*An Interview with Lorne Calvert, Premier of Saskatchewan*

*An Interview with Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta*

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0 61399 70412 2 04

on display until December 1st, 2005
disponible jusqu'au 1er décembre 2005

# CANADIAN ISSUES
# THÈMES CANADIENS

Winter / Hiver 2005

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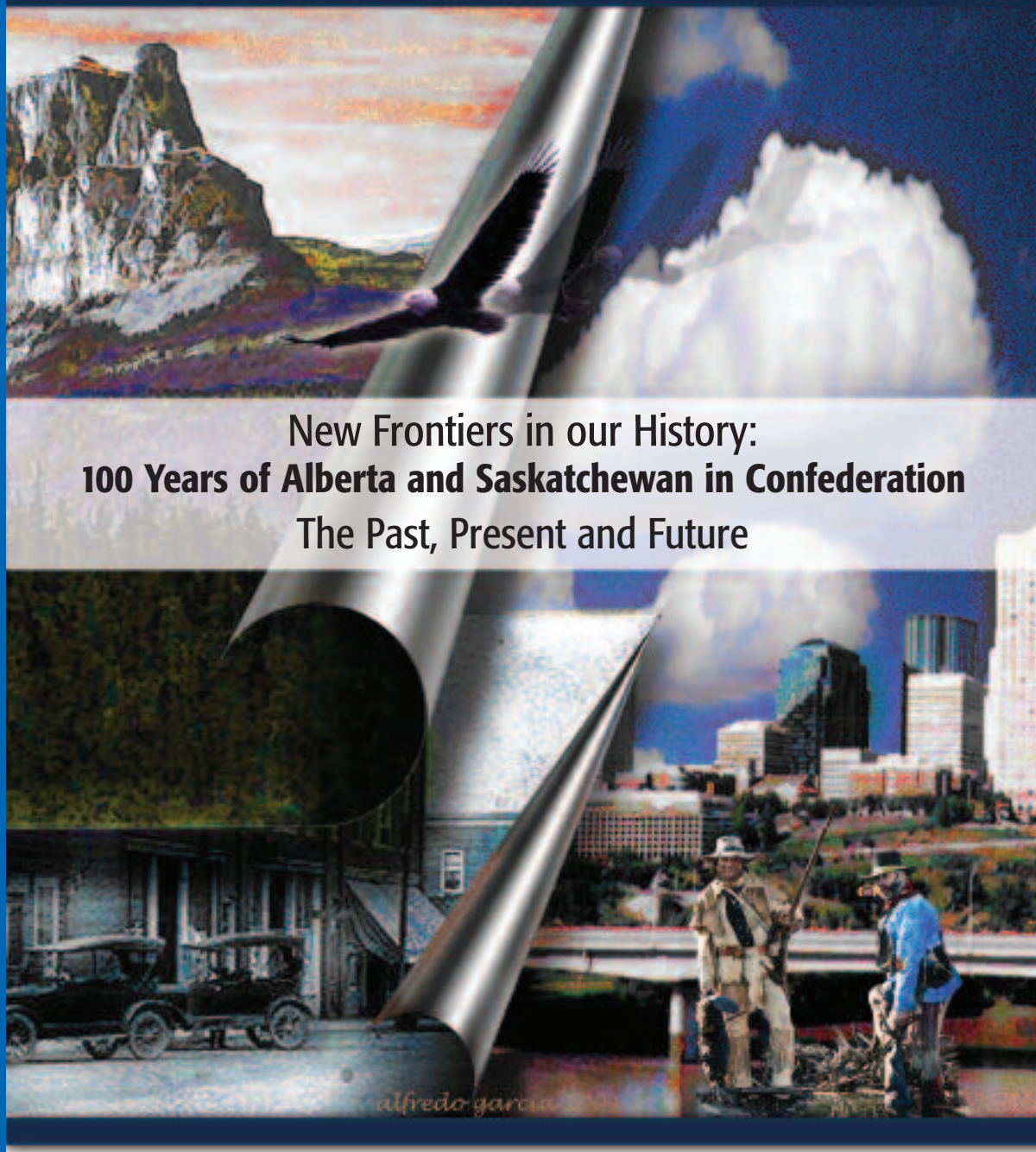

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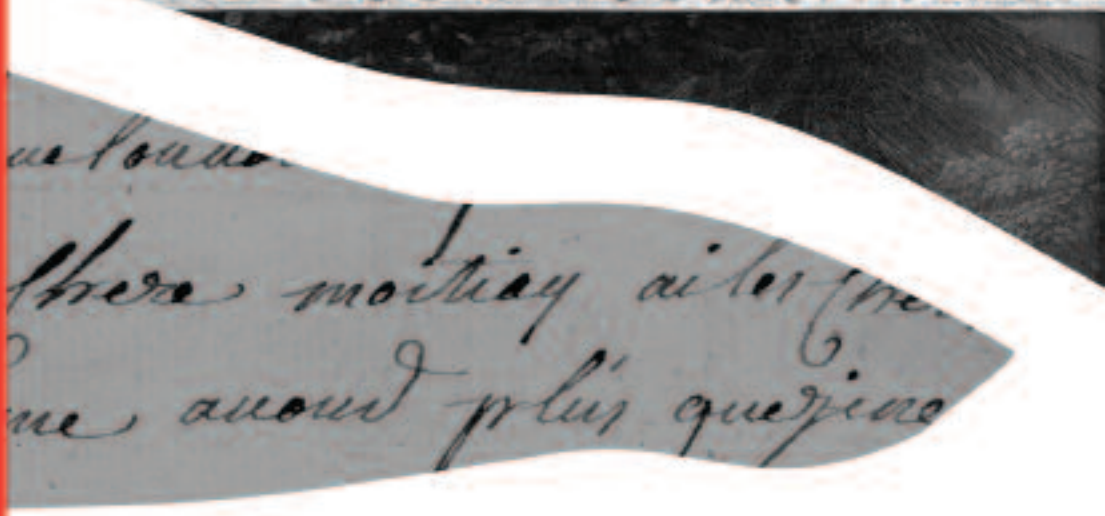

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***Canadian Issues is published by***
***Thèmes canadiens est publié par***

ACS • AEC
Association for Canadian Studies • Association d'études canadiennes



CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

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Leah Hendry

DESIGN / GRAPHISME
Bang Marketing (514) 849-2264 – 1-888-942-BANG
info@bang-marketing.com

ADVERTISING / PUBLICITÉ
leah.hendry@acs-aec.ca
(514) 925-3096

DISTRIBUTION
Disticor Direct
695 Westney Road South, Unit 14
Ajax Ontario L1S 6M9

CITC/ACS STREET ADDRESS / ADRESSE CIVIQUE CITC/AEC
1822A, rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal (Québec) H3H 1E4
Tel / Tél. : (514) 925-3094 – Fax / Téléc. : (514) 925-3095
E-mail / Courriel : general@acs-aec.ca

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CANADIAN ISSUES / THÈMES CANADIENS (CITC) – ISSN 0318-8442
CONVENTION POSTE PUBLICATION, 41006541

Patrimoine canadien Canadian Heritage

Canadian Studies Program

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

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

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

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

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# AN INTERVIEW WITH RALPH KLEIN

## Premier of Alberta

**What do you remember from your schooling in history and how were you affected by it?**

I wasn't the best student but I have always been interested in modern history. I was fascinated by airplanes when I was young, which led to a brief stint in the Canadian Air Force. I still enjoy learning about the history of aviation, and I find Alberta's role in that history particularly interesting. I have a good friend who served as a pilot in World War II and who has been very involved in the preservation of Alberta's aviation history and the role the province played in the war effort. His stories, and the stories of other veterans, are a valuable way for us all to experience history.

**What is the event or personality in Canadian history that most inspired you or what is your favorite history book?**

Alberta's centennial has encouraged me, and all Albertans, to think about the people who built our province. It would be hard to choose just one story from Alberta's history as a personal favorite. I'm inspired by the story of Alexander Decouteau, who was Alberta's and Canada's first Aboriginal police officer. The story of Premier John E. Brownlee going to Ottawa in 1929 to secure Alberta's resource rights is also a highlight.

This year, Alberta gave a special centennial medallion to everyone in the province 100 years of age and older. We plan on handing out some 500 medallions, and each of those pioneers has a fascinating and inspiring story to tell. In one way or another, they all helped to shape Alberta's history.

**What kind of balance should there be between provincial and national history? Between Canadian history and world history? Given the reality that we forget what we are taught in school, what should students carry away from their history class?**

It's important for young Albertans to understand and be proud of where they came from, but they also need to understand how their province fits into the bigger national and international picture. Many political and economic realities we face today are rooted in history. Once you understand that history, you can begin to make decisions about the future.

Students may not remember specific dates and names from their history lessons, but I hope they carry away the ability to think critically about the events of history. It's important to think past who, what, where and when to consider why things happened. From there, you can begin to think about how past mistakes can be avoided in the future. That's a skill you learn when you study history.

# AN INTERVIEW WITH LORNE CALVERT

## Premier of Saskatchewan

**1) What do you remember from your schooling in history and how were you affected by it?**

The history teachers I had in elementary, high school and college who had a love of history infected their students with a similar love and understanding that history shapes and informs our future.

**2) What is the event or personality in Canadian history that most inspired you or your favourite history book?**

I was most inspired by the Medicare battle of 1962 and then-Premier of Saskatchewan, Woodrow Lloyd.

Clearly, our publicly funded health care system has transformed not only Saskatchewan, but the entire country. Truly, it has become one of Canada's defining characteristics. While today we take it for granted, the idea of Medicare was far from universally popular in 1962.

As Premier, Woodrow Lloyd was tasked to lead the province through a period of tremendous turmoil, and he did so with great courage and conviction in the face of vigorous opposition from physicians in the province, and others. There's a well-known story about Lloyd giving a speech in front of hundreds of booing, anti-Medicare doctors in Regina in 1962, which is something few politicians have ever had to experience. There are stories about his children being threatened and his home vandalized. And of course there was the province-wide physicians' strike. All this would have tested the mettle of any politician, and the fact that Lloyd didn't back down speaks volumes about his character and the strength of his convictions.

History has proven that Lloyd was right. Medicare was the right thing for Canada. Lloyd's story should serve as an example to anyone who aspires to a career in elected office that the most controversial issues are often the ones most worth fighting for.

**3) What do you think about the idea of a national curriculum or national history standards?**

In Canada, education is under provincial jurisdiction and this structure, by and large, has served the provinces well.

Saskatchewan has participated and is participating in a number of national and regional initiatives. These are: the pan-Canadian Science framework (completed); and, the development of resources for French first language teachers in linguistic minority contexts. Common frameworks have been developed, or are currently being created, for French (first and second language), English, Science, Mathematics, and Social Studies (K-9) through the Western and Northern Canadian Protocol. To pursue a national history curriculum (9-12) or national history standards would require the agreement of all provinces and territories.

**4) What kind of balance should there be between provincial and national history? Between Canadian history and world history?**

A thorough study of the relationships that exist between local and larger perspectives is very important when studying history. Understanding how communities work together within the provincial context and how provinces function within the national perspective is vital. It is equally important to understand how Canada fits into the larger global context.

Various skills are required to achieve this. The ability to understand issues and/or events, to critically analyze perspectives, and to think creatively is essential.

**5) Given the reality that we forget most of what we are taught in school, what ideally should students carry away from their history classes?**

The knowledge, skills, and values developed in social studies help students to know and appreciate

the past, to understand the present, and to influence the future. When studying history or other subjects, common skills are intended to be interwoven into the learning, thereby enhancing the process. In Saskatchewan curricula, these common skills have been grouped into six categories: Communication; Critical and Creative thinking; Independent Learning; Personal and Social Development; Numeracy; and, Technological literacy. Students may apply these skills to any situation they encounter within or beyond the school setting.

Therefore, social studies in the school setting has a unique responsibility for providing students with the opportunity to acquire knowledge, skills and values in order to function affectively within their local community and national society as part of an interdependent world.

**6) What do think are the advantages of knowledge of Canadian history in future career pursuits?**

Knowledge of Canadian history combined with the necessary skills and values required to understand the Canadian context serve as a solid foundation for effective participation in pluralistic societies whether it is at the local, national or international level.

**7) Are there areas of history that you think we should be paying more attention to?**

While it is important to have solid content, it may be more important to establish an emotional connection with the past. This emotional link facilitates our understanding of our ancestors' spiritual, social, and cultural challenges. In the past, all peoples shared dreams and fears: they hoped for their children's safety and worked together toward a future of promise.

Every day, and particularly during this, our Centennial Year, we are reminded of the rich multi-cultural make-up of our province and the hard work and accomplishments of the people who have preceded us. Knowing the challenges faced, and the decisions made, by people who came from many parts of the globe, facilitates our understanding of the evolution of our vibrant communities.

When perspective is linked with decision making, emotion often surfaces. Students who learn to identify past perspectives in order to make a decision are drawn into the drama of human life. Enhancing our emotional connection to history must not be overlooked.

**8) Do you think that strong citizenship requires knowledge of the country's history?**

Yes, strong citizenship does require knowledge of the country's history. Knowledge of the past, with its incredible challenges, glorious achievements, and unfortunate tragic events, grounds one for functioning effectively within local and national communities. A strong understanding of the forces that shaped the past can provide guiding principles when looking to shape the future.

# OUR HOME AND NATIVE WHAT?

**LYNDA HAVERSTOCK**
Lieutenant Governor
of Saskatchewan

Every Canada Day, a new survey reveals Canadians' abysmal lack of knowledge of our own history. A few years ago, one such poll found that only half of those questioned knew the name of Canada's first prime minister, and far less than half (37 per cent) knew even the first line of Canada's national anthem. If surveys can be trusted, what do these results mean? Are we really that uninformed and disinterested in our own past? And what about all those American school children who can recite the names of Presidents from George Washington to George Bush, and proudly sing every word of "The Star-Spangled Banner"? One thing is for sure, Canadians are proud to be Canadian, so what's the problem?

The overwhelming success of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's "*Canada: A People's History*", as well as the more recent search for "The Greatest Canadian" are proof that our citizens are hungry for substance. But despite the significant work of organizations like Historica and the Dominion Institute, short of banning all American television, movies, and print media, Canadian children who rely on these sources for information will undoubtedly know more about American history (and the American perspective) than Canadian history.

In a June 2003 National Post article, Thomas Axworthy provided a good example of the problem of American culture. Axworthy points out that after seeing the World War II epic *Saving Private Ryan,* one would not know that, in reality, Canada's Third Division moved further inland on June 6, 1944, than either the British or American armies. Dominion Institute founder Rudyard Griffiths suggests that no matter how much funding we delegate to Canadian culture, we will never be able to compete with the all-pervasive American culture. In Griffith's words, "the classroom is one of the last zones of Canadian sovereignty".

This brings me to the second reason why teaching Canadian history is so challenging. The second largest land mass on the planet with a mere 30 million residents, Canada is fortunate to have an astonishingly diverse geography, which naturally leads to differing economies and cultures all within one massive country. We are also fortunate to enjoy one of the most de-centralized democracies in the world, which enables our provincial and territorial governments to focus on regional interests. But our size and governance also present enormous challenges.

Although most Canadian students are taught about the main developments and events in Canadian history, in the absence of national curricula and standards, little Canadian history is taught in the early grades and is an elective in high school in most provinces. While students are exposed to a smattering of topics from Aboriginal history to Confederation, rarely is there a sense of chronology.

In *How to be a Canadian Even if you Already are One,* Will and Ian Ferguson begin sarcastically: "Canadian history is incredibly boring." They proceed to describe a fascinating and dramatic story that would rival any Hollywood blockbuster. Why should we learn about our history? For so many good reasons, including the fact that without context, we are doomed to repeat mistakes and make ill-informed decisions about our present and our future. The best reason, however, is because our history is, quite simply, captivating. How we can best teach it is a difficult question given our influential neighbour and our impressive geography. The necessity of finding answers is of the utmost national importance, because, as Thomas Axworthy writes, "history is to citizenship as mathematics is to science – the essential prerequisite." Our great country of Canada deserves nothing less.

# LOOKING WEST … LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

**ABSTRACT**

In May 2004, the Canadian government passed new legislation which opened up 130 years of active collecting at Library and Archives Canada to the public. The Internet and web technology have revolutionized access to information. As more and more of the LAC's holdings go online, Canadians will be able to access their heritage from their homes, offices and even their palm pilot.

**IAN E. WILSON**

In 2004, Mr. Ian E. Wilson was appointed Librarian and Archivist of Canada in Library and Archives Canada. He had been appointed National Archivist of Canada in July 1999 and with the National Librarian Roch Carrier developed and led the process to create a new knowledge institution for Canada in the 21st century.

Anniversaries are a time for reflection; a time to critically evaluate our past accomplishments and initiate serious debate as to where we would like to go in the future. This September marked the centennial of the admission of Alberta and Saskatchewan as provinces in Confederation, a significant chapter in Canada's development as a nation from sea to sea to sea. As students, teachers, writers, researchers, curators, librarians, and archivists we feel that the Alberta-Saskatchewan anniversary is unique and worthy of remembrance and commemoration. We would like to see it – and many other anniversaries – become a permanent part of Canada's social fabric. As chroniclers of the past, we recognize that it is only by understanding our shared past in all its complexity and diversity can we prepare to address the serious challenges of our future. This understanding depends in very large measure on the thoughts, the images, the creativity and the wide range of experience enshrined in the books, records and holdings of our libraries and archives.

Provincial centennials, with their countless exhibitions, books, encyclopedias and speeches, all requiring authoritative content, are also a celebration of the contributions made by generations of librarians and archivists to provincial society. Their efforts have enabled and informed these celebrations. Our generation has inherited the unique, often fragile, and engaging holdings gathered and preserved by our predecessors. Our challenge is to ensure that this multi-media record reflects all aspects of our collective past, the good and the regretted, to add to it, to ensure it is available as the recorded social memory, and then to preserve it for the future. We are the stewards of a vital social asset. The depth and meaning of this asset is but little known and seldom used. We have a responsibility to ensure our holdings are a public asset, available to as broad a public as possible, at least as far as technology and the imperative of preservation allow. Information technology has finally caught up with our ambition, providing us with an unprecedented opportunity to open our stacks and shelves to all Canadians.

Our goal at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) is to become a leading-edge knowledge institution for the 21st century. Building on the traditions and expertise of the former National Library of Canada (established 1953) and the National Archives of Canada (established 1872), staff have worked diligently over the past two years, not only to re-organize our work, but to re-think what it is we do and why. Although there is still much to be done in this transformation, our objectives remain clear: to create a truly national institution that provides Canadians with access to the whole of their documentary heritage.

When our new legislation was passed by Parliament on May 21, 2004, it introduced a new concept: the documentary heritage of Canada. This is an all-inclusive term for the extraordinary material gathered over 130 years of active collecting. It includes nearly 19 million books, periodicals, newspapers, microfilms and government publications; approximately 156 km of unique textual records; over 20 million photographs; 350,000 works of art; 1.5 million maps, architectural drawings, and engineering plans; gigabytes of electronic publications and official records; and an outstanding collection of film, video, sound recordings and broadcasts; as well as music, stamps, editorial cartoons, posters and pamphlets. The collection is a Canadian treasure and arguably the most valuable asset, certainly one of the most fragile, owned by the people of Canada.

The new legislation will allow us to be proactive in making these unique and fragile resources known and available to all Canadians, offering them unparalleled access to our rich and diverse collections. The demand is evident. In April and May we tripled our Web capacity; use has grown 78 per cent in less than a year and this summer there were periods when there were 15 downloads

per second from the LAC Web site. We are developing sophisticated information architecture and systems to ensure that this happens. We want to meet the information needs of Canadians with multi-channel services on site or via the Internet with digital content, virtual reference, and, soon, digitization on demand. LAC will be a prime learning destination, a lead institution in information and knowledge management.

