

Evolution of the Depiction of the Red River Rebellion in Canadian History Textbooks

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“In constructing the collective memory, textbooks play a dual role: on the one hand, they provide a sense of continuity between the past and the present, transmitting accepted historical narratives; on the other, they alter - or rewrite - the past in order to suit the contemporary needs.”ⁱ - Elie Podeh

Historical Question to be Answered

How has the portrayal of the Red River Rebellion been presented in Canadian history textbooks over the 20th and 21st centuries, and what, if any, are some of the forces behind changes in this portrayal?

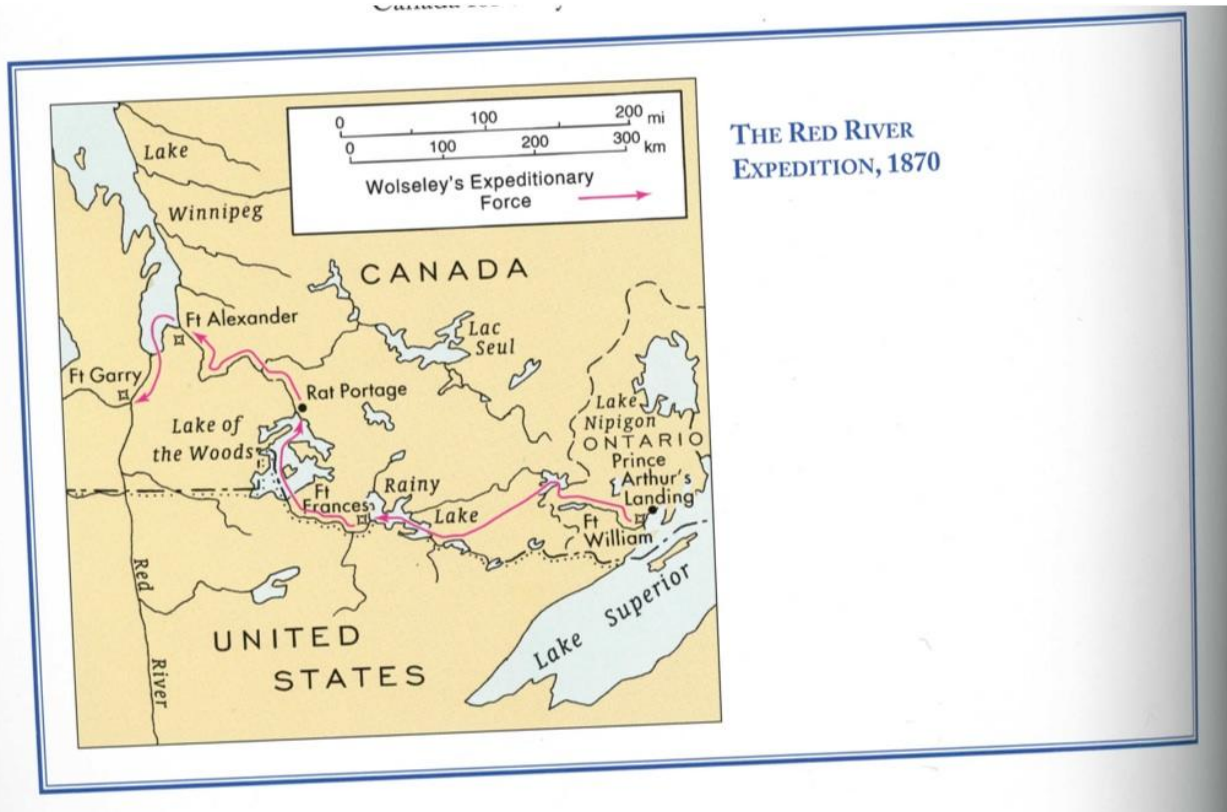
Thesis

This report aims to track changes in the presentation of the Red River Rebellion in a variety of Ontario secondary school textbooks from the 1930s to present day. By considering the local and global contexts in which these books were written, it is expected that the language and portrayal of the Red River Rebellion will significantly change over time. In particular, with increasing attention to minority rights in the sixties and seventies, it is expected that textbooks written after 1970 will come to represent an increasing range of viewpoints surrounding these controversial historical issues.

Historical Background

The Red River Rebellion (also known as the Red River Resistance) was a series of events that occurred between 1869 and 1870 in what is now the Canadian Province of Manitoba. Until 1869, the area had been under the control of the Hudson’s Bay Company. In 1869, the Hudson’s Bay Company sold the land to Canada. This sale did not take into consideration the existing population in the Red River Colony, which was mostly Métis, Catholic, and French speaking. The residents began to fear for their rights, in anticipation of an influx of English-speaking Protestants from Ontario upon completion of the sale. The situation began to turn hostile after the Canadian government sent survey teams into the area before the sale had been finalized.ⁱⁱ As a result of this action, the residents began to rise up in protest. Fort Garry was seized by Métis resistance leader Louis Riel, who declared the establishment of a provisional government, representing both French and English populations in the area.ⁱⁱⁱ

The situation was exacerbated when Riel’s supporters captured a group of Ontarians that attempted to overthrow the provisional government. Among them was Thomas Scott, who while in captivity repeatedly threatened Riel’s life.^{iv} Riel had Scott tried for treason, and he was convicted and subsequently executed for the crime. This caused outrage in Ontario and eventually led to the Wolseley Expedition, where the Canadian government sent troops to the area in order to assert their control. Riel was forced to flee to the United States in exile. In spite of this, the provisional government was mostly successful in negotiations with the Canadian government.^v In May of 1870, the Manitoba Act was passed, creating the province of Manitoba in the area of the Red River Colony and guaranteeing French language and Catholic religious rights.



Map of the Red River Expedition (Source: *Canadian Military Atlas*, 2006)

Discussion and Analysis of Sources

Primary Sources

Bennett, Paul W., Cornelius J. Jaenen, and Nick Brune. *Canada: A North American Nation*. 2nd ed. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995.

Cruxton, J. Bradley, and W. Douglas Wilson. *Flashback Canada*. 3rd ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Cruxton, J. Bradley, W. Douglas Wilson, Daniel Francis, Brian Harrison and Peggy Johnson. *Flashback Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008.

These textbooks of Canadian history provide a 1990s and 2000s perspective on the events at Red River. Using the information contained in these texts in conjunction with political and social occurrences prior to and at the time of publication, the portrayal of the Red River Rebellion will be better understood and contextualized. All of these texts provide accounts much more sympathetic to the Métis than previous textbooks; this change is understood when the political developments of Métis rights are examined as well.

Cruxton, J. Bradley, and W. Douglas Wilson. *Flashback Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press (Canada), 1978.

This edition of *Flashback Canada* is the earliest edition found at the Queen's University Education library. The textbook, with its publication year closer to the end of the 1970s, allows us to analyze the effects of the political and social events that took place during the 1960s and 1970s on the portrayal of the Red River Rebellion in the textbook. The textbook attempts to consider the Métis position in the Rebellion; however, the writing does reflect a lack of experience in acknowledging Aboriginal perspective. *Flashback Canada* was chosen due to the fact that the textbook is currently still in publication and is written by the same authors. This consistency will be useful for our comparison between depictions of the Red River Rebellion.

Guillet, Edwin C. *Early Life in Upper Canada*. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company, 1933. This textbook was originally used in a one-room schoolhouse in Admaston Township through the 1930s and 1940s. The book was intended to serve as a teacher resource, to be used as more of a guide to assist the teacher in the presentation of history rather than a text that would be directly handled by students themselves. Through such a document, we can clearly see how the teaching of history has dramatically changed over the past eighty years. The concepts of historical thinking that are so critical to history education today are simply not present in this book. Notably, there is an absence in terms of historical perspectives and also in understanding of the ethical dimensions of history. Instead, the version of history presented here is decidedly more Whiggish, supporting a vision of continual progress through history, driven mainly by the contributions of "great men" doing great deeds. The narrative is also intended, as is directly stated in the forward by the Ontario Minister of Education, to foster a sense of nationalist pride. Thus, this text provides an excellent starting point for our analysis. It provides insight into the development of historical education in Ontario over the past century, and how socio-cultural developments and trends in historical thinking have impacted the teaching of history.

