by a request to Britain for constitutional amendment.

In the wake of the Court's decision, the federal government convened another First Ministers' Conference on November 2, 1981. Ottawa and the provinces, with the exception of Quebec, ultimately agreed on a package

tions, de l'éducation et des affaires sociales s'appuie sur le principe de l'universalité. Elle annonce la montée d'une nouvelle catégorie de gens d'affaires dynamiques et l'arrivée massive des femmes sur le marché du travail. L'image du Québec est définitivement transformée. Les débats sur la prépondérance du français et sur la spé-

poste lors des élections provinciales de décembre 1998. Le Québec tente toujours de redéfinir sa position au sein de la fédération canadienne. Il reconnaît sa composition multiethnique et démontre son ouverture sur le monde, dont témoigne son adhésion à l'Accord de libre-échange nord-américain (ALENA), tout en continuant d'affirmer sa situation particulière de seule société francophone en Amérique du Nord (MRCI).

*After all while some contend that a better knowledge of Canada's history will result in more support for Canadian unity, in Quebec there is a belief that a greater awareness of that province's history amongst its population will lead to more support for Quebec sovereignty.*

of constitutional reforms, including the patriation of the Constitution with an amending formula and a charter of rights; a commitment to equalization; the strengthening of provincial control over natural resources; and the recognition and affirmation of the existing rights of Canada's aboriginal peoples. However, the Quebec government continued to dissent, arguing that Quebec's claims had been ignored, that a deal had been reached without Quebec's knowledge, and that the Prime Minister had reneged on his promise of "renewed federalism". On December 1, 1981, by resolution, the National Assembly rejected the patriation package. Indeed, throughout Quebec, the patriation experience left many feeling wounded and isolated (IGA).

The Government of Canada remains committed to modernizing the federation and to working in partnership with the provinces. It is the federal government's belief that this collaborative approach will strengthen national unity and advance our efforts to fully recognize the diversity of Canada including the unique character of Quebec (IGA).

1959 : La fin du régime de Maurice Duplessis amorce une mutation profonde et rapide sur les plans politique, social et économique - la « révolution tranquille ». Cette réforme des institu-

cificité de la culture québécoise ne sont pas terminés pour autant.

1974 : Le français est proclamé langue officielle du Québec.

1975 : La Charte des droits et libertés de la personne est adoptée par l'Assemblée nationale du Québec. Entrée en vigueur en juin 1976, elle vise essentiellement l'harmonisation des rapports des citoyens entre eux et avec leurs institutions, dans le respect de la dignité humaine.

1976 : Le nationalisme qui sous-tend la révolution tranquille mène à l'élection du Parti québécois de René Lévesque.

1977 : La Charte de la langue française est proclamée pour assurer le maintien du caractère francophone du Québec.

1980 : Par voie de référendum, la population rejette le projet de souveraineté-association avec le reste du Canada.

1990 et 1992 : Alors que le Parti libéral, dirigé par Robert Bourassa, est au pouvoir, les projets d'accords constitutionnels avec le reste du Canada échouent à leur tour.

1995 : Un deuxième référendum, tenu par le gouvernement du Parti québécois alors mené par Jacques Parizeau, est également défait.

1996-1998 : Nommé chef du Parti québécois et premier ministre en 1996, Lucien Bouchard est confirmé dans ce

## CONCLUSION

Clearly the information disseminated by Quebec resembles that provided by federal immigration authorities in regards to the break between the Confederation period and the 1960's. However the Quebec Ministry of Relations with Citizens and Immigration focuses far more on political events than does Citizenship and Immigration Canada. This said, information about political events in Canada is provided by the federal Intergovernmental Affairs Ministry. Clearly historic information can vary depending upon whom one considers to be the group that they wish to reach. The opportunity for reconciling the historic accounts respectively given by CIC and IGA with that of MRCI would no doubt be an interesting exercise.

The interpretation of historic events can have significant political ramifications. In 1995 Canada narrowly overcame a threat to its political future that is rooted in historic conflict. Whether a good dose of knowledge about Canada's history would have helped to resolve this matter remains unclear. After all while some contend that a better knowledge of Canada's history will result in more support for Canadian unity, in Quebec there is a belief that a greater awareness of that province's history amongst its population will lead to more support for Quebec sovereignty. In the end it may not be knowledge of basic historic facts that is critical to a stronger attachment to the nation, rather it is how and by whom the events are being interpreted.

I RECENTLY RECEIVED AN E-MAIL FROM A STUDENT WHO EXPLAINED THAT WHILE HE LOVED HIS HISTORY COURSES AND WANTED TO MAJOR IN THE FIELD, HE WAS WORRIED ABOUT WHAT SORT OF EMPLOYMENT HE MIGHT EXPECT AT THE END OF HIS FOUR YEARS OF UNIVERSITY, ARMED WITH NOTHING MORE THAN A BACHELOR'S DEGREE IN HISTORY. I CAN ONLY IMAGINE THE ANGUISHED CONVERSATIONS THAT HAD OCCURRED AROUND THE DINNER TABLE AT HOME DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEKS, AND SUSPECT A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PERHAPS JUSTIFIABLE PARENTAL CONCERN BEHIND THE E-MAIL QUERY. WE LIVE IN A SOCIETY THAT IS UNABASHED IN ITS EMBRACE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY: A NEW UNIVERSITY, THE ONTARIO INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, IS PREPARING TO OPEN ITS DOORS; THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS Poured MILLIONS OF DOLLARS INTO POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION THROUGH ITS CANADA FOUNDATION FOR INNOVATION AND CANADA RESEARCH CHAIR PROGRAMS, BUT THIS MONEY HAS OVERWHELMINGLY GONE TO SCIENCE, ENGINEERING AND COMPUTER SCIENCE DEPARTMENTS AND PRACTITIONERS; AND POLITICIANS AT ALL LEVELS AND BUSINESSES IN EVERY SECTOR HAVE OUTDONE THEMSELVES IN THEIR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE AND BECOME ASSOCIATED WITH THE LATEST TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES. HISTORY IS INCREASINGLY BEING CONSIDERED A "BOUTIQUE" PURSUIT: FINE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL STUDENTS, FOR ROUNDING OUT POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION, OR FOR PRIME TIME TELEVISION VIEWING, BUT NOT DESIGNED TO POSITION ITS GRADUATES WELL IN THE NEW ECONOMY. THIS IS A PERSPECTIVE THAT HAS TO END, AND THOSE OF US WHO TEACH HISTORY TO UNIVERSITY STUDENTS MUST TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN PUBLICIZING NOT ONLY WHAT WE DO, BUT HOW A HISTORY DEGREE PREPARES PEOPLE NOT ONLY FOR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BUT ALSO FOR SUCCESS IN A TECHNOLOGY-DRIVEN WORLD.

## UNDERGRADUATE HISTORY in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

BY P. E. Bryden

Students of history, regardless of what area or time-period they choose to specialize in, are all asked to do roughly the same thing. Whether their courses are lecture-driven or seminar-based, we ask that our students take vast amounts of information, distill it, and shape it into coherent papers or articulate contributions to classroom discussions. One of the most basic things that distinguishes history from other disciplines is the sheer quantity of information that we expect our students to use. Our lectures, power-point presentations and multi-media demonstrations are little more than abstracts of information that we as scholars have gathered over years of study; before a student can complete a course, we expect that they will not only have digested the material that we provide them with, but we also demand that they search for information themselves for the purposes of writing reports or preparing presentations. Where they find this material is limitless. The tools of the historian are not only the articles and monographs found in libraries, but also artifacts, maps, oral interviews, internet sources, photographs, songs, polls, maps and countless other items that can provide a clue about the nature of the past. By the time

a student has completed a course in history, they have absorbed, often unknowingly, literally thousands of pieces of information. And they have become adept at handling that information.

Having bombarded our students with facts and figures, interpretations and debates, we then ask them to assess the relative value of each. We teach our students how to evaluate the credibility of different sources, how to question interpretations, and how to corroborate versions of the same story. In essence, we teach them how to be critical and we encourage them to be distrustful. But we expect that our classes will be filled with more than merely a group of fact-checkers. We then demand that they arrange the mass of information that

has passed the stringent tests we have set for it into a coherent, logical and more compact whole. It is not enough to simply staple together the pages of documents; we want our students to evaluate what is relevant, and then craft a composition that both tells a story and makes an argument, and does so in language that is at once clear and elegant. By the end of this process, our students have gathered information from a vast array of sources, they have evaluated it and prioritized it, and they have massaged it into a shape that in its simplicity belies the significance of the process

*Our focus on developing new and better and faster ways that knowledge can be conveyed, we have paid scant attention to what our society is supposed to do with that plethora of information that is now available at our fingertips.*

that created it. It is easy for us as professors to forget what goes into writing a ten-page paper on the reasons for Atlantic industrial stagnation, but until we start being explicit about the significance of the process, we will continue to have classrooms filled with students who don't understand that what they are learning there is excellent preparation for the work force.

As a society, we have placed an increasing emphasis on technology, but our love affair has tended to be with those who can design the tools themselves. Students of history worry that they are not learning skills that will enable them to make careers for themselves in the computer or communications industries or earn the high salaries that appear to go with such professions. But with our focus on developing new and better and faster ways that knowledge can be conveyed, we have paid scant attention to what our society is supposed to do with that plethora of information that is now available at our fingertips. A graduate with a degree in history is extraordinarily well-positioned to handle the quantity of information that has to be understood in order to perform any job in the new economy effectively.

Most students graduate with a degree in history, however, without realizing the level of expertise they have gained in information management, and are therefore not as adept at identifying their skills for potential employers as they might be. University teachers now have an added responsibility. As knowledge simply for the sake of knowledge becomes increasingly devalued, we must underline for our students the very practical skills that a degree in history is providing. Rather than assuming that the parallels between researching history topics and

preparing legal factums, risk analyses or share-holder reports are obvious, we have to become more diligent in identifying for our students the similarities. A history BA is not a professional degree, and therefore does not immediately direct its recipients to an obvious career. Only by reminding our students that they are acquiring valuable research, assessment and communications skills can we expect them to be able to point to these skills as they search for employment.

