

CANADIAN ISSUES THÈMES CANADIENS

Fall / Automne 2012

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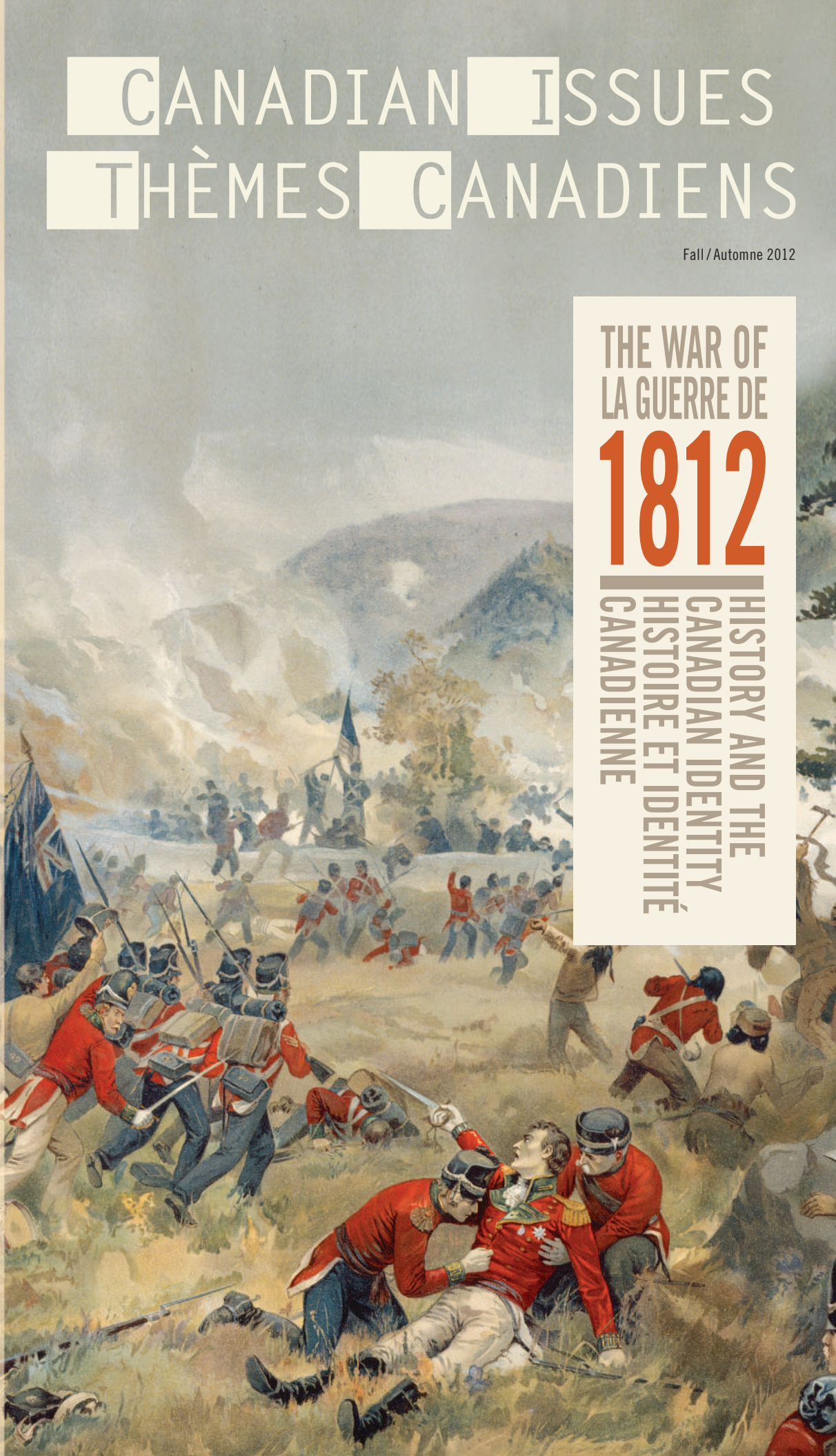
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Catherine Dib

GRAPHISME / DESIGN
Bang Marketing : 514 849-2264 • 1 888 942-BANG
info@bang-marketing.com

PUBLICITÉ / ADVERTISING
sarah.kooi@acs-aec.ca
514 925-3099

ADRESSE AEC / ACS ADDRESS
1822, rue Sherbrooke Ouest, Montréal (QC) H3H 1E4
514 925-3096 / general@acs-aec.ca



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PROPAGANDE ET MILICE AU QUÉBEC DURANT LA GUERRE DE 1812

Luc Lépine est un historien militaire. Il a un Ph.D. à l'Université de Québec à Montréal. Sa thèse porte sur la milice du district de Montréal, 1787-1829. a étudié deux ans au Royal Military College, Kingston. De 1998 à 2012, il a travaillé au Ministère de l'éducation du Québec. Il vient de terminer un livre, *Le Québec et la guerre de 1812*.

Luc Lépine is a military historian. He holds a Ph.D. from University du Québec à Montréal. His thesis focuses on the district of Montreal's militia, 1787-1829. He studied two years at the Royal Military College, Kingston. From 1998 to 2012, he worked at the Ministry of Education of Quebec. He recently completed a book, *Le Québec et la guerre de 1812*.

RÉSUMÉ

Durant la guerre de 1812, le Québec a été la cible d'une propagande inégalée précédemment. Le gouvernement britannique voulait d'une part que les Canadiens-français s'enrôlent dans la milice pour lutter contre les Américains. D'autre part, on voulait neutraliser toutes tentatives américaines de convaincre les francophones à appuyer les Américains. Cette propagande s'est manifestée dans trois sphères. La propagande gouvernementale venait clairement des autorités britanniques. La propagande ecclésiastique était livrée par le clergé suite à des demandes gouvernementales. Finalement la propagande des journaux appuyait le gouvernement en place.

ABSTRACT

During the War of 1812, the province of Quebec was the target of propaganda previously unmatched. On the one hand, the British government wanted French Canadians to enlist in the militia to fight against the Americans. On the other hand, it was hoped that this could neutralize any American attempts to convince Francophones to support the Americans. This propaganda manifested itself in three spheres. The official propaganda clearly came from British authorities. The church propaganda was delivered by the clergy at the request of the government. Finally, newspaper propaganda supported the government in place.

De 1812 à 1815, les miliciens canadiens-français sont soumis à un niveau de propagande qui restera inégalé jusqu'à la Première Guerre mondiale. Le gouvernement britannique qui dirige le Bas-Canada depuis un peu plus de 60 ans veut obtenir l'appui de la population francophone pour s'assurer une victoire contre les troupes américaines qui menacent d'envahir la province. Pour arriver à ses fins, il va utiliser tous les moyens mis à sa disposition en incluant la propagande religieuse et la voix des journaux.

Au printemps de 1812, le gouverneur du Bas-Canada, George Prevost, sent qu'une invasion américaine est imminente. Malheureusement, il ne dispose pour défendre le territoire que de 5600 soldats réguliers britanniques et Fencibles dont 1200 sont stationnés au Haut-Canada. La milice du Bas-Canada (aujourd'hui le Québec) compte sur papier 60000 hommes et celle du Haut-Canada (aujourd'hui l'Ontario) 11000 dont seulement 4000 peuvent être considérés comme loyaux à l'Angleterre. Les autres miliciens sont des Américains

arrivés depuis peu et dont la loyauté penche encore vers les États-Unis.

Durant la guerre, trois types de miliciens marquent le déroulement des opérations : les miliciens sédentaires, les miliciens volontaires des Voltigeurs Canadiens et les miliciens des Bataillons de la Milice d'élite et incorporée.

LA MILICE SEDENTAIRE

Tous les hommes de 16 à 50 ans font partie de la milice sédentaire ou milice locale. La loi de 1803 prévoit que les miliciens sédentaires doivent s'enrôler tous les ans au mois d'avril pour une fin de semaine afin de faire un relevé des effectifs, vérifier les armes et faire un peu de « Drill ». Ces fins de semaine d'entraînement se terminaient généralement à la taverne locale. Encadrée par des officiers locaux, cette milice constitue le réservoir dans lequel on puisera les miliciens qui combattront les Américains. En cas d'invasion, cette milice est supposée repousser les ennemis.

LES VOLTIGEURS CANADIENS

Les impératifs militaires forcent Prevost à recourir à la milice canadienne-française. Dès le 25 avril 1812, on commence le recrutement de volontaires pour le corps des Voltigeurs Canadiens dirigé par Charles-Michel de Salaberry, un major du 60^e Régiment, un natif du Québec. Ce bataillon est composé de volontaires et doit servir pour la durée de la guerre contre les États-Unis.

Les murs de Québec, Montréal et Trois-Rivières sont rapidement recouverts d'affiches. Celles-ci offrent 96 livres françaises à tous les miliciens qui voulant éviter la conscription sont prêts à joindre les rangs des Voltigeurs Canadiens. On rassure les miliciens : « vous ne devenez pas des soldats, mais vous restez miliciens et vous ne serez pas sujets à aucune des punitions auxquelles les Troupes sont assujetties ». On peut noter que le fouet a été aboli comme punition corporelle pour les miliciens.

On rajoute que le bataillon est réservé aux Canadiens de naissance et qu'aucun étranger n'y sera admis. De plus on insiste sur le fait que la prime est payée immédiatement et que le calcul de la solde débute dès l'enrôlement.

Le recrutement pour les Voltigeurs Canadiens va assez bien mais on plafonne rapidement à 300 recrues. Certaines rumeurs commencent à circuler sur la discipline de fer de Charles-Michel de Salaberry. On raconte que lors d'une émeute au camp de Chambly, il aurait fait « sauter la tête d'un milicien de dessus ses épaules ». Même si la rumeur s'avère fautive cela fait ralentir quelque peu le recrutement.

En décembre 1812, on recommence une autre campagne de recrutement pour les Voltigeurs. A ce moment, on offre une terre de 50 arpents à tous les miliciens qui joindraient le bataillon. Cette prime à l'enrôlement semble des plus alléchantes car en moins d'un mois 120 hommes sont accueillis dans le bataillon. Durant toute la guerre, plus de 900 miliciens vont joindre volontairement ce corps d'élite. Les miliciens francophones représentent 75 % des recrues. La moitié des officiers étaient également des francophones.

Durant la guerre, les Voltigeurs Canadiens ont pris part à une dizaine d'engagements militaires. La bataille de la rivière Châteauguay est certainement la plus connue. Salaberry et trois cent Voltigeurs Canadiens appuyés de 1200 soldats et miliciens sédentaires ont repoussé une force américaine de 2500 hommes.

Les journaux de l'époque s'empressent de publier un poème à leur gloire :

*« La Trompette a sonné. L'éclair luit, l'airain gronde :
Salaberry paraît : la valeur le seconde,
Et trois cent Canadiens qui marchent sur ses pas
Comme lui, d'un air gai, vont braver le trépas.
Huit mille Américains s'avancent d'un air sombre.
Oui ! Trois cents sur huit mille obtiennent la victoire.
Ce poème servira de base sur laquelle repose une
partie de la gloire des Voltigeurs Canadiens ».*

MILICE D'ELITE ET INCORPOREE

En plus de recruter des volontaires, le gouverneur George Prevost décide d'imposer la conscription afin de lever quatre bataillons de milice d'élite et incorporée. En mai 1812, on tire au sort les noms de 2000 miliciens célibataires de 18 à 30 ans. Chaque division de la milice sédentaire doit envoyer un nombre précis de conscrits, environ 20 % des célibataires de la division de milice. Ceux-ci sont enrôlés pour une période 90 jours. Dans le cas où la guerre avec les États-Unis se poursuit, ils peuvent rester sous les drapeaux pendant deux ans.

Les membres du clergé se sont associés à cette levée de miliciens. Il reçoivent ordre de l'évêque de « faire sentir au milicien que sa religion est en danger de se perdre par la présence d'ennemis sans principes et sans moeurs ».