Ontario Department of Education. *Report of the Minister: 1963*.

Ontario Department of Education. *Report of the Minister: 1969*.

These education reports (found in the Queen's University Education library) constitute part of a collection that spans a huge range of years and provinces. Each report contains statistics and

detailed information about the state of education in Ontario in that calendar year. The extreme detail and care taken in recording information from the time period (including photographs) provide a valuable snapshot of school life at the time. By looking at multiple reports from different years, historians are able to gain a good sense of how education systems functioned at the time (or at least, how the government believed they functioned).

Ontario Ministry of Education. *The Ontario Curriculum: History and Geography (Grades 7 and 8)*, revised 2004. Toronto. Available at:
<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/elementary/sstudies18curr.pdf>.

Ontario Ministry of Education. *The Ontario Curriculum: Canada and World Studies (Grades 9 and 10)*, revised 2005. Toronto. Available at:
<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld910curr.pdf>.

Ontario Ministry of Education. *The Ontario Curriculum: Canada and World Studies (Grades 11 and 12)*, revised 2005. Toronto. Available at:
<http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld1112curr.pdf>.

These curriculum documents (available for all subject matter from grades 1 – 12) are available for free on the Ontario Ministry of Education website, and as hard copies (by order) through the same website. Each curriculum document outlines general strands/themes and specific expectations for each course currently offered in the Ontario curriculum. The curriculum documents provide a valuable look at what the provincial government (and indeed in a larger sense, society) consider important for students to learn. While they are meant to be regulating documents, the way that the material from the curriculum is communicated in classrooms is ultimately up to the teacher, which may cause for significant variation in student understanding of the same material across the province.

Parliament of Canada. “Proceedings of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples.” 15 May 2012. <<http://www.parl.gc.ca/content/sen/committee/411/APPA/18EV-49543E.HTM>> (2 November 2012).

This documentation of a meeting of the Standing Senate Committee on Aboriginal Peoples outlines some of the advances achieved by the Métis community. This particular meeting involved a discussion of a Supreme Court case involving land rights under the Manitoba Act.

The Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives on Education in the Schools of Ontario. *Living and Learning*. Toronto: Newton Publishing Company, 1968.

This historic document (known informally as the “Hall-Dennis Report”) provides valuable insight into the rationale behind some of the major educational reforms in Ontario in the 1970s. By viewing the child as an “integral part of society,”^{vi} this report truly revolutionized views on education at the time. This source is particularly valuable for understanding some of the changes that were made at the same time as other global events.

Willows, Derald G. and Stewart Richmond. *Canada: Colony to Centennial*. Toronto: McGraw Hill Company of Canada Limited, 1970.

Canada: Colony to Centennial provides an interesting example of a textbook from 1970 that is still struggling with presenting the Aboriginal perspective of the Red River Rebellion. For example, the Métis were still described as “hardy hunters” who “were half-breeds, the offspring of French-Canadian *voyageurs*, who had remained in the West, and their Indian wives.”^{vii} The title of the chapter that includes the Red River Rebellion is called “They Claim to be a Nation”.

These examples give insight into the language that was still dominant during that time and the influence of Pierre Elliott Trudeau's 1969 White Paper policy. Furthermore, an analysis of the "Research and Discussion" questions that are provided at the end of the chapter reveals very little consideration into encouraging the students to empathize with the Aboriginal people.

Secondary Sources

CBC News Online. "The Métis." 2 July 2004.

<<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/aboriginals/metis.html>> (2 November 2012).

CBC News. "A Timeline of Residential Schools, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." 11 June 2011. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/05/16/f-timeline-residential-schools.html>> (2 November 2012).

These CBC News documents provide information on advances made by the Métis community, as well as Canada's Aboriginal community as a whole. This information helps in providing the social and political context needed to understand the development of both the curriculum and the presentation of that curriculum in textbooks.

Clark, Penney. "Representations of Aboriginal People in English Canadian History Textbooks: Toward Reconciliation." In *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*, edited by Elizabeth A. Cole. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007, 81 - 122.

Penney Clark's article is a great beginning resource for those interested in the history of portrayals of Aboriginal people in English Canadian history textbooks. She introduces the topic by discussing the historical context of the Aboriginal people in Canada starting from the Royal Proclamation in 1763 and asks how these events in history have affected the way they have been presented in textbooks. Clark then discusses the role and the influence of textbooks on student learning in the classroom before bringing our attention to the many studies on the representation (or lack of, in some cases) of marginalized groups in textbooks that arose during the 1960s and 1970s. Her summary of these studies are useful to those who want to look more in depth into them. She does analyze some textbooks herself; however, most of them are published in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century that were decidedly unsympathetic to the Aboriginal cause. Unfortunately, she does not look into French Canadian textbooks. Overall, Clark's work is beneficial to those interested in the problems of the Aboriginal representation in English textbooks in Canada.

McDiarmid, Garnet and David Pratt. *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario*. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971.

Found in Queen's University Stauffer Library, this source provides an important detailed look at the way curriculum was presented in the late 1960s. As part of a request from the Ontario Human Rights Commission, this report was prepared to analyze the content of all social studies textbooks authorized for use in Ontario schools. In particular, this report focuses on identifying "statements that could be considered as discriminating against minority groups, to assess the possible omission of [that] material."^{viii} Through a complex evaluative system including the calculation of a numerical evaluation score, the report ultimately "recommended that publishers be asked to make appropriate revisions in all text containing the errors and defects noted in this study."^{ix} This source is particularly valuable in providing a detailed look at the language used in textbooks of the time.

O'Sullivan, Brian. "Global Change and Educational Reform in Ontario and Canada." *Canadian Journal of Education* vol 24, no 3 (1999): 311 – 325.

This source explicitly discusses two paradigms that O'Sullivan believes have significantly contributed to educational reform in Ontario: global economic competitiveness and global interdependence. The link between Canada's global performance and education is made explicitly clear in the 1970s and results in curriculum and educational reforms. O'Sullivan's work is further valuable in that it considers reforms made in the 1980s and 1990s as well.

Parvin, Viola Elizabeth. *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.

Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario traces the development of the authorization process of textbooks in Ontario between 1846 and 1950. To provide context, Parvin discusses the changes in the education system that provoke criticisms in the administration and business of textbook publications over the different time periods that she outlines (ie. 1846-1876, 1876-1903, 1906-1936, 1936-1950). She discusses the dominance of the issue of uniformity of textbooks and the effects of American influence in arguments that arose amongst educators prior to the 1960s. This is a useful source to provide a historical background of the rise of textbook used in the Ontario classroom prior to the significant content changes in the 1960s.

Schramm-Pate, Susan. "Textbooks." In *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, edited by Craig Kridel. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2010: 880 - 882.

Susan Schramm- Pate's entry on textbooks in the *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies* provides a useful but brief overview of the history of textbook. Though her research is based on the American education system, she offers insight into the debates surrounding textbooks and their influences on students, particularly the debates that arose from the 1960s to 1980s. She mainly discusses the issue of problematic depictions of African Americans in past American history textbooks, which provides an interesting parallel to the presentation of Aboriginal people in Canadian history textbooks. Ultimately, Pate argues that "textbooks are manufactured articles that play a major role in defining whose culture is taught" - a statement that has provoked our interest in our research topic.

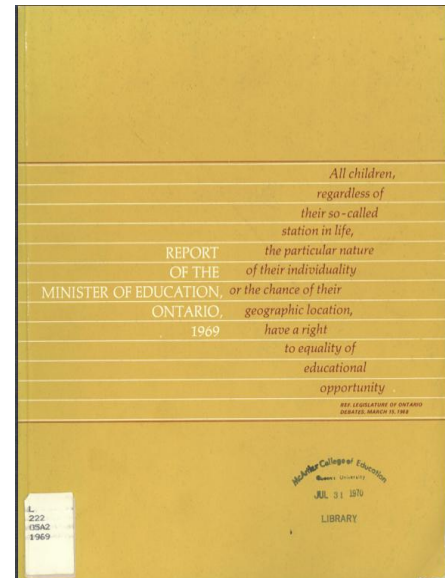
Images and Media

All images were scanned by Robert Briscoe, Rachel Shindman, Melissa Sit and Tracy Wong.