Just as important as the skills that students acquire as they study history is the knowledge that they gain. Here too, however, teachers of history at the post-secondary level must be more specific about the relevance of their course material for participation in the modern world. Students who must choose between biology and computer science courses that clearly provide the foundations for careers in the high-tech industry must be lured to history with assurances that the information covered in these courses is also applicable to real-world situations. We must demonstrate not only that the process of studying history clearly provides students with abilities that translate easily into the

new information economy, but also that the content of our courses prepares them to take advantage of opportunities available.

Professors of Canadian history are particularly well-situated to be able to identify obvious parallels between the past and the present, although we don't do nearly enough in this direction. The current resurgence of interest in Canadian history has tended to focus on the events of the past in a kind of vacuum, again assuming that the connections between what is taught in the classroom and what happens in the world outside will be transparently evident to our audiences. Santayana's admonition that those who do not learn from the past are doomed to repeat it is often quoted and has become little more than a platitude, although professional historians frequently behave as if this is the obvious justification for studying history. We need to do more than pronounce that a knowledge of one's country's past is a necessary precondition of engaged citizenship; we need to explain why.

A number of organizations and institutions have recently taken up the cause of Canadian history, and their efforts in publicizing the debate over what we teach our students are to be lauded. The Dominion Institute, for example, demonstrates every Canada Day the appallingly limited knowledge of Canadian history with the publication of its survey results. Participants are asked to identify the names of various Prime Ministers, the dates of certain battles or legislative accomplishments, and the claims to fame of a number of individuals and groups; year in and year out, Canadians demonstrate that they just don't know. The CBC and the newly founded *Historica* have attempted to rectify this situation through the incredibly popular *Canada: A People's History* television series, and a variety of funded prizes, speakers' tours and university chairs. These have been enormously valuable services, and their effect on the level of knowledge the general public can now claim should not be underestimated. However, none of these initiatives adequately explains to a middle manager at Nortel how a degree in

Canadian history could have prepared them for the job market. This is as much a challenge facing university professors of history as elevating the general level of knowledge. Only by providing these sorts of explanations will history be able to successfully weather the high-tech onslaught.

Students currently enrolled in Canadian history classes are already learning about a multitude of past events and issues that have relevance to today's society, although for the most part they probably don't realize it. Knowing that John A. Macdonald was the country's first prime minister is interesting information, but it isn't likely to make or break anyone's career in anything other than the academy. Knowledge of how he came to power, though, and how he manipulated the trade issue or how he developed patronage networks or how he handled the Riel issue, can have important applications today in identifying economic strategies, cultivating business associates or appreciating the deep roots of Quebec separatism. Understanding the class and gender divisions that both promoted and impeded the organization of unions in the early part of the century is also interesting for its own sake, but will remain little more than historical trivia until we force our students to see that these tensions continue to affect our society. Without an appreciation of the reasons for these cleavages, and how the tools of compromise, accommodation and open conflict have been variously used in the past, tomorrow's workforce will be poorly equipped to design private or public policies any more likely of success. Having spent a year researching, thinking and writing about Ontario's relationship with the federal government in the years following the Second World War, and then returning to chair a department struggling with issues of the division of power within a university, I know only too well how the general patterns of the past we study can cast important light on the problems of the present.

A degree in history, I told the student who sent me the e-mail, is excellent preparation not only for the obvious post-graduate professional degree programs like education, library science and



Canadian soldiers liberate Holland, 1945 / National Archives of Canada / PA13437

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law, but it also provides the necessary foundation for immediate entry into the business, consulting, government, or financial worlds. The methodology employed in history steeps students in skills that are highly-valued in the workforce, and the content of history courses provides students with so many examples of both success and failure that virtually any challenge can be faced with at

least some helpful insights from the past for direction. But I shouldn't have had to explain all this within the context of a private e-mail correspondence; I should be making these skills and these contemporary parallels clear to all my students in all my courses. We all should.

P. E. Bryden is a Professor of History at Mount Allison University



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Bienvenue dans l'univers virtuel de la Bibliothèque et des Archives nationales du Canada

Welcome to the Web world of the National Archives and the National Library of Canada

# L'histoire canadienne en direct!

# CONFESSIONS of a History Major

BY Thomas S. Axworthy

"STUDY HISTORY, STUDY HISTORY," WINSTON CHURCHILL ONCE TOLD A YOUNG AMERICAN ADMIRER WHO SOUGHT HIS GUIDANCE, "HISTORY HAS ALL THE SECRETS OF STATECRAFT." HISTORICAL IMAGINATION WAS THE WELLSPRING OF CHURCHILL'S GENIUS: HE VISUALISED ENGLAND'S PAST, BROUGHT IT TO LIFE, AND SUMMONED HIS PEOPLE TO GREATNESS. AT THE CASABLANCA CONFERENCE IN 1943, IN A LULL IN THE PROCEEDINGS, HE TURNED TO HAROLD MACMILLAN AND REMARKED, "THE TROUBLE WITH CROMWELL IS THAT HE SPENT ALL HIS ENERGIES ON SPAIN AND NEVER RECOGNIZED THE GROWING POWER OF FRANCE." IN THE MIDST OF THE ALLIES' LIFE AND DEATH STRUGGLE WITH HITLER, CHURCHILL WAS ALREADY ALERT TO THE POTENCY OF STALIN. CROMWELL WAS HIS BRIDGE FROM THE PAST TO THE PRESENT, POINTING AT THE ROAD TO THE FUTURE.

Churchill's admonition to "study history, study history" should be the leit motif of the October 19th – 21st National History Conference in Winnipeg. In my view history is not a discipline, but a meta-subject, a key to unlocking the treasures of many disciplines. Understanding and applying the critical skills of historical scholarship are as useful in mathematics, or environmental studies as they are in the humanities. Every subject has a history, the story of how others before us have tried to get it right. We learn by examining the triumphs and mistakes of others. In mathematics, for example, what methods did Archimedes employ, what problems did he solve, and what limitations were there to his approach? How did Newton advance over Archimedes? What could Einstein solve that Newton could not? What can't we solve today? Why? History is relevant to all organized bodies of knowledge. The downgrading of history by our education authorities over the past generation is an assault on every discipline.

Winnipeg, the site of the 2001 National History Conference, is also the community in which I first came to love history. I was lucky enough to attend a small liberal arts college in downtown Winnipeg – United College then, the University of Winnipeg now. An undergraduate education in 1964 – 1968 was remarkably different from the University classes that I teach today. I never had a lecture class larger than 45 and by second year small seminars were the rule. No anonymity at United College: as I walked down the halls, Dr. Leathers, of the French Department, would tell me to tuck in my shirt. The College President, Dr. Wilfred Lockhart, moderator of the United Church, not only seemed to know every student by name but would regularly call you to his office to have chats about your progress or the lack thereof. Knowing his ecclesiastical bent, I told him that my plan to learn the French subjunctive heavily relied on prayer. Seemingly unimpressed by my new devotion to vespers, he told me the Lord had other things on his mind, so I had better see Dr. Leathers about tutoring instead.

The History Department of United College was blessed with excellent talent and from three instructors in particular, I learned vital aspects of the historian's craft. Dr. Vincent Rutherford, head of the Department, taught me that history was more than gossip. The famous French historian Marc Bloch, killed by the Nazis for his involvement in the French resistance, wrote that "history is the science of man in time." Historians were not automatons, Dr. Rutherford acknowledged: they had values, prejudices, and quirks like anyone else. But history, unlike gossip is produced with a high, not low, intent: it is an honest effort to ascertain the truth objectively. In his lectures on the British Empire, Rutherford demonstrated that different historians could review the same events and come to opposite conclusions but in each case the meth-

ods employed were rigorous and thorough. After one of my papers had been marked down for excessive rhetoric and skimpy evidence, Dr. Rutherford lent me his copy of Allan Nevins' book, *The Gateway to History*. Historians, Nevins

1890 helped me understand what was going on in my own time and place. As I was writing my paper Premier Jean Lesage of Quebec was travelling the West speaking on the then new topic, "What Does Quebec Want?". Lesage was booed

to a world view. We are, he writes, "starving for context, not information." Facts are transformed into information when we take note of them, knowledge goes further, it is organized information – information that is embedded in context. Wisdom, according to Postman is "the capacity to know what body of knowledge is relevant to the solution of significant problems." Knowledge must be judged by other knowledge. The problem of our new century is not how to move information – we've solved that – but how to transform information into knowledge, and knowledge into wisdom. The best way to do this, as Churchill urged, is to know history.

As Executive Director of Historica, a not for profit education foundation dedicated to the better teaching of history, I have tried to follow the lessons I learned as a history major at United College. We believe in standards and the editors of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, the writers of our lesson plans, and the organizers of our teacher's institutes are scrupulous in their dedication to the truth. We believe that the best way to learn history is to research it, not read about it, and our Heritage Fairs programme involves over 135,000 young people in creating, designing and researching their own projects. Above all, through the *Heritage Minutes* and our sponsorship of *The Canadians: Biographies of a Nation*, we try to deliver great stories in the medium of our time – film and television. We believe in narrative. Not a narrative – there is not one truth about Canada – but narratives. There are many truths about Canada but all of them should be well told. Standards, research and story telling: I learned them all at United College where good history teaching took root in the prairie soil. I am the beneficiary of that fruit of knowledge. Our purpose at Historica is to pass this gift along to others as it was passed along to me.

Thomas S. Axworthy is Executive Director of the Historica Foundation, a new, charitable foundation dedicated to increasing awareness and understanding of Canadian history and its importance in shaping the future. He is also an Adjunct Lecturer of Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

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states, are the servants of truth (although there are many truths). The scientific method requires that data should be collected thoroughly, observed impartially, organized logically and evaluated fairly. Every letter, memoir, foreign office minute or artefact should be put under cross-examination. Standards of evidence, Rutherford taught, made history different from mere opinion. Historians were not scientists but they were professionals.

Dr. Cornelius Jaenen opened my eyes to another dimension of history – the thrill of primary sources. He taught a seminar on Francophones in the West. My assigned topic was the 1890 Manitoba school question. I handed in a first draft with careful notations (thank you Dr. Rutherford) from W.L. Morton's *History of Manitoba*. This is all very good, Jaenen said, but the Manitoba Legislature is only up the street, the Winnipeg Free Press is just down the way, and the Manitoba Archives are across from the Hudson's Bay Company. Why take Morton's word for it, why not look things up myself? It was at that moment that I began to evolve from a student into a scholar. I read the debates in the Manitoba Hansard, saw how emotions were enflamed by editorials in the Manitoba Free Press, read letters and memoirs of Francophones whose rights were taken away. Jaenen's insistence on primary sources allowed me to enter the Manitoba of 1890, to start using my historical imagination, as Churchill used his. And if Churchill's assessment of Cromwell's foreign policy in the 1650s, helped him assess his world in 1943, so too my immersion into the prejudices of

down in Winnipeg, with garbage thrown at his car. Dalton McCarthy's spirit still bestrode Portage and Main in 1965. I realized then and there that bilingualism was the only hope for Canada. We had to make right the wrongs of 1890. It took a generation of effort but the 1982 Charter of Rights, with its protection of minority language rights, finally closed that particular circle.