Access to our collections has been one of the drivers in the creation of the new institution. We are developing strategic approaches to description and metadata. Bibliographic records are absolutely essential for the integrity and control of the collection; archival descriptive practices are well developed and through this, the evidential and contextual values are maintained. These are important and necessary, but they are not access points. Librarians and archivists are looking at this very issue, and the challenge is to develop another layer of description that will provide easy access to all of our holdings for all of our users. The future is digitization. Internet and Web technology have revolutionized access to information and as more and more of our holdings go online, Canadians will be able to access their heritage as never before, in their homes, in their offices, in the palms of their hands. None of this will be possible without a renewed leadership and a strategic focus that brings together libraries, archives and partners all across Canada.

Through programs for schools and youth, the Canadian Genealogy Centre, the Portrait Gallery of Canada and virtual exhibitions, we have been developing innovative programs that will help make our documentary heritage better known to Canadians. To meet this priority we also need to take advantage of Web-based technologies so as to bring our diverse holdings together under a single research portal. It has become increasingly clear that our users are looking for easier access to our collections, not just in a physical sense but intellectually as well. A single research portal that takes advantage of descriptive standards and database design will eliminate many of the media-based information silos that archivists and librarians originally developed in the 19th century. While this approach may have served the research community well over the last century, information silos will not work in the virtual world of the 21st century.

However, if we are to create a truly national institution that provides Canadians with unparalleled access to the whole of their documentary heritage, much still remains to be done. Our collections may be the most extensive in the country, but they are complemented by essential heritage resources held in smaller libraries and archives across the country. To some extent we are well along the path to developing integrated systems that provide educators, students and researchers with unfettered access to documents. Archives Canada (www.archivescanada.ca) and AMICUS (www.collectionscanada.ca/amicus) have been major achievements in bringing together the bibliographic descriptions of the heritage collections from a wide array in institutions. Both sites are now the envy of many countries. LAC has also tapped into the strengths of a number of provincial institutions in its virtual exhibitions to provide more comprehensive and rounded stories. The Canadian Century Research Infrastructure (CCRI) assisted us with the digitization of the 1911 census; Canada Post enabled us to develop a philatelic site recognized as one of the best in the world, and Public History Inc., contributed to the digitization of the central registry of the Department of Indian Affairs.

The future is digitization. Internet and Web technology have revolutionized access to information and as more and more of our holdings go online, Canadians will be able to access their heritage as never before, in their homes, in their offices, in the palms of their hands. None of this will be possible without a renewed leadership and a strategic focus that brings together libraries, archives and partners all across Canada.

If LAC's collections could be brought together with libraries, archives and museums in western Canada, the magnitude of this documentary resource would be almost unimaginable. Readers of this journal are well aware that, historically, Ottawa's relationship with the Prairie West was unlike that of the other provinces. The early development of the region – even long after it had obtained provincial status – was largely controlled from Ottawa with federal institutions, such as the Department of the Interior, retaining control over the allocation of land and natural resources. This relationship had a significant impact of the archival record, with many of the region's historical documents being retained in federal institutions, while others were divided up and scattered across the three Prairie Provinces (see Terry Cook, "The Canadian West: An Archival Odyssey through the Records of the Department of the Interior," at www.collectionscanada.ca/04/042426_e.html). In the new Web world, it is possible to bring these widely dispersed heritage resources back together, reconstituting the documentary heritage of a region and providing the vital context for the innumerable local histories prepared by enthusiastic communities.

Reconnecting such a vital resource on the Web would provide unprecedented access to a documentary heritage that was previously only available to professional researchers with time and financial support to undertake the necessary travel. Think of the possibilities of a single research portal providing unrestricted access to the posters, pamphlets, and films that enticed European immigrants to make the Prairie West their home; the letters, internal memoranda, and departmental reports documenting federal policies on the disposition of homestead lands; the reports of the federal inspectors who visited homesteaders to ensure that federal regulations had been followed; the 700,000 land

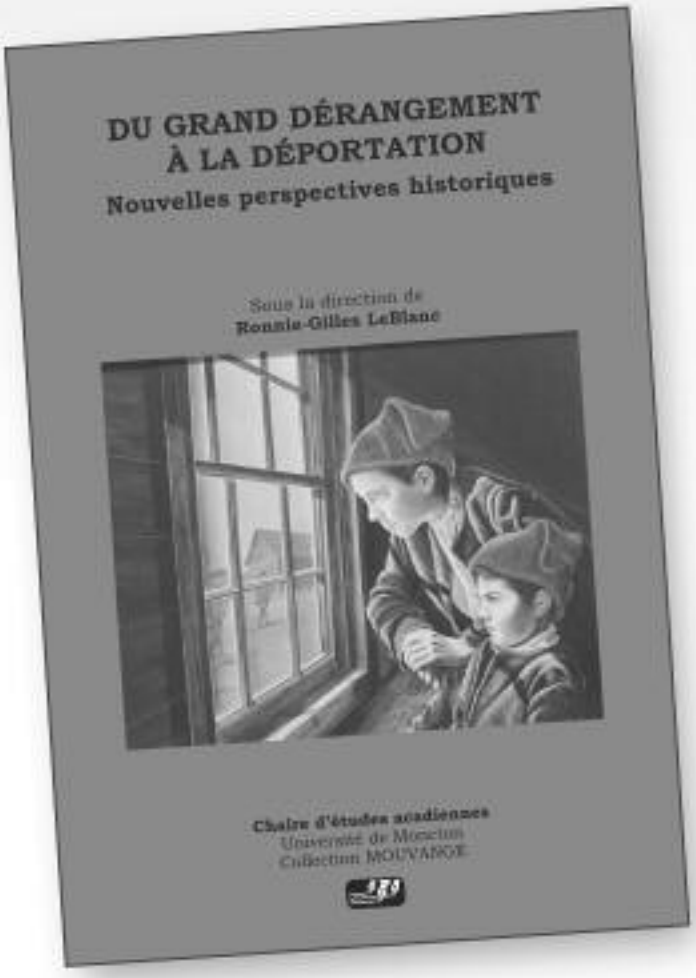
patents issued by the federal government to confirm the transfer of homestead lands from the Crown to individual farmers and ranchers; the published annual reports summarizing the government's year-to-year progress in its attempt to make an agricultural paradise out of the region; and the local newspapers and personal diaries, letters, photographs recounting family experiences as they wrestled with the naked prairie landscape to make a home. These heritage documents currently exist in repositories under federal, provincial and local governments. On their own, the records have historical merit; collectively in Web world they would form a significant and lasting contribution to Canada's strategic agenda as a knowledge-based society.

Acquisition, descriptions, preservation and access are at the core of our professions. These skills have renewed importance in the 21st Century as our citizens seek reliable, authentic information about our country and depend on us to ensure that the transitory creations of electronic systems last beyond tomorrow. We need to put in place comprehensive, shared approaches to ensure the careful selection and preservation of the range of documentary media. We need a Canadian digital information strategy to coordinate the many digitization efforts and to ensure the long-term preservation of our digital documentary heritage, from broadcasts to email to data. LAC is firmly committed to working with libraries and archives and museums across the country to advance this common agenda. We, too, need to understand and build on our past achievements as we address the challenges of the 21st Century. And, echoing a key approach to the success of Saskatchewan and Alberta, our efforts must be co-operative.

# Nouvelle publication / New Publication

## Du Grand Dérangement à la Déportation
### Nouvelles perspectives historiques

Sous la direction de / Edited by
**Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc**




À l'occasion du 250e anniversaire de la Déportation des Acadiens, la Chaire d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton présente une publication qui offre de nouvelles perspectives sur un événement qui a marqué non seulement l'histoire des provinces Maritimes, mais également celle du Canada et des États-Unis. Des spécialistes américains, canadiens et européens y proposent des analyses portant sur différentes facettes du Grand Dérangement et de la Déportation des Acadiens, l'une des pages les moins bien connues de l'histoire coloniale de l'Amérique du Nord.

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On the 250th anniversary of the Deportation of the Acadians, the Chair of Acadian studies of the Université de Moncton presents a publication that examines new perspectives on an event that has not only marked the history of the Maritime Provinces but also that of Canada and the United States. American, Canadian and European specialists analyse different aspects of the Grand Dérangement and the Deportation of the Acadians, one of the least well-known pages of North America's colonial history.

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## Edmonton Public Schools

# ENHANCEMENT OF HISTORY PROJECT

**ABSTRACT**

To help students leave school with an understanding and appreciation of the historical development of Alberta, Canada, and much of the world, the "History Project" was undertaken in 1998 by the Edmonton School Board. Courses were specifically developed for students in Grades 7 through 11. Stuart Wachowicz describes how the project took shape and its desired impact on students.

*"In the field of observation, chance favours the prepared mind."*
— Louis Pasture

The above quote from an eminent scientific pioneer underscores the truth that creativity and innovation are functions of the mind that already possesses relevant knowledge. In other words knowledge precedes understanding, and enables recognition of discovery. This is just as true in understanding our world today and to grapple with decisions that will determine our future. Historical knowledge sets the context and reveals implications for political and many other decisions that will need to be made. This paper will focus on a major project undertaken by the Edmonton Public School Board, to help ensure its students would be historically literate.

In much of North America today the design of school curricula, especially as it relates to courses like Social Studies, is premised or structured on the supposition that if students are taught various process skills in thinking, research and the like, the student will be able to construct meaning about different issues without the systematic development of a knowledge base pertinent to the issue at hand. Such educational philosophies have led to curriculum which frequently does not build a chronological framework for students, nor does it always provide a systematic development of the core knowledge related to the topic. Student constructed meaning on issues where they may not understand some of the context of the period, or the interrelation of events (cause and effect) can render the student's opinion incorrect, without the student ever knowing.

To help students and their teachers address this issue, and to help more graduating students leave with an understanding of the historical development of Alberta, Canada, and much of the world, and an appreciation of the forces, events and issues that continue to shape our world the "History Project" was undertaken in 1998. The project was conceived in the late summer of 1997 with the initial phases being approved unanimously by the Board of trustees in 1998. The project was to have three primary components: Curriculum Development, Resource Development and teacher professional development.

### Curriculum Development:

One of the first steps in the project was to establish a partnership between the school district and the Department of History and Classics of the University of Alberta. A team from both organizations began the development of a series of courses for junior high (grades 7 to 9). The first courses were designed to build historical and geographic context to help enhance the learning of the Social studies curriculum for the matching grade. In addition the courses were also to develop an appreciation of the chronology of Canadian history or of the topic of study. Dr. Rod McLeod, Dr. Andrew Gow and Dr. Richard Connors were the primary contributors in the production of the following course:

- Grade 7: Survey of World History (prehistory to 1485)
- Grade 8: Survey of World History (1485 to the 20th Century)
- Grade 8: Canada – Pre-confederation (Contact to confederation)
- Grade 9: Canada – Post confederation
- Grade 9: Women's History: Contribution of Women to Society – 1500 to Present

**STUART WACHOWICZ**

Stuart Wachowicz is the director of curriculum for Edmonton Public Schools. Prior to that he served as a teacher and principal of Youngstown School, a k-12 school in south eastern Alberta for 22 years. His area of expertise lies in curriculum construction for k-12 programming, with a special focus on mathematics, history, literacy development, Aboriginal education and second languages. The curriculum unit has also overseen Canada's largest and most systematic development of history curricula and supporting resources for secondary programs.

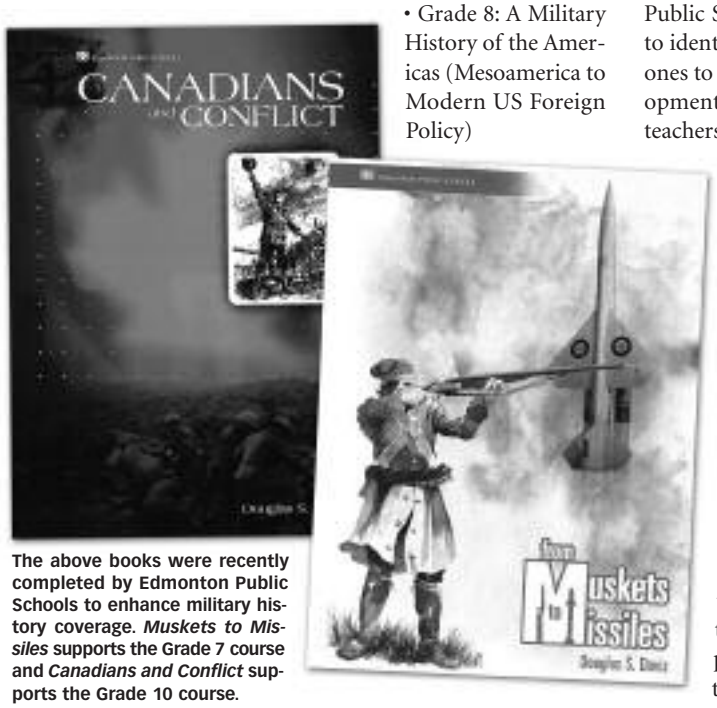
By 1999 the courses were in place and resources were identified to help get pilots of the courses underway. The reaction from teachers and students was very positive, and especially positive from parents. Students in these pilots faired extremely well in their Social Studies courses, being able to discuss and analyze issues in greater depth and with more sense of context.

It was at this time that the district moved to establish Acadamie Vimy Ridge Academy. This was designed as an alternative program within the district that would place a great deal of emphasis on Canadian Studies, with particular effort to ensure students knew and had an appreciation of the role Canada's military has played and is playing in the defense of our way of life, and in maintaining peace in dangerous locations. It was found that no school curricula appropriate to grade level existed in the nation for this purpose.

Again we turned to our partnership with the professors at the Department of History and Classics. Dr. Rod McLeod and Dr. Richard Connors began the work of leading the development of two junior high and two senior high courses in Military History. The courses were not intended as a glorification of war, but rather to examine the question in the context of the modern and ancient world, "What is the role of the military in societies, and to what extent and when are they necessary?" Students are to become aware of the socio-economic, political, and strategic considerations of societies of the past and today, enabling them to study and analyze the role of the military in modern democracies. The courses also take care to enable students to become knowledgeable of the enormous contributions Canadians have made, at home and in the theatre of war.

The Military History courses that have been developed and implemented are as follows:

- Grade 7: War and Society in Canada and the World (1750 to the 20th Century)
- Grade 8: A Military History of the Americas (Mesoamerica to Modern US Foreign Policy)
- Grade 10: Canada and War in the Modern Era
- Grade 11: Military History of the Ancient World to the Gunpowder Revolution




**The above books were recently completed by Edmonton Public Schools to enhance military history coverage. *Muskets to Missiles* supports the Grade 7 course and *Canadians and Conflict* supports the Grade 10 course.**

### Resources

Prior to the implementation of the Military History courses our research showed there were no texts or books written at the junior and senior high school level that would adequately support the elements covered. It thus became necessary to commission the writing of suitable supporting resources. To this end Douglas Davis, a teacher of considerable experience and qualified historian, was brought on staff to do this critical work. Over the past three years five books have been completed, some of which are already in use in a number of other school jurisdictions.

- Muskets to Missiles – Supports the grade 7 course and a French translation is in production.
- War in the West – Supports the grade 8 course (History of the Americas)
- Canadians and Conflict – Supports the grade 10 course (Available in English and French)
- Sargon to Suleiman – Supports grade 11 – Ancient World (well likely by International Baccalaureate instructors.)

In addition to the above, a new book is scheduled to be launched this fall, entitled *Canada's Warriors.* This is a much overdue history of the tremendous contribution and sacrifice made by Canada's Aboriginal soldiers. It is a remarkable and true story, and will be available in English and French.

### Professional Development

The third prong of the History Project, and a vital one, is to ensure that teachers who are charged with teaching history or Social Studies are knowledgeable of the subject matter they are asked to teach. To this end Edmonton Public Schools again partnered with History and Classics to identify a series of history courses, and even create new ones to help teachers who want to access additional development. The district's Staff Development unit provides teachers with the tuition for the courses, and helps ensure the courses will be available at times convenient for cohorts of teachers to study. Two courses were recently designed to help district Social Studies teachers develop a historical and geographic background that will better prepare them to teach the new provincial Social Studies curriculum. These courses are well received by teachers and enrollment is strong.

The History Project initiative of Edmonton Public Schools has provided high quality curriculum and resources, which have been reviewed and verified by experts in the field. We have had many strong reviews on the program from leading historians around the country. Our staff has opportunities available to no other teachers in the nation, to study history and its related disciplines, with tuition paid for by the district. All this is for the purpose of strengthening our educational capacity to enhance the teaching and learning experience.

The intent of the project is to create a greater level of historical literacy among all students. This will yield not only more students wanting to study history at the post secondary level, but it will yield a population that will be more aware of events and forces that are shaping our province, our nation and our world. Young citizens will be cognizant and more understanding of the issues, implications and possible solutions. Hopefully our work will contribute people to a society who will, in the words of Francis Bacon: "*Read not to contradict and confute, not to believe and take for granted… but to weigh and consider.*"

## Writing Western Canadian* History:

# A CALL TO THE IMAGINATION

**ABSTRACT**

While there are encouraging signs of innovative directions in the writing of Western Canadian history, Sarah Carter argues that historians could be doing more to revitalize and expand the field and to appeal to both local and international audiences. Carter says historians should use the opportunity of the centennials of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan to not only celebrate, but critically reflect on the past.

Centennials and other anniversaries marking occasions such as the achievements of European explorers (the 1992 Columbus quincentenary, or the 1984 celebration of Jacques' Cartier's first voyage), or the federation of British colonies (Australia, 2001), have led to anguished and angry controversies, often centred on the impact of colonial settlement and the subsequent dispossession of Indigenous populations. These commemorative events have become battlegrounds in the ongoing "history wars," over the kind of history we should read, fund, or see in exhibits, on films and postage stamps. In Australia the history wars have "polarized the nation," "split academic departments, dominated the opinion pages of the nation's broad sheets, and fuelled a national exercise in self-criticism."[1]

By contrast, the 2005 centennials of the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have been tranquil and serene; not even a prairie duster to whip up the calm of a warm summer day. While I do not lament the absence of acrimonious controversy, I am sorry that the centennials have not excited a ripple of debate, even mild exercises in self-examination in the West, or significant sparks of interest beyond the region. Commemorative events can be opportunities for critical reconsideration of the past, illustrating the importance of the past, and how it continues to live with and within us. Conflicting readings of the past surface. Comfortable generalizations, cherished narratives, and the mythic past, inscribed in popular memory and history, are challenged.

For Alberta's celebration there is no shortage of books aimed at a general, non-specialist audience, and there appear to be many well-researched and handsome productions among these.[2] The *Calgary Herald* will issue eight special centennial magazines that will highlight the "heroes, accomplishments and achievements of the province."[3] An emphasis on the remarkable and the rugged (mostly White male) individual remains predominant in "popular" histories of Alberta. These tend to celebrate the past, to inform but also to entertain and inspire. They prop up, rather than challenge cherished myths and narratives. There is not much of an unsettling, disturbing or controversial nature- they confirm and affirm the wisdom of what has taken place. As Jackie Flanagan, editor of *Alberta Views* wrote in the centennial issue of that magazine, "disagreement or dissent is suspect" in Alberta.[4] While she is writing about politics, the same could be said for other domains, where a similar appearance of consensus masks our diversity of opinion.[5] Flanagan calls for more "clash," for different points of view to enable the best thinking and arguments to emerge.

The point of my article is that historians of Western Canada could be doing more to present alternative views, to revitalize and expand the field, to provide critiques and reassessments, and to engage in international debates. I would like to see fresh, lively, creative and bold activity that would be of interest both in and beyond Western Canada, and that would shake what Curtis White has called the "Middle Mind" that doesn't want us to think. White writes that "the Middle Mind is there to provide a culture of thought that ensures that it all amounts to the same thing: no thought from any quarter that is a threat to business as usual."[6] While making this "call to the imagination" however, I want to point out that there are encouraging signs of innovative and new directions in the writing of Western Canadian history.