Context: Education in Ontario

Since 1846, there has been a process for official approval of texts in Ontario to be used in classrooms. Due to the official sanction by the provincial and territorial governments, these textbooks arguably represent what is deemed to be legitimate knowledge for students by those in positions of authority within the hierarchy of the Ontario educational system.^x Up until the 1960s, issues with textbooks revolved around the business of publication and the process for selection. Any criticism towards the actual content of the textbooks was limited to establishing a "Canadian" culture rather than succumbing to American and/or British influences.^{xi}

During the 1960s, there was a major revolution in education. There was increased public interest at this time in the ways that textbooks presented marginalized groups, which led to many studies that examined the depictions of Aboriginal people in Canadian history textbooks.^{xii} Concerns about “race” and racism did not get taken up in textbook analyses until the mid-1960s and even then it was human rights organizations, rather than educational ministries, that initiated the studies.^{xiii} These concerns continued through the 1970s and 80s, as attention in Canada turned towards depictions of Aboriginal people, women, and ethnic groups other than the English and the French.



Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario (1969)

A 1971 study sponsored by the Ontario Ministry of Education and the Ontario Human Rights Commission and conducted by Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt looked at the portrayal of minority groups in 143 history textbooks authorized in the province. In this report, *Teaching Prejudice*, McDiarmid and Pratt concluded that “we are most likely to encounter in textbooks devoted Christians, great Jews, hardworking immigrants, infidel Moslems, primitive Negroes and savage Indians.”^{xiv} *Teaching Prejudice* particularly scrutinizes the language used to describe minority groups and argues how these “biased presentations” contribute to the formation and/or reinforcement of the stereotypes. As Table 4 in the image of the report below show, the word “savage (s)” is used 86 times in textbooks, more than any other term applied to a group. The report concludes that Ontario social studies textbooks were biased in various ways that needed to be reconsidered in line with the report’s findings.^{xv}

by the inventors of this method of content analysis, Osgood, Saprota, and Nunnally.⁵ We were fortunate enough to have access to a computer for our calculations, but the computation of smaller bodies of data is not complicated.

First of all, the value of each C is multiplied by the value of each CMT – for example, the value computed for “Indians were called savages” is $+2 \times -3 = -6$ using the values given in table 3. The remaining assertions about an AO are also scored, and the products are summed. In the case of the six evaluative assertions about Indians referred to above, the sum is -27.5 . The absolute values (i.e., signs ignored) of all Cs are then summed as well, and this total, 13, is divided into -27.5 , producing an overall score for that text of -2.12 in the category “Indians.” Figure 1 shows this process diagrammatically.

Formula: $AO = \frac{\text{Sum of all } C \times \text{CMT (or AO)}}{\text{Sum of all absolute values of } C}$			
Assertion	C	CMT (or AO)	Product
1. Indians were called savages	+2	× -3	= -6
2. Indians were called very desperate	+2	× -1	= -2
3. Indians were said to have hurt the settler	-1	× +1.5	= -1.5
4. Indians were hostile	+3	× -2	= -6
5. Indians made savage raids	+3	× -3	= -9
6. Indians raided settlers	-2	× +1.5	= -3
Sum of values	[13]		-27.5
Overall evaluation score for “Indians” in one textbook	$\frac{-27.5}{13} = -2.12$		

Figure 1 / Calculation of an evaluation score for Indians in one textbook.

Summary of Findings

The references to Indians cited in the preceding example are fairly typical of those we found in many texts in the sample.

In reporting certain historical events, the use of words with a negative connotation may well be appropriate. It is hard to imagine how Fascism or the internment of the Jews in German concentration camps in World War II could possibly be described in positive or even neutral terms. But while the use of negative terms in such instances may be justified, the writer must back up his choice through the use of evidence, documenting his conclusions as would a historian attributing blame in, say, a political scandal. For example, current historical works mentioning the Pacific Scandal – which erupted when it was discovered that Sir John A. MacDonald had awarded the contract to construct the Canadian Pacific Rail-

way to a syndicate that had made substantial contributions to his campaign fund – commonly sketch in the fact that at the time political parties relied on quite narrowly based business interests for financial support, thus preparing the reader to judge Sir John A. a trifle less harshly.

We did not often encounter this kind of balanced presentation in references to the groups we selected for study. The quality of the words used to describe members of our six groups showed an obvious, even blatant, difference. The five words used most often in describing each target group and their frequency are shown in table 4. The reader will note that negative terms, such as “fanatical,” “fierce,” “superstitious,” and “hostile,” predominated in references to some groups, and positive terms, such as “devoted,” “great,” and “just,” predominated in references to others.

Table 4 / Five Evaluative Terms Most Often Applied to Target Groups and Frequency of Use

Christians	Jews	Immigrants	
devoted	46	great	8
zealous	40	faithful	3
martyr	38	just(ice)	3
great	37	wise	2
famous	28	genius	2
		hardworking	6
		enriched Canada	5
		contribution	4
		skillful	3
		problem	3
Moslems	Negroes	Indians	
infidels	9	primitive	38
fanatical	9	friendly	15
great	8	fierce	6
devout	5	savage	6
tolerant	5	superstitious	6
		savage(s)	86
		friendly	51
		fierce	47
		hostile	36
		skillful	26

We have no wish to deny that in the past Indians were, on occasion, fierce warriors who took scalps. But the texts seldom note that on occasion Christians also took scalps. Historical accounts of incidents in which Indians and non-Indians were involved seldom suggest that our European ancestors ever acted in a hostile, treacherous, or murderous fashion. At the very least this must be called biased presentation, encouraging the formation of stereotypes.

Since our research design permitted quantitative analysis, we could measure the degree to which the stereotypes of various groups differed by assessing statements about them using a constant and predetermined set of values.

We had already decided to exclude from our study all books containing fewer than five references to any of our target groups, but we still had to deal with the question of what number of assertions should be considered

Excerpt from *Teaching Prejudice* (1971)

Of course, textbooks reflect curriculum expectations. Curriculum expectations from the 1930s and 70s are difficult to find, but a sense of what education was like at the time can be gleaned from the Ontario education annual reports and reports such as *Teaching Prejudice*. In Ontario curriculum documents today, most curriculum expectations mention the Red River Rebellion in conjunction with grade 8 history and again in CHI4U (Canada: History, Identity and Culture). In the most updated curriculum documents, there is an emphasis on understanding the Rebellion from both points of view and using the Rebellion as a point to develop critical research questions to help students understand the complete story.^{xvi} For example, a curriculum expectation in CHI4U reads as follows: “Analyse historical events and issues from the perspectives of different participants, such as the Red River Rebellion from the perspectives of the followers of Louis Riel.”

Context: Social, Political and Economic Changes

World

1948	Canada signs the United Nations <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights</i> and is forced to re-examine the treatment of Aboriginals.
1960s	Feminist and Civil Rights movement (strong especially in the United States)
1955 - 1975	Vietnam War
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
2010	Government of Canada announces it will endorse the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a non-binding document that describes the individual and collective rights of indigenous peoples around the world ^{xvii}

Canada

1938	Alberta government passed the Métis Population Betterment Act, setting aside eight colonies for Métis Settlement Associations ^{xviii}
1960	Prime Minister John Diefenbaker gives non-enfranchised Aboriginals the right to vote in federal elections. However, despite this, the federal government was still against the idea of Aboriginal self-government.
1961	National Indian Council founded
1969	Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his government issued a White Paper on Aboriginal policy that Canada should not negotiate any more treaties with the Native people because treaties are signed between sovereign nations.
1982	Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom is established. The Charter grants all Canadians fundamental rights, including democratic, mobility, legal, equality and linguistic rights
1982	Constitution Act of 1982 finally recognized Métis, along with Indian and Inuit, and one of the three Aboriginal Peoples of Canada ^{xix}
1985	The Alberta government passed a resolution committing the province to transfer the titles of Métis settlements to the Métis people. The lands were protected through an amendment to the Alberta Act. The resolution passed into legislation with the 1990 Métis Settlement Act. The Alberta settlements are the only constitutionally protected Métis lands in Canada ^{xx}

1990	Métis Settlement Act
1996	The last federally run residential school facility closes
1998	The government unveils Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan, a long-term, broad-based policy approach in response to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples ^{xxi}
2008	Prime Minister Stephen Harper apologizes to former students of native residential schools, marking the first formal apology by a prime minister for the federally financed program
December 13, 2011	Supreme Court of Canada heard <i>Manitoba Métis Federation v. Canada and Manitoba</i> , a land rights case based on section 31 of the Manitoba Act, 1870. This marked the culmination of a 30-year court battle of the Métis seeking justice for land grants promised by the Act (which was negotiated by Riel's provisional government and Macdonald's federal government). As of May 15, 2012, the Supreme Court had not released their ruling on this case.