History then, depends upon critical thinking and high standards. But it is much more than method. It is an art as well as a science. Great history requires great narrative. Dr. Walter Stein showed me the romance of history. Stein taught a course on Roosevelt and the New Deal and his living room cracked with jokes, jibes and passion. Stein was a born storyteller and his accounts of the Okies in California made real Cesar Chavez's 1967 efforts to organize farm workers, Huey Long was a funnier version of George Wallace, and Harry Hopkin's Civilian Conservative Corp was a more successful prototype of the Company of Young Canadians. Above all, Stein painted a picture of Franklin Roosevelt, smiling, plotting, experimenting, politicking; a liberal who actually made a difference.

Stein's storymaking led me to the great narrative historians; Gibbon, Macaulay, Carlyle, Michelet, Parkman, and Creighton. Great writers with an important theme have the ability to connect the dots, to focus on the critical, to educate us about their truths. Neil Postman, in his *Building a Bridge to the 18th Century* makes the excellent point that our age does not suffer from too little information. Yet information alone is useless, unless it has a context attached

# ENSEIGNER L'HISTOIRE DU CANADA À L'ÉTRANGER

## Enquête sur un défi

PAR Serge Jaumain



Newfoundland joins Confederation, April 1, 1949 / National Archives of Canada / PA122472

COMMENT TRANSMETTRE AUX ÉTUDIANTS LES ACQUIS LES PLUS RÉCENTS DE LA RECHERCHE TOUT EN LEUR PROPOSANT DES COURS ATTRAYANTS, INTÉRESSANTS ET DONT ILS RETIRERONT UN VÉRITABLE BÉNÉFICE INTELLECTUEL ? COMMENT AMÉLIORER LA QUALITÉ DE NOTRE PÉDAGOGIE POUR RENCONTRER LES ATTENTES DES NOUVELLES GÉNÉRATIONS D'ÉTUDIANTS ? COMMENT ADAPTER AU MIEUX NOTRE DISCOURS À L'AUDITOIRE AUQUEL NOUS NOUS ADRESSONS TOUT EN RESPECTANT LES STANDARDS DE QUALITÉ AUXQUELS NOUS SOMMES ATTACHÉS ? CES QUESTIONS EXISTENTIELLES TARAUDENT TOUS LES ENSEIGNANTS DU MONDE QUELLE QUE SOIT LA DISCIPLINE ENSEIGNÉE.

Les historiens canadiens n'échappent pas à la règle et, de manière très salutaire, ils s'interrogent régulièrement sur l'enseignement de leur discipline, remettant sans cesse leurs questions sur le métier. Au cours des dernières années, le *Bulletin de la Société historique du Canada* a souvent fait écho à leurs réflexions. Le colloque « Donner à l'avenir un passé. Enseigner, apprendre et communiquer l'histoire du Canada : défis et solutions » mis sur pied à Winnipeg par l'Association d'études canadiennes en octobre 2001, deux ans après une conférence du même type organisée à l'Institut d'Etudes canadiennes de l'Université McGill, le prouve : le sujet reste d'actualité.

Toutefois, le débat implique généralement les seuls historiens du Canada, ignorant l'existence de nombreux chercheurs qui, aux quatre coins de la planète, consacrent, eux aussi, tout une partie de leur temps à enseigner l'histoire de ce pays.

Il est vrai qu'à quelques exceptions près, ces « canadianistes » étrangers sont mal connus par la communauté académique canadienne. Ils sont pourtant près de 7,000, répartis dans plus d'une trentaine de pays et dont une grande partie dispensent des enseignements portant sur divers aspects du Canada (Rapport annuel du Conseil International d'études canadiennes 1999-2000). On estime que leurs cours touchent

annuellement plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'étudiants et contribuent donc, de manière significative, à la diffusion d'informations sur la société canadienne. Ils participent aussi à la formation d'étudiants qui, après avoir reçu de leurs enseignements, choisiront de poursuivre leur formation dans une université

de ceux de leurs condisciples vivant dans ce pays nécessite une adaptation qui, me semble-t-il, peut nourrir la réflexion de nos collègues canadiens.

Au-delà de l'intérêt comparatif, le témoignage des historiens étrangers est aussi utile dans un monde où la forte augmentation de la mobilité étudiante,

éventuels cours en Histoire canadienne ainsi que les remarques sur ces enseignements (raisons de l'intérêt des étudiants, sujets des éventuels travaux de fin d'études, problèmes rencontrés etc.). 76 personnes nous ont renvoyé un questionnaire complété, parmi lesquels 49 professeurs, travaillant dans 15 pays différents, qui dispensent des cours consacrés en tout ou en partie à l'histoire du Canada.

Le nombre limité de répondants et la diversité des systèmes d'enseignement ne facilitent pas l'établissement de statistiques. Toutefois l'analyse de ces 49 questionnaires permet de dégager quelques lignes de force.

*S'il est un défi, c'est bien de réussir à intéresser les étudiants d'Asie, d'Océanie, d'Amérique latine ou d'Europe au passé d'un pays lointain dont ils ont, au mieux, une très vague connaissance et qu'il faut souvent commencer par... situer sur une carte du monde !*

canadienne (par exemple en y réalisant une thèse de maîtrise ou de doctorat) et constitueront les vecteurs du renforcement des contacts académiques entre leurs établissements d'origine et les universités canadiennes.

La plupart de ces canadianistes sont aujourd'hui regroupés en associations nationales ou multinationales, fédérées à leur tour au sein d'un Conseil international; un maillage serré qui renforce leurs contacts avec le Canada et permet de poursuivre leurs travaux en dépit de l'éloignement géographique.

Les recherches menées par ces canadianistes étrangers touchent une grande variété de thèmes où l'histoire vient loin derrière les études littéraires. Il serait toutefois dommage de négliger l'expérience de ceux qui, parmi eux, dispensent des cours d'Histoire du Canada. Si au Canada (comme le suggère le titre de la conférence de Winnipeg) « enseigner, apprendre et communiquer l'histoire du Canada » représentent déjà autant de « défis » auxquels il faut proposer des « solutions », que penser du rôle de ceux qui enseignent l'histoire d'un Etat où la plupart de leurs étudiants n'ont même jamais mis les pieds ! S'il est un défi, c'est bien de réussir à intéresser les étudiants d'Asie, d'Océanie, d'Amérique latine ou d'Europe au passé d'un pays lointain dont ils ont, au mieux, une très vague connaissance et qu'il faut souvent commencer par... situer sur une carte du monde ! Enseigner l'histoire du Canada à ces étudiants dont les référents culturels sont fondamentalement différents

corollaire du renforcement de la coopération académique internationale, conduit chaque année un nombre croissant d'étudiants étrangers à poursuivre une partie de leur formation en histoire dans les universités canadiennes.

Tracer un bilan de l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada à l'étranger n'est pas chose aisée. Il existe bien des aperçus des publications récentes en études canadiennes qui illustrent la richesse, la diversité et l'intérêt des recherches menées dans différents pays mais, la plupart du temps, ils n'évoquent qu'indirectement l'enseignement, par exemple en mentionnant les thèses de maîtrise ou de doctorat sur le Canada. Les bilans consacrés spécifiquement aux enseignements en études canadiennes sont quant à eux beaucoup plus rares tant il est vrai que les outils disponibles pour une telle étude sont clairsemés et souvent très partiels. Les rapports annuels des associations nationales d'études canadiennes donnent au mieux une idée du nombre et des types d'enseignements dispensés dans chaque pays mais la plupart du temps leurs informations s'arrêtent là.

Présenter un tableau réaliste nécessite un contact direct avec les professeurs concernés. Nous avons donc utilisé le répertoire du Conseil international d'études canadiennes pour sélectionner les chercheurs travaillant à l'extérieur du Canada et qui avaient mentionné l'histoire parmi leurs champs d'intérêt. Un questionnaire de deux pages a été adressé à ces 379 chercheurs en demandant une brève description de leurs

## 1° DEUX TYPES DE COURS

Premier constat: un portrait réaliste des enseignements en histoire du Canada dispensés à l'étranger ne peut se limiter aux cours consacrés exclusivement à l'histoire du Canada. Il est généralement bien malaisé de convaincre les autorités académiques de l'opportunité d'inscrire dans leur programme un tel enseignement qui, ne nous leurrions pas, ne correspond à aucune demande spécifique des étudiants. Les professeurs qui souhaitent néanmoins dispenser à leurs étudiants une connaissance élémentaire de l'histoire canadienne doivent souvent recourir à d'autres stratégies. L'une d'elle consiste à l'intégrer dans un enseignement plus général, par exemple dans des cours sur l'histoire économique et sociale générale, sur les migrations, sur les Amérindiens, sur les études comparatives voire sur l'Amérique du Nord dans son ensemble. Le cas est loin d'être exceptionnel puisque notre enquête montre que 32 des 49 répondants dispensent des cours qui ont un contenu partiellement canadien (variant généralement entre 10 et 40 % de l'ensemble de la matière).

Cette incorporation d'un « contenu canadien », peu visible dans le programme des cours, est l'un des principaux moyens d'enseigner l'histoire canadienne à l'étranger ou tout au moins de transmettre aux étudiants quelques éléments de base sur l'histoire de ce pays. Elle offre un double avantage: 1°) pour beaucoup de canadianistes, c'est la seule façon d'intégrer dans leurs

enseignements le fruit de leurs recherches ; 2°) elle permet de toucher un public plus large qui n'aurait probablement pas choisi un cours consacré spécifiquement à l'histoire du Canada.

Insister sur l'importance des cours consacrés en partie à l'histoire du Canada ne signifie cependant pas qu'à l'étranger, les enseignements dédiés entièrement à ce sujet soient inexistants. Au contraire !