Malgré la meilleure planification possible l'opération « conscription » connaît certains problèmes. Dans la région de Boucherville, on conscrit 138 miliciens qui doivent joindre leur bataillon à Montréal. Seulement 20 miliciens arriveront au camp. Les autres se sont « perdus » en forêt. Plusieurs miliciens refusent de s'enrôler et deviennent des réfractaires. Sur un objectif de 2000 hommes, le gouvernement ne réussit qu'à n'en conscrire 1200. Les miliciens qui se plient à l'obligation militaire ne sont pas très bien accueillis. Le Premier Bataillon de la Milice d'élite et incorporée ne compte qu'une grange et un champ pour loger 600 hommes. Le cuisinier du bataillon n'a pas de four pour faire cuire le pain. Les hommes reçoivent de la farine crue comme ration. Dans de telles conditions, il n'est pas surprenant que des jeunes hommes qui n'ont jamais quitté la maison paternelle soient découragés devant de telles conditions et quittent le camp illégalement.

Quelques déserteurs sont emprisonnés à Lachine. Près de 400 miliciens sédentaires de la région de Pointe-Claire décident d'aller libérer leur collègues qu'ils jugent injustement enfermés. Les miliciens sédentaires sont interceptés par des troupes régulières britanniques. Une escarmouche se déroule et un milicien tombe sous les balles britanniques. Les miliciens se sauvent rapidement. Cette intervention rapide et musclée du gouvernement ramène les miliciens à la raison et les 2000 conscrits sont rapidement recrutés.

Le clergé en profite pour inciter le peuple à se rappeler leurs ancêtres qui étaient « toujours prêts à voler au combat contre les ennemis de leur roi : tenant, comme les juifs, une main à la charrue qui les nourrit et l'autre à l'épée pour défendre le pays ». Le clergé rappelle que les miliciens ont à défendre leurs biens et leur liberté, à soutenir leur bonheur et à préserver l'honneur de leurs filles et de leurs épouses et à sauver l'honneur de leur religion. Les curés soutenaient que les miliciens qui ont la conscience pure n'ont pas à craindre la mort et que « le champ d'honneur où l'on périrait ne serait que l'escabeau qui ferait monter au trône éternel ».

En septembre 1812, la guerre se poursuit et les miliciens doivent servir pour une période de deux. On décide de faire une autre levée de miliciens pour créer dans la région de Montréal le Cinquième Bataillon de la milice d'élite et incorporée. Ce bataillon portera bientôt le surnom de Devil's Own ou Brigades des Diables parce que plusieurs des officiers étaient des avocats. En février 1813, on lève le Sixième Bataillon pour maintenir la garnison de la ville de Québec.

Le gouvernement va procéder à deux autres grandes conscriptions durant la guerre de 1812. En janvier 1813, 2108 miliciens sont conscrits et en janvier 1814, 1922 miliciens. Durant les 30 mois de guerre, 8430 miliciens sédentaires vont être appelés sous les drapeaux. 6493 miliciens vont effectivement rejoindre les rangs de leur bataillon actif. De ce nombre, 1321 miliciens vont à un moment ou un autre désertir ou s'absenter sans permission. Ce phénomène va entraîner les journaux dans une campagne de propagande pour encourager les miliciens à ne pas désertir.

Dans la Gazette de Montréal de juillet 1812, le capitaine Pierre Cheval adresse une lettre à son fils, un caporal dans le Troisième Bataillon de la Milice d'élite et incorporée. Il lui écrit : « Je te conjure, par la tendresse paternelle que je te porte, de ne pas me causer le chagrin d'apprendre que tu sois complice directement ou indirectement d'une désertion. Ton unique et essentiel esprit de parti et l'obéissance aux volontés du gouvernement. J'aime mieux apprendre que tu restes seul avec tes officiers que de te voir arriver en déserteur ». Pierre Cheval déclare que si son fils désertait, il le livrerait personnellement aux autorités militaires.

En septembre 1812, c'est Marie Amable Normandin Maillet qui fait publier une lettre à son fils Joseph : « Je pense que tu n'auras pas la bassesse de désertir ou de t'opposer à la loi et aux autres autorités qui t'obligent à rester sans murmurer. Je t'avertis de ne pas mettre les pieds à la maison afin que je n'aie pas la douleur de voir devant moi un enfant rebelle aux ordres de sa mère et à ceux de son Roi ».

C'est dans le journal *Le Spectateur* de janvier 1813 que l'on apprend les malheurs d'un soldat déserteur. Celui-ci n'aimant pas la vie militaire se cache jusqu'à ce que son bataillon quitte la ville. Il ne tarde pas à se présenter devant sa fiancée qui le reçoit avec froideur. Après avoir été expulsé par le père de sa fiancée, il revient de nouveau devant sa dulcinée qui lui déclare : « Va, retire-toi : je ne veux jamais avoir d'enfants coupables de deux péchés originels. Nous sommes bien certains de la rémission par le baptême du premier : mais je questionne si l'empreinte du dernier n'est pas ineffaçable. Enfin, va-t-en plus loin, car je ne veux pas être une femme ni mère de lâches. Ainsi, porte ta fortune brillante ailleurs et je continuerai mon métier en lavant ma lessive ».

Malgré quelques problèmes de parcours, l'utilisation de la milice du Bas-Canada s'est soldée par un succès retentissant. La province a su repousser l'envahisseur. Comme nous avons pu le montrer, la participation des Canadiens-français a dû être encouragée par une propagande de tout instant. Le clergé, le gouvernement et les journaux n'ont pas laissé les miliciens oublier leur mission « La défense de la Patrie ».

REMEMBERING THE WAR OF 1812: GENDER AND LOCAL HISTORY IN NIAGARA

Cecilia Morgan is a Professor in the Department of Curriculum, Teaching, and Learning, University of Toronto. Her publications include *Heroines and History: Representation of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (with Colin M. Coates, University of Toronto Press, 2002) and *'A Happy Holiday': English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (UTP, 2008). Her forthcoming books are *Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory, and Commemoration in Southern Ontario, 1860-1980* and *Crafting Canada's Histories, 1750-2000* (both UTP). She is currently writing a book on the travels of Aboriginal and Métis men, women, and children from British North America to Britain and beyond, 1800-1914.

Cecilia Morgan est professeure au Département du curriculum, d'enseignement et d'apprentissage de l'Université de Toronto. Ses publications incluent *Heroines and History: Representation of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (avec Colin M. Coates, University of Toronto Press, 2002) et *'A Happy Holiday': English-Canadians and Transatlantic Tourism, 1870-1930* (UTP, 2008). Ses livres à venir sont : *Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory, and Commemoration in Southern Ontario, 1860-1980* et *Crafting Canada's Histories, 1750-2000* (les deux chez UTP). Elle écrit actuellement un livre sur les voyages des hommes, femmes et enfants autochtones et Métis, partant de l'Amérique du Nord britannique jusqu'en Grande-Bretagne et ailleurs, 1800-1914.

ABSTRACT

One of the most notable effects the War of 1812 in Ontario was the perpetuation of its memory and history. In particular, Niagara-on-the-Lake teacher and historian Janet Carnochan, in both the Niagara Historical Museum and her 1914 *History of Niagara*, examined the local effects of the war, and in particular, its effect on women in the town. While Carnochan was not alone in such efforts, her work is notable in that she saw the War as both an affirmation of Upper Canadian's loyalty to Britain *and* as an event that had disastrous, often tragic, consequences for local residents.

RÉSUMÉ

L'un des effets les plus notables de la Guerre de 1812 en Ontario a été la perpétuation de sa mémoire et de son histoire. En particulier, l'enseignante et historienne de Niagara-on-the-Lake, Janet Carnochan, à la fois au Niagara Historical Museum et dans son histoire de Niagara en 1914, a examiné les effets locaux de la guerre, et en particulier son effet sur les femmes dans la ville. Bien que Carnochan n'ait pas été la seule dans ces efforts, son travail est remarquable en ce qu'elle a vu la guerre comme étant à la fois une affirmation de loyauté du Haut-Canada pour la Grande-Bretagne mais aussi un événement qui a eu des conséquences désastreuses, souvent tragiques, pour les résidents locaux.

Perhaps one of the more significant effects of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada was its legacy to colonial culture and the role it played in Ontario residents' conceptions of themselves over the course of the nineteenth century. For much of the nineteenth century, in the Niagara region the War's public memory focused on the achievements of men and the military. As well as tourists' visits to the area's battlefields, tributes to Major-General Isaac Brock were composed both during the War and afterwards: in poetry recited at school examinations, at services at the twice-built Queenston monument and other events that commemorated the battle of Queenston Heights.¹

In the late Victorian period, though, public commemorations of the War began to encompass its effects on women. Memorializing women's wartime contributions and suffering involved a number of individuals and groups: British-born journalist, playwright and suffrage advocate Sarah Curzon; St Catharines suffragist and historian Emma Currie; Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon; and organizations such as the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto and the St. Catharines Women's Literary Society.² However, the work of Niagara-area teacher and historian Janet Carnochan was particularly memorable: her collecting

and writing of local history suggested the various ways in which the War affected the domestic realm and, especially, women's lives.

Born in 1839 in Stamford, Carnochan was the second daughter of James Carnochan, a cabinetmaker and carpenter, and Mary Milroy, Scottish immigrants who had arrived in Stamford from Ayrshire around 1830. In 1841 the family moved to Niagara-on-the-Lake; with her four siblings, Carnochan spent her childhood and adolescence in the village. In 1857 Carnochan became a teacher, first in her home town and then in Brantford, Kingston, and Peterborough. She returned home in 1872, teaching in the town's schools until her retirement in December 1900.

Carnochan's 'informal' educational work as a local and regional historian, historical preservationist, and museum director has left its mark on the historical record. She began making forays into historical writing in the 1890s with her histories of Niagara's Anglican and Presbyterian churches. In 1895 Carnochan became the president of the newly revived Niagara Historical Society (NHS), in which she was a leading figure until 1925, serving as president, corresponding secretary, and editor of its reports and publications. She became curator of the society's collections in 1901, spearheaded the NHS drive for the 1907 construction of Memorial Hall, the first building erected as a museum in Ontario, and in 1914 Carnochan published *History of Niagara*. Not content with directing the museum and writing her histories, Carnochan also worked to preserve historical landmarks in Niagara, such as Butler's Burying Ground, Forts George and Mississauga, and the military reserve, or Commons.

Like her contemporaries who were involved in the province's historical societies, Carnochan supported both Canadian nationalism and the British empire. Yet while Carnochan shared their belief in history's power to inform the present with political, social, and above all-moral examples, she differed from her fellow-historians in a variety of ways. For one, unlike those whose enthusiasm for the imperial tie was part of a conservative political outlook, Carnochan's was a liberal imperialism: support for Britain meant support for a history of abolitionism, religious toleration, and reform movements. As well, while Curzon and Currie openly championed woman's suffrage, their writing of white women into history an overtly political act, Carnochan was far more circumspect about the need for enfranchisement, although she also believed that women's experiences must be included in historical narratives.³

Carnochan and her colleagues in Niagara had been collecting a range of objects throughout the 1890s that included portraits of early settlers, United Empire Loyalists, military heroes, or those who 'either as men or women in any way helped to make our town and country'. At its opening, the museum housed a plethora

of such items. However, if there was one event which can be said to have stood out in the Museum's collection, it was the War of 1812, represented by military flags, relics of General Brock (including his never-worn hat, which is still displayed in the museum's permanent exhibit), sashes, powder horns, spurs, coats, jackets, tunics, uniform buttons, weaponry, and commissions of Niagara residents, as well as engravings and sketches of individuals, events, and places associated with the War. These artefacts spoke of men's historical actions and agency, as it was men who took the commissions, wore the uniforms, fired the guns, and received the commendations. To be sure, the exhibit cases could not tell their viewers who made items such as clothing, sashes, and flags: some of these might have been the result of women's work. Furthermore, Carnochan and her colleagues were committed to collecting items associated with Niagara's most famous heroine of the War, Laura Secord. Dispersed throughout the exhibits were multiple reminders of Secord, ones that encompassed engravings, sketches, and letters to spoons, a sugar bowl cover, and a large hamper.