While overall I find that the academic historians of Western Canada have tended to be cautious, low-key and tentative, there have been important periods and locales of ferment and activity. In an essay entitled "Prairie Dusters in the Field of History in 1980s Winnipeg," I argue that many of the historians who emerged from that time and place challenged cherished myths and narratives and questioned the traditional model of progress and improvement.[7] With the stress of many of these

**SARAH CARTER**

Sarah Carter teaches Canadian history at the University of Calgary. In 2006, she will join the University of Alberta as the Henry Marshall Tory Chair in the department of History and Classics, and School of Native Studies. Like many Albertans, she is from Saskatchewan.

historians on colonization, exploitation, the convergence in the West of diverse people, and the surrender of historians' claims to neutrality and objectivity, they shared some of the same approaches, objectives and interpretations of the "New Western" historians of the U.S. West, although without the same public fanfare and controversy. I likened this phase of activity to prairie dusters, or dust devils, that sweep through fields forming little cones of dust and debris. They stir things up but do little real damage. As with a prairie duster, this moment of intense activity died down, meant little to any long-term revitalization of the field of Western Canadian history and generated little interest beyond our own borders.[8]

Historians of Western Canada have been somewhat isolated from trends in the field of history internationally, making modest or no contributions to new methodologies and areas of focus such as gender, sexuality, post-colonial, subaltern, whiteness or lesbian-gay – bisexual – transgendered history/studies, to name only a few. One area that we could engage with much more is the new colonial scholarship, as Adele Perry has recently pointed out.[9] In the late nineteenth century, Canada was, as declared in an 1888 book called *The New West,* "the Greater Britain of the West – the worthy scion of the grand old Motherland across the seas, whose pride is in the colonial gems which adorn the imperial diadem, of which Canada is one of the brightest and most valued jewels."[10] In particular the vast stretches of land in Western Canada were seen as "lying tenantless and silent, only awaiting the advent of the Anglo-Saxon race to be transformed into a prosperous and thriving country."[11] Here were opportunities for *English Lands and English Homes in the Far West,* as declared through the title of an 1891 book.[12] Western Canada clearly shares much with other British settler colonies in which Aboriginal people were cleared from their land, becoming a small minority in their homeland. They were depicted as not true settlers, as not deserving or proper owners of their territory, and as not possessing the necessary energy and industry to develop the land. Representations of Aboriginal people as a "dying race," as found in Western Canada in the late nineteenth century, were congenial to settler colonization as they harmonized with the project of removing Aboriginal people from the land.[13] As in other corners of the British Empire the work of White Anglo-Saxon males was to explore, dispossess, and make the land prosper and produce capital, while the women were to reproduce the "race," and introduce "civilizing" influences.[14]

Yet historians of Western Canada have been reluctant to adopt a colonial framework, and have emphasized the distinctiveness of our past. "Emphasizing Canada's distinctiveness," Adele Perry writes, "is an understandable if ultimately unsatisfying response to our continued marginalization as one of the "inconsequential others" of North American history." Western Canada's status as an "inconsequential other" is of particular concern to me. We have a low profile in international historical scholarship. Even our neighbours in the field of the U.S. West pay virtually no attention to us, despite the fact that we deal with many of the same developments, topics and time frames. A critique that has been directed toward Australian history applies to Western Canada: because we have "looked inward, become insular and thereby failed to address the rest of the world; it is not surprising that others respond to our self-absorption by ignoring us."[15] Sylvia Van Kirk's ground-breaking 1980 *Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society in Western Canada,* remains the only book that regularly attracts international attention.[16] We need to be part of recent trends toward comparative, borderlands and world histories, and there are many encouraging signs of moves in this direction, particularly from a new generation of scholars.[17]

Western Canada is a place of tremendous artistic and literary creativity and we should seek inspiration from our creative writers, some of whom write highly acclaimed novels and poetry on historical topics.

We could also be more experimental and adventuresome in how we write history. We favour the approach of the omniscient narrator, who presents linear stories with a beginning, middle and an end on the model of the nineteenth century novel. Novels are no longer necessarily written that way, reflecting the multiple ways in which the world has changed since the nineteenth century. Western Canada is a place of tremendous artistic and literary creativity and we should seek inspiration from our creative writers, some of whom write highly acclaimed novels and poetry on historical topics.[18] Experiments in history elsewhere include "parody, mystery, pastiche, humor and the miniature- and all… as thoroughly researched and as well documented as any that appear in the pages of the most sober academic journal."[19] We should experiment, according to Robert A. Rosenstone, to "…express something about our relationship to the past which has hitherto been inexpressible, to include in history things which have long been excluded, to share information or insights or understanding that cannot be carried by traditional historical forms." Escape from the boundaries of the nineteenth-century narrative, the "vertigo of experimentalism," defamiliarizes the reader and disrupts routine perceptions of the past. "As dancers choreograph their performance, historians historiograph theirs," writes Alun Munslow, and not all dance is modeled after nineteenth century ballets such as Swan Lake any longer.[20] Some of the more experimental and innovative studies of Western Canada's past are from fields other than history, or reflect interdisciplinary approaches.[21]

I suggest then that we use the opportunity of the 2005 commemoration to revitalize the field of Western Canadian history, to seek new audiences at home and abroad, and to create "clash" that will provide alternate ways of understanding the meaning of our world. Let's stretch our imaginations. Let's critique but also reinvent to disrupt the familiar and comforting and require our readers to think.

## Endnotes

* These remarks do not apply to the writing of British Columbia history.

[1] See the website for Melbourne University Publishing http://www.mup.unimelb.edu.au/catalogue/0-522-85091-X.html. See also Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars.* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003.

[2] See for example the 2005 advertising flyer "Great Western Canadian Alberta Centennial Collection," The Great West Collection, Markham, Ontario.

[3] "Herald Centennial Magazine Series Starts Sunday," *Calgary Herald,* 1- Sept., 2005, A3.

[4] Jackie Flanagan, "Anyone Opposed?," "Centennial Issue," *Alberta Views,* 7, No. 7, 2005, p. 8-9.

[5] Two publications to appear later in 2005 promise to present a diversity of views on Alberta history, and to critique cherished narratives. These are Michael Payne, Donald Wetherell, and Catherine Cavanaugh eds., *Alberta Formed – Alberta Transformed,* 2 vols., University of Calgary Press, forthcoming; Sarah Carter, Lesley Erickson, Pat Roome and Char Smith, eds., *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West Through Women's History,* University of Calgary Press, forthcoming.

[6] Curtis White, *The Middle Mind: Why Americans Don't Think for Themselves,* San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco, 2004, p. vi.

[7] Sarah Carter, "Prairie Dusters in the Field of History in 1980s Winnipeg," presented at "The Prairies Lost and Found: A Multidisciplinary Conference," Canadian Studies, St. John's College, University of Manitoba, Sept. 24, 2004. Historians of 1980s Winnipeg include (but are not limited to) Jennifer S.H.Brown, Bob Coutts, Lyle Dick, Gerhard Ens, Gerry Friesen, Jean Friesen, Walter Hildebrandt, Royden Loewen, Graham MacDonald, Jim Mochoruk, Diane Payment, Frits Pannekoek, Michael Payne, Katherine Pettipas, Randi Roestecki, Jeffrey Taylor.

[8] I don't wish to suggest that this activity has altogether disappeared however. See for example Catherine Cavanaugh and Jeremy Mouat, *Making Western Canada: Essays on European Colonization and Settlement,* introd., Elizabeth Jameson, Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996; Catherine Cavanaugh and Randi Warne, *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000; Lorry Felske and Beverly Rasporich, eds., *Challenging Frontiers: The Canadian West,* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004, and the special issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* edited by Bill Waiser devoted to recent writing on Western Canada (vol. 84, No. 4, Dec., 2003). Among the valuable and innovative new monographs are: Heather Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves: Aboriginal Ethnogenesis in a Canadian Family,* 1660-1900, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004; Simon Evans, *The Bar U and Canadian Ranching History,* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004; Paul Voisey, *High River and the Times: An Alberta Community and its Weekly Newspaper, 1905-1966,* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004.

[9] Adele Perry, "Canada and the Empires of the Past," *History Compass,* August 2003, http://www.history-compass/viewpoint.asp?section=9&ref=8

[10] Anonymous, *The New West: Extending From the Great Lakes Across Plains and Mountain to the Golden Shores of the Pacific,* Winnipeg: Canadian Historical Publishing Co., 1888, preface, n.p.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Rev. J. Wagstaff, *English Lands and English Homes in the Far West: Being the Story of a Holiday Tour in Canada,* Macclesfield: Claye, Brown and Claye, 1891.

[13] Patrick Wolfe, "Review Essay: History and Imperialism: A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism," *American Historical Review,* (April, 1997): 419.

[14] Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century," in Phillipa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004: 49.

[15] Anne Curthoys, "Does Australian History Have a Future?" *Australian Historical Studies,* 118, 2002.

[16] Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties:" Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870,* Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer Publishing, 1980. On the continued international attention to Van Kirk see for example Hall, "Of Gender and Empire," 139-140.

[17] A new generation of cross-border historians is represented in the work of Carol Higham, *Noble, Wretched and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900,* Calgary and Albuquerque: University of Calgary Press and University of New Mexico Press, 2000; Carol Higham and Bob Thacker, eds., *One West, Two Myths: A Comparative Reader,* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004; Michel Hogue, "Crossing the Line: The Plains Cree in the Canada-United States Borderlands, 1870-1900," M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Calgary, 2002; Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender and the Making of the Alberta- Montana Borderlands,* Edmonton and Lincoln: University of Alberta Press and University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming; Jill St. Germain, *Indian Treaty Making Policy in the United States and Canada, 1867-1877,* Lincoln and Toronto: University of Nebraska Press and University of Toronto Press, 2001; Jill St. Germain, "Broken Treaties: Indian Treaty Implementation in Canada and the United States, 1868-1885," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Calgary 2005. See also the special issue of *The American Review of Canadian Studies,* "One West, Two Myths: Special Issue on the West(s)," 33, No. 4, winter 2003. A new reader edited by Mary Ann Irwin and James F. Brooks, *Women and Gender in the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) includes readings from the Canadian and U.S. Wests.

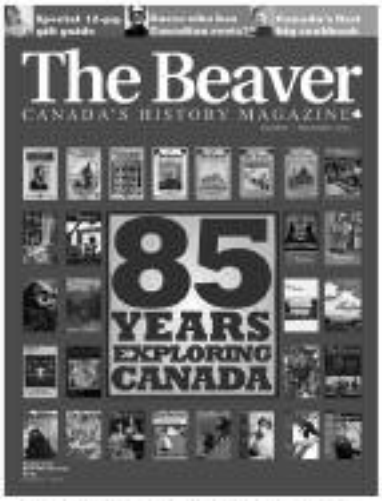
[18] Examples include Fred Stenson, *The Trade,* Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 2000 and Walter Hildebrandt, *Where the Land Gets Broken,* Victoria: Ekstasis Editions, 2004.

[19] Alun Munslow and Robert A. Rosenstone, *Experiments in Rethinking History,* New York and London: Routledge, 2004, 2. See also Peter Farrugia, ed., *The River of History: Trans-national and Trans-disciplinary Perspectives on the Immanence of the Past,* Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005. Two experiments in writing history from Western Canada are Reinhold Kramer and Tom Mitchell, *Walk Toward the Gallows: The Tragedy of Hilda Blake, Hanged, 1899,* Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2002; Chester Brown, *Louis Riel: A Comic-Strip Biography,* Montreal: Drawn and Quarterly Publications, 2003.

[20] Munslow and Rosenstone, 11.

[21] Robert Wardaugh, ed., *Toward Defining the Prairies: Region, Culture and History,* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2001; Alison Calder and Robert Wardaugh, *History, Literature and the Writing of the Canadian Prairies,* Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2005; Jennifer Blair, Daniel Coleman, Kate Higginson and Lorraine York, eds., *ReCalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production,* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005.

# History for *all* ages

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## The Tale of Two Different Futures:

# SASKATCHEWAN IN 1905 AND 2005

**ABSTRACT**

When Saskatchewan became a province in 1905, political leaders of the day believed it would become Canada's most powerful province. Saskatchewan embarked on an ambitious province building program based on the Anglo-Canadian culture and wheat production for the Canadian export market in the southern half of the province. Bill Waiser argues the future of Saskatchewan turned out much differently than that narrow vision. Two-thirds of the province live in urban areas, there is a diverse economic base and rich cultural life. Waiser says the challenge for the province now is trying to come to terms with its agricultural past and aboriginal population.

When Frederick Haultain, the territories first and only premier debated the future of the North-West Territories in December 1901, he attacked the federal plan to "cut this country up into little provinces" and called instead for one large province to be called "Buffalo." Haultain never got his wish in 1905, but the new province of Saskatchewan was no less confident about its destiny. Indeed, if galloping population growth and wheat production in the early twentieth century were any indication, then Saskatchewan seemed well on its way to greatness. The future would just have to catch up.

And what was this future? Saskatchewan was to become Canada's most powerful and populous province. The political leaders of the day not only believed that the future belonged to the province, but more importantly, that the province could decide and shape that future. The Saskatchewan government consequently embarked on an ambitious province-building program, determined to put the old territorial days and any lingering sense of colonialism behind it, while cultivating a new and separate identity as Canada's powerhouse prairie province. Saskatchewan was to be based on one dominant culture (Anglo-Canadian) engaged in one dominant economic activity (the production of wheat for the export market) in one dominant zone of activity (the southern half of the province). By such means, Saskatchewan was confident that it would fulfill its great destiny. Any deviation from this one culture and this one economic activity was regarded as a threat to the province's future. Saskatchewan had hitched its wagon to these key ideals and was not about to be diverted from its chosen path.

Perhaps the best place to start is with numbers. So many immigrants were pouring into western Canada in the early twentieth century that Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier ordered a special census of the three prairie provinces in 1906 to serve as a kind of statistical snapshot of the phenomenal growth. The statistics told a remarkable tale of unprecedented growth. In Saskatchewan alone, the 1891 population (41,522) grew 127 per cent by 1901 (91,279) and then another 182 per cent just five years later (257,763). The immigrants effectively swamped the First Nations population. It would be a mistake, however, to see settlement of Saskatchewan during these years as a deliberate attempt to create a multicultural province. The Saskatchewan government fully expected immigrants to accept and embrace the ways and traditions of their new country, to be "Canadianized" according to the popular terminology at the time. And the only way to bring about this transformation was to get them established on the land and interacting with Anglo-Canadian institutions.

This concern about the cultural makeup of province dominated Saskatchewan political life during the first third of the twentieth century. By the 1920s, many residents of British origin had come to regard the persistence of ethnic identities as a blight on the province's future and actively pushed for cultural uniformity. Some had even come to question whether the integration of continental European immigrants into the larger society was desirable, let alone possible, and called for an end to the kind of immigration that had helped make the province the third most populous province (921,000) in Canada. Saskatchewan may have had the most ethnically diverse population in Canada at the time, but it stubbornly resisted becoming a multicultural society.

Saskatchewan also pinned its destiny on one dominant economic activity (wheat farming) in one dominant region (the southern half of the province). The government's gaze rarely extended to the northern half of the province [the geographically centre is about 100 miles north of Prince Albert]. One provincial cabinet minister even called northern Saskatchewan "another country altogether."

**BILL WAISER**

Bill Waiser is a specialist in western and northern Canadian history. He joined the Department of History at the University of Saskatchewan in 1984 and served as department head from 1995-98. Dr. Waiser has served on the council of the Canadian Historical Association and the board of directors of Canada's National History Society. He has just completed a new history of Saskatchewan, a University of Saskatchewan initiative for the 2005 provincial centennial, which was released in August.

Saskatchewan concentrated its energies on growing wheat for the Canadian export market. It believed that this activity – and this activity alone – would be the means to greatness for the province and help realize its ambitions within confederation. The statistics behind this activity are truly remarkable. As the vast network of branch lines and grain elevators spread over the southern Saskatchewan landscape in the early twentieth century, the wheat economy took root and flourished. By World War One, Saskatchewan was producing half the wheat grown in Canada.

Farmers grew wheat for the simple reason that Saskatchewan's settlement and development had been organized around its production. The homesteads, the railway branch lines, the country elevators – even the harvest excursions – were all part of a grand design to supply wheat to the international export market. The wheat economy would not have been established so quickly and efficiently if not for the active encouragement of the federal and provincial governments and the investment in the region by large, powerful companies. The large rural population, together with the steadily growing importance of agriculture, made farmers a dominant force in provincial life.

The dependence on a single crop also influenced urban growth in the southern half of the province. The tens of thousands of prospective farmers who poured into the West after 1900 required the services of villages, towns, and cities if they were going to transform their homesteads into viable commercial operations. It was this new rural demand, precipitated by the record number of settlers that fueled a town-building frenzy the likes of which have never been seen again over the past century. What is often misunderstood, however, about this urban growth was that it was entirely dependent on the wheat economy and that Saskatchewan was first and foremost a rural province where three out of every four residents lived in the country.

These, then, were the defining features of the province a century ago – one dominant culture, one dominant crop in one dominant region. Together, they would pave the way to Saskatchewan's future as Canada's powerhouse province. It was an extremely narrow vision. But it was readily embraced by the political leaders of the day. The great expectations for the region led Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier to tour the province in 1910 and see first-hand how Saskatchewan had grown and more importantly, soothe farmer anger over federal agricultural policies. A strong Regina-Ottawa connection, meanwhile, quickly developed in the first half of the twentieth century. Saskatchewan's first two premiers, Walter Scott and William Martin, served their political apprenticeship on the Liberal back benches in the House of Commons. Ottawa also came calling and recruited two serving Saskatchewan premiers, Charles Dunning and Jimmy Gardiner, for the federal cabinet. By the 1920s, it seemed that the political stars were in alignment for the province, when Prime Minister MacKenzie King sought a safe seat in Prince Albert. These arrangements ensured that the interests of the province were not ignored nor neglected and that Saskatchewan enjoyed some real political clout. It is not too exaggerated to suggest that province not only expected to dominate the region, but within time, be the banner province of Canada. Saskatchewan was the region, and the region would lead the nation.

Saskatchewan's chosen path would create problems during the Great Depression and in the following decades. In fact, the past insistence on one dominant culture and one dominant economic activity in one dominant region would compound the difficulties that the province faced in the post-Second World War period. In 2005, Saskatchewan faces a much different, more difficult future. Unlike a century earlier, though, it is the province that will have to catch up, since the future will not wait. As one Regina civic official philosophically commented in direct contrast to Haultain's earlier bravado, "There is no clear road map to the future. The path will not be 'found.' It must be 'created'."

In 2005, Saskatchewan faces a much different, more difficult future. Unlike a century earlier, though, it is the province that will have to catch up, since the future will not wait. As one Regina civic official philosophically commented in direct contrast to Haultain's earlier bravado, "There is no clear road map to the future. The path will not be 'found.' It must be 'created'."

This future will be profoundly different from the comfortable image of the province today. In the national consciousness, sleepy Saskatchewan is frozen in time, a land of wheat fields, grid roads, and country elevators, where nothing important ever happens and anybody with talent or ambition leaves to make their mark elsewhere. Journalist Peter Gzowski, who got his start in Moose Jaw, called it the most Canadian of provinces. The reality is an increasingly urbanized society (two-thirds of the population lives in urban areas) with a diverse economic base and a rich cultural life, trying to come to terms with its agricultural past and Aboriginal population. Indeed, at the start of this new century, the province is grappling with the twin challenges of meeting the needs of its Aboriginal community and maintaining a decaying rural Saskatchewan thanks to the peculiar provincial situation where there is both a growing young, urban Aboriginal population and a declining, aging non-Aboriginal population.

One of the big challenges for the province will be retaining people. At one time, Saskatchewan was the third most populous province after Ontario and Quebec. But those days are long past; Saskatchewan's has slipped below the one million mark since October 2001 and seems unable to reverse the downward trend. Regina, Saskatoon, and other large provincial cities will continue to grow, but at the expense of rural areas which seem to lose people like passengers from a sinking ship. Distance, in the meantime,

has once again become a factor in rural lives as the low population density and low demand mean that many services are now available only in larger centres.