*La forte attraction exercée par l'histoire du grand voisin américain ne doit cependant pas être comprise comme une concurrence déloyale. Elle constitue, au contraire, un atout exceptionnel. Pour les étudiants, c'est un incitant à se diriger vers les cours généraux d'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord, à l'occasion desquels ils découvrent celle du Canada !*

La moitié de nos répondants (25 sur 49) offrent bel et bien à leurs étudiants des cours spécifiques d'histoire du Canada mais, une fois encore, il faut être très prudent dans l'interprétation de ces chiffres et se garder d'y voir le reflet d'une quelconque volonté politique des autorités académiques. Excepté dans quelques rares universités (par exemple l'Université du Maine), l'existence de ces enseignements est, de façon plus prosaïque, liée uniquement à la volonté de titulaires dont le départ signifie parfois la suppression pure et simple du cours.

## 2° LES ÉTUDIANTS

Au Canada, des cours sur l'histoire du pays sont dispensés dès la première année d'université. On ne s'étonnera pas qu'ailleurs, il s'agisse le plus souvent de cours destinés à des étudiants ayant déjà une ou deux années d'études derrière eux. Malgré cela, de nombreux professeurs interrogés insistent avec force sur la méconnaissance

quasi totale du Canada dont font preuve les étudiants accueillis dans leurs cours. En soi, ce constat n'a pourtant rien de surprenant (excepté

peut-être aux yeux d'un professeur d'histoire du Canada!). Pourquoi un étudiant belge, chinois ou finlandais aurait-il une connaissance préalable de l'histoire de ce pays lointain qui, soyons réalistes, n'a pas joué un rôle de premier plan dans l'histoire du monde ? Notre enquête montre néanmoins que la proximité géographique n'atténue en rien la rigueur du constat. Plusieurs enseignants travaillant aux Etats-Unis soulignent que la première étape de leur démarche pédagogique consiste à balayer les stéréotypes bien ancrés chez dans un public fort peu informé (ou fort peu intéressé) sur ce qui se passe de l'autre côté de la frontière.

L'intérêt des étudiants américains pour leur propre histoire n'a d'égal que celui porté par les étudiants étrangers à l'histoire des Etats-Unis. Plusieurs canadiens européens notent par exemple que l'attrait des Etats-Unis éclipse presque totalement le Canada. Dans son récent bilan sur un quart de siècle d'histoire canadienne en France, Claude Fohlen, professeur émérite de l'Université de Paris I, écrit que lorsque « dans le cadre de l'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord dans une université parisienne, il s'est aventuré à consacrer un cours annuel au Canada depuis 1867, dans l'espoir d'attirer des étudiants. Le résultat a été une chute spectaculaire des effectifs par rapport à son public habituel. » et de conclure, désabusé, « Force a donc été de revenir à l'histoire des Etats-Unis ». Comme plusieurs de ses collègues italiens, Matteo Sanfilippo, titulaire d'un enseignement d'histoire de la civilisation nord-américaine à l'Université de Viterbe (Italie) dresse un tableau tout aussi impitoyable. A la question de savoir pourquoi ses étudiants choisissent un cours traitant (en partie) de l'histoire du Canada, il répond tout simplement : « Parce que je les y oblige » !

La forte attraction exercée par l'histoire du grand voisin américain ne doit cependant pas être comprise comme une concurrence déloyale. Elle constitue, au contraire, un atout exceptionnel. Pour les étudiants, c'est un incitant à se diriger vers les cours généraux d'histoire de l'Amérique du Nord, à

l'occasion desquels ils découvrent celle du Canada ! C'est aussi, bien souvent, la forte prégnance des Etats-Unis qui convainc les autorités académiques de développer un programme spécifique d'études nord-américaines qui fera une petite place au Canada.

Il y a néanmoins un certain nombre d'étudiants qui choisissent librement un cours spécifique sur l'histoire du Canada. Quelles sont leurs motivations ? Sur ce point, les réponses des enseignants sont des plus variées. Après avoir éliminé les facteurs traditionnels (et non négligeables !) comme la préférence pour un enseignant que l'on connaît déjà ou les impératifs horaires (cours dispensé à un moment qui convient bien à l'étudiant), quelques raisons reviennent de temps à autre dans les questionnaires : la perspective (ou le souvenir) d'un séjour touristique ou académique ou encore d'une immigration définitive ; des liens familiaux ou l'intérêt pour un Etat fédéral, bilingue, multiculturel et qui a réussi à conserver l'image d'un pays jeune et dynamique. Dans le cas de la France et de l'Angleterre s'ajoute à ces motivations le fait que le passé du Canada s'inscrit dans l'histoire nationale de ces pays.

On le constate, les raisons invoquées sont très diversifiées et aucune d'entre elles ne constitue un puissant moteur d'attraction des étudiants. Excepté peut-être pour les étudiants anglais et français, ce sont donc des motivations fort lointaines du contenu du cours proprement dit qui les incitent à s'engager dans cette voie. Il faut être très conscient de ce fait si l'on veut assurer le développement de ces cours.

## 3° TECHNIQUES D'ENSEIGNEMENT

D'un pays à l'autre la pédagogie universitaire varie considérablement. Il serait présomptueux de vouloir en tracer ici un tableau réaliste. Quelques éléments intéressants se dégagent toutefois de notre enquête.

Premier constat, la méconnaissance du sujet, évoquée plus haut, oblige les enseignants à adapter leur discours à un public très peu au fait de la réalité canadienne. Pour cette raison, plusieurs répondants disent commencer par un

rappel de quelques notions géographiques élémentaires suivies par une discussion très générale de la situation institutionnelle, sociale, économique et culturelle du Canada contemporain pour permettre à l'auditoire de mieux situer le sujet d'étude.

Le cours est le plus souvent conçu autour d'un exposé magistral complété, suivant les pays, par une série de lectures et de travaux pratiques. L'importance et la diversité de ceux-ci sont forcément limitées par le nombre d'ouvrages à la disposition d'étudiants qui, en plus, ne

***Le principal problème rencontré par les historiens du Canada travaillant à l'étranger et qui rejaillit sur leurs étudiants concerne bien sûr les sources. A moins de réaliser un travail de recherche lié aux relations entre leur pays et le Canada ou de se lancer dans une approche comparative (ce qui limite singulièrement le nombre de sujets), il faudra la plupart du temps se rendre sur place.***

lisent pas toujours l'anglais ou le français. Notre enquête a ramené fort peu d'informations sur les manuels utilisés. On peut en conclure que la plupart des enseignants n'utilisent pas de manuel particulier et renvoient leurs étudiants vers des ouvrages généraux publiés au Canada ou vers des travaux réalisés dans la langue du pays. Aux Etats-Unis, le pays où après le Canada, les enseignements d'histoire du Canada sont les plus développés, il existe quelques manuels particuliers. Par contre, en Europe, plusieurs enseignants déplorent l'existence d'un bon manuel destiné spécifiquement aux étudiants de ce continent.

Dans la mesure de leurs possibilités, les enseignants profitent du passage d'un collègue canadien, par exemple

dans le cadre d'un colloque, pour enrichir leurs enseignements de quelques conférences particulières. Sur ce point, il est certain que le maillage étroit réalisé par le réseau international d'études canadiennes constitue un extraordinaire atout qui facilite les rencontres entre chercheurs canadiens et étudiants locaux.

Dans la même veine, signalons une formule intéressante, mise en place en 1997 par le Centre d'Etudes canadiennes de l'Université libre de Bruxelles. Elle consistait à réunir les étudiants des cours « Auteurs canadiens d'expression française » et « Histoire générale du Canada » dans le cadre d'un cycle de conférences centrées sur les récits de voyage. Au cours de l'automne 1997 sept chercheurs canadiens et européens ont ainsi été invités à venir présenter et discuter le fruit de leurs travaux devant un public d'étudiants. Ils se succédèrent tout au long du semestre, sans se rencontrer, et le débat fut mené par l'intermédiaire des étudiants qui avaient préalablement suivi quelques cours généraux introduisant la problématique. Cette démarche pédagogique interactive a rencontré un vif succès. Elle a permis de familiariser rapidement les étudiants avec l'histoire et la littérature du Canada français en les découvrant par un biais inusité (les récits de voyages) et surtout en les mettant directement en contact avec des spécialistes de la question.

D'autres « angles d'attaque » sont proposés dans les cours où le Canada ne représente qu'une partie de la matière. On peut par exemple citer les enseignements basés sur des études comparatives ou sur les migrations. Ceux-ci attirent l'attention et l'intérêt des étudiants car ils sont en partie rattachés à leur histoire nationale. Ils découvriront donc indirectement celle du Canada.

Dans leur ensemble les cours d'Histoire du Canada sont généralement conçus comme une sorte d'introduction générale au passé d'un pays fort mal connu. Plusieurs enseignants estiment avoir rempli pleinement leur mission si, à la fin du cours, ils ont au moins réussi à transmettre quelques notions de bases sur le Canada et à éveiller la curiosité de leur auditoire sur les particularités de ce pays. Ils ont parfaitement raison car si

pour la plupart des étudiants, le contact avec les études canadiennes s'arrête là, le résultat est déjà excellent. Quelles que soient leurs activités professionnelles futures, il y a fort à parier que cette formation élémentaire facilitera d'éventuels contacts avec le Canada. Au-delà de cet aspect purement pratique, il est évident que l'étude du passé d'un pays aussi complexe (fédéral, multiculturel, bilingue, qui a dû gérer ses relations avec les populations amérindiennes, avec les puissances colonisatrices et aussi avec son grand voisin du Sud) s'avère très utile à la formation d'un historien moderne, ouvert sur le monde.

#### **4° ET APRÈS ?**

Les cours généraux d'histoire du Canada éveillent aussi quelques vocations. Certains étudiants approfondiront leurs connaissances dans le cadre d'une thèse de maîtrise et/ou d'un séjour d'études dans un département d'histoire au Canada. Plusieurs enseignants présentent bien entendu ces séjours comme la seule manière de poursuivre sa formation.