As the reports and transactions of other historical societies held at Memorial Hall demonstrated, Carnochan was well aware of being part of a movement that spread far beyond southern Ontario. Yet she also was motivated by concerns shaped by both national and local contexts. For all of her support for Britain and Canada's tie to empire, Carnochan thought of her work as an important corrective to the notion that Canada lacked a history. Moreover, Carnochan was driven to show that the depredations of the War had not depleted the area of its historical artefacts.

Object teaching through the museum's display cases, while important to Carnochan (and to many of her contemporaries), was far from being the only way to illustrate, embrace, and elucidate; discussions of objects, documents, and memories could be woven together in a written narrative. If not quite the culmination of Carnochan's historical work, since she continued to be active for twelve years after its publication, her *History of Niagara* certainly marked a very high point in her career (and to date it still is the most comprehensive and best-known history of the town). Organized both chronologically and thematically, the book's forty-four chapters begins with a general overview of the peninsula and a discussion of its Neutral, Mississauga, and Seneca inhabitants. It then plunges the reader into highly detailed discussions of the multiple facets of the town's history. No quiet backwater, it had been-and continued to be-a pleasant, yet lively centre that attracted various kinds of celebrities and well-known figures, both from Canada and abroad, a roll-call that included writers, explorers, political figures, reform activists, and royalty. 'Almost every important event in the history of Ontario at least is brought up by the name of a visitor at Niagara,' Carnochan proudly affirmed.

Yet the *History's* tone was not quite as triumphalist or confident as this quote might suggest. Not only had Niagara experienced serious economic blows in mid-century, it suffered an even more painful fate in 1813, when American troops first occupied and then set alight much of the town. Although Carnochan showed little interest in the minutiae of battles, she devoted Chapter Eight to the 'American Occupation May-December 1813,' first describing the battle at Crook's Farm won by the invading army, one that left a log house on the Crook property 'swimming with blood'. Those left were mostly women and children, 'as the men were nearly all away, either as prisoners or fighting in the defence of their country'. This was 'the most difficult period to give' in the town's past, since the only available sources were 'a few items gathered from conversations with descendants of those then living in the town, and a very few letters and documents'. These surviving documents and 'conversations' (we might call them recounted oral histories), depicted the capture and burning of the town as a brutal assault on the domestic realm. During the May bombardment 'people retreated to their cellars, some hung blankets over their windows, some took refuge after the burning in caves dug in the side of a hill'. As the town burned in December, Mrs. William Dickson was carried from her sickbed to watch the destruction of her home, with its 'fine library valued at £600' and Mrs. McKee's small daughter experienced frostbite (her mother had placed her on a tea-tray to try to save her from standing in the snow while their home burnt). An even worse fate awaited Mrs. Campbell, an officer's widow, and her three young children; they were not allowed to save warm clothing, saw their few valuables confiscated, and were 'exposed to the elements for three days'. Having carried her infant four miles to have it baptized, Mrs. Campbell then 'had to dig its grave and cover its remains'.

When the British returned to surround the town, the American occupation turned into a siege. 'Numerous engagements took place, one in Ball's field, the ladies looking on from the windows' and one such 'engagement' saw Mrs. Lawe entering the 'field of battle' to remove her thirteen-year-old son who had volunteered for the fight. And it was not just the townsfolk who suffered. Heavy spring rains, summer heat waves, and cold fall downpours left the American troops miserable and suffering from serious illnesses: typhoid, dysentery, and diarrhea. Furthermore, while American troops inflicted the worst damage, nearby farmers saw their crops and livestock depleted by hungry British troops. Even after the Americans had withdrawn the town was still threatened, which led to the destruction of chimneys, walls, and orchards so that an invading force would be deprived of cover.

Yet women are decidedly much more than victims. Even during the terrible events of 1813, they are canny and seize opportunities that come their way. When in 1813 Mrs. Cassady found her house occupied by American soldiers, who moved in and found her freshly baked bread on the table, she was able to strike a deal with them that allowed her to return home, bake bread for them from flour they supplied, and keep any additional loaves for herself. 'This she did all summer,' Carnochan noted approvingly, 'a proof, no doubt, that Mrs. Cassady made good bread'. Sometimes they are heroines: Laura Secord, for example.

Burning homes and turning women, children, and babies into the snow was bad enough; however, the consequence of the war went beyond the events of 1813. The burning of the town in many ways haunts *History of Niagara*: it is something that Carnochan returns to repeatedly. For one, the loss of the town's records resulted in a discontinuity in its history, one that Carnochan calls to her reader's attention in a number of places, a rupture and resulting scarcity of historical sources in what is elsewhere a narrative of plenitude. St. Andrew's church, for example, lost its records of 1812 to 1816, as the building was destroyed by the troops (as Carnochan's own church this was probably a loss she felt keenly). It was difficult, she told her readers, to write a history of Niagara's early schools, since their records also were burned in 1813; instead, she relied on a pastiche of newspapers, letters, account books, materials from the national archives, and 'tales of the oldest inhabitants'. However, despite the success of her reconstruction, Carnochan refused to let the loss be forgotten. On the next page she turned to the wartime closing of the schools, the town's endangerment and its occupation, and the scenario of 1814: 'pupils scattered in all directions, and a heap of ruins representing the homes from which had gone forth the children the schools referred to, the records lost'. The town's built history also, of course, suffered losses. In the book's discussion of early buildings and early merchants, Carnochan pointed to the 1813 burning as the reason for the absence of late eighteenth-century architecture from much of the street scape.

Carnochan's work did not go unacknowledged during her lifetime. She became a public figure in the years leading up to World War One: her name appears in the National Council of Women of Canada's 1900 *Women of Canada*, compiled for the Paris International Exhibition, and she was interviewed in newspapers and periodicals such as the *Canadian Magazine*, *Toronto Daily News*, *Toronto Star Weekly*, and *Toronto Sunday World*. In 1914 a Toronto-based teachers' chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was named after her. In 1921 the NHS unveiled an oil portrait of Carnochan which, along with a sonnet and letters from across Canada and the United States, was presented to her in a public ceremony.

When Carnochan died in 1926 she was memorialized in both the Niagara-area and Toronto press as a Canadian 'historical figure,' a 'rare patriot,' 'Niagara's foremost woman' and its 'first citizen'. After her death Carnochan became a subject of commemoration herself in the Niagara area. The town's high school founded a scholarship in her name, local newspapers periodically ran tributes to her, the Niagara-on-the-Lake library named its local history room after her, books were written that celebrated her life and work, a local nursery bred a rose in her memory, and June 4 has been designated Janet Carnochan day in Niagara-on-the-Lake (an event which includes free admission to the museum).⁴

As I have argued elsewhere, late Victorian and Edwardian commemorations of the War of 1812 helped create narratives of national and imperial service that were pressed into service themselves as a crucial element of English-Canadian nationalism.⁵ Equally importantly, though, in the work of Janet Carnochan, perpetuating the War's memory and history helped ensure that its local and gendered meanings and effects were not forgotten in the midst of more celebratory commemorations. Burning homes, dead children, and the rupture in a community's history were as much a part of the War's legacy as the perpetuation of the imperial tie and the creation of English-Canadian identity.

NOTES

- ¹ Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790-1914* University of Toronto Press, 1995: 51-52; George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994, esp. Chs. 7-9.
- ² Beverly Boutilier, 'Women's Rights and Duties: Sarah Anne Curzon and the Politics of Canadian History,' in Beverly Boutilier and Alison Prentice, eds., *Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian Women and the Work of History* University of British Columbia Press, 1997: 25-50; Cecilia Morgan, 'History, Nation, Empire: Gender and the Work of Southern Ontario Historical Societies, 1890-1920s,' *Canadian Historical Review* 82(3) (September 2001): 491-528.
- ³ Cecilia Morgan, 'Janet Carnochan,' *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XV* University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- ⁴ For a longer discussion of Carnochan's work, see Cecilia Morgan, 'Books and Mortar: Janet Carnochan's Historical Town,' in Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory, and Commemoration in Southern Ontario, 1860-1980*. Forthcoming, University of Toronto Press.
- ⁵ Morgan, 'History, Nation, Empire'.

THE BATTLES AT PLATTSBURGH: SEPTEMBER 11, 1814

Keith Herkalo is the City Clerk of Plattsburgh, NY and a founding member and current president of the Battle of Plattsburgh Association which operates the War of 1812 Museum in Plattsburgh. He is an amateur historian whose research has been the catalyst behind the archaeological re-discovery and preservation of the 1812 camp site known as “Pike’s Cantonment”. Mr. Herkalo is the author of “The Battles at Plattsburgh: September 11, 1814” (History Press, 2012), editor of the early 1800’s “Journal of H.K. Averill” (Battle of Plattsburgh Assoc. 2001), has contributed numerous articles in regional publications, and has been a frequent speaker in historically-related venues for many years.

Keith Herkalo est le greffier de la Ville de Plattsburgh, NY et un membre fondateur et actuel président de la Battle of Plattsburgh Association qui gère le Musée de la Guerre de 1812 à Plattsburgh. Il est un historien amateur dont la recherche a été le catalyseur de la redécouverte archéologique et de la préservation d’un site de 1812 connu sous le nom de « Pike’s Cantonment ». M. Herkalo est l’éditeur de *The Battles at Plattsburgh: September 11, 1814* (History Press, 2012), l’éditeur d’un journal du début des années 1800, le *Journal of H.K. Averill* (Battle of Plattsburgh Assoc. 2001), a contribué de nombreux articles dans des publications régionales, et a donné de nombreuses conférences liées à l’histoire depuis de nombreuses années.

ABSTRACT

The British government’s plan to end the conflict in the Americas was first expressed in 1812 but not acted upon before the defeat of Napoleon. The effects of the 1814 Plattsburgh campaign weighed heavily in the negotiations at Ghent. The ensuing 200-year friendship between Canada, Britain, and the United States is the lasting result of the War of 1812.

RÉSUMÉ

Le plan du gouvernement britannique visant à mettre fin au conflit dans les Amériques a été exprimé en 1812, mais on ne lui a pas donné suite avant la défaite de Napoléon. Les effets de la campagne de Plattsburgh en 1814 a pesé lourd dans les négociations à Gand. Les 200 ans d’amitié qui ont suivi entre le Canada, la Grande-Bretagne et les États-Unis est le résultat durable de la guerre de 1812.

The summer 1814 attacks on Washington and Baltimore by a British force of approximately 4,500 and the fateful 1815 attack on New Orleans are widely known to have been diversions executed at the Prince Regent’s direction. The well documented June 1814 “secret order” from Bathurst, Britain’s Secretary of War (made public shortly after the Treaty at Ghent) is one of four key documents which expose British planning for the end of the war. Plattsburgh and Lake Champlain, the focus of the British plan, was to see the war’s largest concentration of British troops. Just across the border north of Plattsburgh some 14,000 British troops were gathered for the invasion of the United States. A feint at Sackets Harbor, attacks upon the eastern coastal villages, the “invasion” of Baltimore, and an attack on New Orleans were diversions meant to draw American attention away from the Lake Champlain

region and the occupation of Plattsburgh, the single most strategically crafted event of the British War plan. Often overlooked by scholars, Bathurst’s plan, the gist of which was first proposed in late 1812 by Sir John Borlase Warren, Commander in Chief of the North American Station in letters to Viscount Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty, is to me, one of the most interesting aspects of the war.

Through the summer and the fall of the year 1811, tensions between the United States and Britain raised calls for war from the Congress of Madison’s government. The disruption of trade, the capture of American ships, and the impressments of U.S. seamen stirred angry sentiments. The British army had massed troops in Portugal and surrounded *Ciudad Rodrigo*, trapping the French troops within it, and stranded U.S. goods in the markets of Lisbon.