Despite the relentless population decline over the decades, Saskatchewan remains the most rural of the three prairie provinces. (36.7 percent of the population still resided in rural areas in 1996 compared to only 28.2 and 22.3 percent for Manitoba and Alberta, respectively.) Nor is rural society any less complex, any less vibrant than its urban counterpart – it is certainly not static or one-dimensional. What has changed in the new century, however, is that rural residents probably have more in common with their urban counterparts than at any other time in the province's history because of new technology, such as the internet and email, and mass consumer culture.

One Alberta political scientist has asked that if rural communities are no longer truly distinctive, then why are they worth protecting? But rural Saskatchewan remains an integral part of the provincial identity and the people there deserve a certain minimum standard of living and basic services. Small communities, however, need to find something beyond special fund-raising events or there will be winners and losers as the consolidation continues. Educated children need a reason to stay or return.

The precipitous decline of rural Saskatchewan is a reflection of the changed provincial economy. Over the past century, geography and climate were two constant concerns as farmers grew and marketed crops to feed the world's population. The problem today, though, is that agriculture now makes only a marginal contribution to the provincial economy. Nor does the federal government seem to care about the plight of producers or the place of agriculture in the national economy, and has severely limited assistance.

The environment, not markets, will probably be Saskatchewan farmers' biggest worry in the new century. Global warming, also known as the greenhouse effect, is expected to raise mean temperatures over the western interior by as much as five Celsius degrees by 2100, generating more intense weather, in particular increasing the severity of drought. A more immediate problem is the chemically-dependent farming that has evolved since the Second World War and its impact on the prairie ecosystem. European customers have also begun to challenge the safety of the genetically-modified (GM) products and recently forced the shelving of the introduction of GM wheat.

The decline in the relative importance of agriculture does not mean that the provincial economy is any less vulnerable. Even though Saskatchewan's range of trade resources is diverse, from potash and energy to grain and beef, and trade is carried on with several countries, the province has no control over international price and demand. Even the loss of a foreign market, such as the prolonged closure of the American border to Canadian beef because of the bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) or "mad cow" crisis in 2003, can have catastrophic consequences for Saskatchewan producers.

Some maintain that the best hope for the province's economic future continues to be greater diversification through provincial incentives. But no amount of forced growth can overcome the natural disadvantages of Saskatchewan's location and market size. Any new economic development must also involve northern Saskatchewan residents and end decades of marginalization during which time the region was treated as little more than a colony by imperial Regina. Had not Frederick Haultain demanded provincehood for similar reasons more than a century earlier?

But no amount of forced growth can overcome the natural disadvantages of Saskatchewan's location and market size. Any new economic development must also involve northern Saskatchewan residents and end decades of marginalization during which time the region was treated as little more than a colony by imperial Regina.

The integration of the provincial north will mean jobs. In fact, new jobs must be created throughout Saskatchewan to replace those being lost in agriculture. This quest for new jobs means addressing the fact that Saskatchewan has the least-educated population in Canada. Education and training will be needed if the provincial work force is to participate in the new knowledge-based economy.

By far, though, the most critical for Saskatchewan in the new century will be the role and place of the growing Aboriginal population – something that many citizens would rather not think about, let alone deal with. As of 2001, Aboriginal people – Indians and Métis – made up almost one in eight of Saskatchewan residents (13.5%). By 2045, just four decades away, they are projected to account for one in three people. Saskatchewan cannot afford to discount its Aboriginal population, particularly given its lowly place in provincial society, or there will be bigger, more serious problems in the future.

It has been suggested that the change already underway in the province "offers a new opportunity for Saskatchewan to lead Canada once more." These words might seem overly ambitious, if not unrealistic, given the complex challenges facing the province in the new century. It will take vast amounts of time and energy – but most of all, commitment. But Saskatchewan has never been a province to think small, never one for believing that things were out of its reach and settling for second place. The road to the future will be bumpy.

Solutions will be found – it is just that there will be no easy answers.

## The Transition to Partisanship:

# ALBERTA POLITICAL PARTY PLATFORMS, 1905

**ABSTRACT**

Despite a tradition of non-partisanship during the period of territorial government in Western Canada from 1882-1905, partisan Liberal and Conservative rivalries emerged with the establishment of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. David Hall says the platforms of the Liberal and Conservative parties provide important insight into the similarities and differences between the two. Hall says many of the same themes would resonate in Alberta politics for decades to come.

The principle of non-partisanship dominated the politics of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Assiniboia during the period of territorial government (1882-1905). Yet partisan Liberal and Conservative rivalries emerged simultaneously with the establishment of the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. This paper will examine this process, and particularly how the parties in Alberta sought to justify the change and differentiate themselves through their platforms, issued in anticipation of the first provincial elections in 1905.

No one so personified the non-partisan tradition as the Territorial premier, F. W. G. Haultain. This policy enabled the local government to treat all constituencies and regions more equitably than likely would have been the case with a strongly partisan organization. Even more important, the Territories were a dependency of the federal government, and Haultain believed that a non-partisan government in Regina would fare better in dealing with Ottawa, regardless of whether the Conservatives or Liberals happened to be in power. The annual budget, the vast majority of which was provided by Ottawa in annual grants, demonstrated this dependency graphically. However, Ottawa's paternal presence often seemed omnipresent: it determined policy with respect to lands and settlement, exploitation of natural resources, ranching and grazing, railway construction, and native peoples; and it provided policing through the Royal North-West Mounted Police. Haultain promoted provincial status, especially after 1900, with the expectation that the Territories would be transformed into a single large province with the same powers and responsibilities as the older provinces of Central Canada, the Maritimes and British Columbia. He also believed that the new province would be best served by continuing the non-partisan tradition.[1]

The Liberal federal government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier did grant provincial status in 1905, but in a manner highly displeasing to Haultain and many people in western Canada. It created two provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, instead of one. It withheld control of public lands and natural resources, as Ottawa had done with Manitoba in 1870, and it placed limits on the provinces with respect to education policy. These provisions were highly controversial, both in Parliament and the Territories, because they gave the new provinces a second-class status within the Dominion. Ottawa further angered many Albertans by selecting Edmonton as the provisional capital of Alberta, at the behest of Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior and MP for Edmonton; and by a blatant gerrymander of the constituencies in the new province for partisan advantage.[2]

Indeed the federal government simply steamrolled over the non-partisan tradition, determined to install Liberal regimes in both new provinces. G. H. V. Bulyea, a strong Liberal from Assiniboia, who had been a minister in Haultain's government, was named Alberta's first Lieutenant Governor; he was clearly intended as an agent of the Laurier government. The provincial Liberals held their founding meeting in Calgary in early August, 1905. They hammered out a platform, and chose Alexander Cameron Rutherford as leader. Bulyea then duly appointed Rutherford the first premier of Alberta on September 2, and Rutherford selected a wholly Liberal cabinet.[3] The Conservatives, much less organized, responded with a convention in mid-August in Red Deer, at which they also worked out a platform and selected a young Calgary lawyer, Richard Bedford Bennett, as interim leader.[4]

Before 1905 politicians in the Territories often had affiliations with federal political parties, even working on one side or the other in federal election campaigns. Yet they set aside these associations when it came to Territorial issues. With the popular Haultain declaring his opposition to the introduction of party lines in the politics of the new provinces, and asserting that he would run only as an independent,

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how were those anxious to begin provincial parties to justify the move to the electorate? The Liberals pointed to Haultain's very public association with the federal Conservatives in 1902 and 1903, and claimed that the Conservatives were very likely to set up a provincial organization. The *Edmonton Bulletin* contended platitudinously that a Liberal convention did not preclude maintaining a non-partisan approach, but that it was best for Liberals to agree on policy so that they could stand for "pure and efficient government". Because the Conservative convention followed that of the Liberals, it was easy for them to argue that they were regretful about abandoning non-partisanship but were forced to it by the Liberals.[5]

The party platforms provide insight about the similarities and differences between the two parties, as they tried to identify the popular issues of the day on the one hand, and to differentiate themselves on the other.[6] Amongst the similarities was an emphasis on government assistance for agriculture, establishment of agricultural colleges and experimental farms, dissemination of the latest farming information, and improvement of livestock. Both parties agreed, to use the words of the Liberal platform that "the progress and prosperity of the Province will depend almost entirely upon the development of the agricultural and ranching industries." They also agreed that prosperity also would depend upon developing a good system of roads and bridges, and the necessity of the western provinces banding together to build a railway to Hudson Bay in the belief that a shorter route to tidewater and a shorter ocean route to Europe would benefit prairie agriculture. Both parties declared that there must be a provincial university, with the Tories adding that it should have "practical departments designed for the benefit of the masses."

The party platforms provide insight about the similarities and differences between the two parties, as they tried to identify the popular issues of the day on the one hand, and to differentiate themselves on the other.[6] Amongst the similarities was an emphasis on government assistance for agriculture, establishment of agricultural colleges and experimental farms, dissemination of the latest farming information, and improvement of livestock.

Yet there were significant differences in the platforms. The Liberals began with a statement of popular democratic principle, linking themselves to the Liberal/Reform tradition in Canada: "that the intelligent opinion of the people is the true and just source of all political power," and that "the true end of government is the promotion of the welfare of the masses of the people by the creation and preservation… of equal opportunities in life for every individual," by preventing "monopolistic corporations" from infringing upon the rights of the people, "by amelioration of the conditions of life, and by the redress of injustice," by progressive public administration, and "continued attention to the wants of those new settlers whose courage, industry and thrift are creating the prosperity of the West." Emergent populism is also seen in the provision that "the administrators of public affairs should be under continued responsibility of the electorate." It is true that Liberals of the day were more inclined than Conservatives to general statements of ideals and principles, but it also was important to establish these principles in face of Conservative efforts to tar the provincial Liberals with the brush of the machine politics associated with Laurier Liberalism.

Another difference appeared in the approach to public utilities. It was a matter of hot popular debate in the early twentieth century, with the Bell Telephone monopoly especially vilified. The Conservatives simply called for "the public ownership of public utilities," a position consonant with federal Conservative policy on railway construction and Ontario Conservatives' approach to electrical utilities.[7] The Liberals contended that municipalities should be able "to retain or acquire control of all public utilities whenever they desire to do so," and be protected "against the encroachments of private corporations." They did not, however, insist on a broad policy of public ownership.

The Conservatives also naturally tried to force the Liberals on the defensive with respect to the unpopular aspects of the *Alberta Act.* The Tories denounced the education clause which limited provincial powers, and which "forever preclude[s] the possibility of establishing a national common school system," as "a flagrant and unwarranted interference with and usurpation of the rights of the province under the constitution." They went on to support the idea of an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the constitutionality of the clause. They of course denounced the withholding of lands and resources from the province, and understandably took a stronger position on provincial rights – or what the *Calgary Herald* termed "home rule" – than the Liberals were able to do.[8] Yet the Liberals did commit themselves to a strong system of publicly supported and government-controlled common schools that would provide "the children of all classes of the population an equal opportunity to obtain a good primary education."

The Conservatives affirmed their imperialist tendencies. One plank in their platform, entitled "Defenders of the Empire," called for a "land grant, scrip, or other suitable reward" for citizens, including members of the RNWMP, who had fought "in defense of the empire either at home or abroad."[9] Another resolution of the Tory convention endorsed Joseph Chamberlain's proposal on behalf of the British government of an imperial preference, "as conducive to the national interests and unity of the empire."[10]

The Liberals, by contrast, emphasized what historian Lewis G. Thomas termed "the Liberalism of the frontier."[11] This populism, noted above, emphasized government by

and under the control of the people. While the Tories denounced the Liberals as tools of the "machine" in Ottawa, the Liberals spelled out the ways in which they believed in local, municipal government in protecting the people from the evils of large corporations and monopolies, and in keeping the provincial government accountable. They claimed that there was no justification for incurring "any Provincial debt," or for pledging the assets of the province for any public purpose.

If the provincial Liberals were hampered by having to defend the *Alberta Act* with its defects, the Conservatives had to deal with the fact that their leader, R. B. Bennett, was Calgary solicitor for two corporations despised in rural Alberta: the CPR, and Bell Telephone. The Liberals incorporated into their program an expression of regret that the *Act* contained a clause perpetuating the exemption of the CPR railway lands from taxation, and committing a Liberal government to press for its removal. The Tories produced a wordy paragraph contending that the exemption given the CPR in its contract was "an obligation of the whole of Canada," which the entire country should absorb, and not just the western provinces. In effect this legitimated the exemption, while objecting to its specific application.

Lewis G. Thomas characterized the Tory platform as "defensive", lacking in "vigour and definiteness." He thought it a rather "non-partisan platform."[12] In fact, it was very much in line with the national Conservatism of the day, in emphasizing provincial rights and public ownership, a preference for a strongly assimilative school system, and the provisions regarding the empire. There was not much in the platform to reach out to non-British newcomers. The Liberals clearly were more populist, emphasizing provincial rights, equality of opportunity, electoral control of elected and administrative officials, protection of civil rights, encouragement of local municipal governments, resistance to predatory corporations, economical government and avoidance of public debt, among other things. In somewhat differing ways, both parties were critical of Ottawa and mistrustful of eastern corporations. Many of these themes would resonate in Alberta politics for decades to come.

## Endnotes

[1] Haultain's views are best set out in Lewis H. Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," *Saskatchewan History* (winter, 1970); C. C. Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946); and Grant MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman of the Canadian Northwest* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985).

[2] Lewis G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959, 3-14; D. J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton,* 2, *A Lonely Eminence, 1902-1929,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985, ch. 8; J. William Brennan, "The 'Autonomy Question' and the Creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905," in Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, eds, *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980,* Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1980), 43-63.

[3] D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona,* Calgary: University of Calgary Press and Friends of Rutherford House, 1989, 22-27; Patricia Roome, "Alexander C. Rutherford, 1905-1910," in Bradford J. Rennie, ed., *Alberta Premiers of the Twentieth Century,* Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2004, 6-8; D. J. Hall, "Bulyea, George Hedley Vicars," forthcoming in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* XV, Toronto: University of Toronto Press [November 2005]; *Daily Edmonton Bulletin,* August 3-5, 1905.

[4] James Gray, *R. B. Bennett: The Calgary Years,* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, 90-91; *Daily Herald* (Calgary), August 17, 1905; *Canadian Annual Review,* 1905, 228-29. Useful background may be found in George H. W. Richardson, "The Conservative Party in the Provisional District of Alberta 1887-1905," MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1976.

[5] *Bulletin,* August 3, 1905; *Herald,* August 3, 18, 1905.

[6] The Liberal platform is conveniently reprinted in Babcock, *Rutherford,* 145-47; see also *Bulletin,* August 5, 1905, and *Canadian Annual Review,* 228-29. The Conservative platform is found in the *Herald,* August 18, 1905, and *Canadian Annual Review,* 229-30.

[7] "Liberal-Conservative Platform of 1904," in D. Owen Carrigan, ed., *Canadian Party Platforms 1867-1968,* Toronto: Copp Clark, 1968, 47; H. V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development: Forests, Mines & Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941,* Toronto: Macmillan, 1974, ch. 7, "Power Politics".

[8] On this, see Thomas, *Liberal Party,* 24. On Bennett's provincial rights campaign, see *Canadian Annual Review, 1905,* 236.

[9] Presumably these were veterans of the campaign against Louis Riel in 1885, or of the South African War.

[10] *Herald,* August 18, 1905; Carrigan, 47; Robert Craig Brown, *Robert Laird Borden: a Biography,* I, *1854-1914,* Toronto: Macmillan, 1975, 63-64.

[11] Thomas, *Liberal Party,* 25.

[12] Thomas, *Liberal Party,* 24.

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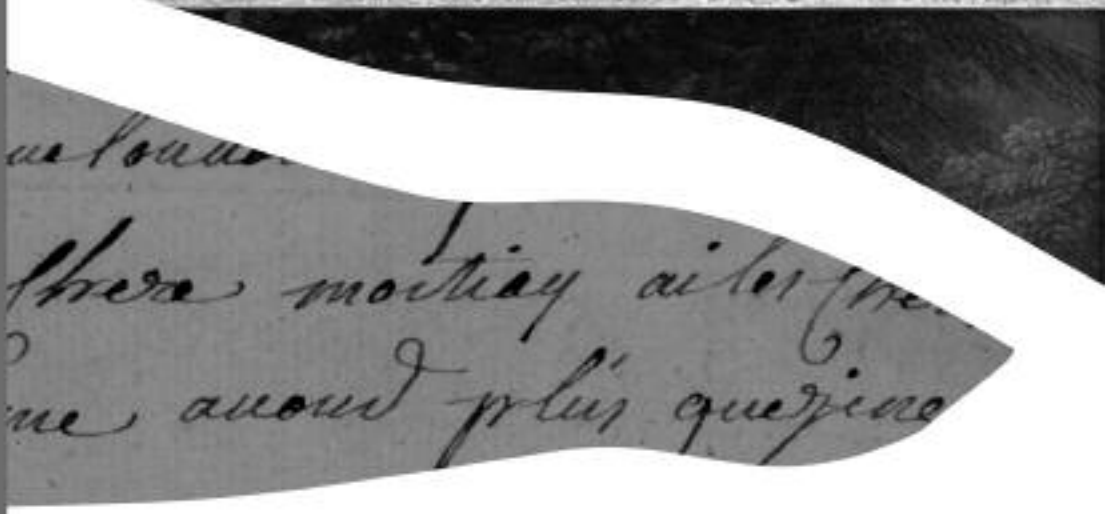

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## A Forest of Family Trees:

# RUPERT'S LAND ROOTS IN WESTERN CANADA

**ABSTRACT**

This essay examines the roots of the family trees that sprouted as European fur traders and other sojourners settled in among their Aboriginal hosts in Rupert's Land. Jennifer Brown looks at how some of those stories, sometimes forgotten or suppressed in past generations, have been recovered and are being told and retold from new angles in the present time.

One century ago, Saskatchewan and Alberta attained provincial status in the Dominion of Canada. But that century is only the most recent of many in the long human history of the region. After the glaciers of the last Ice Age retreated, and the land became habitable and the plants and animals returned, people came as well, settling around the post-glacial lakes, swamps, and streams left behind by huge volumes of melting ice. The first settlers came to these northern climes about 6 or 7,000 years ago. To put the most recent century in historical perspective, those hundred years amount to about one sixtieth of that time span, momentous as they have been for the present populations of those two prairie provinces.

Aboriginal peoples were the first pioneers of this renovated landscape, harvesting its diverse plant and animal resources – bison and other game. When a relatively warm climate flourished around AD 1000-1200, they began cultivating the prairies' first domesticated crops, corn in particular, at their settlement on the Red River near present-day Lockport, Manitoba, and doubtless elsewhere. Many hundreds of generations elaborated rich cultural traditions and sophisticated technologies such as the hunters' short but strong sinew-backed bow that made the best possible use of the limited wood resources available on the northern plains. Skilled archers, bowyers, and fletchers (makers of bows and arrows) have flourished on the Plains for probably at least 1,800 years.[1]

The long history sketched above has tended to be submerged by the events of the last three hundred-plus years, with their momentous implications for northern peoples and their homelands. Historical works have also privileged the mass of documentation by literate sources in mainstream languages. Written records in English and French have commonly received the most attention; stories told in indigenous languages have remained inaccessible to all but the speakers of those languages. To understand more fully the present and the recent past, however, we need to attend to the sources from all sides and to seek a more balanced historiography grounded in listening to all the voices that have something to say.

On 2 May 1670, in London, England, 18 men – courtiers and other investors willing to "adventure" their funds in Hudson Bay, received from King Charles II a royal charter granting them trade monopoly rights and a claim to an enormous territory not yet mapped by anyone – the lands whose waterways flowed into Hudson Bay. The king's first cousin, Prince Rupert, best known in English history as a leader of the royalist forces in Cromwell's time, was the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company; the new territory's name, Rupert's Land, honoured a man who in fact never visited "his" land or met the people whose homeland it was.