Ontario

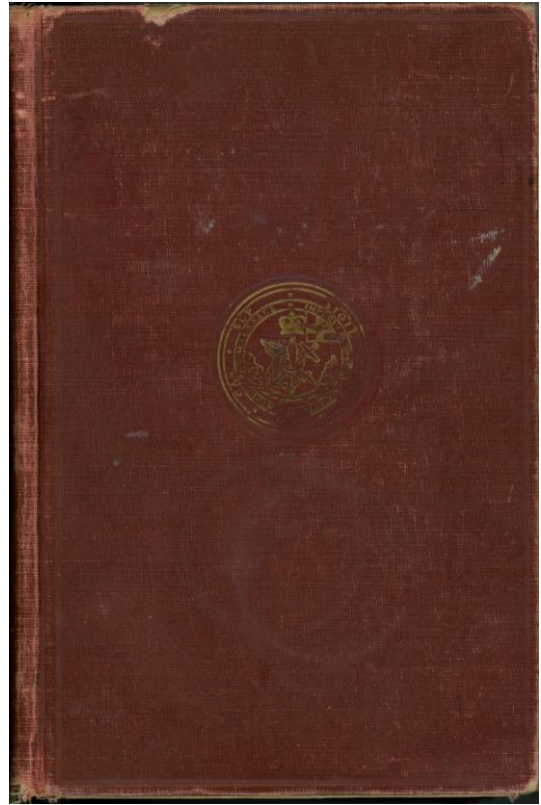
June 15, 1962	Ontario Human Rights Code came into effect. The Code prohibited discrimination in signs, services, facilities, public accommodation and employee membership because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry and place of origin
2007	Ontario government created the Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs - this was a key recommendation of the Ipperwash Inquiry. ^{xxii} This is a clear indication that the rights and needs of the Aboriginal population were being reflected in government structure. ^{xxiii}

All of these events (local, national and global) increased pressure on federal and provincial governments to reconsider what was being presented in textbooks. Increasingly, the language and attitudes towards minority groups became much less derogatory and focused on understanding both sides of the argument.

Results

The changes in portrayal of the Red River Rebellion in textbooks can be understood as a result of external pressures including global events, increasing focus on minority rights, and global interdependence. These changes are mirrored in the curriculum guidelines: today there is a much stronger focus on understanding all perspectives, rather than a top down/one-way transfer of information - students are encouraged to explore the events and consider all viewpoints.

The 1920s was a period where there was a great fear of the cultural domination of Canada by the United States, perhaps creating the need for a portrayal of the Red River Rebellion in *Early Life in Upper Canada* that was firmly national and firmly oriented toward the Anglo-British tradition. For example, *Early Life in Upper Canada* makes a point of noting that the firing squad that executed Thomas Scott was both half drunk and also commanded by an American civil war veteran.^{xxiv} The twenties and thirties also saw the beginnings of separatist movements in Quebec, strongly associated with the Roman Catholic Church. This may be reflected in the critical attitude with which Catholic and French people are described throughout *Early Life in Upper Canada*'s account of the Red River Rebellion. The expeditionary force sent to deal with the rebellion experienced several difficulties on the road outside of Thunder Bay. In the *Early Life in Upper Canada* text, these difficulties are blamed on the antagonism of a French Canadian official who was "not anxious to see the expedition succeed."^{xxv} The revolt itself is, in fact, conceived of as a French attempt to create another, Quebec-like province in order to dominate Canada's west.^{xxvi} This presentation of French-English relations is very likely reflective of the strained relations that existed at the time the text was written.



Early Life in Upper Canada Cover
(1933)

The textbook *Early Life in Upper Canada* (see image above for the cover) then clearly reflects in its language and word choice both the Anglo-centric views of its time and the Whiggish perspectives that dominated historical thought of the period. The text is written entirely from the perspective of Ontarians, focusing primarily on the military expedition to assert Canadian governmental control. Several quotes can be drawn from the text to show its one sided perspective of events surrounding the Red River Rebellion.

The military expedition to Red River is lauded as "one of the most notable examples of an expeditionary force sent into a strange country far from its base of operations."^{xxvii} This quote makes clear two major points. Firstly, it is highly praiseful of the expeditionary force. They are portrayed as brave heroes whose behavior is to be modeled. This places them firmly in the category of being "good" and necessitates that the Rebels at Red River were in the wrong. The perspective of the Red River inhabitants is ignored. Further, we can see an "Othering" of the rebels through the description of the Red River colony as a "strange country." They are presented as so unlike the Ontarians that the experience of travelling there is more closely similar to traveling to a foreigner country. This kind of description is then clearly shaped by an Anglo-centric viewpoint of the conflict.

The text is also highly critical of French language and Catholic religion. It describes the Red River rebellion as an attempt by “Catholic priests” to form a “province similar to Quebec... and dominate the west.”^{xxviii} This viewpoint is highly antagonistic toward French Catholics, almost to the point of portraying the rebellion as part of a wider French conspiracy within Canada. Later in the text, we see that difficulties encountered by the expedition are blamed on a French officer who was “not anxious to see the expedition succeed.”^{xxix} This antagonism toward the French Canadian perspective found in the text clearly embodies the Anglocentric viewpoints of the time of its writing. This is a history written solely from the perspective of white Protestants in Ontario.

Nowhere can this historical bias be more clearly seen than in the section describing the execution of Thomas Scott (see image below). Scott’s execution was the powder keg that really ignited the Red River Rebellion and brought violence into the rebellion. The incident is described in the following paragraph:

“The inhabitants of the Red River District included a number of English and Scotch settlers. These loyal citizens attempted to upset the Provisional Government, but the result was the imprisonment of several of them and the execution of Thomas Scott, an Ontario Protestant, on a false charge of breach of parole. Scott was given a trial by a half breed court-martial, and executed a few hours later by a semi-intoxicated firing squad”^{xxx}

This paragraph shows several clear bias’ toward the Anglo perspective. First and foremost, we see an exaggeration of the number of supporters for Canada’s position in the conflict. In fact, the text later claims that, when the military expedition arrived in the Red River colony, “The arrival brought out the local inhabitants *en masse*: “They received us with the greatest enthusiasm, cheering and waving handkerchiefs.”^{xxxi} This clearly portrays the Red River rebellion as “bad” and not in the best interest of the local people. However, as has already been discussed in above sections, it was clear that the area was mostly populated by Métis French Canadians that supported the rebellion.

West. Consequently both opposed European immigration, and united in describing the country as unfit for settlement. The opposition to the new state of affairs was led by Louis Riel, a clever half-breed with a good command of English. Though possibly somewhat lacking in physical courage, he was not deficient in moral determination, and he exerted a great influence over the French-Canadian trappers.