There was virtually no standing army or navy to defend the U.S., let alone take any offensive actions. A looming unrest fermented along the northern U.S. border. The growing U.S. population pushed north and west into the territorial home and hunting lands controlled by the tribal chiefs Tecumseh and Pontiac. Tecumseh sought Britain's aid in securing his people's territory against the encroaching U.S. population. The new Governor-General Prevost instructed Major-General Sir Isaac Brock to "... find a clear but delicate way of letting the Indians know that in case of war, we expect aid of 'our brothers'".

The alliance between the Native Americans and the British fanned the flames of Congressional furies. In November, Madison informed Congress on the state of affairs in Europe, the presence of British war ships "hovering on our coasts", and the need to increase the security of the country by expanding the country's military force.

A State of War was declared on June 18, 1812. Through the summer and fall of 1812 increasing military activity took place in the Niagara area. In the following two years, with the exception of two misguided and failed "invasions" of Canada from Plattsburgh under Generals Hampton and Wilkinson, and a British raid on an undefended Plattsburgh, military actions in the Plattsburgh area could be termed minimal and defensive.

In the first six months of 1814 the Plattsburgh community was alarmed by news of increasing British actions to the north and the movement of large numbers of military vessels, equipment, and stores to Plattsburgh. American General Wilkinson led still another failed "invasion" into Canada at LaColle Mill. The American naval force was building at Vergennes, Vermont; the British, at Isle aux Noix.

Bonaparte was defeated and Britain began the withdrawal of her troops from the Portuguese Peninsula. The situation in the Americas, heretofore only a distraction, could now be dealt with. In April, British newspapers reported that part of Lord Wellington's army was "already under orders for America" and told of the movement of elements of Wellington's army to America. The Corbett Register proclaimed,

"... The Americans have no experienced officers. They have no discipline. They will, too, I dare say, think, that because they beat England in the last war, they can do it again... They will, if our troops really should land in their country, have to contend with those who have defeated French armies, with skill of all sorts; experience in the men as well as the officers; with courage, discipline, and the habit of victory. All these will require something more than the Americans have yet thought of..."

On the 20th of May, Bathurst issued "secret" orders to General Robert Ross to create a "... diversion on the Coast of the United States of America in favour of the Army employed in the defence of Upper & Lower Canada"

On June 3rd Bathurst wrote in "secret" to Prevost informing him that thousands of troops and supplies would shortly arrive in Canada. Writing separately to General John Coape Sherbrooke, Bathurst ordered troops from Halifax to mount an attack "to occupy the part of Maine which at present intercepts the Communications between Halifax and Quebec".

Prevost was to use the largest British force to assemble on the American continent during the war to secure the route through the St. Lawrence and invade the United States, gaining control of Lake Champlain. "These operations will not fail to effect a powerful diversion in your favor", Bathurst wrote to Prevost. The first objective was to provide immediate protection through the "... entire destruction of Sackets Harbor and the Naval Establishments on Lake Erie and Lake Champlain... Should there be any advanced position on that part of our frontier which extends towards Lake Champlain, the occupation of which would materially tend to the security of the Province, you will if you deem it expedient expel the Enemy from it, and occupy it by detachments of the Troops under your command, always however taking care not to expose His Majesty's Forces to being cut off by too extended a line of advance". Drawing the American army toward Kingston would place an ill-defended Plattsburgh within Prevost's grasp.

The British Navy attacked the Chesapeake as Prevost ordered Major-General James Kempt's Brigade to move westward to Kingston for the diversionary attack on Sackett's Harbor. The threats initiated, the stage was set. The 11,000-man army remaining at Montreal included a large percentage of Britain's seasoned troops. U.S. Secretary of War Armstrong reacted to the Sackett's Harbor threat by ordering that General Izard at Plattsburgh move his army and provisions west to counter the British action.

In late August, Izard turned command of Plattsburgh to Alexander Macomb leaving "... two incomplete companies of artillery, all the sick, [...] a working party [pioneers] of between three and four hundred men [...] and any detachments of infantry..." which Macomb could raise. Macomb requested that local militia General Mooers call out the New York volunteers, and request militia assistance from the State of Vermont and such citizens who would remain to help with the forts.

With the British plan to attack or effect a siege of Sackets Harbor; and their army poised to enter and burn Washington—Bathurst's plan had been implemented. The British government waited only for the news that the diversions had been effective in convincing the United States' War Department to draw strength away from

Plattsburgh without reinforcement. Plattsburgh and Lake Champlain would become their prize, a strategic bargaining point strengthening their position in negotiations at Ghent.

“Our whole force does not exceed 1500 effectives [...] My troops are the remnant of Gen. Izard’s Army, invalids and convalescents, except about 600 men”, Macomb wrote to his father.

The American naval commander, Thomas Macdonough, noted the naval situation as near parity in metal but there was not a full complement of sailors or officers existing in either lake navy. Macdonough’s vessels would be fully fitted and exercising at the end of the month while the British flagship *Confiance* was still under construction.

The first British brigade crossed the border and encamped at Champlain on the 1st of September. Macdonough gathered his fleet within Cumberland Bay adjacent to the village of Plattsburgh. Macomb cobbled together the available American land force, ordered 250 infantry to board Macdonough’s ships as acting marines (and allowing 50 prisoners to be selected for fleet duty), and made assignments for the rising defenses of the village south of the Saranac River: Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott. The block house north of the fortifications would be defended by “convalescents”; the blockhouse at the mouth of the Saranac River by a detachment of artillery. By the 4th, British General Robinson’s army had moved south to Chazy leaving the 70-man 39th Light Company as he marched farther into the American countryside.

Plattsburgh’s reporting militia forces amounted to only 700. Vermont volunteers were streaming into the encampments south of the forts; some 2,500 would eventually cross Lake Champlain to Plattsburgh.

Macomb deployed an “advance guard” north and west of the village and a number of untested NY militia to the road from Beekmantown.

On the 6th at daybreak and as expected General Power’s brigade, half of General Robinson’s brigade, part of Gen. Brisbane’s brigade, and four light companies took the inland road toward Beekmantown. The remainder of the force under Robinson’s command, including the remainder of General Brisbane’s brigade proceeded through the Cedar Swamps near the lake.

After minor skirmishes, the right column entered Plattsburgh by late morning; the left column with the artillery arrived late in the afternoon, briefly challenged by American gunboats along the northern end of Cumberland Bay. General Prevost would wait for the British Navy before commencing an offensive action.

The largest British invasion force to exist on the American continent during the war was preparing to move as the U.S. Secretary of War resigned his office. From the 6th to the 11th, Macomb continued building his defenses.

British Navy Capt. Downie’s fleet wore into Cumberland Bay at approximately 8:30 am on September 11th.

General Brisbane commenced a diversionary action within the village at 10:00 am as the main force under Generals Robinson and Power proceeded west and then south, fording the Saranac River at Pike’s Cantonment (a former U.S. winter encampment site) to gain the American left flank and the rear of Macomb’s unfinished fortifications.

Macdonough’s fleet was at anchor and in a line slightly out of range of the British batteries. Downie had only two means of entering the Bay: south around Crab Island, wearing north between the island and the mainland shore, leaving him little maneuvering room between the shore and the island and dangerously close to the guns of Fort Scott; or straight into the bay, avoiding the rocky underwater topography of Cumberland Head and Crab Island, directly into range of Macdonough’s waiting broadsides. In choosing the latter, Downie would play into Macdonough’s plan. The deck guns of both fleets would soon spew forth their iron loads in a thunderous two and a half hours of smoke-filled horror.

As he entered the bay, the steady north breeze which had filled Downie’s sails on the open lake, was now a confounding mix of eddies inside the bay. The north/south current within the bay runs counter to the lake’s south/north current. The combination of the unexpected wind pattern and contra-current frustrated Downie’s ability to maneuver to anchor. The British fleet, with their complement of 30 long 24-pounders could have stood off in the deeper waters of the broad lake outside the bay and beyond the effective range of all but Macdonough’s 14 long 24’s.

Almost immediately, the effect of Downie’s decision for close action was apparent. The British fleet was completely within range of Macdonough’s twenty-nine 32-pound carronades (British: 13) and six 42-pound carronades (British: 0). Within minutes, *Confiance*’s sheet anchor was shot away, and the spare anchor cable and best bower spring line were severed. Downie, his ship finally anchored, directed the first broadsides from the *Confiance* but was killed within fifteen minutes.

The fleets’ released broadside after broadside; none of the eight ships sank. The British fleet, badly damaged, was unable to maneuver as Macdonough wound his ship and the American ship *Eagle* re-anchored presenting two full broadsides with devastating effect. With the disastrous end in sight, the British struck their flags. The thundering exchange on the lake turned silent, the wafting smoke of the *Saratoga*’s last broadside and the cries of the wounded remained.

On land, with the exception of the right battery within range of the guns from Fort Moreau, the British artillery

and rocket batteries were mostly undamaged throughout the day. Robinson's column found itself lost in a labyrinth of logging roads as they moved south. Speaking of Prevost's leadership Robinson later wrote, "It appears to me that the army moved against Plattsburg without any regularly digested plan".

At the expected ford point on the Saranac, Macomb's militia forces worked at night, from the 6th to the 11th, disguising roadways leading east to the American forts and opening a roadway south to militia General Mooers' headquarters at Salmon River Settlement. Macomb ordered two six pound cannon there.

The New York militia would occupy the western side of the roadway, engaging the British from the woods, strategically retreating toward the Settlement. The Vermont militia on the eastern side of the roadway was not to fire until they heard the American cannons from the Settlement. Macomb's anticipation of the British flanking route was prescient; preparations for their reception had paid off.

The militia forces of New York and Vermont performed as Macomb instructed: leading the British column south to the Salmon River Settlement, over one and one half miles due south of the ford at the Pike's Cantonment, and a mile west of the lake.

The British force had been successfully drawn south away from the American forts into a pocket of small arms fire from a mostly unseen force, of unknown size on both flanks, and into the path of American cannon muzzle. The invading column, formed in the open on the roadway, was the target for those hidden behind the rocks and trees. Prevost, from his vantage point on the northern side of the river watched for Robinson's column to come from the west – he waited [...] and waited.

With the lake suddenly silent, Prevost could hear the far-off small arms and cannon reports from an area he knew to be too far south and west of where Robinson and Power should have been. The rising smoke would provide the realization that the column was engaged and nowhere near the American fortifications.

The situation must have heightened Prevost's sense of alarm: Why are they to the west? What's happening? Are they surrounded? Bathurst had cautioned against risking the land force; Prevost issued a recall and retreat. Prevost reported to Bathurst of being deprived "... of the cooperation of the fleet without which the further Prosecution of the Service was become impracticable [...] the most complete success would have been unavailing, and the possession of the Enemy's Works offered no advantage to compensate for the loss we must have sustained in acquiring possession of them".

Christie spoke of the American foe as having "numerous reinforcements which momentarily crowded in", giving to Macomb "a great disposable force, whose superiority in numbers was such that a delay of a few hours might have placed the British in a critical situation". Stanley notes that Prevost, believing that the fate of his assault was most affected by the defeat of the navy, missed, completely, the fact that there were so few casualties in the land skirmishes. Where was the great and superior force south of the Saranac River? Pierre Berton referred to Macomb as a believer of military deception. Had Macomb grown his numbers in the eyes of the British commanders with the aid of smoke and mirrors?

Throughout the rainy night the British army worked to disassemble their batteries. The lack of sufficient wagons and carts and the poor condition of the crude roadways frustrated their efforts. Those stores and ordnance which could be destroyed or dumped without consequence were disposed of. In the light of the assumed British victory and apparent winter occupation plans, the baggage, stores, munitions, and ordnance buildup from the 6th to the 11th was so significant that the means for immediate withdrawal did not exist; indeed, it was not planned for.

Bathurst understood the strategic importance of Plattsburgh and Lake Champlain.