In fact, none of the early company directors ever saw this land or negotiated any transfer of its title with its residents; they simply instructed the men they sent out to make agreements for trade and land use with local Cree leaders in the vicinity of the first trading forts, symbolizing those agreements with "tallies of wood" and by other means that might be mutually understood (though we cannot know what mutual understandings were in fact achieved). The main English concern was to establish territorial claims in the face of French efforts to expand their domains from New France on the St. Lawrence River; indeed, in the 1680s and 1690s, European warfare spilled over into Hudson Bay as HBC forts were periodically seized or destroyed. Not until after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 did the French accept the English claim to Hudson Bay, allowing for many decades of relatively peaceful fur trading mainly with the First Nations who resided near the coast of what the Cree called the "dirty sea" – *winni-peek* (being salty, it was undrinkable[2]), or who were willing to travel down the rivers from inland to exchange beaver and other furs for kettles, axes, cloth, guns, and other useful goods.

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From a Hudson Bay Cree perspective, the newcomers were strangers, potentially dangerous, as were the other intruders they had experienced – Inuit from the north and east, and Iroquois raiders from the south. But these outsiders were still more odd, with their large wooden vessels that generated the James Bay Cree word for "white men" – *wemistikosiwak,* men with wooden boats. The old Cree stories comment on the tree-like masts and cloud-like sails of these vessels, whose guns flashed fire and echoed across the Bay.[3] The only way, in Cree terms, to achieve a sense of security with these problematic newcomers (whose trade goods, however, were welcomed) was to establish some sort of bond with them. For the Cree as for other Aboriginal people, the most basic form of bonding was through building kinship ties – by means of marriage or adoption – to draw them into the community and build reciprocities that would lead to mutual confidence and mutual advantage.[4] Early HBC men, however, were firmly instructed to avoid such fraternizing, for security reasons and to avoid expense, loss, and trouble. They came without women and families; they were sojourners on company business.

But these Bay servants were also isolated, far from home, enduring long winters that they could not survive without help, food, and equipment from the Cree; and the reciprocities that developed on a local level went considerably beyond fur trading. The London directors were far away, in touch with their Bay employees by means of only one ship sent each summer to bring trade goods and supplies and to carry home furs. They could not readily enforce rules that aroused the suspicions of Aboriginal trading partners (it was odd enough to Native people that these men on ships traveled without women), and they could not control the dynamics of evolving post communities in the Bay. It is clear that by the mid-1700s, relationships between Aboriginal women and HBC traders were almost commonplace. By the late 1700s, numbers of the resulting families were amply visible in company records and in traders' own wills, in a number of instances.[5]

Gradually the company came to acknowledge women's roles in the trade, and discovered that their offspring with the traders even formed a potential "colony of very useful hands." A parallel process with rather different dynamics was at work in the Montreal-based fur trade that reached from Canada (still a relatively small region) across the Great Lakes into Rupert's Land, as French and later Scottish traders formed increasingly large families. The net result was a population of many thousands with multiple roots and branches both Aboriginal and European – bearing First Nations, Metis, and other identities, both Canadian and American. Mixed parentage or "blood" in itself was not a predictor of identity; everything depended on where these offspring went, who brought them up, which parental kinship networks drew them in, what marital mates and livelihoods were available, and what larger events (the annexation of Rupert's Land to Canada, the Louis Riel risings of 1869-70 and 1885, the treaty signings of the 1870s, the fading of the bison herds, the US frontier wars) scattered their families and communities or fostered the founding of new ones in new (or old) places, as for example, in mission settings.[6]

The net result was a population of many thousands with multiple roots and branches both Aboriginal and European – bearing First Nations, Metis, and other identities, both Canadian and American.

For a long time after the troubles of 1885, these histories were lost through displacements or purposely set aside. Looking back from 2005, however, we are finally seeing the women and families who generated this population take their place on the historical stage, gaining due recognition and wide interest. This process has dramatically accelerated in the last three decades. When, as a graduate student, I became interested in fur trade and Aboriginal history in the early 1970s, few people were working on or even talking about these families. Sylvia Van Kirk and I had independently come to realize as we did our Ph.D. dissertation researches, she in London, England, and I at the University of Chicago, that women and families in the fur trade had been a non-topic among scholars.[7] Discovering a new field, our perspectives were limited at the time; we were feeling our way, even with regard to terminology – how might we best describe these fur trade relationships, and what terms might best be used to describe offspring of mixed descent who had not even yet been categorized as a group? On these matters, for example, the ambiguous phrase "marriage according to the custom of the country" (marriage and custom both being variously defined), research and analysis need to continue.[8]

Back in the 1970s, we and others who were just beginning to work in this area were also very much limited to archival research. Even while we found the Hudson's Bay Company and other archives to be a rich treasure trove of materials that had never before been mined for these stories, we were trying to reconstruct them from the biased and selective records left by the literati of the fur trade, and later, of church missions and government – typically adult males of relatively high social standing writing for purposes and audiences rather different from ours. At the time, few descendants of these families were working on their histories, and few were talking openly and with pride about them. My only opportunity for oral history during my graduate studies came one afternoon in Selkirk, Manitoba, in a conversation with Ruby and Barbara Johnstone, descendants of Isaac Cowie, Chief Factor William Sinclair and his Cree wife Nahoway, and so many other old fur trade and Red River families that they styled themselves "Rupert's Landers" in honour of their deep roots in the region.[9] It was a foretaste of things to come.

In 1983, I began teaching Aboriginal and fur trade history at the University of Winnipeg. In that and the following decade, both university courses and scholarship in these areas underwent immense growth, a trajectory that continues. In 1983-84, there were perhaps 40 Aboriginal students at the university; now there are more than 800. Each year that I teach in these fields, and notably in my

course on Métis history, some students begin to explore their roots, tracing their family trees back into the fur trade and finding Cree, Ojibwe, and other Aboriginal relatives as well as Scots, Frenchmen and Englishmen, who link them into networks past and present and who all have stories waiting to be told. The cousins they find may range from among their own classmates to the breadth of North America and sometimes beyond, with the help of the vast reach of the Internet.

Some family researchers have had to practice diplomacy with grandparents, aunts, and others who lived through the racial prejudice that Native people experienced in past generations; older relatives sometimes do not want to hear about the Native sides of their families, and the women from whom their Native connections sprang have often vanished as racial sensitivities and patrilineal surname bias have combined to silence their voices. But their descendants (most often women, it seems) are retrieving their stories and bringing them forward with great skill and energy. To cite just two examples, Heather Devine's recent book, *The People Who Own Themselves,* traces in detail the histories of her Desjarlais ancestors from Quebec across the west to Canadian and American fur trade and Aboriginal communities as far afield as St. Louis, Missouri, and the Athabasca country, exploring the dynamics that led to their identifying themselves in multiple and changing ways. And Sherry Farrell Racette recently completed a ground-breaking study of Métis women's arts and clothing, building powerfully on her own familial experiences and observations and her expertise as an Aboriginal artist and designer.[10]

History is being changed, and so are our images of the past. The great men of the fur trade appear in a new light when viewed in the context of their social and familial relationships with Aboriginal people (which they handled in a variety of ways); and so do all the other men and women and their kin who became interconnected over the two hundred years that Rupert's Land existed. In the western provinces, and elsewhere too, the roots and branches of their family trees form a forest that grows with each generation. The tangle becomes more complex, and hence more interesting; history is being reconstructed, but also made anew, as people in the present follow old trails through these dense woods, and make fresh ones too, into the lengthening past.

## Endnotes

[1] A Ph.D. dissertation (University of Manitoba, 2005) by Roland Bohr (Department of History, University of Winnipeg ) outlines in more detail than any previous work the cultural and social history of archery in hunting and warfare on the northern plains (Bohr, "Aboriginal Archery and European Firearms on the Northern Great Plains and in the Central Subarctic: Survival and Adaptation 1670-1870").

[2] Similarly, Lake Winnipeg was also named as dirty in Cree for its muddy, clouded appearance as a prairie lake; although not salty, it differs greatly in appearance from the relatively clear waters flowing across the Canadian Shield.

[3] A leading figure in recording the stories of his people that relates to all facets of their history, ancient and recent, is Louis Bird, Omushkego (Cree) historian and storyteller from Peawanuck on the Winisk River near Hudson Bay. His new book, *Telling our Stories: Omushkego Legends and Histories from Hudson Bay* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2005, with collaborators), and his website at www.ourvoices.ca present the richness of Omushkego (Swampy Cree) oral traditions relating to life before Europeans came and to the interactions with traders, missionaries, and others that came later. In particular, chapter 5 in *Telling our Stories* juxtaposes Hudson Bay Cree stories of early contacts with some of the perspectives brought by early voyagers to Hudson and James Bay.

[4] Compare Georges Sioui's commentary on the episode in which the Stadacona Iroquoians in 1535 presented Jacques Cartier with a young girl in a ceremony that Sioui reads as an effort to assimilate him through marriage, though Cartier did not understand the gesture ("Canada: Its Cradle, its Name, its Spirit: The Stadaconan Contribution to Canadian Culture and Identity," *Canadian Issues* [October 2003], 24-29. Frederic W. Gleach has read the "rescue" by Pocahontas of captain John Smith from supposed execution by the Powhatans as more likely a dramatic adoption ceremony to socialize Smith as an ally and friend; Smith also did not understand what was going on ("Controlled Specuation: Interpreting the Saga of Pocahontas and captain John Smith", in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert, eds., *Reading beyond Words: Contexts for Native History,* 21-42 (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996; rev. ed. 2003).

[5] Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

[6] The range of directions in which these offspring and their families traveled is well illustrated in the diverse articles collected in Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer S.H. Brown, eds., *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis in North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1985). For a recent comprehensive bibliography on the Métis, see Lawrence J. Barkwell, Leah Dorion, and Darren R. Prefontaine, eds., *Resources for Métis Researchers* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1999); at over 2000 entries, it demonstrates how this field of study has expanded.

[7] These dissertations both appeared in 1980 in book form; see Brown, cited above, and Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980).

[8] In 2001, I returned to this question in "Partial Truths: A Closer Look at Fur Trade Marriage," in Theodore Binnema, Gerhard J. Ens, and R.C. Macleod, eds., *From Rupert's Land to Canada,* 59-80 (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press).

[9] Brown 1980, 71; interview with Ruby and Barbara Johnstone, 8 July 1972.

[10] Devine, *The People Who Own Themselves: Canadien Freemen and the Emergence of the Métis in Western Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2004). Farrell Racette's dissertation, "Sewing Ourselves Together: Clothing, Decorative Arts and the Expression of Métis and Half Breed Identity," was completed in 2004 in the Interdisciplinary Program at the University of Manitoba.

## No Comment (Almost):

# 200 YEARS OF OBSERVATIONS ON THE MÉTIS*

**ABSTRACT**

Through a collection of quotations, Jean Teillet argues this is how the Métis have been depicted throughout history.

Our Canadian sense of history and civilization is so firmly fixed that it allows us, with scarcely any pangs of conscience, to see in every generation, the Métis we wish to see.

"Lacking any solidly established religious principles, because they had been brought up too close to the Indians, they quickly surrendered – with few exceptions – to the extreme freedom of morals that prevailed among the native people…"[1]

"Some mixed bloods even preferred the freedom and hazards of the hunter's life to the monotonous regularity of the tasks to be undertaken in the trading posts…"[2]

"Had he [W.B. Robinson] intended to include, or ever anticipated – that French Canadians and French Half-breeds or other breeds of like fecundity and longevity – were to be recognized as Indians by the Department of Indian Affairs and permitted to draw Annuities which his Province would be called upon to pay a man of the Hon. W.B. Robinson's sagacity and shrewdness would surely have inserted a clause in the treaty to protect the Province from such an imposition."[3]

"This persistent nationalism, however narrow its base may have been, communicated to the Métis group a veritable spirit of solidarity, a principle of cohesion that largely made up for the divergence of the cultures which came together in his personality and for the many disparate elements which his natural indiscipline, his excessive individualism, and his lack of will-power produced in his ranks."[4]

"James Dreaver… arrived at Red River… in the early 1850s… He asked a Catholic priest about a nearby group of boisterous men. They were dark skinned but obviously not Indians. 'They are the one-and-a-half men,' the priest replied, 'half Indian, half white and half devil.'"[5]

"…the French half-breeds were indolent, thoughtless and improvident, unrestrained in their desires, restless, clannish and vain. …These metis were not a savage, vicious, or immoral people, but honest, hospitable and religious, rather improvident and happy-go-lucky, without care and without restraint, true sons of the prairie, as free as the air they breathed and by nature as independent as the land which gave them birth."[6]

"One Métis looks like another; the Government will never know it…"[7]

"In the settlement process they were a nation of squatters. Macdonald knew, as any lawyer knew, that squatters were notoriously suspicious, impatient, and stubborn people, and that the settlement of their ill-defined claims was probably the most exasperating and difficult problem that could confront a land-granting department."[8]

"If the hon. Gentleman waits until the Indian or the half-breed ceases to grumble, he will have to wait till the day of doom. They always grumble."[9]

"Twenty white informants were invited to submit a definition of a Métis or Half-Breed… (VI) A person who when he has money lives like a white man and when he is broke lives like an Indian."[10]

"A primitive people, the Half-breeds were bound to give way before the march of more progressive people. It was the recognition of this fact and the gradual realization of their inability to adjust themselves to the new order that kindled the spark of Half-breed resentment which unfortunate circumstances fanned into the flame of insurrection."[11]

"Mr. Pennock (Ewing Commission): You were speaking of the Half-breed owning land. I suppose the great trouble with the Half-breed is, he is irresponsible."[12]

"Commissioner Douglas: What is your opinion regarding the value to the half-breed of giving him an education?

Bishop Breynat: I don't think he should be given too much education. Too much is bad for some of them…

Chairman Ewing: I agree with you there, too much would be a bad thing."[13]

**JEAN TEILLET**

Jean Teillet practices law in Toronto with the law firm Pape & Salter. She specializes in Aboriginal and Metis rights law. She recently represented Steve Powley of Sault Ste. Marie in his 10 year battle to have Metis hunting rights recognized. Powley took his case all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada and won. Teillet is the great grand-niece of Louis Riel.

"Ewing: Would you say the definition 'anyone having Indian blood in their veins and living the normal life of a half-breed' comes within the definition of 'half-breed'?… You see you must include 'living the life of a half-breed'"…[14]

"The 'working definition' [of a half-breed] was arrived at [by the Ewing Commission]. It was not history which defined a 'half-breed', not politics nor even biology. You weren't a Métis because you could trace your origins to the Red River or the South Saskatchewan. You had to have Indian blood, but you were a 'half-breed' only if you lived outside the dominant society, if you lived the 'life of a half-breed.' Because you lived a certain kind of life – the traditional life of hunting, fishing and trapping, a poor life, characterized by illness and ignorance – you were a 'half-breed'. Why were people condemned to live such a life? Because they were 'half-breeds'. There was no escape from this nether world. The cause was also the consequence."[15]

"But the important thing was not the smallness of the numbers of people who lived or died in the hope of sustaining their chosen way of existence, but rather the final shifting of power in the West from those who lived in and on and with the environment – whether they were Indians or Métis – and those who wished to live off it, to dominate and to exploit it. In the moral dimension, it was the destruction of the distinctive culture of a small number of people to serve the interests of vastly more numerous intruders."[16]

"If the Métis called themselves, during that seventy years when they still formed a power in the prairies, a distinctive 'nation', they did not base the claim on population or on formal political arrangements. They made it because they felt themselves a distinct people who had a role to play in their world and who took a pride in that role, considering no life better than that of the adept hunter and guide and – when the necessity arose – prairie warrior."[17]

"When the Métis sought to achieve nationhood in the strange empire of the West, white men called it treason, the greatest of crimes… [They] were martyred in the name of Manifest Destiny or Canada First or an Anglo-Saxon God. There were no gas chambers then, but there was malevolent intention; and there were guns and hunger, smallpox and syphilis. And 'backward' peoples, then as now, could be used as puppets in the power politics of dynamic 'civilized' states. …[They] clung to the old loyalties, defied science and the machine – and perished. Of course they were an illiterate people, primitive and unstable, not even white. And their spokesman and symbol, who believed the old values to be good, became thereby a traitor."[18]

"He [Riel] shall hang though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour."[19]

"He died on the gallows and his nation died with him – his nation, and the dream of a strange empire in the West. The ideas from which the dream evolved live on among the remnants of his people, but they live feebly because the race is weak and dispersed and despised. The official histories read by other people have no room for them. Civilized man has achieved so much; there is no place for the dreams of a people who had no written literature, whose only art was that which adorned their garments or their homes, who built no cities, devised no economic theories. History cannot avoid however, a grudging acknowledgment that this odd nation could produce men with a bent for politics and war, and that one or two of them may even have been geniuses in those fields."[20]

"'Métis aboriginal rights' are a historical mistake… At this point, the best strategy to minimize the damage caused by the thoughtless elevation of the Métis to the status of a distinct 'aboriginal' people is to emphasize the word 'existing' in section 35 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."[21]

"'Métis aboriginal rights' are a historical mistake… At this point, the best strategy to minimize the damage caused by the thoughtless elevation of the Métis to the status of a distinct 'aboriginal' people is to emphasize the word 'existing' in section 35 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms."[21]

"Professor Sprague tells why the Métis did not receive the land that was supposed to be theirs under the *Manitoba Act*… It is a shameful tale, but one that must be told. It offers the explanation for the fact that today the Métis, once dominant at Red River, indeed the guardians of the community there, should now find themselves strangers in their own land. In 1982, the Canadian Parliament belatedly recognized the Métis as one of the aboriginal peoples of Canada. It remains, to us, now that we know how they lost their land, to see that they get the landbase they were promised."[22]

"…people can do strange things when… they have not yet established their right to pride in their race, their religion, or their 'nationality'; when their skins are neither light nor dark but – most outlandish of all – just in between; when a way of life that has worked for generations suddenly will not work at all, through no fault of theirs; when all their dreams of things as they used to be and perhaps could be again are fashioned into passionate speech by a man on horse-back, his upthrust hand grasping a cross. People like that have one sure and certain loyalty. It is place. It may be as tiny as a burial ground where the bones of their forefathers rest; it may be half a continent whose landmarks bear the names their progenitors bestowed. Acre or empire, they will fight for it until the spirit is dead."[23]

## Endnotes

* Thanks to Dan Benoit and Lindsay Thompson for their assistance in gathering these quotes.

1 George Woodcock, *The Métis in the Canadian West* (University of Alberta Press, Edmonton, 1986) translation of Marcel Giraud's *Le Métis canadien* published in 1945 in Paris at Vol. 1, p. 328. at p. 328.

2 *Ibid.*, at p. 328.

[3] *Borron Reports* of 1891 and 1892 as cited in the *Report of Gwynneth Jones* (1998) prepared for the trial *R. v. Powley.* Ms. Jones was the Crown's historical expert.

[4] Woodcock, *supra,* Vol. 2, p. 202.

[5] Murray Dobbin, *The One-and-a-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady & Malcolm Norris, Métis Patriots of the 20th Century* (Gabriel Dumont Institute, Regina, 1981)

[6] Stanley, George F.G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1963) first published in 1936 *supra,* at p. 8-9.

[7] Hansard; Commons Debates, March 26, 1885, per Sir John A. Macdonald

[8] D.G. Creighton, *Sir John A. Macdonald,* (Toronto, 1956) at p. 369

[9] Hansard; Commons Debates, March 26, 1885 per Sir John A. Macdonald.

[10] Legasse, *The People of Indian Ancestry of Manitoba: A Social and Economic Study* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1958) at Vol. 1, p. 56-57.