Le principal problème rencontré par les historiens du Canada travaillant à l'étranger et qui rejaillit sur leurs étudiants concerne bien sûr les sources. A moins de réaliser un travail de recherche lié aux relations entre leur pays et le Canada ou de se lancer dans une approche comparative (ce qui limite singulièrement le nombre de sujets), il faudra la plupart du temps se rendre sur place. Un déplacement indispensable mais qui pose immédiatement le problème des bourses disponibles. Ce point, soulevé par plusieurs collègues, constitue la pierre angulaire du développement de l'histoire du Canada à l'étranger. C'est du nombre de bourses disponibles que dépendra la poursuite des travaux sur le Canada. Il y a sur ce point matière à réflexion du côté canadien.

Nous avons néanmoins interrogé les enseignants sur les thèmes des thèses de maîtrise et de doctorat choisis par leurs étudiants. Le nombre de réponses est limité, probablement parce que les étudiants qui réalisent un travail de fin d'études sur le Canada ne sont pas nombreux. Quelques sujets semblent avoir la

cote. Il s'agit, dans l'ordre, des travaux sur les migrations, les Amérindiens, les femmes, la politique étrangère du Canada et les études comparatives.

Rien d'étonnant à voir apparaître en tête de cette liste les études sur les migrations, sur la politique étrangère du Canada et les travaux comparatifs. Il s'agit de sujets qui, par nature, peuvent être aisément traités en dehors du Canada. L'intérêt pour les Amérindiens reflète l'attrait qu'ils exercent sur les observateurs étrangers, sans compter que beaucoup de ces travaux portent indistinctement sur les Amérindiens des Etats-Unis et du Canada. Enfin, les thèses liées à l'histoire des femmes témoignent d'un des points forts de l'historiographie canadienne qui intéresse les chercheurs étrangers, notamment dans les pays où ce type de travaux n'a pas encore connu un développement comparable.

### EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Ce très rapide aperçu montre que, trop souvent ignoré par la communauté académique canadienne, l'enseignement de l'histoire du Canada à l'étranger est bel et bien une réalité même si, il faut le reconnaître, il s'agit le plus souvent de cours marginaux, parfois inscrits dans un programme plus général d'études sur l'Amérique du Nord.

Quelle est la raison d'être de ces enseignements ? A la différence des Etats-Unis, ce n'est pas le rôle du Canada sur la scène internationale qui peut justifier leur existence. Notre étude montre que, sauf dans quelques rares universités (notamment américaines) où ils répondent à la politique de l'institution, leur création est souvent liée à la volonté de leur promoteur. A priori, les étudiants étrangers ne font pas montre d'un intérêt débordant pour cet enseignement, l'histoire des Etats-Unis leur paraissant beaucoup plus attirante. C'est d'ailleurs ce pays qui les incite à choisir des cours généraux sur l'Histoire de l'Amérique du Nord où le professeur pourra consacrer quelques heures au Canada.

Il est donc clair que, sauf peut-être chez les voisins américains, l'existence des cours d'histoire du Canada doit beaucoup aux soutiens extérieurs dont



"Shooting the Rapids" by Frances Anne Hopkins / National Archives of Canada / C2774

ses titulaires ont pu bénéficier. A cet égard, l'existence, depuis 25 ans au sein du Ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international, d'un département spécialement dédié au développement des études canadiennes dans le monde a certainement facilité la mise en place des outils dont bénéficient aujourd'hui les enseignants. Bibliothèques canadiennes, bourses de recherche, bourses de compléments de spécialisation et soutien au réseau international des études canadiennes sont autant d'éléments qui ont encouragé les contacts académiques avec le Canada et incité à la mise en place de tels enseignements.

Ce soutien aux professeurs est important mais ils n'est pas l'essentiel. Leur intérêt pour l'histoire du Canada n'est pas le fruit du hasard. Il s'est construit au fil des ans et trouve souvent sa lointaine origine dans une bourse d'études qui a permis au futur enseignant d'acquérir une partie de sa formation (souvent une maîtrise ou un doctorat) au Canada. Le développement des bourses d'études est donc primordial pour assurer la formation de nouvelles générations de canadianistes qui, à leur tour, diffuseront des connaissances sur le Canada dans leurs pays respectifs.

Notre étude montre aussi qu'à l'étranger le cours d'histoire du Canada constitue souvent un excellent prétexte pour faire découvrir ce pays à des étudiants qui, le plus souvent, en ignorent

tout. Quelles que soient leurs motivations (faire un séjour au Canada ou plus prosaïquement combler un trou dans leur horaire de cours), le résultat est palpable. A la fin du semestre, ils ont au moins appris à connaître un peu mieux le pays. Si tous n'utiliseront pas directement cet acquis dans leur vie future, il n'est pas déraisonnable de penser que ces rudiments faciliteront les contacts personnels ou professionnels de certains d'entre eux avec le Canada.

Ce trop rapide tour d'horizon de l'enseignement de l'histoire canadienne à l'étranger démontre surtout que l'expérience de ces professeurs répartis un peu partout dans le monde, ne doit pas être négligée par tous ceux qui, au Canada, s'interrogent sur la meilleure manière d'enseigner l'histoire de leur pays. Elle offre une série de pistes de réflexion intéressantes proposées par des professeurs évoluant dans des contextes qui, a priori, ne disposent en rien leur auditoire à s'intéresser à l'histoire du Canada. Les problèmes rencontrés, les techniques mises en œuvres peuvent être intéressantes pour tous. Il faut souhaiter que, tant en matière de recherche que d'enseignement, la communauté académique canadienne renforcera ses liens avec ces canadianistes étrangers. Nous y avons tous tout à gagner.

Serge Jaumain est professeur au Département d'Histoire de l'Université libre de Bruxelles et Président du Conseil international d'études canadiennes

# HISTORY COMES ALIVE AT MONTREAL Summer Teachers' Institute

BY Walter Baslyk

THIS PAST JULY, LOWER CANADA COLLEGE IN MONTREAL HOSTED THE FIRST SIX-DAY BILINGUAL SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR TEACHING THE HISTORY OF CANADA IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS. FROM JULY 8 TO 14 MORE THAN SIXTY ENTHUSIASTIC HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS GATHERED FROM ACROSS THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING A DOZEN FROM QUEBEC. THE IDEA FOR THE INSTITUTE GREW OUT OF AN INVITATION IN JANUARY 2000 FROM DR. TOM AXWORTHY OF HISTORICA FOUNDATION TO SUBMIT FRESH IDEAS FOR PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT. THAT INVITATION GENERATED A FORMAL PROPOSAL FROM DR. P. W. BENNETT, HEADMASTER AT LOWER CANADA COLLEGE, TO CREATE A NEW SUMMER INSTITUTE TAILORED TO MEET THE NEEDS AND APPEAL TO THE INTERESTS OF SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS. IT CAME TO FRUITION IN JULY 2001 AS ONE OF TWO NATIONAL TEACHERS' INSTITUTES SPONSORED BY HISTORICA FOUNDATION – THE OTHER BEING THE HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS HELD THIS PAST YEAR IN KAMLOOPS, BRITISH COLUMBIA AND COORDINATED BY JOHN FIELDING OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

The Summer 2001 ITHC programme, "Exploring Our Identities" stirred much interest and had an immediate impact on the participants. Over the six-day period, teachers and presenters were able to explore new perspectives and ideas in historical interpretation, pedagogy and curriculum. The seminars on content, story telling, new technologies, teaching strategies and new historical research were certainly helpful. History teachers observed and experienced exemplary teaching practices presented by educators recognized through the Governor General's Awards for Teaching Excellence, and sampled the best new history resources, including the latest resources from Historica and the National Film Board. A St. Lawrence Discovery Tour to Quebec City allowed teachers to see the impact and effective use of role-playing on the Plains of

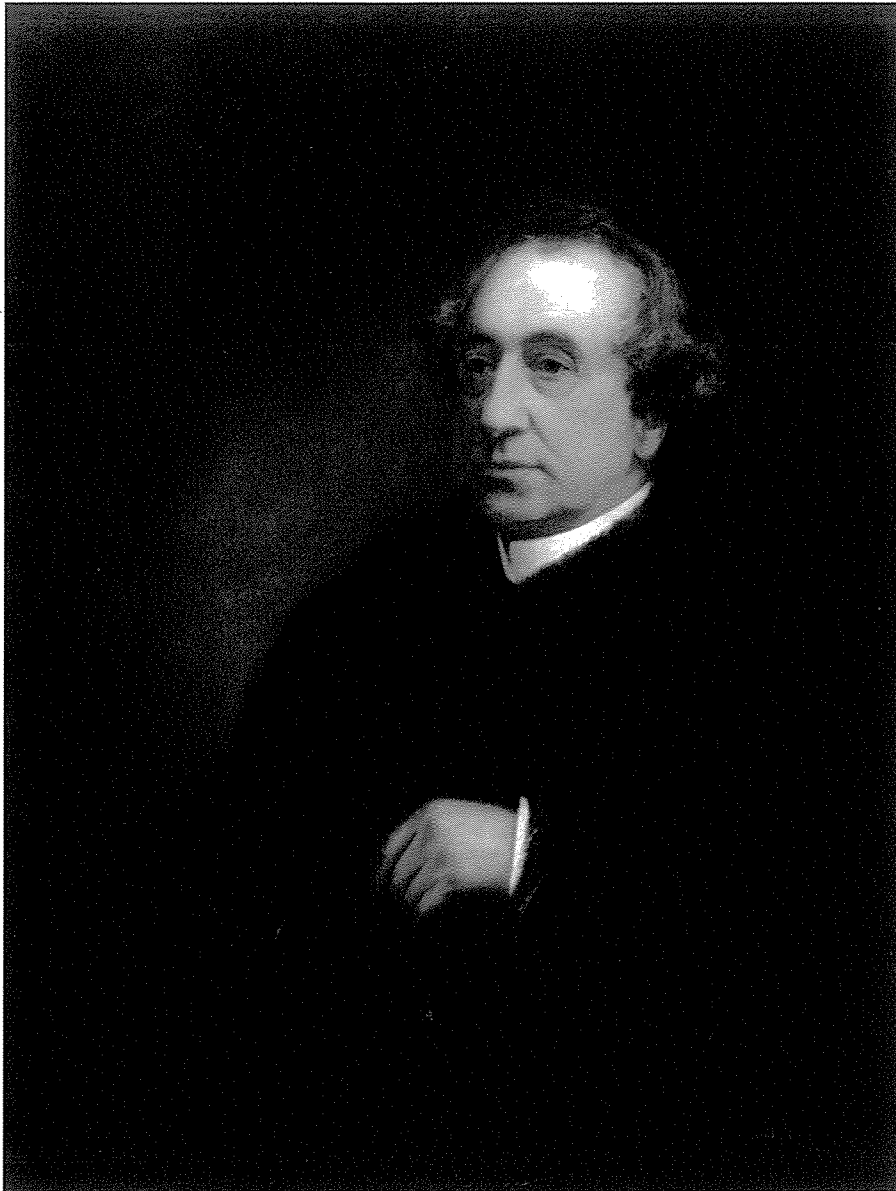
***Transfer this enthusiasm to the classroom and few students would complain that history is dull and unimportant.***

Abraham. In Trois Rivières, teachers were struck by the novelty of *Le musée de classe*, where student inquiry and involvement was encouraged through the permanent presence of artifacts in the classroom. Workshops on the use of computers in the classroom allowed participants to see that the computer's ability to collect and evaluate data has done much to change the direction of historical study and has added a new dimension to history teaching as well.