Theodore Roosevelt and Winston Churchill acknowledged the significance of the events at Plattsburgh as hastening the peace negotiations at Ghent, the treaty being signed Christmas eve, 1814.

What have we learned?

"Status quo ante bellum": back to the way it was? [...] for national borders, maybe.

Some refer to a "second war of independence", with the United States finally establishing a capable army and navy.

The British luster, somewhat tarnished, survived, and Britain shared a new position on the world economic and military stage.

Canada is said to have gained a sense of identity: a unification of Canadian pride evidenced in heroic figures; e.g., Sir Isaac Brock and Laura Secord, etc.

Uninterrupted trade is of major importance to any nation.

Ultimately, Native American and First Nation's peoples, seemingly abandoned by both combatant nations, emerged the most negatively affected.

THE WAR OF 1812: WHO WON THE WAR? THE DEBATE CONTINUES

Donald Cuccioletta is an historian and lecturer at the University of Quebec in the Outaouais: Director of Research at the Raoul-Dandurand Chair in Strategic and Diplomatic Studies-UQAM: Associate member of the Canadian Studies Association: media analyst-written and electronic- on American Politics, Canada and United States Relations and International Relations.

ABSTRACT

Within the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812, there is always one question that is asked: Who won the war? While this debate, which still goes on till this day, remains foremost in the minds of Canadians and Americans, who are aware of this war, real questions regarding the impact on the future of both countries seems to be left aside. This article therefore humbly tries to confront these historical questions.

The celebrations in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812 are well underway in Canada¹. In the United States except for one documentary shown on the PBS (Public Broadcasting System)² stations out of Burlington Vermont and Plattsburgh New York, which depicts a general understanding of the war, and an annual reenactment of the Battle of Plattsburgh (1814) organized by the local association of public historians. Therefore it becomes self evident, that the importance of this war seems to have impacted the Canadian mindset more than the American mindset. But it has not stopped the United States from claiming to this day that they won this conflict between the US and the colonies of Great Britain to the north. By the importance that Canada has given to this war over the years and in particular in 2012, Canada has also laid claim to victory. The debate continues. So the question must be asked why both sides (Canada and the US) would lay claim to a victory in the War of 1812, and are there more important debates to be had as to the impact of war on the two nations of North America.

A LITTLE INTERPRETIVE HISTORY

Through the work of public historians, such as Pierre Burton³, while professional historians circumvented the war for many years, the war of 1812 resonated in the minds of many Canadians as the starting point of our quest for a Canadian identity. As in 1776, the elites of Lower Canada had rejected joining the American Revolutionary army in ousting the British; once again, as many now claim, Canada rejected for the second time the United States invasion of our territory. However we must remember that Canada did not exist in 1812, but was a colony of Great Britain. In other words, the Canadian colonies were the remaining presence of Great Britain in North America

after their loss of the 13 colonies, in what were to become the United States. Actually after the defeat of the French on the Plains of Abraham in the Seven Years War, the conquered colony to the north became Britain's 14th colony in North America.

The participation of Canadian militias alongside British regulars depicted in the public mindset and the public discourse this war as an "us" (Canada) versus "them" (the United States) struggle. But here again a little precision is needed to fully paint an accurate portrait. The Canadian militias were conscripted, not voluntary. Secondly the majority of settlers or colonists in Upper Canada were American. Some had left the US in disaccord with the American Revolution and became British Empire Loyalists. Others had left, for Upper Canada because of cheap and excellent agricultural land. Some of these colonists actually joined the American invasion army while other formed American militias (marauders) in Upper Canada.⁴

While in Lower Canada the French Canadians (they constituted the vast majority of the population) still envisaged themselves as a conquered people and still nurtured a hatred for the British crown, while the elites (Church and nobles) had thrown their lot with the British. Many in the French Canadian population (peasants, small farmers, artisans, workers etc.) had maintained an appreciative support, dating back to 1776, for the young American republic. This did not bode well in recruiting a strong militia. However, eventually a minority joined the militias, especially when they saw how the American farmers in the adjoining states of Vermont and New York were infringing on their land along the common border.

So we must consider that the general mindset that Canadians rose up to protect the homeland is not entirely accurate. However it is clear, and the historical evidence

does make the demonstration, the Canadian colonists in the British North American colonies, did stand by the British regulars and fought, not so much to save Canada, or what was to become Canada, but to save their farm, their homestead, which was on Canadian soil. Therefore it is quite understandable to forge a link between the defense of their livelihood and as some would have it, the defense of Canada.

Now what about our American friends, as they have become over time our friends and neighbors, what is their interpretive history on this war? They not only won the war but they repelled the British invasion, whose intent was to destroy the young American Republic True the British did board American vessels on the high seas and eventually placed an embargo on ships going to France from the United States along the Atlantic coast. The British burned down Washington in retaliation for the burning of York. The British attacked Fort Henry in Baltimore and tried a southern invasion via New Orleans, which procured for Jackson his iconic stature, later made famous in a popular song of the sixties-The Battle of New Orleans.

Most American historians, particularly those in the south believe to this day that the War of 1812 was the “Second War of Independence” and for the southern politicians a reason to dislodge the British once and for all from North America. The divisions that existed in the British colonies between, the colonists loyal to the British crown and some American farmers in Southern Ontario and similarly in Lower Canada between the majority of French Canadians and the British was also reflected in the United States. Southern and mid-western politicians, pushing for an expansion west of the Mississippi, lobbied hard for this war, while New England politicians and businessmen, because of a lucrative trade with England, were against it. So on both sides of the border this notion that there was a total unity of the population, was erroneous.

The southern and mid-western politicians in the United States were not the only ones who wished for western expansion. The British for years, especially after losing in the War of Independence, wished to control the Great Lakes which geographically were the gate way to the west, irrespective of the mythological border with the United States. Westward expansion with a total control of the resources was the underlying reason for this war, at least on this side of the Atlantic. The young republic wished to fulfill its Manifest destiny, while the British were still interested in not only consolidating their empire but expanding it with their own manifest destiny.

VICTORY OR THE SUBSEQUENT LESSONS OF THE WAR

So who did win the war? While the debate continues with no foreseeable victorious outcome for both sides, the real lessons of the War of 1812, for both countries are

forgotten, rarely referenced and taught. Unfortunately, strident nationalism throughout the years on both sides of the border has masked the subsequent importance of the war and has sidetracked the fundamental lessons of this war for both countries.

For the United States, though divided, this war nevertheless brought together the new unity of the young Republic. For the first time in their history they began to call themselves Americans. Up to this point in history most of the population referred to themselves as Virginians, Vermonters etc as their identity and their attachment. Now they claimed their national identity as Americans and thusly the process of rooting this identity began.

It also gave them the recognition of their national symbol-The Stars and Stripes, coupled with their national anthem, written by Francis Scott Keys after the battle of Fort Henry in the Baltimore harbor. It also began the contradiction over westward expansion and slavery between the Northern states and the Southern states. With the invention of the cotton gin (a cotton trashing machine) the Southern politicians and slave holders eyed the idea of western expansion for the cotton industry, which also meant the expansion of slavery into the West. The Northern states, also wanted westward expansion, but opposed the extension of slavery. As we know this became one of the reasons for the American Civil war. As we can surmise, with the end of the war against the British, the contradictions within the young republic came home to roost.

The War of 1812 also meant the consolidation of the office the Presidency as the War of 1812, was the first for the young Republic against what was now a foreign power. A war that was popular for some, yet unpopular for others, nevertheless forced the President⁵ to take action and thereby solidified his position, according to the Constitution, as the Commander in Chief. The border between the then British colonies of Canada and the US, which was constantly in flux, was established, thereby consolidating the territorial boundary that was to become the future Canada. For years Northern Vermont and at times Northern New York State had claimed land that was part of Lower Canada. This attempt of incursion was now settled and created the basis on which to continue the border across Canada.

For Canadian colonists, still under British rule, the War of 1812, provided for some, the first experience in the defense of their homeland, against an invading army. This physical and psychological experience of war, created in the participants of the Canadian militia a sense of belonging, never experienced before. The process of building a Canadian identity had begun for the people of Upper Canada.

In Lower Canada, this identity of being “Canayen”, had long taken hold, since the beginning of New France and was consolidated in the Seven Years war, for the French

Canadian population. But the war nevertheless further rooted this sense of being different from their southern neighbor but also from their British occupiers. Even Louis Joseph Papineau, founder of the Patriot party and leader of the 1837-38 rebellion in Lower Canada, fought as a young lieutenant in the Battle of Chateauguay.

Within the Canadian militia of Upper Canada, there was a black regiment, under the leadership of Richard Pierpont⁶, an escaped black slave, who had found safe haven in Upper Canada. This black regiment fought side by side with the white militia and the British regulars to repel the all white American invasion army. Upper Canada had become a safe haven for escaped slaves from the slave holding south early into the 19th century. But when the news, throughout the war, reached slave populations to the south that a black regiment free, from slavery (not racism) was fighting to defend and maintain their freedom, the notion that Canada was a safe haven against southern slavery took hold.⁷ Subsequent to the end of the war, was put in place the first stepping-stones of the Underground Railroad, to southern Upper Canada and eventually through the Adirondacks in New York State to Phillipsburg in Lower Canada.⁸

Another important consequence of the War of 1812 for Canada was the emergence of republican liberal ideas. When the Canadian Militias fought alongside the British regulars, frequently we read that they did this to defend British interests that were their own. Yes some did, but others saw they were defending their own interests, and eventually Canadian interests. Therefore the notion of nationhood, constitutional democracy, liberal economy, began to be debated among the Canadian colonists.

In other words, though the American were seen as an invading army and therefore the enemy, the notion of America republicanism had already penetrated certain members of the rural communities of Upper Canada⁹ and since the American Revolution in Lower Canada. The war of 1812 consolidated the debate around these ideas.

The control of the British Empire over the Canadian and Cannayan colonists found support among the old elites of Upper and Lower Canada. However after the War of 1812, the idea of republican democracy, which began to spread all over Europe and was present in the young Republic to the south, were making their way North, among the new elites of the colonies, many of whom had fought in the war.

After the war there were many other factors that led these liberal elites to eventually ask for reform of the political system and fight for Republican democracy during the 1837-38 rebellions, in Upper and Lower Canada. The war of 1812, fought against the invading American army, highlighted the eventual debates that took hold of the new young elites in the British North American colonies. The rebellions were unsuccessful and brutally put down, especially in Lower Canada, because the British now saw the spirit of 1776 coming north which questioned their control of their last colonies in British North America. The War of 1812, rather than solidify British control as some would have it, nevertheless began the process of liberal democracy in Canada, eventually free of British rule.

CONCLUSION

So who won the war remains in this author's view, an unnecessary debate, which even to this day, is fueled by a nationalist attitude on both sides of the border. As the public discourse goes, the weak nation (British Colonies) defeated the strong republic to the south. In actual fact, the British colonies, part of the British Empire, which controlled the world at that time, was much stronger than this young upstart republic to the south, who had limited resources, no national standing army to speak of and was still in the early stages of the process in nation building. Therefore the important debate and one that opens an area of research that is fundamental to both nations, is the direct and indirect impact of the War of 1812 on the future of both nations and North America in general.

NOTES

- ¹ The War Museum in Ottawa has an exhibit on 1812, the Canadian mint has produced commemorative coins of the war, many colloquiums are being held across Canada on the war, and articles are being published, plus teaching guides etc.
- ² “The War of 1812, a Forgotten War”, PBS, WGBH Boston, 2011, 90 minutes.
- ³ Please see, Pierre Burton, *The Invasion of Canada, 1812-1813*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1980 and *Flames Across the Border, 1813-1814*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1981.
- ⁴ Please see, *The National Film Board of Canada*, “The War of 1812”, 60 minutes, 1960.
- ⁵ The president of the United States at that time was James Madison, who tried to balance his position between the southern politicians, the “Hawks” and the New England politicians the “Doves”. Eventually Madison took the decision to go to war against Britain and sided with the “Hawks”.
- ⁶ Please see, “Richard Pierpont and the Black Militia”, www.freedomtrail.ca.
- ⁷ Please see the novel by Ishmael Reed, *Flight to Canada*, 1990.
- ⁸ Please see, “The Underground Railroad in Upper New York State”, *SUNY-Plattsburgh*, SUNY-Press, 1990.
- ⁹ Please see the autobiographical novel by Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1980 edition.