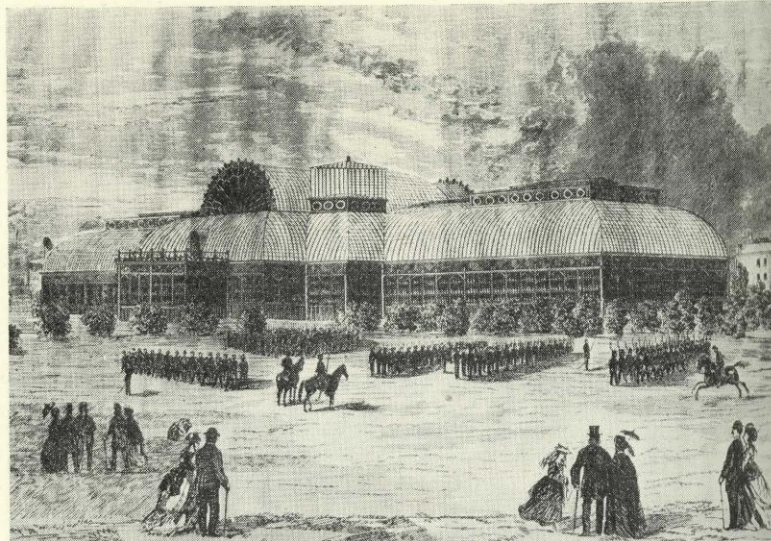
While the priests preached resistance to the Canadian Government, Riel and a few half-breeds made their first move in October, 1869, when they warned the surveyors to desist from their work. Soon afterwards they formed the "Republic of the North-West", and of the Provisional Government which was instituted, Riel was soon President, though at first John Bruce held that position, while Riel was Secretary. As a preliminary step they seized the Hudson's Bay Company stores, and so were able to feed, clothe, arm and pay the insurgents at the Company's expense. Had these stores been better protected, or had they been previously destroyed, it is doubtful if the rebellion could ever have come to a head. The appointment of William McDougall as the first Governor has been generally considered injudicious because of his attitude, described by General Wolseley as "essentially cold-blooded, and entirely wanting in cordiality".² Riel's next step was to prevent the Governor's entry into the territory, which was accomplished by the erection of a barricade, defended by half-breeds, on the road between Pembina and Fort Garry.

The inhabitants of the Red River district included a number of English and Scotch settlers. These loyal citizens attempted to upset the Provisional Government, but the result was the imprisonment of several of them, and the execution of Thomas Scott, an Ontario Protestant, on a false charge of breach of parole. Scott was given a "trial" by a half-breed court-martial, and executed a few hours later by a semi-intoxicated firing squad in charge of an American citizen who had seen service in the Northern army in Civil War days. When news of these events reached Ontario, public opinion demanded that an expedition be sent immediately to restore law and order.

²Viscount Wolseley: *Narrative of the Red River Expedition*. (In *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1870, to February, 1871, p. 215.)

Excerpt from
*Early Life in
Upper Canada*
(1933)

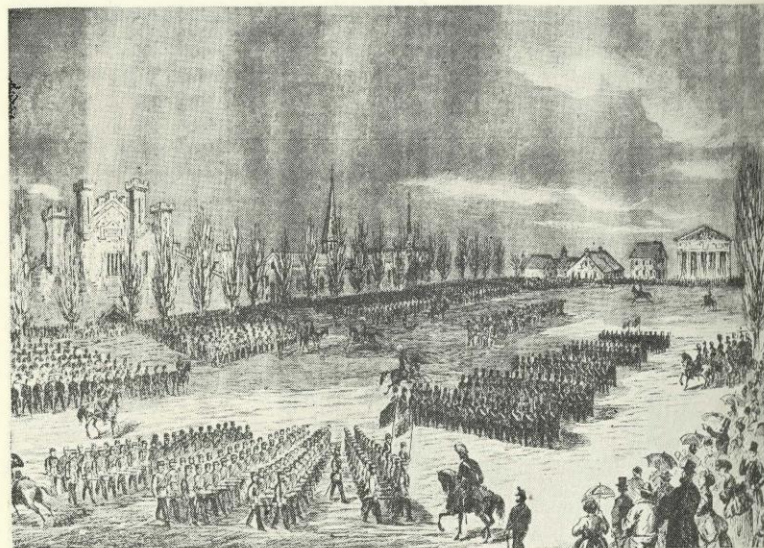
This section of text also shows a clear Anglo-centric bias in its portrayal of Scott himself. He is here a law abiding, and indeed loyal, Protestant, rather than the more radical Orangemen he has been described as elsewhere. The charges against him are claimed to be breach of parole, rather than the much more severe charge of treason that he actually faced. Finally, his trial and execution is portrayed as coming at the hands of a “half-breed” court martial and a drunken firing squad led by an American. The reference to the half-breed trial and also the presence of an American clearly place this description within the Anglo-centric framework we have been discussing. Also, the charge of breach of parole and the description of Scott as a loyal protestant clearly place Scott and other English Canadians as in the position of being morally right. All of this evidence amount to *Early Life in Upper Canada* portrayal of the events of the Red River Rebellion as being from singularly Anglo-centric perspective.



From *L'Opinion Publique*, June 16, 1870

RED RIVER EXPEDITION—TRAINING VOLUNTEERS AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE, TORONTO

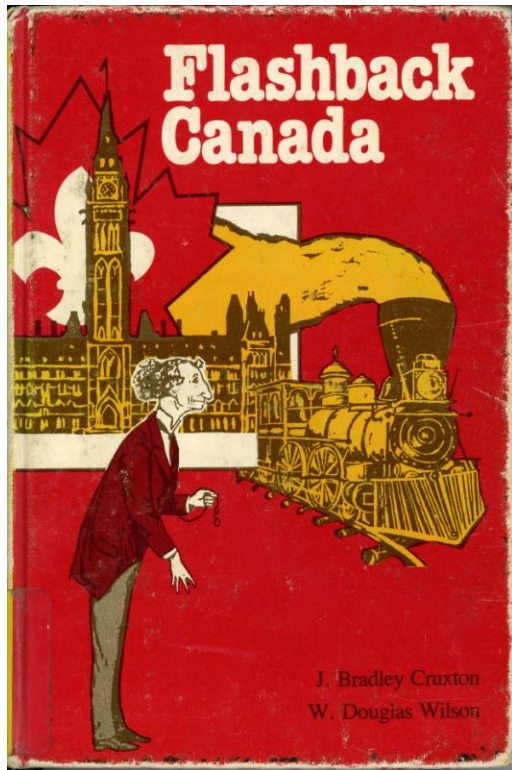
Originally the Palace of Industry, this was the first permanent Exhibition building, and was located just south of the Provincial Lunatic Asylum.



From *L'Opinion Publique*, May 12, 1870

INSPECTION OF VOLUNTEERS AT LE CHAMP DE MARS, MONTREAL, 1870

Excerpt from
*Early Life in
Upper Canada*
(1933)



Flashback Canada (1978) Cover

By the 1970s, changes could be seen in textbooks. The differences in the portrayal of the Rebellion between *Canada: Colony to Centennial*, published in 1970, and *Flashback Canada*, published in 1978, shows the struggle and the attempts of textbook authors throughout the 1970s to consider and incorporate the Aboriginal perspective. The description of the Red River Rebellion in *Canada: Colony to Centennial* demonstrates the influence of the political context of the date of publication. For example, the Red River Rebellion is discussed in a chapter entitled “They Claimed to Be A Nation”. The idea that the Aboriginal people should not be considered a distinct “nation,” and thus be given special privileges, is very similar to the language that was used to justify the White Paper by the government at the time. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, the Prime Minister at the time, argued that the government would not negotiate with the Aboriginal people anymore because he believed that “treaties were something only signed between sovereign nations.”^{xxxii}

Throughout the 1970s, as some of the movements from the 1960s began to die down, minority rights became somewhat more understood. This led to a greater attempt to become more sympathetic to the Aboriginal cause. An analysis of the earliest edition of *Flashback Canada* (1978) that we were able to find in the Queen’s University Education library showed that the authors had begun to encourage their students to put themselves in the shoes of the Aboriginal people when discussing the Red River Rebellion. A question at the end of the chapter asks the students to pretend that they are a Métis person and asks them to write down a list of problems that the Indian and Métis people faced in 1869. However, in the chapter regarding the Red River Rebellion, no information about the specific needs relating to the Aboriginal way of life was provided for the students to give a well-informed answer to the question. Furthermore, as the

THE LONG-LASTING RESULTS OF THE 1885 REBELLION

FOR THE INDIANS

1. The only Indian rebellion in Canadian history had been put down by force. From now on there was no longer a strong core of rebellious Indians anywhere in the North West.
2. The Indians realized that the government was going to enforce the treaties. They had no other choice than to move onto the reserves.
3. The rebellious Indians lost their annual government payments. Their horses and ammunition were seized.

FOR THE MÉTIS

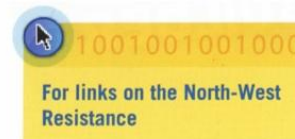
1. Many Métis fled to the few areas of wilderness in northern Alberta that still remained.