[11] Stanley, *supra* at p. 49

[12] Royal Half-breed Commission (also known as the Ewing Commission, established in 1934 by an Order in Council of the Alberta government. The mandate was to enquire "into the condition of the Half-breed population of Alberta, keeping particularly in mind the health, education, relief and general welfare of such population.") Proceedings, pg. 36. as cited in The Métis Association of Alberta and Joe Sawchuk, Patricia Sawchuk and Theresa Ferguson, *Métis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History* (Métis Association of Alberta, Edmonton, 1981) at p. 192.

[13] Royal Half-breed Commission. Proceedings, pg. 538, as cited in Dobbin, *supra* at p. 99.

[14] Dobbin, *supra* at p. 95.

[15] *Ibid.* at p. 95.

[16] George Woodcock, *Gabriel Dumont: The Métis Chief and his Lost World* (Hurtig Publishers: Edmonton, 1975) p. 18.

[17] Joseph Howard Kinsey, *Strange Empire* (William Morrow and Company: New York, 1952) p. 19.

[18] *Ibid.,* at p. 16-17.

[19] G. R. Parkin, *Sir John A. Macdonald: The Makers of Canada* (Morang & Co. Ltd: Toronto) p. 244.

[20] Kinsey, *supra* at p. 18.

[21] Thomas Flanagan, *The Case Against Métis Aboriginal Rights,* Canadian Public Policy, IX:3:314-325, 1983.

[22] Thomas R. Berger in the forward to D.N. Sprague, *Canada and the Métis,* 1869-1885 (Wilfred Laurier University Press: 1988) at p. vii-viii.

[23] Kinsey, *supra* at p. 18-19.

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## Écoles francophones et gouvernance :

# LE CAS ALBERTAIN

**RÉSUMÉ**

L'auteur examine le rôle des élites traditionnelles dans la lutte pour la gouvernance des écoles francophones d'Alberta et notamment à Edmonton. Il signale l'influence de nombreuses contradictions identitaires chez les francophones dans l'évolution du système scolaire. Ces contradictions sont souvent complexes et ont souvent tendance à reproduire le conflit Nord-Américain entre une vision religieuse de la société et une vision séculaire. Selon Claude Couture, les élites traditionnelles n'ont pas initié la lutte pour la gouvernance des écoles minoritaires francophones mais se sont plutôt décrétées et imposées en tant que majorité religieuse une fois cette gouvernance acquise, ce qui a freiné le développement d'une francophonie diversifiée.

L'année 2004 a vu la parution d'au moins deux ouvrages importants traitant de la question des droits des francophones dits minoritaires au Canada. Le premier de ces ouvrages est de Michael Behiels, *Canada's Francophone Minority Communities. Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance*[1]. L'autre ouvrage est un collectif édité par Simon Langlois et Jocelyn Létourneau, intitulé *Aspects de la nouvelle francophonie canadienne*[2]. Les deux ouvrages font ressortir l'évolution des principaux dossiers politiques menant aux nombreuses contradictions identitaires chez les francophones d'aujourd'hui. À première vue, la contradiction fondamentale est entre le Québec et les autres communautés francophones prises de façon globale. Mais à y regarder de plus près, les contradictions sont plus complexes et semblent curieusement reproduire, à une échelle plus réduite, les contradictions fondamentales de l'Amérique du Nord, notamment l'affrontement entre une vision religieuse de la société et une vision séculaire. Le présent texte a pour but de faire ressortir, justement à partir surtout de l'ouvrage de Behiels ces contradictions et ensuite de démontrer à partir de l'exemple de la situation des écoles francophones en Alberta en général et à Edmonton en particulier, comment certains establishments francophones minoritaires semblent reproduire les contradictions du conservatisme dominant en Amérique du Nord.

**CLAUDE COUTURE**

Claude Couture a complété son doctorat en histoire en 1987 à l'Université de Montréal. Il est à la Faculté Saint-Jean depuis 1988 à titre de professeur en sciences sociales et d'études canadiennes. Il est maintenant directeur du Centre d'Études canadiennes de la Faculté Saint-Jean.

### Le révisionnisme historique et la question de la gouvernance

Ancien diplômé du Collège Saint-Jean, à Edmonton, professeur d'histoire à l'Université d'Ottawa, Michael Behiels est l'auteur notamment de deux livres, dont *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution (1985),* et le co-éditeur d'au moins quatre ouvrages, dont *Nations, Ideas, Identities. Essays in Honour of Ramsay Cook* (2000). Selon Behiels, à la fin de la période des années 1950 et 1960, les minorités francophones et acadiennes étaient en déclin sur tous les fronts : démographiques, économiques, socioculturels, institutionnels et politiques. Sur le plan social et culturel, par exemple, les minorités francophones voyaient s'éroder à un rythme sans précédent la plupart de leur point d'ancrage dans une identité canadienne-française religieuse et rurale. Pour survivre, ces communautés assiégées se sont réorganisées dans le but de faire face aux nouveaux défis avec de nouvelles organisations locales et nationales tout en reconstruisant leurs identités respectives. Elles ont aussi lutté pour s'assurer d'une nouvelle direction politique menant à de nouvelles stratégies provinciales et nationales. Reprenant la thèse aujourd'hui classique de l'éclatement de l'identité canadienne-française avec les États généraux de la fin des années 1960, Behiels cherche à montrer comment les nouvelles élites des minorités ont mené parallèlement la lutte pour le dossier jugé prioritaire de l'éducation et la lutte pour la construction d'une nouvelle identité[3].

Convaincues, selon Behiels, de l'importance de l'école pour le renouvellement et la croissance des communautés, les organisations francophones, donc les élites francophones souvent décrites comme *l'establishment,* auraient constamment fait pression dans les années 1970 et 1980 pour l'enchâssement des droits linguistiques dans la constitution de même que les droits scolaires, y compris la gouvernance des écoles. Ces objectifs étant atteints avec la Charte, les élites auraient utilisé, après 1982, selon Behiels, des techniques de 'micro-constitutional politics' pour convaincre les gouvernements, notamment en Ontario, au Manitoba et en Alberta, de rendre tangibles les principes de l'article 23 de ladite charte. Dans trois chapitres très détaillés qui constituent l'essentiel du livre,

l'historien décrit minutieusement la longue saga pour la reconnaissance des droits des communautés francophones de chacune de ces trois provinces (Ontario, Manitoba et Alberta). La décision de la Cour Suprême du Canada dans *l'Arrêt Mahé,* une cause initiée en Alberta par l'Association Georges-et-Julia-Bugnet, couronna de longues années de luttes et sert depuis de référence quasi-universelle[4].

Au cours des années 1980 et 1990, les communautés francophones ont bénéficié de l'appui du gouvernement fédéral à différents niveaux. D'abord par l'entremise de fonds disponibles aux associations de parents francophones qui choisirent la voie de la contestation judiciaire[5]. Ensuite, par la signature d'ententes financières avec les provinces afin de pourvoir aux dépenses supplémentaires nécessitées par les victoires juridiques des francophones et l'implantation de conseils scolaires francophones. Selon Behiels, si l'approche plus militante des fondateurs de Bugnet en Alberta, par exemple, donna des résultats importants sur le plan juridique, l'approche plus en coulisse des politiciens professionnels minoritaires permit la réalisation de ces ententes financières. Mais ces gains se firent, selon Behiels, dans un contexte de luttes politiques intenses qui culminèrent lors des échecs des Accords de Meech et de Charlottetown[6]. Dans les deux cas, une conception pancanadienne du Canada, qu'appuyèrent les minorités francophones, s'opposa à une conception plus régionaliste et centrée, dans le cas des francophones du Québec, sur leur province. Il en résulta un sens encore plus accru de développement des identités particulières des minorités francophones en opposition à une vision plus centrée sur le Québec. Les échecs constitutionnels de 1990 et de 1992 consolidèrent ni plus ni moins la volonté politique des minorités de trouver des stratégies de développement autonomes à l'intérieur de leur vision d'un Canada reconnaissant la dualité linguistique[7]. Munies de cette nouvelle volonté et de la gouvernance de leurs écoles, les minorités, conclut Michael Behiels, sont maintenant prêtes à faire face aux défis du nouveau siècle[8].

Les échecs constitutionnels de 1990 et de 1992 consolidèrent ni plus ni moins la volonté politique des minorités de trouver des stratégies de développement autonomes à l'intérieur de leur vision d'un Canada reconnaissant la dualité linguistique[7].

Malgré l'intérêt de ce livre, un certain malaise se dégage : si l'auteur décrit bien, voire de façon équilibrée, les positions respectives des groupes plus militants, d'une part, et, d'autre part, des spécialistes des coulisses qui seraient plus politiciens, il n'arrive pas vraiment à expliquer pourquoi ces derniers, au départ satisfaits des écoles d'immersion fréquentées par les francophones avant 1982 (ce qui contredit en fait l'argument initial de Behiels d'un engagement total et précoce pour l'école francophone de la part des élites), se sont par la suite ralliés vers la fin des années 1980 au principe de la gouvernance et des écoles homogènes. Une analyse plus serrée des causes de cette volte-face permettrait sans doute d'aborder le problème actuel du maintien un peu forcé du caractère religieux de la majorité des écoles francophones et de la difficulté éprouvée jusqu'à maintenant par les écoles publiques qui ne sont pas dominées par une seule religion. En Ontario et en Alberta, par exemple, les élites des minorités francophones traditionnelles n'ont pas hésité à se comporter en majorité pour empêcher le développement d'une école publique, non confessionnelle, un instrument indispensable pour développer une francophonie diversifiée. Certains croient en effet qu'il y a une relation entre les débats des années 1980 et ceux d'aujourd'hui et qu'elle repose en fait sur des différences fondamentales de projet de société qui transcendent largement la seule adhésion au dualisme canadien. De plus, la thèse générale repose sur l'idée largement admise aujourd'hui de l'éclatement de l'identité canadienne-française au cours des années 1960. Mais tout s'effondre si, à l'instar du regretté Robert Painchaud[9], on accepte l'idée que l'éclatement identitaire et le ressentiment vis-à-vis du Québec remontent aussi loin que la pendaison de Riel et ont fortement imprégné les visions et écrits de pionniers comme le père Lacombe et Mgr Grandin. Comment en effet reconstruire le récit si le point de départ n'est pas la fracture des années 1960 mais au contraire la continuité avec un passé tissé de ressentiment et de volonté autonome de développer les communautés francophones peu importe ce que le Québec fait ou ne fait pas ? Certains textes dans l'ouvrage de Langlois et Létourneau invitent à une tel questionnement.

### Une francophonie éclatée

Par exemple, des textes de Beauchemin, Frenette et Martel[10] publiés dans ce collectif, on peut dégager quatre propositions générales, élaborées par ces auteurs eux-mêmes, ou tirées d'auteurs qu'ils citent, notamment, Roger Bernard, Gaétan Gervais, Claude Bariteau, Jean-Paul Hautecoeur, Joseph-Yvon Thériault et Claude Denis. Ces propositions sont les suivantes : 1) le Canada français n'existe plus depuis la fragmentation des années 1960 ; 2) le Canada français n'a en fait jamais existé puisque déjà très fragmenté depuis le 19e siècle ; 3) le Canada français, au sens pan canadien, est une invention récente de la Révolution tranquille qui sert de repoussoir au projet de modernisation du Québec, notamment la réalisation d'une société libérale sans récit spécifique associé à un groupe en particulier ; 4) enfin, l'Acadie, de même que le Québec francophone et les minorités francophones canadiennes, font face à la contradiction d'une identité traditionnelle confrontée à l'individualisme moderne et à cette autre contradiction d'une mise en place d'appareils institutionnels modernes mais sans contenu discursif collectif.

Par ailleurs, d'autres textes suggèrent que la rupture des années 1960 n'aurait pas été le seul fait d'un abandon du Québec, mais plutôt la reconnaissance symbolique d'une absence d'unité que les francophones hors-Québec et les Acadiens ressentaient depuis fort longtemps. À tort ou à raison, les communautés francophones et les Acadiens croient, de toute évidence, qu'elles ont leur État, voire même leurs États : c'est l'État fédéral canadien et, dans le cas

des Acadiens, l'État provincial du Nouveau-Bruswick. Ces communautés, depuis leur Révolution tranquille des années 1960, ont constamment utilisé les ressources de l'État fédéral et, dans le cas des Acadiens depuis Louis Robichaud, de l'État provincial au Nouveau-Brunswick, pour se doter d'institutions qui leur permettent de perpétuer une dynamique de résistance qui n'a jamais été à la seule remorque du Québec. D'où cette perception, sans doute, d'accès à ces leviers étatiques qui les protègent contre les abus, réels ou anticipés, de la majorité anglophone. Mais peu importe la perspective analytique adoptée, la question scolaire en tant que dynamique de résistance reste la dimension fondamentale et le cas albertain un modèle à deux dimensions.

### La question des écoles francophones : le cas albertain

Imitant le modèle manitobain[11], l'enseignement du français avant 1976 fut limité à une peau de chagrin en Alberta ou à la réalité des écoles d'immersion. L'année 1982 alla tout changer. Adoptée en 1982, la Charte des droits et libertés, en vertu de l'article 23, permit aux francophones d'obtenir au moins le principe des écoles homogènes françaises. En fait, un an avant que la Charte des droits et libertés ne soit adoptée, des parents francophones commencèrent à discuter entre eux des effets néfastes de l'école d'immersion. Jean-Claude Mahé et Angeline Martel furent les premiers à faire des démarches auprès des parents francophones en Alberta pour les mobiliser. Cette mobilisation s'accrut avec la Charte de 1982. L'association Bugnet fut formée par neuf parents, dont Jean-Claude Mahé, Angéline Martel et Paul Dubé. Une première école, qui n'était pas confessionnelle, l'école Georges-et-Julia Bugnet ouvrit en 1983 après qu'une décision de la Cour du Banc de la reine eut reconnu le droit à une école francophone indépendante. Malheureusement, cette école dut fermer et fut remplacée en 1984 par l'école Maurice Lavallée, d'orientation catholique[12]. Après certaines hésitations, voire même une opposition farouche[13], contredisant, incidemment, la thèse de Michael Behiels, les élites franco-albertaines contrôlant l'Association canadienne-française de l'Alberta appuyèrent en fin de parcours seulement le projet. Il a fallu attendre la décision de la Cour Suprême dans *l'Arrêt Mahé* en 1990 pour que les francophones obtiennent enfin la reconnaissance du droit de gestion de leurs écoles. *L'arrêt Mahé* posa plusieurs principes importants dont celui du droit à la gouvernance de leurs écoles pour les francophones en vertu de l'article 23 de la Charte de 1982 de même que le principe selon lequel une majorité ne peut parler de l'absence de demande d'une minorité pour un service quand cette même majorité a supprimé la demande.

Imitant le modèle manitobain[11], l'enseignement du français avant 1976 fut limité à une peau de chagrin en Alberta ou à la réalité des écoles d'immersion. L'année 1982 alla tout changer. Adoptée en 1982, la Charte des droits et libertés, en vertu de l'article 23, permit aux francophones d'obtenir au moins le principe des écoles homogènes françaises.

En somme, après 1990, le principe de la Charte ayant été confirmé par la Cour Suprême, il a fallu organiser la gouvernance des écoles. Le système mis en place nécessita un amendement au *School Act* albertain qui fut adopté en 2002[14]. Ainsi, cinq conseils scolaires régissent maintenant les écoles francophones : le Nord, le Nord-est et le Centre-Nord (qui comprend Edmonton) sont des conseils scolaires dits mixtes, composés d'écoles catholiques et d'écoles publiques ; dans le Sud, on trouve deux conseils, l'un public et l'autre 'séparé' catholique[15].

Cette structure émane d'un rapport préparé en 2001 par un comité présidé par le député de Bonnyville-Cold Lake Denis Ducharme[16]. Dans ce rapport, l'évidente préoccupation des auteurs, confirmée par un 'avis' juridique de l'avocat ontarien P. S. Rouleau, était de s'assurer des droits constitutionnels des catholiques en vertu des conséquences de l'interprétation donnée par la Cour Suprême à l'article 23 de la Charte. Il en résulta, notamment dans la région du Centre-Nord, une situation tendue en vertu de la minorisation artificielle d'une école publique par une majorité religieuse, dans ce cas-ci catholique, dans un conseil scolaire dit mixte. En effet, alors qu'en Ontario où l'on créa des conseils scolaires mixtes dans les années 1980, la parité entre le secteur confessionnel et le secteur catholique fut assurée, en Alberta, il fut décrété que la 'majorité' était catholique. Sans vouloir insinuer que la structure imposée dans le Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord dénote une absence de valeurs chez les catholiques, le fait est qu'en vertu de la Constitution canadienne et de l'article 93 de cette constitution, la structure mixte du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord ne respecte ni l'esprit ni sans doute la lettre de cet article. D'ailleurs, les sections 212, 212.1, 221, 255, 255.1 du *School Act* albertain, à tout le moins, reflètent ce principe de l'article 93 de prévoir un espace public à l'école pour ceux et celles qui ne veulent d'un monopole religieux imposé à leurs enfants. Or, le rapport Ducharme, justement, évoquait différents scénarios de structures mixtes sans jamais par contre sérieusement considérer la possibilité que les deux entités, publiques et 'séparées', puissent être autonomes, donc égales, dans leur sphère de gouvernance. Les auteurs du rapport Ducharme ont semblé uniquement préoccupés, comme nous l'avons déjà fait remarquer, par les droits constitutionnels des catholiques alors que la question des droits des parents 'publics' n'est jamais sérieusement traitée, voire même envisagée. D'ailleurs, il est intéressant de noter que l'avis juridique de l'avocat P.S. Rouleau (aujourd'hui juge) accompagnant le rapport Ducharme ne porte que sur les droits des catholiques par rapport à l'article 23 de la Charte. Forcément, le fonctionnement actuel du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord ne permet pas une parité et 'minorise' le secteur public laissant grande ouverte la question fondamentale suivante : où sont les droits des francophones du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord,

pourtant garantis par la Constitution du Canada, qui veulent une gouvernance de leurs écoles libre de tout monopole religieux ? Pour l'instant il n'y a aucun espace de gouvernance où les francophones qui veulent une école ou des écoles publiques à Edmonton puissent exercer leur pouvoir sans ingérence de l'élément catholique.

Plus troublante encore est la disposition de la loi de 2002 concernant le *School Act* qui permettrait aux catholiques, dans la structure mixte du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord, d'évoquer leur droit à la 'séparation' si le total des enfants 'publics' atteint 30 % du total des enfants des écoles du Conseil scolaire. La situation est donc la suivante : l'élément 'public' du Conseil scolaire mixte, au nom de l'unité de la communauté, doit accepter d'être minoritaire dans une gouvernance 'majoritaire' catholique sans le droit à la séparation et à la parité, mais les catholiques eux ont le droit de se séparer avant même de devenir 'minoritaires'. C'est une situation absurde, pensent certains, qui semble révéler une certaine hypocrisie de la part de ceux et de celles qui défendent la structure actuelle au nom de l'unité de la communauté. D'où l'idée que la thèse de Michael Behiels sur la dévotion des élites minoritaires à la cause de la gouvernance des écoles est suspecte. Pour l'instant, il semble au contraire que les élites d'Edmonton, aussitôt qu'elles ont obtenu gain de cause, adoptèrent une position de majoritaire et tentèrent par tous les moyens de freiner la croissance du secteur public. Par ailleurs, le rapport Ducharme et différents sondages réalisés en 2001-2002 et 2004, cités par Claude Duret[17], ont révélé que 23 % des parents francophones ayant des enfants dans le réseau d'écoles du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord sont non-catholiques. Les auteurs du rapport Ducharme et les défenseurs de la structure actuelle ont au demeurant tout édifié à partir du 'fait' que la majorité est catholique. Cependant, ces 'études' sur la composition religieuse ou non-catholique des parents reposent uniquement sur l'origine religieuse des parents, et non sur la pratique religieuse ou, plus fondamentalement encore, sur le choix d'un système d'écoles et de gouvernance qui ne soit pas monopolisé par une religion. D'ailleurs, selon une étude produite en 2002[18] pour le Commissariat aux langues officielles, à peine 50 % des ayants droit parmi les minorités francophones du Canada se prévalent de leur droit à l'école française. Selon la même étude, en Alberta, des centaines de parents préfèrent envoyer leurs enfants en immersion française dans le système public anglophone. Or rappelons encore une fois un aspect fondamental de *l'Arrêt Mahé* à savoir qu'une majorité ne peut évoquer une absence de demande de service de la part d'une minorité lorsque ladite majorité a supprimé l'offre de service. En d'autres mots, la seule façon de vraiment mesurer le pouls de la communauté 'publique' sera d'offrir une véritable gouvernance publique des écoles.