LA GUERRE DE 1812 : QUI A GAGNÉ LA GUERRE ? LE DÉBAT CONTINUE

Donald Cuccioletta est historien et professeur à l'Université du Québec en Outaouais, Directeur de recherche à la Chaire Raoul-Dandurand en études stratégiques et diplomatiques à l'UQAM, membre associé de l'Association d'études canadiennes et analyste des médias écrits et électroniques sur la politique américaine, les relations entre le Canada et les États-Unis et les relations internationales.

RÉSUMÉ

Durant les célébrations du 200^e anniversaire de la Guerre de 1812, la même question surgit. Qui a gagné la Guerre de 1812 ? Le débat, qui demeure encore aujourd'hui dans les esprits des Canadiens et des Américains, pour ceux qui sont au courant de cette guerre, semble écarter les vraies questions de l'impact de cette guerre sur l'avenir des deux pays. Cet article se veut un exercice visant à affronter ces questionnements.

Les célébrations de commémoration du 200^e anniversaire de la Guerre de 1812 vont bon train au Canada.¹ Aux États-Unis, sauf pour un documentaire diffusé sur PBS (Public Broadcasting System)² sur les stations de Burlington au Vermont et Plattsburgh dans l'état de New York, qui illustre une compréhension générale de la guerre, et une reconstitution annuelle (depuis plus de quinze ans) de la bataille de Plattsburgh (1814) organisée par une association locale d'historiens publics, peu a été fait. Par conséquent, il est évident que l'importance de cette guerre semble avoir touchée les Canadiens plus que les Américains. Mais cela n'a pas empêché les États-Unis d'affirmer à ce jour qu'ils ont gagné ce conflit entre les États-Unis et les colonies de la Grande-Bretagne au nord. Par l'importance que le Canada a donnée à cette guerre depuis des années, et en particulier en 2012, le Canada affirme également être vainqueur. Le débat se poursuit. Ainsi, la question qui doit être posée est de comprendre pourquoi les deux parties (le Canada et les États-Unis) peuvent affirmer avoir remportées la victoire dans la Guerre de 1812, et de savoir s'il existe des débats plus importants quant à l'impact de la guerre sur les deux nations de l'Amérique du Nord.

UNE PETITE HISTOIRE D'INTERPRÉTATION

Bien que les historiens professionnels aient contourné la guerre pendant de nombreuses années, la Guerre de 1812 a tout de même résonné dans l'esprit de nombreux Canadiens comme point de départ de notre quête d'une identité canadienne, et ce grâce au travail d'historiens publics comme Pierre Burton.³ De façon similaire à 1776, les élites du Bas-Canada avaient refusé de rejoindre l'armée

révolutionnaire américaine pour évincer les Britanniques. Une fois de plus, comme beaucoup maintenant l'affirment, le Canada a ainsi repoussé l'invasion de notre territoire par les États-Unis. Cependant, nous ne devons pas oublier que le Canada n'existait pas en 1812, mais était une colonie de la Grande-Bretagne. En d'autres termes, les colonies canadiennes étaient en fait une présence résiduelle de la Grande-Bretagne en Amérique du Nord, suivant la perte par celle-ci de ses 13 colonies, lesquelles allaient devenir les États-Unis. En fait, après la défaite des Français sur les Plaines d'Abraham dans la guerre de Sept Ans, la colonie conquise au nord devint la 14^e colonie britannique en Amérique du Nord.

La participation du Canada aux côtés des milices régulières britanniques était la représentation de la guerre, dans la mentalité du public et dans le discours public, comme étant une lutte du « nous » (Canada) contre « eux » (États-Unis). Mais là encore, quelques précisions sont nécessaires pour peindre un portrait précis. Les milices canadiennes ont été enrôlées et non volontaires. Deuxièmement, la majorité des colons du Haut-Canada étaient américains. Certains avaient quitté les États-Unis en désaccord avec la Révolution américaine et étaient devenu Loyalistes de l'Empire britannique. D'autres avaient quitté pour le Haut-Canada en raison de l'octroi d'excellentes terres agricoles à prix modique. Certains de ces colons ont rejoint l'armée d'invasion américaine tandis que d'autres ont formé des milices américaines (maraudeurs) dans le Haut-Canada.⁴

Alors que dans le Bas-Canada, les Canadiens français (qui constituaient la grande majorité de la population) se percevaient toujours comme un peuple conquis et

ainsi nourrissaient encore une haine pour la couronne britannique, les élites (l'Église et la noblesse) avaient, quant à elles, jeté leur sort avec celui des Britanniques. Beaucoup dans la population canadienne-française (paysans, petits agriculteurs, artisans, travailleurs, etc.) avait maintenu un soutien précieux pour la jeune république américaine depuis 1776. Ceci n'était pas de bon augure pour recruter une milice forte. Cependant, une minorité a fini par rejoindre les milices, surtout lorsqu'ils ont vu comment les agriculteurs américains dans les États voisins du Vermont et de New York avaient empiété sur leurs terres le long de la frontière commune.

Ainsi, nous devons considérer la convention générale selon laquelle les Canadiens se sont levés pour protéger la patrie n'est pas tout à fait exacte. Toutefois il est clair, et la preuve historique en fait la démonstration, que les colons canadiens dans les colonies britanniques d'Amérique du Nord ont offert leur support aux troupes régulières britanniques et se sont battus, non pas tant pour sauver le Canada, ou ce qui allait devenir le Canada, mais pour sauver leur exploitation, leur ferme, qui était sur le sol canadien. Par conséquent, il est tout à fait compréhensible qu'un lien soit établi entre la défense de leurs moyens de subsistance et, comme certains voudraient l'affirmer, la défense du Canada.

Maintenant, qu'en est-il de nos amis américains, car ils sont devenus au fil du temps nos amis et voisins : quelle est leur interprétation historique de cette guerre ? Ils ont non seulement gagné la guerre, mais ils ont repoussé l'invasion britannique, dont le but était de détruire la jeune République américaine. Il est vrai que les Britanniques ont abordé des navires américains en haute mer et ont finalement décrété un embargo sur les navires se rendant en France en provenance des États-Unis le long de la côte de l'Atlantique. Les Britanniques ont incendié Washington, en guise de représailles pour l'incendie de York. Les Britanniques ont attaqué Fort Henry à Baltimore et ont tenté une invasion du sud via la Nouvelle-Orléans, ce qui a valu plus tard à Jackson sa stature iconique, rendue célèbre par une chanson populaire des années soixante, La bataille de la Nouvelle-Orléans (The Battle of New Orleans).

La plupart des historiens américains, en particulier ceux dans le sud, croient à ce jour que la Guerre de 1812 était la « seconde guerre d'indépendance » et, pour les politiciens du Sud, elle constituait donc une raison pour déloger les Britanniques de l'Amérique du Nord une fois pour toutes. Les divisions qui existaient dans les colonies britanniques entre les colons fidèles à la couronne britannique et certains agriculteurs américains dans le sud de l'Ontario, et même au Bas-Canada entre la majorité des Canadiens français et les Britanniques, se reflétaient également aux États-Unis. Les politiciens

du sud et du *Midwest*, en poussant pour une extension à l'ouest du Mississippi, ont exercé de fortes pressions pour que cette guerre se déroule, tandis que les politiciens et hommes d'affaires de la Nouvelle Angleterre, en raison d'un commerce lucratif avec l'Angleterre, étaient contre la guerre. Ainsi, des deux côtés de la frontière, cette notion qu'il y avait une unité totale de la population était erronée.

Les politiciens du Sud et du *Midwest* des États-Unis n'étaient pas les seuls à souhaiter une expansion vers l'Ouest. Pendant des années et surtout après avoir perdu la guerre d'Indépendance, les Britanniques ont voulu contrôler les Grands Lacs, qui représentaient, géographiquement parlant, la porte vers l'ouest, indépendamment de la frontière mythologique avec les États-Unis. L'expansion vers l'ouest avec un contrôle total des ressources était la raison ultime de cette guerre, du moins de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique. La jeune république voulait accomplir sa destinée manifeste, tandis que les Britanniques étaient intéressés non seulement à consolider leur empire, mais à l'étendre afin de réaliser leur propre destinée manifeste.

LA VICTOIRE, OU LES LEÇONS SUBSÉQUENTES DE LA GUERRE

Alors, qui a gagné la guerre ? Bien que le débat se poursuive sans issue de victoire possible pour les deux parties, les véritables leçons de la Guerre de 1812 pour les deux pays sont oubliées, rarement mentionnées et enseignées. Malheureusement, le nationalisme strident au fil des ans, des deux côtés de la frontière, a masqué l'importance ultérieure de la guerre et a dévié des enseignements fondamentaux de cette guerre pour les deux pays.

Pour les États-Unis, bien que divisés, cette guerre a formé néanmoins la nouvelle unité de la jeune République. Pour la première fois dans leur histoire, ils ont commencé à s'appeler Américains. Jusqu'à ce point dans l'histoire, la plupart des habitants se considéraient comme des Virginiens, des Vermontois, etc., en termes de leur identité et de leur attachement. Après la guerre, ils ont revendiqué leur identité nationale comme Américains et ainsi a donc débuté le processus d'enracinement de cette identité.

La guerre leur a aussi donné la reconnaissance de leurs symboles nationaux – leur drapeau étoilé (stars and stripes), couplé avec leur hymne national, écrit par Francis Scott Key après la bataille de Fort Henry dans le port de Baltimore. La guerre a également initié la contradiction entre les États du Sud et du Nord concernant l'expansion vers l'ouest et l'esclavage. Avec l'invention de l'égreneuse de coton (une machine servant à défaire le coton) les politiciens du Sud et les détenteurs d'esclaves considéraient l'expansion vers l'Ouest comme vitale pour l'industrie du coton, ce qui signifiait également l'expansion de l'esclavage

dans l'Ouest. Les États du Nord ont également souhaité une certaine expansion vers l'ouest, mais s'opposaient à l'extension de l'esclavage. Comme nous le savons, cela est devenu l'une des raisons de la guerre de Sécession. Comme on peut le supposer, à la fin de la guerre contre les Britanniques, les contradictions au sein de la jeune république se sont cristallisées.

La Guerre de 1812 a aussi entraîné la consolidation du bureau de la présidence, puisque la Guerre de 1812 était la première guerre de la jeune République contre ce qui était devenu une puissance étrangère. Une guerre qui était populaire pour certains, mais pour d'autres impopulaire, a forcé le président⁵ à prendre des mesures et ainsi consolider sa position selon la Constitution, soit en tant que Commandant en chef. La frontière entre les colonies britanniques du Canada et les États-Unis, constamment en mouvement, a été mise en place et a ainsi consolidé la limite territoriale qui allait devenir le Canada. Pendant des années, le nord du Vermont et parfois le nord de l'État de New York avaient réclamé des territoires qui faisaient partie du Bas-Canada. Cette tentative d'incursion était maintenant réglée et a créé la base sur laquelle s'est poursuivie la formalisation de la frontière à travers le Canada.

Pour les colons canadiens, encore sous domination britannique, la Guerre de 1812, a donné à certains une première expérience de défense de leur patrie contre une armée d'invasion. Cette expérience physique et psychologique de la guerre a créé chez les participants de la milice canadienne un sentiment d'appartenance jamais connu auparavant. Le processus de construction d'une identité canadienne a ainsi débuté pour le peuple du Haut-Canada.