Comparison of “Results of the Rebellion” from *Flashback Canada* (1978 – above) and *Flashback Canada* (2008 – below). The difference between the language used (“Indian” vs. “First Nations”, “rebellion” vs. “resistance”) greatly affects the students’ initial perception of who was guilty or to be blamed.

The Aftermath of Resistance

The events of 1885 in the Northwest had different results for different people.

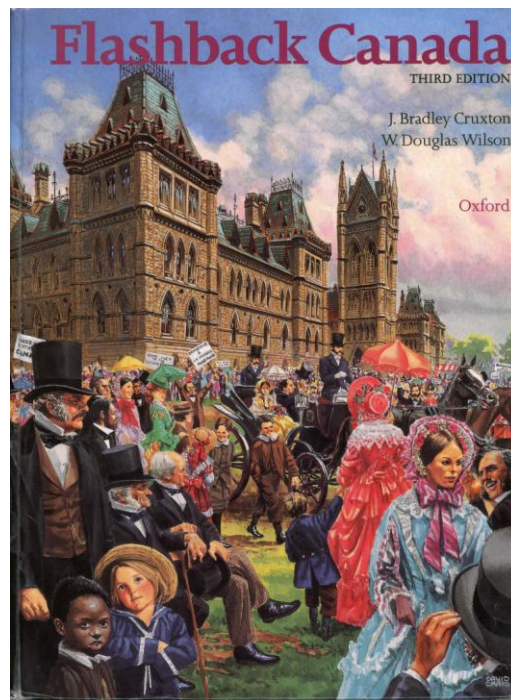


For First Nations Peoples

- First Nations were punished for their role in the resistance. Along with the Métis, 44 First Nations men were found guilty of crimes. Eight were hanged; the rest were sent to prison, including Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) and Pitikwahanapiwiyn (Poundmaker).
- The First Nations realized that the government was going to enforce the treaties. Since resistance was unsuccessful, they had no choice but to move onto the reserves.
- First Nations people who took part in the resistance lost their annual government payments. Their horses and ammunition were seized.

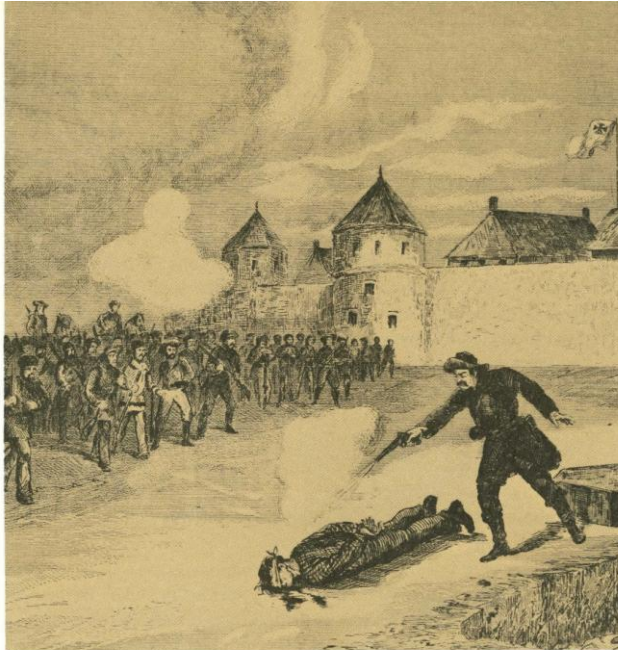
By the 1990s, the portrayal of the Métis in the Red River conflict had changed substantially, and the events were presented primarily from the Métis perspective. These textbooks are much more sympathetic to the Métis experience, almost to the exclusion of the Government perspective. In *Canada: A North American Nation*, the point is made that “... the government bungled the Métis problem almost from start to finish.”^{xxxiii} In the 1994 version of *Flashback Canada*, the point is also made that the Ontarians living in the Red River colony (known as ‘the Canadians’) “seemed to show little respect for the Métis people and sneered at their lifestyle.”^{xxxiv} This idea that the federal government was not entirely right had not been dominant until this time. Along with this criticism of the government came a new focus on the experience of the Métis in the conflict. *Flashback Canada* in particular addresses this issue. One of the first aspects of the conflict mentioned in the book is that “this was ground the Métis people thought was theirs to use. They were not consulted about the methods and reasons for the surveys.”^{xxxv} Many of the questions for students encourage an understanding of the Métis perspective and experience.

Portrayal of Riel also significantly shifted in the textbooks examined. As described in *Flashback Canada* (1994), “Riel never considered himself a rebel. His people were loyal citizens of the Queen. They were fighting against two things. First, the Hudson’s Bay Company had sold their land to Canada without telling them. Second, the Canadian government was taking over without consulting them.”^{xxxvi} This frank acknowledgement of the “other” side of the conflict only appears for the first time in the 1990s. Depiction of the Thomas Scott affair also changed significantly at this time - *Flashback Canada* (1994) describes how once arrested, “Thomas Scott ... struck his guards, called the Métis a pack of cowards, insulted their Roman Catholic religion, and threatened to murder Riel.”^{xxxvii} These examples clearly show the changing portrayal of the federal government, the Métis, Louis Riel, and various other aspects of the Red River conflict.



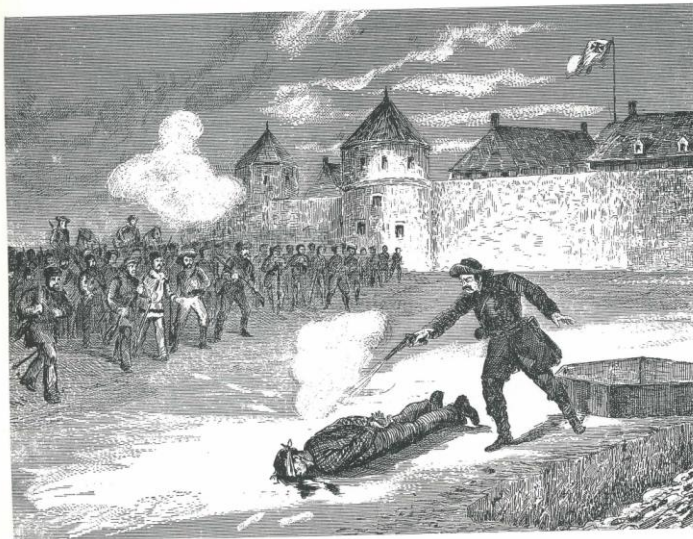
Flashback Canada Cover (1994)

By the 1990s, the language used to describe the conflict itself had begun to evolve as well. *Canada: A North American Nation* refers to the events as the “Red River Resistance.”^{xxxviii} The 1994 edition of *Flashback Canada* still refers to the “Red River Rebellion,” although at one point in the text the term “Red River uprising” is used.^{xxxix} By the 2008 edition of this book, the events were referred to as the “Red River Resistance” and the “Red River uprising,” with it being explained as “the Métis and the Government of Canada would come to a disagreement.”^{xl}



The tragedy at Fort Garry.

160 THE NATION EXPANDS: OPENING THE WEST



An artist's view of Thomas Scott's execution. What impression does this picture give of the execution? Do you think it was drawn by a supporter or opponent of Riel?

Depiction of the shooting of Thomas Scott and the caption used in *Flashback Canada* (1978 – above) and *Flashback Canada* (1994 – below). Note: In the 2008 edition of *Flashback Canada*, this image was no longer included.

The caption used to describe the picture in the 1978 edition clearly illustrates a pro-Canadian government viewpoint as the execution of Thomas Scott is explicitly described as a “tragedy”. In 1994 edition, the bias is less evident as the students are asked questions encouraged to think critically about the picture.