Likewise, the Institute provided a forum for Canadian historians and film producers who have contributed a tremendous amount to the understand-

ing and interpretation of Canadian History and who, through their actions, have done much to engage us in the historical process. The insight and passion for the History of Canada by individuals such as Mark Starowicz (Producer, CBC's *Canada: A People's History*); Jacques Lacoursière (History professor, Laval University and researcher, scriptwriter and host of *Épopée en Amérique*); Dr. Desmond Morton (McGill Institute for the Study of Canada); Dr. Jack Granatstein (author of *Who Killed Canadian History?*), was evident to all and inspired lively debate and discussion on the part of the participants.

"Sir John A. Macdonald" by Thomas Harsbough / National Archives of Canada / C97288



Transfer this enthusiasm to the classroom and few students would complain that history is dull and unimportant. It is through such contacts that secondary school teachers are better able to understand the debates, to update their own learning, to gain historical insight and perspective, and to become more knowledgeable about Canadian History. Numerous opportunities were presented to converse, to share experiences and stories, and to learn about innovative resources and practices for teaching history in thought-provoking new ways. Talking to, listening to, brainstorming and socializing with talented and enthusiastic teachers and speakers, was indeed a significant highlight for many participants.

### CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

Historica's Summer Institutes point the way, but a great deal still needs to be done in order to ensure effective teaching in the 21st century. On-line Internet historical archives need to be created to offer teachers and students access to new kinds of materials and new perspectives on historical events. Teaching with electronic primary sources (photos, films, pamphlets, oral histories and political cartoons) needs to be further developed and encouraged as it opens up the classroom to new and challenging viewpoints on history. Research has shown that in order for students to achieve a broader and deeper knowledge of history, students must be

involved and engaged. What is important is what we do with history, and teachers need to get their students to use historical evidence, documents and primary sources. Active learning is the key and students need to be part of that process so that they learn from and with the teacher. Ultimately, using these resources to advance a more dynamic, inquiry-based approach to history teaching and learning will require creative teachers to collaborate with each other and to share resources, lesson plans, teaching approaches and assessment methods. The reward will be better-educated students who have an excitement about learning history and a knowledge base to think constructively about themselves and their place in the world.

The Montreal Institute aims to be a catalyst for further innovations in the teaching of Canada's history. Among the proposed spin-off programmes are "Great Moments" in teaching Canadian History – a series of short videotape and CD format programmes that would feature leading Canadian History teachers in action, a Canadian History Speakers Series that would focus on current issues and controversies in Canadian History, a Video Textbook that would provide teachers with easy access to primary documents, as well as visual images and maps.

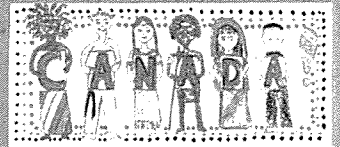
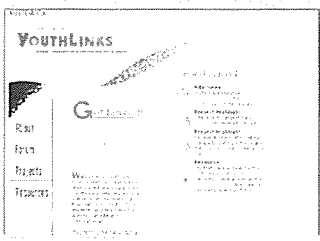
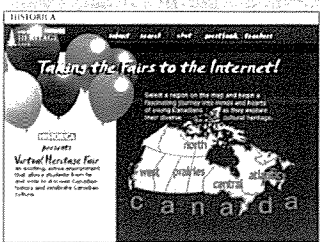
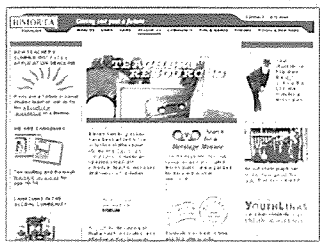
Plans are already underway for Historica's Summer 2002 Institute in Montreal. It will again be held in Montreal at Lower Canada College from July 7 – 13, 2002 and organized around the theme "Frontiers and Borderlands in Canada's History." We will aim to further interchange and to foster partnerships among teachers of Canadian History, in French-speaking as well as English-speaking communities. An open invitation will be issued in the new year for interested and talented teachers who are committed to learning more about Canadian History, exploring different teaching strategies and practices, and sharing their passion for the subject with the current generation of students.

Walter Baslyk is Program Director of Historica's 2002 Summer Teachers' Institute at Lower Canada College, Montreal.



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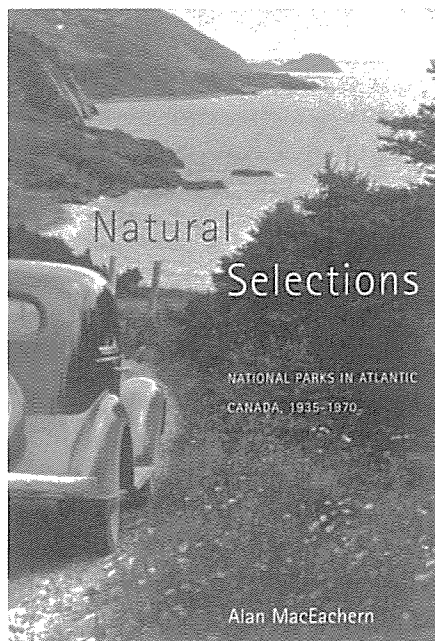
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1-800-567-1867  
[info@histori.ca](mailto:info@histori.ca)

# ALAN MACEACHERN'S

## Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970



THIS BOOK HAS A GREAT COVER. A BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO DONE OVER IN SHADES OF BLUE SHOWS A 1930S SEDAN SEEMINGLY TAKING IN THE VIEW—A WILD SEASCAPE OF SLOPING MOUNTAINS AND WATER OFF CAP ROUGE, CAPE BRETON ISLAND, BESIDE A COUNTRYSIDE OF SCATTERED HOUSES AND WINDING ROADS.

I start this way because the dust-jacket image is so appropriate to the book's content. This work is about beautiful places and the human presence in them. In telling the story of the creation of four national parks in Atlantic Canada – Cape Breton Highlands, Prince Edward Island, Fundy, and Terra Nova – Alan MacEachern has fashioned a fascinating look at the complications and contradictions in 20th century attempts to save nature by preserving representative chunks of it.

Natural Selections uses the stories of these four parks to range more broadly into the history of Parks Canada's policies and beliefs, and beyond into big

(Montréal & Kingston:  
McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001)

**REVIEWED BY** James Murton, Queen's University

questions of the relationship between nature and culture in Canada. MacEachern's major point is that parks are more cultural than they are natural, places where humans have decided to let nature flourish. They reflect our (changing) ideas of what ideally nature is, what it should do for us and, above all, what it should look like. They are therefore products of contemporary politics and aesthetics. Created by humans for human purposes, they are saddled with the eternal problem of balancing preservation with use.

This book is one of the first Canadian monographs to draw explicitly on the field of environmental history, which concerns itself with the human relationship with nature. It argues that nature is always an actor in the historical play, not just the stage on which history is played out. MacEachern's arguments are in line with some of the latest scholarship in this field. Environmental historians have become deeply skeptical of the truth and value of standard understandings of nature. These tend to hold that places are more or less natural depending on the degree of human influence on them (thus seascape is more natural than countryside). Yet as historian William Cronon argues, these ideas run up against the pervasive human influence on

the entire environment. Further, setting off samples of wilderness does not help us to understand how we might live with and as part of nature.

In making such arguments MacEachern sets himself in opposition to park defenders and wilderness advocates. In Janet Foster's pioneering work of Canadian environmental history, 1978's *Working for Wildlife: The Beginning of Preservation in Canada*, Foster established a key interpretation of Parks Canada's early history, now widely embraced by parks defenders. She argued that the Parks Branch, and in particular J.B. Harkin, the first Commissioner, were early (1920s) visionaries, defending an ideal of parks as nature sanctuaries against the threats of a Canadian government dedicated to resource exploitation and parks as tourist attractions. When Harkin spoke of parks as revenue generators, Foster and others argue, he was making a concession to less enlightened politicians.

Nonsense, MacEachern says, ensuring that Foster and her friends are unlikely to invite him to sit around their campfire anytime soon. Both Harkin and the politicians, he clearly establishes, simply saw no inherent contradiction between preservation and use. Parks were preserved so that

they could be enjoyed by the people. Further, they were preserved for a certain class of people, for it was assumed that only the cultured could draw the meaning out of unadorned mountains, lakes and wildlife.

Parks were not primarily established to preserve nature, MacEachern further argues, but out of a variety of aesthetic, political, and economic factors, in addition to environmental factors. Park boundaries were largely arbitrary from an ecological standpoint. They were dependent on provincial politicians' desires to establish the park without overly threatening resource extraction and Parks Canada's desire to get the best scenery and recreational opportunities inside the boundaries. The "best" resembled the iconic western mountain parks – large, beautiful in a rugged and spectacular way, and full of desirable wildlife such as moose and deer.

Such a place was hard to come by in Atlantic Canada, and it is MacEachern's careful dissection of the way that the Parks Branch dealt with this problem that brings out some of his key points. The clash between vision and reality was most clear in the establishment of Prince Edward Island National Park, a narrow strip of seashore along the northern edge of the island. Faced with this most un-western landscape, the Parks Branch fell back on its sense that parks should be institutions of high culture. The environmental realities suggested the park could be only a recreation space, yet it could at least be a top quality one. Green Gables, the house that inspired Lucy Maud Montgomery, would be fully restored, including having its gables painted green. A golf course would be built, and the Branch insisted that a high-class resort hotel be included at Dalway in the eastern end of the park.