Dans le Bas-Canada, cette identité de « Canayen » pour la population canadienne-française avait pris racine au tout début de la Nouvelle-France et a été consolidé lors de la guerre de Sept Ans. Mais la guerre a néanmoins enraciné plus profondément ce sentiment d'être différent de son voisin du sud, mais aussi de leurs occupants britanniques. Même Louis-Joseph Papineau, fondateur du parti patriote et chef de la rébellion du Bas-Canada de 1837 à 1838, a combattu comme jeune lieutenant à la bataille de Châteauguay.

Dans la milice canadienne du Haut-Canada, il y avait un régiment noir sous la direction de Richard Pierpont⁶, un esclave en fuite qui avait trouvé refuge dans le Haut-Canada. Ce régiment noir a combattu côte à côte avec la milice de race blanche et les troupes régulières britanniques afin de repousser l'armée d'invasion américaine, qui elle était entièrement composée d'hommes blancs. Au début du 19^e siècle, le Haut-Canada était en voie de devenir un refuge pour les esclaves des

États du sud en fuite. Mais quand la nouvelle du régiment de noirs libres de l'esclavage (mais pas du racisme) qui se battait pour défendre et conserver leur liberté a rejoint les populations d'esclaves dans le sud, la notion que le Canada était un refuge contre l'esclavage s'est développée.⁷ Après la fin de la guerre, les premières pierres de gué du chemin de fer clandestin ont été mises en place dans le sud du Haut-Canada, à travers les Adirondacks dans l'État de New York et à Phillipsburg au Bas-Canada.⁸

Une autre conséquence importante de la Guerre de 1812 pour le Canada a été l'émergence des idées libérales républicaines. Quand les milices canadiennes ont combattu aux côtés des troupes régulières britanniques, nous lisons souvent qu'ils l'ont fait pour défendre les intérêts britanniques qui étaient les leurs. Certains l'ont peut-être fait pour cette raison, mais d'autres ont simplement défendu leurs propres intérêts et, éventuellement, les intérêts canadiens. Par conséquent, les notions de nation, de démocratie constitutionnelle et d'économie libérale ont commencé à être débattues parmi les colons canadiens.

En d'autres termes, bien que les Américains aient été considérés comme une armée d'invasion et donc l'ennemi, la notion de républicanisme américain avait déjà fait son chemin auprès de certains membres des communautés rurales du Haut-Canada⁹ et, depuis la Révolution américaine, au Bas-Canada. La Guerre de 1812 a consolidé le débat autour de ces idées. Le contrôle de l'Empire britannique sur les colons canadiens et « Canayens » a trouvé un soutien parmi les anciennes élites du Haut et du Bas-Canada. Cependant, après la Guerre de 1812, l'idée de la démocratie républicaine, qui avait commencé à se répandre dans toute l'Europe et dans la jeune République au sud, se dirigeait au Nord, parmi les nouvelles élites des colonies, dont beaucoup avaient combattu dans la guerre.

Après la guerre, il y avait de nombreux autres facteurs qui ont conduit ces élites libérales à éventuellement demander la réforme du système politique et à lutter pour la démocratie républicaine lors des rébellions de 1837 à 1838 dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada. La Guerre de 1812, conduite contre l'armée d'invasion américaine, a souligné les débats éventuels qui allaient motiver les nouvelles et jeunes élites des colonies britanniques d'Amérique du Nord. Les rébellions ont échoué et ont été brutalement réprimées, en particulier dans le Bas-Canada, parce que les Britanniques retrouvaient maintenant au nord l'esprit de 1776, esprit qui mettait en doute le contrôle de leurs dernières colonies en Amérique du Nord. La Guerre de 1812, plutôt que de consolider le contrôle britannique comme certains l'ont affirmé, a néanmoins initié le processus de démocratie libérale au Canada, qui serait éventuellement libre de la domination britannique.

CONCLUSION

Alors la question de qui a gagné la guerre demeure, selon l'auteur, un débat inutile, qui, jusqu'à ce jour, est alimenté par une attitude nationaliste des deux côtés de la frontière. Comme le discours public le dicte, une nation faible (les colonies britanniques) a défait une république forte au sud. En réalité, les colonies britanniques faisaient partie de l'Empire britannique, qui contrôlait le monde à cette époque, et étaient beaucoup plus fortes que cette jeune république au sud, qui n'avait que des ressources limitées, pas d'armée permanente nationale à proprement parler et se trouvait encore aux premières étapes du processus de construction de la nation. Par conséquent, un débat important et qui ouvre un domaine de recherche fondamental pour les deux pays est l'impact direct et indirect de la Guerre de 1812 sur l'avenir des deux nations, et de l'Amérique du Nord en général.

NOTES

- ¹ Le Musée de la guerre à Ottawa présente une exposition sur 1812, la Monnaie royale canadienne a produit des pièces de monnaie commémoratives de la guerre, de nombreux colloques sont organisés à travers le Canada sur la guerre et des articles ainsi que des guides pédagogiques sont en cours de publication.
- ² "The War of 1812, a Forgotten War", PBS, WGBH Boston, 2011, 90 minutes.
- ³ Voir Pierre Burton, *The Invasion of Canada, 1812-1813*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1980 et *Flames Across the Border, 1813-1814*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1981.
- ⁴ Voir l'*Office national du film du Canada*, "The War of 1812", 60 minutes, 1960.
- ⁵ Le président des États-Unis à cette époque était James Madison, qui a tenté de balancer sa position entre les politiciens du Sud, les « faucons » et les politiciens de la Nouvelle Angleterre, les « colombes ». Finalement, Madison a pris la décision d'entrer en guerre contre l'Angleterre et s'est mis du côté des « faucons ».
- ⁶ Voir « Richard Pierpont and the Black Militia », www.freedomtrail.ca.
- ⁷ Voir le roman de Ishmael Reed, *Flight to Canada*, 1990.
- ⁸ Voir « The Underground Railroad in Upper New York State », *SUNY-Plattsburgh*, SUNY-Press, 1990.
- ⁹ Voir le roman autobiographique de Susanna Moodie, *Roughing it in the Bush*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, édition de 1980.

MEMORY, MYTH AND RHETORIC: THE WAR OF 1812 AND CANADA'S INTER-WAR DIPLOMACY (1919-1939)

Hector Mackenzie is the Senior Departmental Historian of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of Canada. Educated at the University of Toronto and Oxford University (from which he received his doctorate), he taught at the University of Toronto and the University of Western Ontario before joining the Department of External Affairs as an historian in 1989. He has edited two volumes of *Documents on Canadian External Relations* and published numerous articles and reviews on the history of Canada's international relations. Dr. Mackenzie is a former President of the Association for Canadian Studies and an Adjunct Research Professor of History at Carleton University.

Hector Mackenzie est historien principal au ministère des Affaires étrangères et du Commerce international du Canada. Formé à l'Université de Toronto et à l'Université d'Oxford (où il a obtenu son doctorat), il a enseigné à l'Université de Toronto et à l'Université de Western Ontario avant de se joindre au ministère des Affaires extérieures en tant qu'historien en 1989. Il a édité deux volumes de documents sur les relations extérieures du Canada et publié de nombreux articles et commentaires sur l'histoire des relations internationales du Canada. Dr. Mackenzie est un ancien président de l'Association d'études canadiennes et professeur auxiliaire d'histoire à l'Université Carleton.

ABSTRACT

The centenary of the War of 1812 and its aftermath were not especially favourable times for Canada's relations with the United States. Even so, the inter-war period was dominated by rhetoric about "the longest undefended border in the world," "[more than a] century of peace in North America," and the contrast between the "New World" and the "Old World" in world affairs. No Canadian speech in an international forum was complete without these phrases and without an admonition to Europeans and other sinners to settle disputes by conciliation, negotiation and arbitration – rather than resort to war – as was the tradition in relations between Canada and the United States. This paper deals with the development, application and effect in the inter-war period of the lessons supposedly drawn from the experience and legacy of the War of 1812. It concludes with a cautionary note about understanding the past and its implications.

RÉSUMÉ

Le centenaire de la guerre de 1812 et ses conséquences n'ont pas été particulièrement favorables pour les relations du Canada avec les États-Unis. Même ainsi, la période de l'entre-deux-guerres a été dominée par la rhétorique de « la plus longue frontière non défendue au monde », de « plus d'un siècle de paix en Amérique du Nord », et du contraste entre le « Nouveau Monde » et le « Vieux monde » dans les affaires mondiales. Aucun discours canadien dans un forum international n'était complet sans ces phrases et sans une exhortation auprès des Européens et des autres pécheurs de régler leurs différends par la conciliation, la négociation et l'arbitrage – plutôt que de recourir à la guerre – comme c'était la tradition dans les relations entre le Canada et les États-Unis. Cet article traite de l'élaboration, l'application et l'effet, dans la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, des leçons prétendument tirées de l'expérience et de l'héritage de la Guerre de 1812. Il se termine par une mise en garde au sujet de la compréhension du passé et de ses implications.

PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS AS HISTORIANS OF THE WAR OF 1812¹

Prime Minister Stephen Harper has described the War of 1812 as “the fight for Canada” and a link to that message, other ministerial statements and background information about the conflict and its significance, is prominently placed on his website and that of the Government of Canada. Meanwhile, a search for “War of 1812” in the British government’s website yields “no results,” while an equivalent inquiry to USA.gov returns a few obscure but helpful links, but no official statement or reference to commemoration of the bicentennial. The British prime minister, David Cameron, and the American president, Barack Obama, have not completely ignored the events of two hundred years ago. However, in an official visit to Washington, the British visitor and his host traded quips about the burning of the White House and treated the clash as an unfortunate aberration in the bilateral relationship which each country sees as the cornerstone of its international policies. Neither as a battleground nor as a participant did Canada (or British North America, as it was then) merit a mention – not even York, whose prior burning prompted the British assault on the American capital.

Generally speaking, the relative attention paid to the War of 1812 two centuries later reflects a tendency over the years. From the perspectives of politicians and historians, that difference is understandable. After all, the war may have been a test for Britain and the United States, but it was a matter of survival for the British colonies in North America and it undoubtedly played a significant part in shaping the later development of Canada. Even so, the lessons learned from that conflict and its settlement have varied greatly over the years, usually reflecting the political and social circumstances at the time of commemoration or intervening national and international developments rather than contemporary assessments or the conclusions reached by historians. As the context has changed, so has the script for speeches and statements by American and Canadian leaders, which likewise reflect how later generations have interpreted the events and their importance.

In light of the fate of American presidents and Canadian prime ministers who were in power at previous major milestones, a less bold approach to marking the bicentennial would be understandable. Of the American presidents who were in office at the semi-centennial (1862), centennial (1912) and sesquicentennial (1962), two (Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy) were assassinated, while the third (William Howard Taft) was defeated later that year. As for the Canadian prime ministers, they kept their lives but often lost their offices. The United Province of Canada was led

jointly by John A. Macdonald and George-Étienne Cartier at the beginning of 1862, but their ministry was defeated in May (their successors, John Sandfield Macdonald and Louis-Victor Sicotte, lasted only two years in the turbulent politics prior to Confederation). In 1912, Robert Borden, the political beneficiary of anti-American sentiment from the year before, was in his first full year as prime minister, an office he would hold until he retired in 1920 (the one Canadian prime minister not to have suffered from close association with a major anniversary of the War of 1812). In 1962, John George Diefenbaker barely won one election before losing in the following year, with the poor state of Canadian-American relations a factor in the outcome. In other words, whatever lessons may be drawn from subsequent analysis of the War of 1812, the political benefits of attention to the anniversaries may be questionable.

That is not to say that the War of 1812 has been ignored by politicians and statesmen, particularly in Canada. On the contrary, there was a conspicuous attempt to draw lessons from the experience (and especially from its aftermath) in the period between the two world wars. That was unquestionably the heyday of celebratory rhetoric.