As shown, later textbooks (1990s) included much more context in their portrayal of the events, and were very sympathetic to the Métis population - this shift is in line with broader social and political shifts in attitudes towards Aboriginal populations in Canada, and reflects a change in historiographical viewpoints. Indeed, these shifts are also seen in changes to the curriculum with the most recent curriculum documents urging students to consistently consider multiple perspectives in their study of history. The early textbooks reflect a very Whiggish viewpoint of history, portraying history as a gradual march of progress from “primitive” conditions to a state of white, Anglo-centric civilization and where the primary actors driving the

march of history are great men performing great deeds. Socio-cultural and political conditions over the last century have complicated this viewpoint. As a reaction, we have seen the development of new historical thinking concepts, which instead promote diversity of perspectives and the use of multiple ethical and cultural viewpoints in the study of history

Summary of changes in textbook portrayal of the Red River Rebellion

	<i>1930s Textbooks</i>	<i>1970s Textbooks^{xli}</i>	<i>1990s Textbooks</i>
<i>Language used to describe events</i>	“Rebellion” “Half-breed/ Drunk” “French attempt to dominate west”	“Rebellion”	“Rebellion” “Resistance” “Uprising”
<i>Images used explain events</i>	Glorious portrayal of troops being inspected in front of crystal palace. Troops embarking on dangerous military expedition to put down dangerous rebels and succeeding.	Portraits of Louis Riel (in a suit) and Thomas Scott Artist rendition of two Hudson’s Bay Company forts on the Red River Various maps of Manitoba and Canada in 1873 (no context given)	Government troops on their way to put down the Rebellion, Métis hunting buffalo, diagram of different land survey systems, artist’s view of Thomas Scott’s execution
<i>How the Métis are described</i>	Riel a “clever half-breed with a good command of English.” “Thieves of Canadian money and horses” “Drunken executioners” in cahoots with Americans. Attempting to “dominate the west”	“first real settlement in what was to become western Canada grew up around the buffalo-hunting, pemmican-making métis of the Red and Assiniboine River regions” “these hardy hunters were half-breeds, the offspring of French-Canadian voyageurs, who had remained in the West, and their Indian wives”	“fearful about the survival of their culture” “anxious about the sale of the territory to the Dominion Government” “this was ground the Métis people thought was theirs to use”
<i>How the Canadians are described</i>	Loyal Citizens Good Protestants Striving for Law, order and civilization	“The English-speaking part of the settlement was stunned, but no violence occurred after Scott’s execution.” “There was anger in government circles in Ottawa over the execution of Scott. Still	“...expansionist attitude in Ottawa” “...government bungled the Métis problem” “... seemed to show little respect for the Métis people and sneered at their lifestyle”

		the Canadian government did not act rashly.” “Soon, order was fully restored, thanks to Governor Archibald’s good leadership.”	
<i>General tone</i>	Highly Anglocentric, English Canadians are clearly in the right, Aboriginal and French Canadians are in the wrong	More sympathetic to “Canadians” - struggles to include Métis perspective but does attempt to give legitimacy and “voice” to the Métis (“one large unified group” but a “loose organization”	Sympathetic to the Métis people

Significance of Study for Education in Ontario Today

The ideas and results discussed so far clearly raise some questions about the role and evolution of textbooks in Ontario secondary school classrooms. Often, there is one textbook, authorized by the Ministry of Education in Ontario, that is chosen by the teachers and consequently used by every student in their classrooms. As such, the textbook’s portrayal of the people and events are arguably accepted as the “correct” description of the facts and figures of the historic past. Furthermore, it is rare that more than one textbook ever be used in the same classroom, which often leads many present day teachers to reach out to other sources (increasingly, the Internet) to present multiple viewpoints.

The many events that occurred both locally and internationally in the 1960s and 70s drew significant attention to the role of minority groups and individuals. Alongside increasingly global economic competition and interdependence, these ideas shaped a change in the curriculum (what governments thought should be learnt in a classroom), which then shaped a change in the language and context of classroom textbooks. From the results of the study, it is clear that the language and content of textbooks have increasingly sought to foster critical Historical Thinking skills. For example, the chapter questions in *Flashback Canada* (2008) include a skill building designed to help students determine facts, opinion and bias. These include questions such as: “Does the resource reflect ideas that are no longer considered appropriate or respectful?” “Does the source reflect many perspectives on an event or issue, or just one?”^{xlii} Compared to early textbooks, which sought to mainly test comprehension of presentation of the event, it is clear that textbooks across Ontario today are headed in a new direction. By encouraging students to critically consider all viewpoints, the history curriculum is clearly aiming to foster critical thinking skills in students, emphasizing Historical Thinking rather than a specific interpretation of history.

The brief comparison of textbooks done in this study compared the portrayal of one event; the scope of this study did not allow us to discuss other comparisons between the textbooks (beyond content comparisons). Some questions that may be considered for the future

include: do textbooks still have a role in the Ontario classroom? If so, what is the role of textbooks now with the increased emphasis on Historical Thinking (particularly the concepts of using primary source evidence, taking historical perspectives and understanding the ethical dimension of historical interpretation)? How does the prevalence of technology affect the role of the textbook in the classroom?

Clearly, education is subject to changing ideas and events of the world; many changes in curriculum (and thus textbooks) are a response to changing global ideas and events. What does this mean for the textbooks that will be developed in the future?

Conclusions

The Red River Rebellion is a very important episode in Canadian history. It is also an event that has been interpreted and presented from a variety of different viewpoints. Through a careful analysis of various Ontario secondary school textbooks from the 1930s through to the present day, we have seen how the portrayal of this event to students has changed over the past century. In *Early Life in Upper Canada*, the rebellion is portrayed from a very white, Anglo-centric viewpoint, consistent with the inherently Whiggish and nationalistic modes of historical thought that dominated at that time period. Socio-cultural events throughout the century have served to problematize this interpretation of history, and call into question its relevance in the classroom. These social, political, and economic changes in Ontario, Canada, and the world are reflected in the evolution of Canadian history textbooks. As evidence by the portrayal of the Red River Rebellion, general changes in attitudes towards Canada's Aboriginal population made their way into the way that history is written for students. Textbooks written in the 1990s and 2000s, when compared to those from the 1930s, and even the 1970s, provide much more context surrounding the Red River Rebellion. They also ensure that both sides of the story are told. This reflects a shift towards the ideas of Historical Thinking, including an emphasis on the inclusion of multiple perspectives into the classroom.

This is an issue, which is still alive and relevant today. There is currently a case being deliberated by the Supreme Court of Canada on Métis land rights resulting from the Manitoba Act, the results of which may further impact how this period of history is presented in the classroom. This serves to highlight the importance of Historical Thinking principles in the education system. Multiple perspectives of socio-ethnic viewpoints and an understanding of the ethical dimensions of history are important to how we interpret events from the past and how we will continue to interpret these events today and in the future.

Appendix A: *Flashback Canada* comparison (1971 vs 2008)

Below is a brief side-by-side comparison between *Flashback Canada* published in 1971 and in 2008. Not all of the differences between the two textbooks are provided. However, a comparison of the significant events between the two textbooks, written by the same authors, reflect how the portrayal of the Red River Rebellion have changed based on the social, political and educational context of their respective eras.

	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (1971)	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (2008)
Portrayal of Louis Riel's confrontation with the surveyors on André Nault's Land (October 11, 1869)	"Riel placed his moccasined foot on the surveyor's chain and said in excellent English, 'You go no further.'" "That daring act of putting his foot on the surveyor's chain marked him as the champion of the Métis....The Red River uprising was about to begin." (p.158)	"With the other Métis, Riel places his foot on the surveyor's chain and says, 'You go no farther!'" "With that act, the Métis and the government of Canada would be come to a disagreement....The Red River uprising was about to begin." (p.82)

Analysis:

The explicit reference to Riel's "moccasined foot" and "excellent English" reflects the need to distinguish the Métis people as "Other", as judged by their footwear and their language capabilities. (We realize that the Métis mainly speak French but the need to describe his English as "excellent" reflects a certain element of surprise to Riel's supposedly unusual ability to speak the language.) In the 2008 edition, both of these adjectives/descriptions are taken out.

The consequence of Riel's act of placing his foot on the chain also changes. In the earlier edition, this is argued as the act that marked Riel as the champion of the Métis while in the later edition, Riel is not singled out as the only actor and this act is the beginning of the disagreements between the Métis and the Canadian government.