As this example shows, MacEachern is not arguing that people can manipulate a natural setting to become whatever they wish it to become. In response to what they found in PEI, the Parks Branch was forced to improvise and redefine what a park was. Yet the (cultural) vision remained key to the way the park was constructed.

After World War II the west versus east problem was largely surpassed as

parks were established under new criteria. At Fundy National Park in 1947, the Parks Branch established a highly developed park. These developments, and MacEachern's restrained yet clear disdain for them, are summed up in his dry caption to a photo showing crowds around a concrete salt water swimming pool: "At the Fundy National Park swimming pool. The Bay of Fundy is in the background." By 1957 the definition of what a park was had changed yet again, and development in Newfoundland's Terra Nova park was restrained by a growing dedication in the Parks Branch to nature preservation.

The problem of preservation versus use was a constant one for the Parks Branch. This becomes clear in MacEachern's accounts of the plight of evicted landowners and resource users. At PEI, land that had been farmed for hundreds of years was fenced off and replanted with trees, emphasizing the cultural, created nature of the place. Yet in the parks themselves, MacEachern argues in the book's final two chapters, preservation versus use is a false dichotomy best abandoned. He suggests that we can best evaluate the Parks Branch's relationship to the nature under their care by examining the level of intervention they allowed in the name of both use and preservation. In the postwar period, in fact, the Parks Branch engaged in heavy intervention – poisoning then restocking lakes, spraying DDT – in the name of preserving the sort of nature they wanted.

This is a complex and challenging book that is nevertheless clear and approachable. MacEachern has a relaxed style and an eye for the enlivening and illuminating anecdote, though he does descend into sarcasm on occasion. He guides a potentially unwieldy tale of multiple conflicting interests in the service of large, complex ideals with a sure and even hand. In the first part of the book, where he delineates the establishment of the parks, he is almost entirely successful. A lone concern would be his tight focus on the four parks, which, unfortunately, makes generalizations to the national parks as a whole somewhat difficult. It may be that the parks are more obviously cultural products in the more human-

influenced landscapes of Atlantic Canada.

The book's second part, where the author examines preservation and use, is ultimately less satisfying. MacEachern's argument here is a response to park historians such as Leslie Bella who are critical of any attempts to have the parks serve economic purposes. This is unrealistic, he says, and proposes his yardstick of intervention level instead. But why the particular sorts of intervention carried out in the parks? Whatever cultural authority the Parks Branch possessed came from its role as the protector of a generally accepted ideal of nature. Violate this, and the Branch loses authority. So what ideal of nature was being served by poisoning lakes?

In his own book *Saving America's Wildlife*, Thomas Dunlap has argued that postwar management of nature was designed to protect species valuable for aesthetic reasons or to hunters. MacEachern seems to be saying that this was the basis for postwar interventions but never really uses the idea to show how and why various instances of intervention made sense in the postwar cultural context. He is so sympathetic to displaced landowners, and spends so much time developing his parks as culture argument, that we lose much of a sense that the parks were about nature as well. Yet as chapter two makes clear, the Parks Branch—at least in the 1920s—had at the very least a well-developed philosophy about the value of nature preserves for uplifting and healing people and societies. We get little sense here of the joy that people get out of parks.

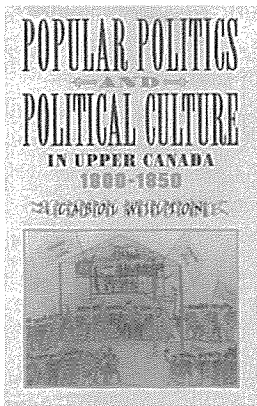
This is an important book with broad implications. In a too-short closing, MacEachern notes the essential contradiction of parks. They attempt to set off a portion of nature as separate and distinct from the nature that surrounds it. Yet, as he notes, "Seeds float or are carried across borders, deer wander back and forth, and air circulates over the land equally." We cannot deal with our troubled relationship with the environment by isolating choice parts of it. "Humans create a park to be an island for nature," MacEachern notes, "and in doing so prove the difficulty we have incorporating nature into our everyday world."

# CAROL WILTON'S Popular Politics and Political Culture in Upper Canada, 1800-1850

McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000

REVIEWED BY Catherine Stoehr, Queen's University

WHEN THE POLITICAL COMMENTATORS AT THE *NATIONAL POST* READ CAROL WILTON'S *POPULAR POLITICS AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN UPPER CANADA, 1800-1850* THEY WILL RETHINK THEIR EASY DISMISSAL OF CANADIAN ANTI-GLOBALIZATION PROTESTERS. WILTON'S FINELY RESEARCHED STUDY OF UPPER CANADIAN POLITICAL LIFE OFFERS THE LEGITIMACY OF LONG TRADITION TO CANADIANS WHO USE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY MEANS TO INFLUENCE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES. WILTON'S WORK PRESENTS US WITH PEOPLE WHO ROUTINELY RISKED INCITING OPEN CONFLICT AND EVEN VIOLENCE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THAT CITIZENS HELD BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE RESPONSIBILITY TO COMMUNICATE THEIR OPINIONS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, REGARDLESS OF PERSONAL COST.



Wilton debunks a "favoured myth of Upper Canadian history" – that the efforts of most Upper Canadians to achieve economic self sufficiency limited their political interests to local matters until after the rebellion of 1837. Wilton demonstrates, by contrast, that thousands of Upper Canadians across the province participated in the political life of the colony through centrally organized but locally rooted petitioning campaigns.

At town meetings citizens debated the pre-eminence of the Anglican church and the legal status of post-revolutionary war American immigrants, thorny questions which affected the province as a whole. Although the tireless reform activist William Lyon Mackenzie attended a large number of these meetings, the actual town meetings were often called by a local official and advertised in local newspapers. The crowd at these meetings elected a committee to send a petition to the colonial office. The contest between established tradition and popular opinion played itself out at each meeting in the election of a chairperson. Upon failing to secure their own representative to the controlling position the unsuccessful faction usually walked out. Wide attendance and passionate participation shows that not only did Upper Canada possess a "province-wide political culture," but also that this culture was ideologically polarized.

Wilton argues that most historians of Upper Canada missed the diversity of Upper Canadian political culture because they ignored petitioning movements, preferring to study electoral organization and the development of a party system. Such historians were uninterested in the people whom Wilton studies, as the petitioners generally rejected party politics. The popular petitioning movement encompassed two positions, so diametrically opposed as to make the idea of working within a party system an impossibility. Whereas the "oppositionists" on one side thought of themselves as virtuous citizens opposing a corrupt government, government supporters on the other thought of themselves as defenders of the established order against American-influenced rebels. Neither side was ready to admit that the other possessed a different but internally consistent philosophy of politics.

Yet such an admission was necessary to the creation of a stable party system.

By turning her gaze toward the petitioning movements Wilton brings to light a story previously submerged by a historical narrative exclusively concerned with the political figures who furthered the formation of Canada's party system. Yet while Wilton convincingly shows that previous scholars underestimated the breadth of Upper Canadian political activity, she omits evidence that could strengthen and extend her argument. Just as British and American settlers in Upper Canada delivered their concerns to the Colonial Office in the form of written letters of complaint, so too did members of the First Nations. Mohawk loyalists and the Anishinaabeg drafted petitions at local councils and sent them to the Colonial Office and the Department of Indian Affairs. Like the settlers, First Nations' concerns extended across the province, as individual groups faced the common problem of negotiating a relationship with the newcomers. As early as 1805 First Nations groups were consulting each other on their common concerns, creating a "province wide political culture" that Canadian political historians have taken little notice of.

Further, while Wilton effectively questions the progressivist assumptions of earlier Canadian historians which led them to focus exclusively on the development of the Canadian party system, her own analysis does not complete the revisionist circle by offering a new interpretation of that old story. What effect did widespread popular political activity in the nineteenth century have on Canada's developing polity? Wilton maintains that many petitioners supported responsible government although few desired the party system. Precisely how the petitioning movement brought about the former and failed to prevent the latter remains unclear. Why did government critics in the early nineteenth century come to accept the party system? Did the new party system freeze out radicals that the petitioning system allowed a voice, those like William Lyon Mackenzie, who would call the government corrupt rather than merely ideologically challenged?

That said, *Popular Politics and Political Culture* presents an important and untold story of unofficial political life in early Upper Canada. For those who will notice, this part of our history challenges a world environment grown hostile to grassroots political criticism by offering a valuable reminder that popular political movements in Canada have a longer pedigree than the political system whose assumptions they protest.

# SAVING CANADIAN HISTORY: Focusing on the Classroom

BY Paul W. Bennett

CANADIAN HISTORY IS CERTAINLY A HOT TOPIC IN THE NEWS. NATIONAL SURVEYS OF CANADIAN HISTORY KNOWLEDGE CONDUCTED BY THE TORONTO-BASED DOMINION INSTITUTE NOW GENERATE NEWSPAPER HEADLINES AND NATIONAL TV NEWS COVERAGE. JUST OVER A YEAR AGO, ONE OF THE MOST INFLUENTIAL NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED STATES, THE *WASHINGTON POST* STIRRED UP A NATIONAL FUROR WITH A FRONT PAGE FEATURE THAT DISMISSED CANADIAN HISTORY AS "FORGETTABLE" BECAUSE CANADA HAD NEVER FOUGHT A CIVIL WAR, NEVER PRODUCED A GREAT LEADER, AND NEVER COMMITTED ANY "MEMORABLE ATROCITIES." MOST RECENTLY, *THE GLOBE AND MAIL* GREETED US ON JUNE 30, 2001 WITH A FRONT PAGE EMBLAZONED WITH A FAMILIAR 1891 JOHN A. MACDONALD ELECTION POSTER BEARING THIS HEADER: "WHO IS THIS MAN? 46% DON'T KNOW." THE ACCOMPANYING NEWS ARTICLE AND THE LEAD EDITORIAL HIGHLIGHTED MORE DISTURBING SURVEY RESULTS AND CONCLUDED THAT CANADIANS SUFFERED FROM A KIND OF COLLECTIVE AMNESIA WHEN IT COMES TO THEIR HISTORY.

If the current public debate had a point of ignition, it can be found in the publication of J.L. Granatstein's popular book, *Who Killed Canadian History?* in 1998. That polemic succeeded marvelously in its prime objective. It set off alarm bells and ruffled many feathers about the state of history – and history teaching – in all parts of Canada. The little red book also catalogued the well-known causes: the absence of instructor teacher training in the universities, the paucity of good textbooks, the watering down of history in interdisciplinary social studies courses, history curricula designed around the "hit and miss" potted plant model, the net effect of "skills-mania" approaches on student engagement, and the lack of national history standards.