Plus troublante encore est la disposition de la loi de 2002 concernant le School Act qui permettrait aux catholiques, dans la structure mixte du Conseil scolaire du Centre-Nord, d'évoquer leur droit à la 'séparation' si le total des enfants 'publics' atteint 30 % du total des enfants des écoles du Conseil scolaire.

À ce stade-ci, deux options semblent possibles pour la communauté 'publique', dont une partie significative est composée de Canadiens issus de l'immigration, notamment des pays arabes et africains : 1) afin justement de maintenir l'unité de la communauté, les catholiques se doivent d'accepter la parité de la gestion dans une structure dite 'mixte' ; ce qui voudra dire un nombre égal de conseillers scolaires et deux superintendants, l'un catholique et l'autre public ; 2) si les catholiques refusent, le seul recours sera sans doute pour la communauté 'publique' sera la contestation judiciaire et éventuellement l'établissement d'une structure identique à la structure établie dans le sud de la province avec un conseil scolaire public et un conseil scolaire 'séparé' catholique. Si la situation dégénère à ce point, comment expliquer le comportement 'majoritaire' des élites traditionnelles franco-albertaines. Pour esquisser une réponse à cette question, nous proposons de voir de plus près à un angle d'analyse qui jusqu'à maintenant a été peu exploré.

## Conclusion

À la lueur de ces observations, nous voulons suggérer trois propositions ou contre-thèses à la théorie de Michael Behiels sur les minorités francophones canadiennes :

1) Contrairement à ce que soutient Behiels, les élites tratitionnelles n'ont pas initié la lutte pour la gouvernance des écoles. Par contre, aussitôt que cette gouvernance fut acquise, elles se sont décrétées en « majorité » religieuse, freinant ainsi, notamment en Ontario et en Alberta, le développement d'une francophonie diversifiée. 2) Ce faisant, elles ont développé non pas une vision pancanadienne, libérale et très influencée par une culture politique fondée sur les principes de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés, mais au contraire une vision religieuse et conservatrice, à l'instar de la mosaïque des petites communautés du Centre américain dont l'ensemble forme une majorité politique. 3) En d'autres mots, l'espace politique et identitaire dominant des franco-albertains n'est peut-être pas nécessairement celui des minorités francophones, mais plutôt celui du conservatisme du Middle West nord-américain. Si tel est le cas, il serait intéressant de développer un programme de recherche sur les élites des minorités francophones en fonction de cette dimension.

### Notes

1 Michael Behiels, Canada's Francophone Minority Communities. Constitutional Renewal and the Winning of School Governance, Montreal\Kingston, McGill\Queen's Press, 2004, 480 p.

2 Simon Langlois et Jocelyn Létourneau (dir.), *Aspects de la nouvelle francophonie canadienne,* Sainte-Foy, Presses de l'université Laval, 2004, 290 p.

3 Michael Behiels, *Op.Cit.,* p. 64.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 174.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 323.

[6] *Ibid.,* chapter 7.

[7] *Id.*

[8] *Id.*

[9] Robert Painchaud, *Un rêve français dans le peuplement de la Prairie,* Saint-Boniface, Éditions des Plaines, 1986, 303 p.

[10] Jacques Beauchemin, « De la nation à l'identité… », p. 165-188 ; Yves Frenette, « L'évolution des francophonies canadiennes… », p. 3-18 ; Marcel Martel, « Le débat autour de l'existence et de la disparition du Canada français… », p. 129-146.

[11] *Ibid.,* p.153.

[12] Paul Dubé, *Op.Cit.,* p. 711.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Province of Alberta, *School Act,* Edmonton, Queen's Printer Printer, 2002, 280 p.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 155-161.

[16] Denis Ducharme (pres.), *Catholic Francophone Governance Advisory Committee.* Recommandations for Legislative Change, Edmonton, February 2001.

[17] Claude Duret, *Lettre aux parents,* Edmonton, 28 juin 2005, et *Letter to Minister Gene Zwozdesky,* 20 juin 2005.

[18] Commissariat aux langues officielles, *Étude spéciale. Droits, écoles et communautés en milieu minoritaire : 1986-2002. Analyse pour un aménagement du français par l'éducation,* 2002.

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# CANADIANIZING THE MYTH OF THE WEST

**ABSTRACT**

Despite the similarities between the unfolding histories of the U.S. Northern Plains and the Canadian Prairies during the last three decades of the 19th century, distinct, fundamentally different national identities were formed by 1905. John Herd Thompson argues that both identities were predicated on a western myth and shaped their future direction.

The creation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta one hundred years ago symbolized the end of the incorporation of the West into the Dominion of Canada. Historians debate the cost effectiveness of the "National Policy" of the tariff, the transcontinental railway, and of agricultural settlement, but none doubt that between 1869 and 1905 the West became economically and politically Canadian. This successful integration took place notwithstanding the fact that Canada built its West on institutions copied almost to the letter from the United States. The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 and the Canadian Pacific Railway Act of 1881 essentially duplicated the Homestead Act and the Pacific Railway Bill passed by the U.S. Congress in 1862. The protective tariff, introduced in 1879 to encourage Eastern Canadian industry, exactly replicated U.S. protectionism; the homesteaders who settled Manitoba and the North-West Territories condemned the Canadian tariff just as their counterparts who migrated to the Dakotas and Montana attacked the original American version. In most respects, the unfolding histories of the U.S. Northern Plains and the Canadian Prairies during the last three decades of the 19th Century were remarkably similar – depressingly similar. Both regions were drawn into the web of industrial capitalism, and the Native peoples who had once been central were forced to the margins, whether on "reserves" or "reservations." The United States Congress allowed the white settlers of the Dakota and Montana Territories a greater local voice in government than the Canadian Parliament allowed the settlers of the North-West Territories, and the three states of North and South Dakota and Montana were admitted to the Union in 1889, sixteen years before Saskatchewan and Alberta entered Confederation as provinces.

Yet despite the many obvious similarities in their histories, by 1905 the people of the infant Prairie Provinces and their neighbors in the adolescent Northern Plains States articulated fundamentally different national identities. That difference astounded an English travel writer who visited a century ago. John Foster Fraser assumed that the tobacco-chewing Alberta farmer whom he met standing beneath an advertisement for "The Beer That Made Milwaukee Famous" would be an American immigrant. Instead Foster Fraser found him to be a passionate Canadian whose "dislike of the United States almost equaled his loyalty to the [British] Empire."[1] An abundance of similar evidence suggests that, between the 1870s and 1905, the international boundary drawn across the northern plains had become an ideological line in peoples' minds, not just a mark on a map. "The forty-ninth parallel ran directly through my childhood," remembered historian and novelist Wallace Stegner, born in Montana in 1909, and raised in Saskatchewan after 1913. But more than sixty years before Stegner designated the boundary as "the Medicine Line" in his book *Wolf Willow,* the forty-ninth parallel had been engraved into Canadian consciousness by the construction of an explicitly Canadian variant of the Western myth.[2]

"Myth" in this sense is not an antonym for fact, or a contrast to "history." As Richard Slotkin uses the concept in his book *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America,* myths are "stories drawn from a society's history that have acquired through persistent usage the power of symbolizing that society's ideology and of dramatizing its moral consciousness."[3] In both the United States and Canada, a Western myth became a cornerstone of an emerging national identity. Although the Canadianized myth of the West differed profoundly from the American Western myth, each myth served the same purpose of national self-definition. Each Western myth proclaimed its country's national uniqueness, justified the conquest of each country's West, and excused the dispossession of the Native Peoples who lived there.

**JOHN HERD THOMPSON**

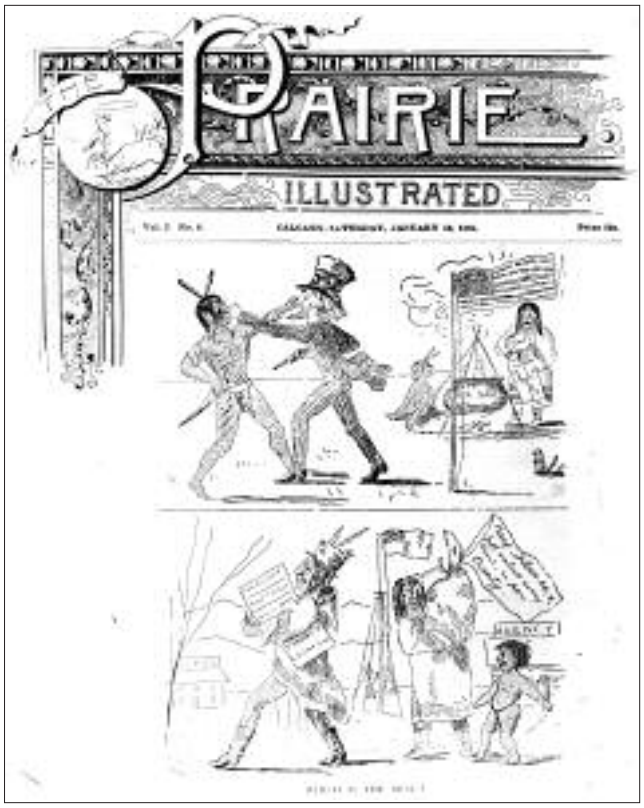
John Herd Thompson is a professor of history at Duke University. His focus is 19th and 20th century North American history. He is at work on Family, Farm and Community: The Rural Northern Plains, 1860-1960, a comprehensive comparative rural history of the region to the post World War II "great disjuncture," examining how institutions, "culture" and historical contingencies shaped such a geographically homogeneous region into the six very different states and provinces of North and South Dakota, Montana, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

In the American myth of the West the struggle "between savagery and civilization" on the western frontier determined the history of the United States. This "winning" of the West shaped a unique American national character, and the West was civilized ("won") by individual "pioneers," rather than through government action. The frontier experience forced inherited European traditions to change; American society became more egalitarian and democratic as class distinctions collapsed. The Western frontier also homogenized the United States, molding immigrants of diverse backgrounds into a common Americanism. Ultimately the frontier experience forged a unique American society, distinct from the European societies from which it originated. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner gave the

American myth of the West academic respectability as the "frontier thesis." The art of Frederick Remington, Buffalo Bill's Wild West, and Owen Wister's 1902 best-selling novel *The Virginian* disseminated the myth to broader U.S. (and world-wide) audiences. The "Western" genre thus launched lives on to this day in print, and on cinema and television screens.

The Canadianized myth of the West is the American myth stood on its head. In the Canadianized myth, the United States West plays the role of the villain, the "other" with which the Canadian West is contrasted, and against which Canada must be understood. As the American myth of the West differentiates the United States from Europe, the Canadian version differentiates Canada from the United States. If the American myth of the West is grounded in the pretension that the United States had a "manifest destiny" to cross the continent to the Pacific, an imagined sense of manifest duty animated Canada's Western expansion. In the words of Henry Youle Hind, leader of the expedition sent in 1857 to inventory the land and resources of the Prairie West, Canada's duty was "to plant British institutions and civilization," along with "a spirit of loyalty, of order, and of obedience to the law."[4] Rather than individual "pioneers," in the Canadianized myth of the West government-sponsored expeditions, or the quasi-governmental Hudson's Bay Company, led Canada west. Canada came west to deter American expansionism, and not to displace Native peoples; instead Canada protected them from destruction at the hands of greedy American whisky traders with the North-West Mounted Police (the one institution of the Canadian West that has no obvious U.S. parallel.) Canadian governments made and respected treaties with First Nations, and the NWMP were kinder and gentler to Native peoples than were the U.S. Army or locally-elected U.S. law officers. If Indians were demonized in the American myth of the West, in the Canadianized version they were patronized. Because of the NWMP, and because Canadian settlers had different values than Americans, the vigilantism prevalent in the U.S. West was absent in Canada, and the mythic Canadian West was peaceful, in contrast to the violent "Wild" West of the United States.

The two 1890s political cartoons that accompany this article are documents in the evolving Canadian myth of the West. They are more complicated than modern political cartoons, and contain much more text; each thus




"Which is Best?" [Canadian and U.S. Indian policy compared] cartoon by John Innes, [1863-1941] *The Prairie Illustrated,* Vol. 1 No. 6, Jan 10, 1891, Glenbow NA-795-27

requires some explanation. "WHICH IS THE BEST?" explicitly contrasts U.S. and Canadian Indian policies. It appeared in 1891 as a cover of *The Prairie Illustrated,* a short-lived Saturday illustrated paper published in Calgary, NWT. Artist John Innes [1863-1941] is better known for his paintings of Indians, cowboys, and wildlife than as a cartoonist. The top panel depicts the American West beneath the Stars and Stripes, where an almost naked Native American, armed with a large knife and with his face painted for war, battles a revolver-wielding caricature of Uncle Sam. In the background, a starving Native American woman and her son wait by the boiling stew pot labeled "Uncle Sam," with only "Salt" and "Pepper" to serve with Sam when they cook him for their meal when the struggle ends. The lower panel represents Canada, beneath the British Red Ensign. No individual Canadian appears, but the Canadian government through its "AGENCY" has provided "Beef, Flour, etc, full value every time as per treaty." The food is in such abundance that the First Nations woman doubles over with her load as her chubby son clutches at her skirt. Her well-dressed husband strides ahead toward the "SCHOOL"; unlike his U.S. counterpart, he is becoming educated and therefore "civilized." The reading list under his arm proclaims that he is studying "THEOLOGY" and "RHETORIC," and reading "BILL NYE" (a humorist roughly analogous to today's Dave Barry); he is also learning "SIMPLE EQUATIONS." It would have been instantly clear to any 1890s Canadian reader "WHICH IS THE BEST" of these two scenes, just as the patronizing racism of the cartoonist make clear to any modern reader that Canadian and U.S. policies in the 1890s might not have been so different as Innes imagined them to be.


"Jack Canuck Points With Pride," cartoon by J.[John]W.[Wilson] Bengough, [1851-1923] *The Globe* [Toronto], Jan 14 1898, p. 1. NAC 6436.

"JACK CANUCK 'POINTS WITH PRIDE'" appeared in the Toronto *Globe* in 1898. Cartoonist J.W. Bengough uses "Jack Canuck," the sturdy Canadian everyman in work clothes and a toque, to lecture Uncle Sam on the contrasts between the enforcement of justice in the U.S. and Canadian Wests. The smaller panel in the upper left shows the "WILD WEST – U.S. STYLE", where four vigilantes wave their pistols while the two victims of a lynching dangle from a tree. The second smaller panel depicts the "'Wild West' – Canada Style," in which a North-West Mounted Policeman presents a miscreant to a magistrate for a fair trial. Lest any reader miss the point, the scroll in "Jack Canuck's" hand reprints a dispatch from a *Globe* correspondent describing just such a trial in a makeshift courtroom. "Yes, Jack," says Sam, "I'm a pretty considerable big nation, but I see I kin sit at your feet and learn a few things!" But Sam's sullen look and his recalcitrant posture tell Canadian readers that he has not rejected vigilante violence. Sam has learned nothing from Jack Canuck, and will never learn anything, and Sam's West will always be different from Jack Canuck's.

If the historic U.S. Plains West and the historic Canadian Prairie West were in many ways identical, the myths that evolved in the United States and Canada to explain those Wests were poles apart. Each country invented a mythic West that proclaimed its own self-image. Americans understood their Northern Plains West in terms that helped them to explain themselves; Canadians projected a Prairie West that reflected their own convictions about their moral superiority to the United States. But just as there is much myth in truth, there can come to be much truth in myth. Over time and with repetition, the mythic Wests imagined by Americans and Canadians acquired the power to lead their historic Wests in different directions. Historian Richard White's comments about the United States apply equally well above the forty-ninth parallel: "As people accept and assimilate myth… the myths become the basis for actions that shape history… An imagined West not only reshaped a historical past, but also cast a future partially in its own image."[5]

## Endnotes

[1] John Foster Fraser, *Canada As It Is* (London, Paris, New York and Melbourne, 1905), 142-3

[2] Stegner, *Wolf Willow: A history, a story, and a memory of the last plains frontier* (NY, 1966), 81

[3] Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation* (NY, 1992), 5-6

[4] Hind cited in John Herd Thompson, *Forging The Prairie West* (Toronto, 1998), 34

[5] White, "*It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West*" (Norman OK & London, 1991), 616, 623

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# MULTICULTURAL ALBERTA: A LITERARY PERSPECTIVE

**ABSTRACT**

Tamara Palmer Seiler examines three types of Alberta writing: Native literature, literature by immigrant writers and literature written in English by second and subsequent generation minority writers. Through these examples, Palmer argues that public perceptions of Alberta as a "red necked" cultural monolith are inaccurate and suggests the province has a rich cultural history.

**TAMARA PALMER SEILER**

Tamara Palmer Seiler is an Associate Professor in the University of Calgary's Faculty of Communications and Culture and head of the Faculty's Culture division. She has written many articles about immigrant and ethnic experience in Canada, particularly as it has been represented in literature, and on multiculturalism. She has also co-authored articles on Alberta politics and culture, two books on Alberta history and co-edited an anthology of Alberta prose. She is currently President of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association.

## Introduction

Throughout its l00 year history, Alberta has been the site of ongoing and at times intense negotiation among diverse peoples, and one should not be surprised to discover that the prevailing view of Alberta as mono-cultural is simply not accurate. The province's cultural complexity is apparent in a wide range of contexts, including its literary history. Alberta literature (defined here as *belles lettres* by writers who have lived in the province for substantial periods of time and which attempts to represent life in Alberta) is not simply a minor strand in what might be called the literature of the Anglo-American Diaspora, but rather, it is a multi-vocal reflection of the province's cultural diversity.

## Aboriginal Voices

In Alberta as elsewhere in the Americas, Aboriginal peoples, with their thousands of years in the area and their rich oral traditions, not only created the foundation to its literary history, but also continue to contribute to its contemporary literary culture. One such writer is Emma Lee Warrior. Born in 1941 on the Peigan Reserve near Brockett in southern Alberta, she is the author of a number of poems and short stories, which have appeared in several anthologies of Native literature, as well as in *Canadian Fiction Magazine.* A product of residential schooling, Warrior finds that writing helps her to come to grips with the negative impact of that experience. Like the work of Native writers such as Maria Campbell, Lee Maracle, Thomas King and many others, Warrior's writing can be seen as part of the contemporary renaissance of Native culture whereby Native people – political and social activists, entrepreneurs, artists and writers – have been reclaiming control over their lives. In a remarkable effort toward decolonization, they are resisting in a variety of ways the dominant society's construction of them as the inferior "other" – the image that enabled the historical denigration and destruction of Native cultures.

For example, in her often-anthologized short story, "Compatriots" Warrior offers an incisive, deeply ironic depiction of a contemporary encounter between Native peoples and the dominant Euro-Canadian culture. It is the story of a day in the life of Lucy, a young, pregnant mother living on a reserve in southern Alberta. Here she copes admirably with a variety of problems and frustrations – the irresponsible behaviour of her husband, the alcoholism of her uncle, the challenges of childcare and daily household chores, compounded by sub-standard housing and oppressive summer heat. Warrior adds to this mix the visit of Hilda, a German tourist eager to experience what she imagines to be the life of "real Indians." Too polite and deeply hospitable to refuse her aunt's request to entertain this foreign visitor for a day, Lucy allows Hilda into her world; Hilda, however, is too steeped in images of the "imaginary Indian"[1] to see Lucy and her world with any clarity. Warrior's narrative challenges her readers to recognize the power relations at work in Canadian society, and to deconstruct the stereotypes that perpetuate an engrained and poisonous social hierarchy.