	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (1971)	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (2008)
Portrayal of Thomas Scott's execution	"It was now that Louis Riel made a very serious mistake. He lost his temper over Thomas Scott. Scott was in jail on the charge of taking up arms against Riel's government. Scott continued to stir up trouble by striking his guards, calling the Métis a	"When some members of the Canada Party took up arms against the provisional government, the Métis put them in jail. One of these prisoners was Thomas Scott, a 28-year-old labourer from Ontario. Scott threatened to kill Riel and insulted his

	pack of cowards, insulting their Roman Catholic religion, and threatening to murder Riel. In a fit of anger, the young and inexperienced Riel order Scott brought to trial...Within twenty-four hours, Thomas Scott was brought before a firing squad....It was a particularly brutal execution. Scott was led out to the wall of the prison. He was ordered to kneel down in the snow, and a white blindfold was wrapped over his eyes. His hands were tied behind his back. Rifle shots rang out. Scott was hit by three bullets, but none of them killed him. He lay there on the ground bleeding. Another Métis had to run up with a revolver and shoot him in the head.” (p. 161)	Métis guards until they lost patience with him. He was put on trial, found guilty of treason, and placed in front of a firing squad. It is still unclear whether the guards meant only to scare Scott or whether they meant to shoot him. Nevertheless, he was shot and killed.” (p. 93)
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Analysis:

There is a clear shift in who was to blame for the execution for Thomas Scott. In the earlier edition, it made explicit that it was Riel’s “mistake”. Furthermore, the description of Scott’s execution paints a fairly elaborate picture of the “brutality” of the Métis. On the other hand, in the 2008 publication of the textbook, the blame is not solely put on Riel. The impression regarding the decision to execute Scott was that it was a group decision. This is quite different than the explicit order that Riel supposedly gave “in a fit of anger” that is portrayed in the 1971 textbook. The intention of the guards to shoot Scott is no longer as certain in the latest edition of the textbook as the possibility that the guards had only meant to scare Scott is introduced. This revision of the historiography has huge implications on how the students now and in the future will see the Red River Rebellion and Riel’s role in it.
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	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (1971)	<i>Flashback Canada</i> (2008)
Portrayal of Louis Riel’s execution	“On a bright but cold day of 16 November 1885 the execution was carried out in the Regina jail. Riel was dressed in a black coat, a	“On November 16, 1885, Riel was led from his Regina jail cell and hanged.” (p. 151)

	woolen shirt, grey trousers and moccasins. Two priests, two guards and the deputy sheriff walked with him from his cell to the scaffold. Riel said, 'I thank God for having given me the strength to die well...I die at peace with God and man, and I thank all those who helped me in my misfortunes,' Riel showed no signs of weakness. During the Lord's Prayer the trap door opened. Riel was hanged." (p.257)	
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Analysis:

The difference in the length of the description of Riel's execution is interesting to note. Once again, there is an explicit reference to Riel's moccasins in the 1971 edition of the textbook. Riel's execution is put under the chapter that is titled "The Rebels on Trial" which reflects the viewpoint that the Red River Rebellion is a rebellion while the brief reference to Riel's execution in the 2008 edition was part of the chapter, "The Development of Western Canada" which encompasses a broad range of topics. As seen in the scans below, Cruikshank and Wilson have continued to assess the consequences of the 1885 event in a chart after Riel's execution. However, the language that they use has evidently changed to reflect not only the contemporary terms ("For the Indians" vs. "For First Nations People") but also the changed viewpoint on whether the event should be considered a rebellion or a resistance. These terms do ultimately affect students' perceptions of the level of blame that is put upon the Métis and the government respectively.

ⁱ Elie Podeh, "History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System: The Portrayal of the Arab-Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948-2000)," *History & Memory* 12:1 (2000), 66.

ⁱⁱ "Canada: A People's History," CBC Learning, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPCONTENTSE1EP9CH2PA2LE>.

ⁱⁱⁱ *ibid.*

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- ^{iv} “Canada: A People’s History,” CBC Learning, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPCONTENTSE1EP9CH2PA2LE>.
- ^v *ibid.*
- ^{vi} The Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives on Education in the Schools of Ontario, *Living and Learning*. (Toronto: Newton Publishing Company, 1968), 23.
- ^{vii} Derald Willows and Steward Richmond, *Canada: Colony to Centennial*, (Toronto: McGraw Hill Company of Canada Ltd, 1970), 185-6.
- ^{viii} Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario*, (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), ix.
- ^{ix} *ibid.*, 109.
- ^x Penney Clark, “Representations of Aboriginal People in English Canadian History Textbooks: Toward Reconciliation,” in *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*, edited by Elizabeth A. Cole (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 93.
- ^{xi} Viola Elizabeth Parvin, *Authorization of Textbooks for the Schools of Ontario, 1846-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 94.
- ^{xii} Penney Clark, “Representations of Aboriginal People in English Canadian History Textbooks: Toward Reconciliation,” in *Teaching the Violent Past: History Education and Reconciliation*, edited by Elizabeth A. Cole (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 99. (81-122)
- ^{xiii} Ken Montgomery, ‘Banal Race-thinking: Ties of blood, Canadian history textbooks and ethnic nationalism,’ *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education* 41:3 (2005), 315.
- ^{xiv} Penney Clark, “Introduction,” in *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, edited by Penney Clark (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011), 4 (1-30).
- ^{xv} Garnet McDiarmid and David Pratt, *Teaching Prejudice: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks Authorized for Use in Ontario*, (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1971), 105.
- ^{xvi} Ontario Ministry of Education, Ontario Curriculum: Canada and World Studies (Grades 11 and 12), (Toronto: revised 2005), available at: <http://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/curriculum/secondary/canworld1112curr.pdf>.
- ^{xvii} “A Timeline of Residential Schools, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” CBC News Online, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/05/16/f-timeline-residential-schools.html>.
- ^{xviii} “The Métis,” CBC News Online, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/aboriginals/metis.html>.
- ^{xix} “A Timeline of Residential Schools, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” CBC News Online, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2008/05/16/f-timeline-residential-schools.html>.
- ^{xx} *ibid.*
- ^{xxi} *ibid.*
- ^{xxii} The Ipperwash Inquiry was established by the Government of Ontario under the Public Inquiries Act, with the mandate to report on events surrounding the death of Dudley George. George was shot and killed in 1995 during a protest by First Nations representatives at Ipperwash Provincial Park. The Inquiry was mandated to make recommendations that would avoid similar violence in the future.
- ^{xxiii} “Committee Transcripts - Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs,” Legislative Assembly of Ontario, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, http://www.ontla.on.ca/web/committee-proceedings/committee_transcripts_details.do?Date=2012-08-28&ParlCommID=8956&BillID=&Business=Ministry+of+Aboriginal+Affairs&locale=en&DocumentID=26538.
- ^{xxiv} Edwin C Guillet, *Early Life in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Company, 1933), 721.
- ^{xxv} *ibid.*, 724.
- ^{xxvi} *ibid.*, 720.
- ^{xxvii} *ibid.*
- ^{xxviii} *ibid.*
- ^{xxix} *ibid.*, 724
- ^{xxx} *ibid.*, 721.
- ^{xxxi} *ibid.*, 730.
- ^{xxxii} “1951 - 1981: Aboriginal Rights Movement,” Canada in the Making, Accessed November 2nd, 2012, http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/themes/aboriginals/aboriginals12_e.html.

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- ^{xxxiii} Paul W. Bennett, Cornelius J. Jaenen, and Nick Brune, *Canada: A North American Nation*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995), 293.
- ^{xxxiv} J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson, *Flashback Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 155.
- ^{xxxv} *ibid.*
- ^{xxxvi} *ibid.*, 158.
- ^{xxxvii} *ibid.*, 159.
- ^{xxxviii} Paul W. Bennett, Cornelius J. Jaenen and Nick Brune, *Canada: A North American Nation*, 2nd ed, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995), 294.
- ^{xxxix} J. Bradley Cruxton and W. Douglas Wilson, *Flashback Canada*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994), 157.
- ^{xl} J. Bradley Cruxton et al., *Flashback Canada*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008), 87.
- ^{xli} Derald G. Willows and Stewart Richmond, *Canada: Colony to Centennial* (Toronto: McGraw Hill Company of Canada Limited), 185 - 219.
- ^{xlii} Bradley Cruxton et al., *Flashback Canada*, 5th ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2008), 155.