While Professor Granatstein's diagnosis hit the mark, his prescriptions for resuscitating or "saving" Canadian history were less convincing. In typically bold and provocative fashion, he called for reconstructing a national history, organized around significant political developments and reaffirmed in a set of national history standards. Such a formula set itself against the full weight of the current "limited identities" historical orthodoxy, offended the sensibilities of Quebec historians, and gored the oxen of provincial educators, curriculum experts, and most faculty of education instructors.

Granatstein's critique did find considerable favour with the Canadian public. Our two national newspapers, first *The Globe and Mail* and later *The National Post*, both took up the cause of saving Canadian history with feature articles and

sympathetic editorials. Leading Canadian businessmen, including BCE's Red Wilson and Charles R. Bronfman, were moved to join forces in the formation of the Historica Foundation, an impressive demonstration of commitment to regenerating Canadian history. Prominent critics of school history such as Bob Davis, author of *Whatever Happened to High School History?* (1995), felt vindicated and many rank-and-file classroom history teachers nodded in quiet approval.

It's time to move beyond the "Canadian history wars" and to focus on really addressing the problem afflicting Canadian history teaching in our schools. Professor Ken Osborne's lead article in *The Beaver* (August/September, 1999) may well serve as a starting point in directing us to revisit what is actually going on in the history classroom. Indeed, while much is being done to popularize Canadian history through the Historica Heritage Minutes and the CBC-TV blockbuster series *Canada: A People's History*, precious little attention has been paid to improving the quality of teaching in Canadian history classrooms.

*A study of Canadian History curricula, conducted by Historica's John Fielding in June 2000, is starkly revealing. In Canada's ten provinces, Canadian history is taught in a crazy-quilt fashion at various grade levels and in a variety of ways, predominantly as a component of "Social Studies."*

The 1999 "Giving the Past A Future" Conference, spearheaded by Desmond Morton under the auspices of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada, offered a glimmer of hope. It was the largest conference ever held in this country on the teaching of history. Most impressively, the Montreal conference attracted an amazing diversity of participants, ranging from leading Canadian historians to regular classroom teachers, from business magnates to local history activists, and it included significant representation from the Quebec francophone community. If the movement initiated by the Conference leads to action in the schools, it will be regarded as a major milestone

in the process of regenerating Canadian history.

Getting to the history classroom means penetrating the Canadian educational bureaucracy and this presents a formidable challenge. Provincial ministries of education, faculties of education, and curriculum experts have a real stake in preserving the status quo when it comes to fragmenting Canadian history and watering down history standards. A study of Canadian History curricula, conducted by Historica's John Fielding in June 2000, is starkly revealing. In Canada's ten provinces, Canadian history is taught in a crazy-quilt fashion at various grade levels and in a variety of ways, predominantly as a component of "Social Studies." A compulsory and explicitly "Canadian History" secondary school (Grade 9-12) course is only offered in five of the ten provinces, while two other provinces lump it into a compulsory Social Studies course. Only one province, Quebec, is actually committed to offering history in some form at every grade level.

Teacher training and professional development are crucially important if revitalization efforts are to actually reach students in the classroom. Canadian faculties of education need to become part of the solution. Most of our faculties of education are organized to promote the teaching of "Canadian social studies" rather than history taught as a discrete subject and even the venerable History and Social Science Teacher is now lingering on as Canadian Social Studies. Within the faculties themselves, instructors continue to promote integrated social studies, to focus almost exclusively on "how" to teach rather than "what" to teach, and to favour largely discredited progressive methods over more popular neo-traditional, standards-based approaches. The most savvy teachers new to the profession know enough to adhere to this orthodoxy, at least until until they secure a classroom of their own.

One of the most positive developments has been the emergence of Historica Foundation and its determined efforts to reverse the trend. Under the leadership of Dr. Thomas Axworthy, the new Foundation has committed itself to promoting "Canadian history" in the

schools. What began as an annual CRB Foundation Summer Institute for mostly elementary teachers has expanded into two Summer Institutes, one Elementary (Grades 1-8), the other Secondary (Grades 9-12), enrolling three times as many history teachers.

More fundamentally, Historica has recognized that secondary school teachers are a "distinct species" with different professional development needs. While the Summer Institute for Elementary Teachers continues to focus on mostly on innovative teaching methodologies and on promoting the use of resources, the Montreal-based *Institute for Teaching the History of Canada (ITHC) in Secondary Schools* seeks to pursue a different mandate. Lower Canada College's *ITHC Summer Institute* aims to bring leading historians and talented teachers together to discuss the central issues of identity and nationhood, to share differing perspectives, and to interact with master teachers recognized by the Governor General's Awards for Teaching Excellence in Canadian History.

While the debate over the state of Canadian history is hardly new, it has reached a critical juncture. When the smoke clears in the ongoing "Canadian history wars", the protagonists will begin to focus on what really matters to students and teachers. A renewed focus on what happens in the history classroom is long overdue. It begins with the teacher and his or her passion for Canadian history. We cannot allow ourselves to be lulled into complacency or diverted by the psycho-educational methodologists and their obsessive emphasis on developing generic employability skills.

Not long ago, history was king among the social sciences. It's time to reaffirm the primacy of history and to push for the full restoration of "Canadian (or Quebec) history" as an explicitly defined subject. We are coming to recognize that the "what" is at least as important as the "how" in the teaching of history in our schools. Students can be reached and stimulated through a variety of means, ranging from traditional story telling and Socratic teaching to cooperative group learning and computer simulations.

Finding ways of bringing Canadian history alive in our classrooms is what the debate should be all about.

Good historians absorb the lessons of the past and, in this respect, educators have much to learn from them. What we need is not really a return to the "good old days". Our real goal should be to inspire, to challenge, and to engage students in the active process of learning Canadian history in our classrooms. If and when this happens, Canadian history will be permanently removed from the "critical list."

Dr. Paul W. Bennett, Headmaster of Lower Canada College in Montreal, is the Chair, Board of Directors, Historica Institute for Teaching the History of Canada in Secondary Schools

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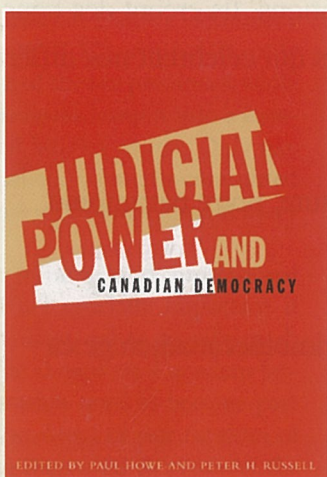
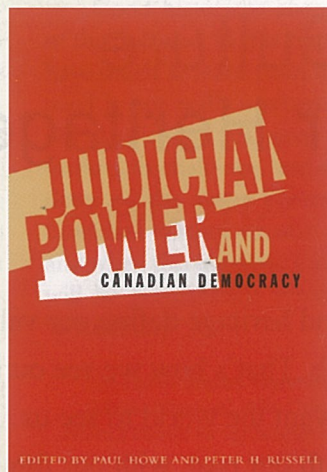
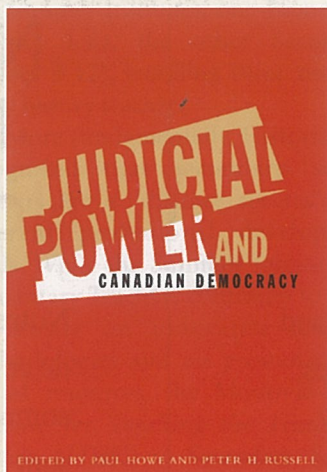
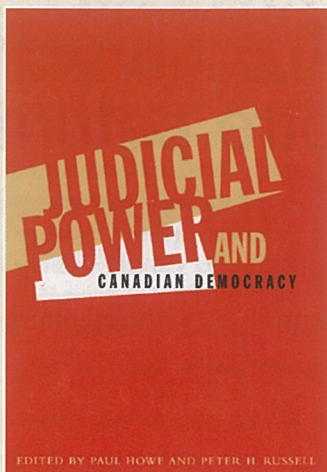
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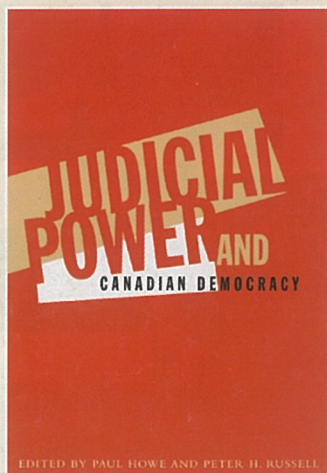
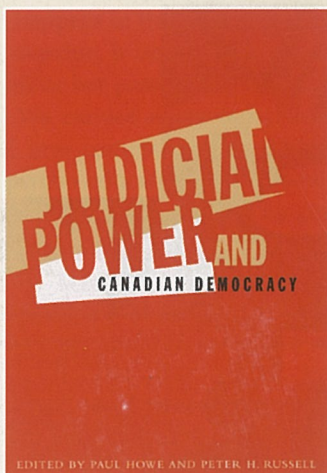
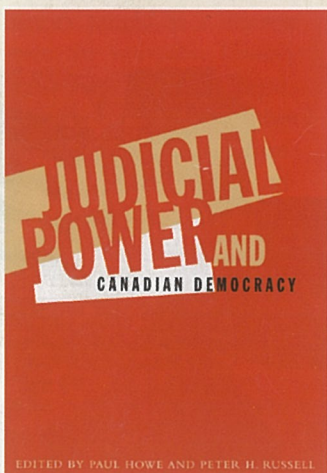
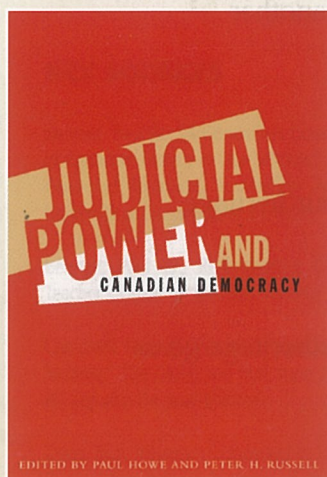


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