## Immigrant Voices

Fiction written in languages other than English constitutes a small but significant part of Alberta's literature. One important example is the work of Illia (Elias) Kiriak (l888-1955) who wrote in Ukrainian, producing what is arguably the most ambitious and important Canadian book in that language. Originally a trilogy of over 1,100 pages *Syny Zemli* was abridged and translated into English by Michael Luchkovich[2] and published in l959 as *Sons of the Soil.* Kiriak had immigrated to Canada from western

Ukraine in 1906. After spending several years as an itinerant labourer in various parts of Canada and the United States, he settled in Alberta in 1911, becoming one of the first students at a school for "foreigners" opened the following year in Vegreville by the Alberta government. There he trained as a public school teacher, and spent the next quarter century teaching in the largely Ukrainian districts of north central Alberta. During this time he also wrote fiction, publishing a few short stories in several Ukrainian language publications, and writing the first draft of *Syny Zemli.* After retiring in 1937, he decided to publish his trilogy, financing the massive project through subscriptions and sales. Although at just over three hundred pages, *Sons of the Soil* is much shorter than the original Ukrainian text, it nevertheless retains the latter's epic scope as it tells the story of Ukrainian pioneer experience in western Canada.

Kiriak had been part of the massive first migration of approximately 170,000 Ukrainians to Canada between 1891 and 1914, and his novel depicts the experiences of these settlers, most of them from the provinces of Galicia and Bukovyna in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Restless in their home provinces due to a shortage of land, generally poor economic prospects and a degree of political and social tension, these migrants (mostly peasants) fit well into Canada's nation-building project of settling the west with farmers. The colony established east of Edmonton in l892 by two Galician peasants, Ivan Pylypiw and Vasyl Eleniak – the first Ukrainian settlement in the country – became a magnet for additional Ukrainian immigrants. Although immigration promoters such as Clifford Sifton (Minister of the Interior between 1896 and 1905) extolled the virtues of these "men in sheepskin coats" and their "stalwart" wives, many other members of the dominant society were considerably less enthusiastic, regarding them as dangerously "foreign" to Anglo-Canadian institutions and social practices. Thus, the first wave of immigrants (as well, to some degree as those that followed them) had to cope not only with the hardships of pioneering, but also with the effects of prejudice and discrimination. The appearance of *Sons of the Soil* in 1959 had the effect of asserting the importance of Ukrainians in the settlement of western Canada, and thus of highlighting the value and legitimacy of a group that was relegated to second-class status until well after the Second World War.

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### "Second Generation" Voices

Rudy Wiebe is one of Alberta's foremost writers, a giant figure, both in terms of his contribution to the province's literary life and of his characteristic approach to fiction. The award-winning author of numerous works, Wiebe also nurtured two generations of creative writers during his lengthy career as a professor of English at the University of Alberta. Born the youngest of seven children in a small Mennonite community near Fairholme, Saskatchewan in 1934, Wiebe moved with his family to Coaldale, Alberta when he was twelve. He attended high school there and later studied at the University of Alberta, where he received an MA in creative writing. This in itself was a remarkable achievement since his first language is German; he did not learn English until he attended school. His first novel, *Peace Shall Destroy Many* (1962) tells the story of a young man's coming of age amidst contradiction and hypocrisy in a small Mennonite farming community. Despite the considerable controversy this novel generated within Mennonite circles, Wiebe continued to depict Mennonite experience in his next two novels, *First and Vital Candle* (1966) and *The Blue Mountains of China* (1970). These early fictions explored the themes and modes that would define his later work. In the first two, he highlighted the moral dilemmas inherent in attempting to live a pacifist Christian life in a world shaped by various kinds of violence and profound injustice. He also focused on relations between European settler culture and Native peoples, a theme he explored in subsequent fictions.

Wiebe's fascination with historical content and epic form is particularly apparent in his novels, *The Temptations of Big Bear* (1973), which evokes the life of the great Cree Chief, and *The Scorched Wood People* (1977), which offers a sympathetic depiction of Louis Riel. Although not focused on Mennonite experience, Wiebe's perspective in these works continues to be that of one who views the Anglo-Canadian establishment from the outside. Nevertheless, these works marked Wiebe's recognition as a major Canadian writer, albeit western and ethnic.

Another award winning writer with a strong connection to Alberta is Joy Kowaga. Much of her work, including her second book of poetry, *A Choice of Dreams* (1974), her first novel, *Obasan* (1981), *Naomi's Road,* an adaptation of *Obasan* for children (1986) and *Itsuka,* a sequel to *Obasan* (1992) explores the Japanese-Canadian experience. Her writing is noteworthy for its literary artistry and its political power. Born in Vancouver in 1935, Kogawa (like other Japanese-Canadians) was interned during the Second World War. One of the darkest moments in Canadian history, the "relocation" of thousands of Japanese Canadians in 1942 was the culmination

of a long history in Canada of racism directed at Asians, the majority of whom settled in British Columbia.

The public campaign that was launched to uproot Japanese Canadians from British Columbia (on the grounds that they were saboteurs) is, by now, well known. Perhaps less well known is that the federal government also established a farm labor program for placing Japanese-Canadian families in Alberta and Manitoba. The Japanese who were relocated to Alberta as sugar beet labourers, were treated as virtual slaves and forced to live in converted grain bins and chicken coops. Joy Kogawa was among those who experienced these shocking disruptions and degradations as a child. The nature and effect of that experience is the subject she explores in *Obasan.*

When it appeared in 1981, *Obasan* was one of several texts, such as Ken Adachi's *The Enemy that Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (1976) and Ann Sunahara's *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War* (1981) that were "breaking the silence" about the internment – both among Japanese Canadians themselves, and in the larger Canadian society. Such texts, along with a well-organized campaign waged by activists, helped to force the Canadian government to offer an official apology and financial redress to Japanese Canadians in 1988.

Based in part on letters written to her brother during the Second World War by Japanese-Canadian journalist, Muriel Kitagawa, *Obasan* is a highly innovative text. It combines fiction with non-fiction, newspaper accounts and letters with the haunting and poetic voice of Kogawa's fictional narrator, Naomi. At the heart of Kogawa's novel is an exploration of language itself, its power to hide as well as reveal truth, to imprison as well as liberate.

A younger generation of minority writers in Alberta has also taken up this theme. Among them is Calgary native Cheryl Foggo, who has developed a well-deserved reputation as a versatile writer, having worked as a journalist and a screenwriter as well as a writer of non-fiction, poetry, juvenile fiction and young adult fiction. Her first major work, *Pourin' Down Rain* was published in 1990. Since then, she has published two additional books, *One Thing that's True* (1997) and *I Have Been in Danger* (2001). With *Pourin' Down Rain,* Foggo broke new ground in the world of Alberta writing. Working in a form and a style easily accessible to an audience of all ages, she told a story that had been previously untold: what it was like to grow up Black n the 1960s and 1970s in the predominantly white society of Calgary.

Part reminiscence and part family history, *Pourin' Down Rain* begins with the author's recollection of how her large extended family would often gather for a meal in Calgary's Chinatown. Her assumption that the reason people stared at them was that they were "important and beautiful people" sets the stage for the chapters that follow. The characters we meet – from the sincere and sensitive narrator to various members of her family – are indeed memorable and beautiful people whose dignity and self assurance in the face of racism – from the polite and systemic to the blatantly ugly – earn our respect, just as their engaging humanity, complete with a variety of foibles earns our affection. Foggo draws on her own experiences and those of her family in Alberta and in Saskatchewan to tell the story of the immigration of Black Americans to the Canadian West. She also chronicles the coming-of-age of a young girl who becomes increasingly aware of her Black identity in a period of growing unrest as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States and the decolonizing struggles in Asia and Africa heightened awareness of racial inequality and fueled Black pride. While Foggo's narrative offers a social critique, it also and perhaps even primarily celebrates friends, community, and most of all of family, and the essential havens these various kinds of love can provide to a young person struggling to define herself in a confusing and sometimes dangerous world.

Foggo draws on her own experiences and those of her family in Alberta and in Saskatchewan to tell the story of the immigration of Black Americans to the Canadian West.

## Conclusion

It seems clear, then, that Alberta literature has been written from many perspectives, not just one, and that it is best understood as a multivocal representation of Alberta's diverse society. That this is the case may well surprise those both within and outside Alberta who think of this province in terms of the simplistic stereotypes that often pass as representative. Moreover, this literature offers educators a rich resource, not only for increasing students' literary sophistication, but also for expanding their ability to empathize with a wide range of characters and thereby to expand their sense of the people who live in the 'imagined community' of the Canadian nation.

### Endnotes

[1] See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian, The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.* Vancouver: Arsenal Press, 1992.

[2] Michael Luchkovich was a noteworthy figure in his own right. A member of the United Farmers of Alberta, he was elected as a Member of Parliament in 1926, the first Ukrainian-Canadian to hold such an office.

# Do You Know Your Canadian Issues?





# Êtes-vous au fait de vos Thèmes Canadiens ?

# PEOPLING THE PRAIRIES[1]

**ABSTRACT**

This article explores Canada's approach to racial and cultural difference. Gerald Friesen argues that the diverse character of immigrants, the impact of dedicated individuals in schools and community leadership, the revulsion against racism after the Second World War, and the slow growth of the prairies between the 1920s and the 1950s all played a part in ensuring that the boundary zone between the long-settled and the newcomer has become less contentious, less chilly, and that there is a public pressure to demand tolerance.

A comment by an immigrant to Canada who chose to move back to his South African birthplace provides a theme for this brief note on immigration to western Canada. Having spent seven years in Toronto, the man said that he appreciated the lessons he learned: "you get a different perspective over there [in Canada] and it makes you more efficient over here [in South Africa] dealing with the racial stuff. You are forced to be tolerant over there, whereas here so many things push you the other way."[2] His words – "You are forced to be tolerant over there… dealing with the racial stuff" – jump out. He saw Canada as aggressive in its insistence upon tolerance among peoples of different cultural groups. His experience underlines that Canada's approach to racial and cultural difference hits people between the eyes. How did this approach develop? When did it happen? Can we be sure that something significant and distinctive has actually happened? Can it be exported? These important matters can be illuminated by reference to the peopling of the prairies.

Western Canadian experience is directly relevant to the Canadian multicultural experiment. Between 1900 and the 1970s, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta constituted a cultural patchwork. The public discussions of cross-cultural relations and the mixing of peoples in schools, shops, and games had a profound impact upon ordinary citizens' views. After a generation of conflict and stress, a strikingly plural community emerged. Not that racism or prejudice were erased – far from it – but that the expression of such sentiments in the public sphere became more or less unacceptable. However reluctantly (in the case of some among them), prairie Canadians created a genuinely tolerant community. In turn, the prairie experiment informed the rest of Canada.

### Two Concepts: A Prairie Cultural Patchwork and A History of a Boundary

There are three distinct periods of immigration to the prairies in the twentieth century, divided roughly in the 1930s and the 1960s. The first wave, to 1930, was mainly British and European. The second, between 1945 and the late 1960s, duplicated the first because it relied on similar, if not identical, regions of origin. The third, post-1970, was quite different because it recruited newcomers from around the world.

The migration between 1900 and 1930 represented "one of the most pronounced episodes [of immigrant arrivals] experienced by any nation in recorded history."[3] It was composed of a large British fraction, Americans (including mainly British and northern Europeans), and people drawn from all the remaining countries of Europe. Small numbers of immigrants from Asian and African cultures were added for good measure. The British way of life constituted a dominant culture, therefore, but most of the others, who seemed at the time so different, shared with them European and Judaeo-Christian roots. One can think of the prairie community as a patchwork: a variety of fabrics, to be sure, but the pattern and form constituted a recognizable whole.

The history of prairie immigrants has often focused on the ethnic group. It asks whether these distinctive people integrated smoothly, resisted integration emphatically, or fell victim to racist attitudes. It has also focused on the dominant culture: when and why did it stoop to expressions of racism and which groups suffered most? I would like to suggest that it is time to consider another angle. Rather than treating host and newcomer as essential, clearly delimited groups, is it possible to write a history of the boundary between the newcomers and the long-settled. What happened in this zone where dominant culture met new cultures? Did the boundary zone change in character over time? This story is crucial to the emergence of Canada's contemporary philosophy of public tolerance.

**GERALD FRIESEN**

Gerald Friesen teaches History at the University of Manitoba. He has written on Canadian and prairie history and is now studying the integration of immigrants in prairie cities.

### A Winnipeg Illustration of Changes in the Boundary

To illustrate the difference in the character of this boundary zone, I will cite three short passages taken from newspaper stories in Winnipeg's largest newspaper in 1897, 1928, and 1975.

In 1897, city leaders were organizing the celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Their greatest difficulty was striking a balance between their enthusiasm for Imperial themes and the contrasting opinions expressed across the river in Saint-Boniface. In the end, the people of Saint-Boniface seceded. They held their own pageant on the day after Winnipeg's event: on the main street of their city, they celebrated the arrival from New France of the first French fur trade expedition in western Canada in 1734. The Winnipeg parade was suitably British and Imperial in tone but it had one wrinkle: some local pranksters added a last float mocking Ukrainian immigrants by displaying a few apparently-drunken men in a jail. The *Free Press* commented that the display "occasioned considerable merriment."[4] Its lack of interest in the newcomers, its casual dismissal of Ukrainians, speaks volumes about the cultural tenor of the age. So, too, does the separate event held by Franco-Manitobans.

Thirty years later, in 1928, a four-day New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival sponsored by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Winnipeg Handicrafts Guild won praise for its costumes, crafts, exhibits, music and dance. It was described as "the most successful and important musical event to that date in western Canada." On the last night, a three-hour concert's grand finale featured "a massed chorus of 300 voices [singing] 'O Canada' and 'God Save The King,' all wearing unifying red toques, sashes and scarves." However, *Free Press* editorial writer Kennethe Haig's report also contained this sentence: "An opportunity is afforded for those peoples to feel that they are a part of this country."[5] Scottish reserve? A certain degree of coolness? Or just plain condescension? Haig's observation illustrates that the boundary between immigrant and long-established citizen was still quite rigid, the atmosphere of the zone rather chilly.

Forty years later, in 1975, the journalist Val Werier offered a quite different assessment of Winnipeg's important summer cultural event, Folklorama: "the Festival of Nations has finally brought the diverse cultures of Manitoba into their own. In decades past token tribute has been paid to the mosaic makeup of the city, but today these contributions are acknowledged by all. Folklorama has become the most popular attraction in Winnipeg, because of the status achieved by the various racial groups." In earlier days, said Werier, immigrant groups were "looked upon with some distrust and suspicion." Indeed, they customarily "gathered in their own enclaves and settlements. They were different and so aroused some animosity… [Winnipeg has been] blessed with peoples of many cultural backgrounds. They have imparted a cosmopolitan flavour… stimulated and enlivened the arts, broadened the cuisine, enlarged the intellectual climate, and have given colour and character… This has made Folklorama possible."[6]

People's perceptions of a community drawn from many national origins had changed in the course of these three generations. The boundary zone where long-settled citizens met immigrant newcomers had assumed a different character as a result. By 1975, the boundary itself was perceived as more flexible, more permeable, and less divisive, than earlier in the century.

This "surge of egalitarian idealism" in Canada has been attributed to the public's response to the Holocaust, to the example of American federal and state legislation, to reactions against the wartime treatment of such citizens as the Japanese Canadians, to the influence of organized labour, and to the expanding role of the state in society.

### Sources of change

The generation stretching from the 1940s through the 1960s saw a radical change in public views of racism and race-based thinking. This "surge of egalitarian idealism" in Canada has been attributed to the public's response to the Holocaust, to the example of American federal and state legislation, to reactions against the wartime treatment of such citizens as the Japanese Canadians, to the influence of organized labour, and to the expanding role of the state in society. Students of the phenomenon have also emphasized the carefully-organized anti-discrimination campaigns waged by "small groups of Anglo-Canadian activists, and especially by key minority groups."[7] The Ontario government's Racial Discrimination Act and the Saskatchewan government's Bill of Rights are cited as important initial steps in the campaign. Certain political parties and politicians waged effective campaigns against racism and stereotyping. Moreover, what academics call immigrants' "agency" – that is, immigrants' acceptance of responsibility to change society themselves – became important in the 1960s. One must remember that a central institution in this integration process was the school. Finally, a striking international social and cultural transition favoured the integration of new immigrants. The changes were so diverse that it might seem unusual to put them under a single rubric. They included city growth, the revolution in communications (including commercial flight, highway and automobile improvements, and television), and changes in the status of women and the politics of families. Such phenomena belong together because of their timing and their implications for the country: newcomers and longer-established Canadians alike experienced these transformations at the same moment.

### Conclusion

I would like to suggest four generalizations about the peopling of western Canada:

- first, immigration is a striking aspect of Canada today but it was also a striking aspect of the prairie provinces a century ago;
- second, the global recruitment pool of today's immigrant stream differs from the European pool the prairies drew on a century ago. But today's long-settled prairie residents do not perceive a degree of difference between themselves and the newcomers comparable to the gulf between British Canadians and those from southern and eastern Europe a century ago;
- third: the institutions created in prairie Canada to deal with racism and prejudice, and to educate both long-established resident and newcomer to the needs, outlook, and character of the other have actually enjoyed success;
- fourth: there is a degree of luck and chance in this story. The diverse character of the immigrants, the impact of dedicated individuals in schools and community leadership, the revulsion against racism after the Second World War, the slow growth of the prairies between the 1920s and the 1950s all played a part in ensuring that the boundary zone between the long-settled and the newcomer has become less contentious, less chilly, and that there is a public pressure to demand tolerance and to "deal with the racial stuff."

## Notes

[1] Presented to the National conference on Teaching, Learning, and Communicating the History of Canada, Edmonton 28-30 October 2005 "New Frontiers in Our History: 100 Years of Alberta and Saskatchewan in Confederation," in the session entitled "The Peopling of Western Canada"

[2] Stephanie Nolen "Return of the natives" *Globe and Mail* 15 January 2005, F3, citing David van der Merwe, 38, formerly of Mississauga.

[3] Marvin McInnis "Canada's Population in the Twentieth Century" in Michael R Haines and Richard H Steckel eds *A Population History of North America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2000) 529-599, p. 534

[4] The 1897 events are discussed in Thomas W Dickens "Winnipeg, Imperialism, and the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee Celebration, 1897" (MA thesis, University of Manitoba, 1982).

[5] Edith Paterson "Winnipeggers enjoy first 'Folklorama' – 1928" This clipping, taken from a Winnipeg newspaper ca. 1972-4, was part of a clipping file in the papers of the Folk Arts Council of Winnipeg Inc.

[6] Val Werier 'Manitoba mosaic glows at Folklorama' Winnipeg newspaper, August 1975, clipping in Folk Arts Council of Winnipeg papers. Also Gene Telpner in *Winnipeg Tribune* 20 August 1973

[7] Carmela Patrias and Ruth A. Frager "'This is our Country, these are our rights': Minorities and the Origins of Ontario's Human Rights Campaigns" *Canadian Historical Review* 82,1 (March 2001) 1-35; they take the "upsurge" quotation from R. Brian Howe "The Evolution of Human Rights Policy in Ontario" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 24,4 (1991) 783-802; on the Jewish community's role, see Irving Abella "Jews, Human Rights, and the Making of a New Canada" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* (2000). In Manitoba, one of the forces undermining ethnic discrimination was the determination of provincial and civic leaders to keep up, economically and socially, with the rest of the continent; Gerald Friesen "Stuart Garson, Harold Innis, and Adult Education in Manitoba" in P. James Giffen *Rural Life: Portraits of the Prairie Town, 1946* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press 2004) 201-277

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