Presumably Canadian speech-writers in the 1920s and 1930s were inspired in part by the celebration of the centenary of the War of 1812. Whether or not that presumption is valid, that anniversary, as noted earlier, had not come at an auspicious time for Canada’s relations with the United States. In 1911, on the eve of the commemoration, a general election in Canada had been marked by pro-imperial and anti-American sentiment aroused by the tepid response of the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to the Anglo-German naval crisis and by a proposed deal for reciprocity in trade between Canada and the United States. Unwise remarks by American politicians about the implications of the pact for Canada’s future had helped revive old fears of annexation and prompted effusions of pro-imperial “patriotic” sentiment in English Canada. Meanwhile, nationalists in Quebec opposed even the Liberal government’s modest commitment to a Canadian navy as an unwelcome form of colonial tribute. This lethal combination of moods, as well as the political burden of fifteen years in office, led to the defeat of Laurier’s government – among the ministerial casualties was William Lyon Mackenzie King, who would later have a greater part to play in this story.

Nor did the atmosphere necessarily improve a great deal after the party was over. At the outset of the Great War, American neutrality and rumours in Canada of sabotage by cross-border agents of German and Irish descent had worsened popular attitudes and complicated relations between the countries. American entry into the war, as well as subsequent close collaboration, eased

those tensions, but there were still disagreements over representation and influence at the Paris Peace Conference and membership (or not, in the case of the United States) in the League of Nations.

Against this unfavourable backdrop, it is truly remarkable to what extent the inter-war conduct of Canada and speeches by its representatives on international affairs were dominated by depictions of North American moral superiority and idyllic harmony between the neighbours. Past clashes or seminal differences were forgotten or overlooked in constructing and repeating a myth that served to justify inaction and the refusal of commitments in imperial and in world affairs. History was re-written – or simply misrepresented – to serve the current aims of the Canadian government and to excuse an inglorious retreat into a North American redoubt.

At the League of Nations and in other settings, including imperial conferences, Canadian representatives presumed to speak as well for the absent Americans. This stance transcended partisan divisions in Canada, though the governments of W. L. M. King were most closely identified with a distinctly North American viewpoint. Within the context of the British Empire and Commonwealth, this outlook reinforced the push for greater autonomy, constitutionally and diplomatically, for Canada and the other Dominions. When King first asserted Canada's separate diplomatic identity, he proposed renewing the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, which limited naval armaments on the Great Lakes in the wake of the War of 1812, as its symbolic expression. When that initiative went nowhere, King shifted his attention to coastal fisheries accords.

In Geneva, this perspective – and the presumption to speak for both countries – provided a rationale for aloof or negative policies for Canada, particularly the determination of its delegates successively to delete, amend or “interpret” the commitment to collective security expressed in Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations, so as to limit the obligations of Canada, which had less need of help from others. However, it was also articulated in other evasions of responsibility for the security of those nations less favourably located. Whether in London or in Geneva – or from the safe distance of the House of Commons in Ottawa – this unhelpful posture was not presented in negative terms but instead proclaimed as a worthy example for others to follow for the good of all.

Canadian political and diplomatic rhetoric between the Great War and the Second World War was dominated by a distinct blend of complacency and sanctimony which contrasted the peace and harmony on the west side of the Atlantic (and, less often, the east side of the Pacific) with the dreadful state of affairs on the eastern shore of the

Atlantic and further inland. In effect, Canadian speakers and speech-writers developed a few nostrums about international relations, which were interwoven in texts and frequently repeated for the edification of their audiences.

Thus, the following elements were essential for speeches by Canadian representatives on world affairs. Perhaps the most notorious theme – and certainly the most durable – was the description of the Canadian-American frontier as “the longest undefended border in the world”. Another hardy perennial, adjusted periodically to take account of the passage of time, was the reference to “[more than] a century of peace in North America”. Associated with that notion was the depiction of the Rush-Bagot Agreement as the oldest and most successful disarmament treaty in the world. Apparently the most popular – and arguably primordial – leit-motif in the limited repertoire of Canadian orators, however, was the contrast in attitudes and conduct between the “New World” and the “Old World” in international relations. By implication – and sometimes more explicitly – this last characteristic was attributed to the moral superiority of North America.

No Canadian speech in an international forum was complete without these themes and without an admonition to Europeans and other sinners to settle disputes by conciliation, negotiation and arbitration – rather than resort to war – as exemplified by Canada and the United States. Consistently, the experience of the War of 1812 and the settlement of that conflict, as interpreted more than a century later, shaped the definition of North American distinctiveness in this period. Indeed, academic surveys of the history of Canadian-American relations published between the wars also tended to stress how peaceful conduct and an unguarded frontier differentiated North America from the rest of the world. The emphasis on the undefended border was revived after the Second World War – it survived the cold war, but not 911.

On this 200th anniversary of the War of 1812, as Canadians are again awash in depictions of the conflict and its consequences, it may be worth recalling the verdicts of two presidents who were known for plain speaking. Theodore Roosevelt, who studied the naval warfare in that clash, observed that the war “left matters in almost precisely the state” as when it began and that “the contest took the form of a succession of petty actions in which the glory acquired by the victor seldom eclipsed the disgrace incurred by the vanquished”.² More succinctly, Harry Truman called the War of 1812, “the silliest damn war we ever had”. Two presidents who commanded American forces in the war, Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison, undoubtedly saw

it as a more significant conflict – not least for its personal political benefits. However, the general verdict about the War of 1812 south of the border has been a collective yawn, with some accounts simply mentioning that it was a test for the new nation that was passed.

North of the border, the recollections have been more vivid, with the war treated as a vital defence of British North America against American invasion and territorial ambitions, not an indecisive Anglo-American confrontation about maritime rights. Hence the description of it as “the fight for Canada”. Thus, the war becomes part of a different narrative of nation-building and survival of a separate country, with a different outlook, in North America. Over the years, various interpretations and some nationalistic myths have been woven into the historical narrative. Among these emphases have been the following: highlighting the role of colonial militia (volunteers of Loyalist stock) in the outcome; downplaying the role of British regulars, other than the essential martyr, General Isaac Brock, and usually ignoring the role of the Royal Navy, except to the extent it facilitated the aforementioned burning of the White House; varying stress over the years (much more prominent lately) on the critical role of warriors from First Nations, notably the other great martyr, Tecumseh; similar variations on the attention paid to the contribution of French-Canadian militia to the defeat of American forces and the implications of that role; amusement at the American claim to have won the war because of victory in the Battle of New Orleans which, after all, took place after the war was over (so that, in Canadian reckoning, it does not count); passing mention (again, more notice lately) of the contribution of black soldiers to victory; and, finally, uneven attention to the actual military and naval engagements, most often depending on the circumstances (notably the temper of relations between Canada and the United States) at the time of writing or speaking about the past.

The speeches of the inter-war period focussed not on the war itself but on the peace that followed, with a devotion to mythology, not history. Nearly sixty years ago, the great Canadian military historian, C. P. Stacey, debunked the “Myth of the Undefended Border,” noting

persistent tensions along the border, most obviously during the Civil War and afterward, when the Fenian Brotherhood attempted to conquer Canada, but also intermittently when boundaries were uncertain or ill-defined, when control of resources on land or at sea was subject to dispute, or when British and American interests and perspectives clashed on the wider world stage with local repercussions. Even so, the inter-war speeches had demonstrated that mythology usually trumped history!

Similarly, in terms of popular culture, one could observe, perhaps impertinently, that there have been two major legacies, one American and one Canadian, of the War of 1812. The United States was left with an inspirational and rather bellicose anthem that has proven difficult for singers and musicians of diverse talents and styles ever since. The modern tendency to treat sports events as patriotic festivals has led to some musical travesties [as an aside, Canada has kept its relatively singable tune but insists on changing the English lyrics from time to time so that crowds often stumble over unfamiliar words]. The best-known Canadian reminder of the war is more calorific: Canada was left with a confectionary brand, Laura Secord, named for a heroine of the conflict whose brave deed apparently blended espionage with a lengthy trek through enemy lines, with or without a cow. Though her statue is included in a valorous group near the War Memorial in Ottawa, more Canadians are familiar with Laura Secord's name and attractive cameo portrait as a result of purchasing candy or ice cream than through reading history. Indeed, the Government of Canada, in its “interesting facts about the War of 1812,” had to remind Canadians that “Laura Secord never made chocolate”. On that sobering note about the relative sway of history, myth, song and sweets on popular understanding of the past, let us conclude.

NOTES

¹ The views expressed in this article are those of the author, not the Government of Canada.

² Quoted in Lawrence Martin, “Where's Teddy when you need him?” *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 2012.

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE STRUGGLE FOR EMPIRE

Jeremy Black, Professor of History at the University of Exeter (UK) is the author of *The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), *Fighting for America: The Struggle for Mastery in North America, 1519-1871* (Indiana University Press, 2011) and *War and the Cultural Turn* (Polity, 2012).

Jeremy Black, professeur d'histoire à l'Université d'Exeter (Royaume-Uni) est l'auteur de *The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), *Fighting for America: The Struggle for Mastery in North America, 1519-1871* (Indiana University Press, 2011) et *War and the Cultural Turn* (Polity, 2012).

ABSTRACT

Setting the War of 1812 in its international context, Jeremy Black brings out a dimension usually underplayed due to a focus solely on North America.

RÉSUMÉ

En situant la guerre de 1812 dans son contexte international, Jeremy Black apporte une dimension souvent sous-estimée étant donné l'accent habituel sur l'Amérique du Nord.

The War of 1812, the Anglo-American conflict of 1812-15, played a key role in the struggle to define empire in North America, even if outside the history of North America it is generally ignored. Indeed, the War of 1812 appears indecisive, at least militarily, as far as the Western world is concerned. There were no great battles to compare with Trafalgar or Waterloo and no decisive siege comparable to Yorktown. American independence was already established, American expansion to the Pacific was settled in the 1840s, and the fate of that country was fought out in the 1860s. Furthermore, the war scarcely determined the survival of Britain.

Yet the conflict was important politically. It helped settle the relationship between the two Anglophone empires. Despite repeated attempts to invade Canada, America was not able to end the partition of British North America that had occurred in 1775-1783. Nor were the Americans strong enough at sea to support effective and sustained transoceanic power projection. American warships could inflict considerable damage, but there was not going to be an amphibious force attacking Bermuda or Jamaica, let alone Ireland. More particularly, the Americans could not provide the maritime power able to support pressure on Canada. There was no blockade of the St Lawrence, no amphibious attacks on the Maritimes, and

no ability to support a presence on the Pacific littoral in the face of British power.

In contrast, the British could mount amphibious attacks, even if their success varied. More significantly for the shape of the British empire, it proved impossible for Britain to sustain effective cooperation with Native Americans and the defeat of the latter in the Old Northwest and the Southeast transformed the balance of power east of the Mississippi, altered the strategic position of Canada, and ensured that Britain's future options were restricted, and notably so on land. Thus, at one level, the War of 1812 was part of a sequence, beginning in 1775 with the American revolution and the subsequent invasion of Canada, a sequence in which the shaping of Anglophone North America occurred. This sequence closed in 1859-71 with war panics between Britain and America, before, during and after the American Civil War, with the American purchase of Alaska, Canadian Confederation, and the settlement of Anglo-American differences in 1871. While each attempt was distinctive, both politically and militarily, there were also common elements that are instructive.

This approach is instructive, but also illustrates the problems with pattern-building. The British intention in 1812-15 was very different, for example, from British policy

in 1775-1783. Despite American rhetoric to the contrary, there was no attempt to end American independence, and, indeed, the British government neither wanted the war nor declared it. Indeed, the government took steps to try to assuage American anger, although they proved too late. Moreover, Britain had a more serious opponent to fight, in the shape of Napoleonic France, and, faced with an unprecedented national debt, the government wanted to cut its costs, not least in order to end the wartime expedient of income tax.

The conflict showed the difficulties of fighting a successful “detached” limited war, and Britain did not enjoy the victories it gained in the 1810s over Kandy (Sri Lanka), the Marathas (India), Nepal, and France. In 1815, in the aftermath of Napoleon’s return to power, Guadeloupe and Martinique fell to British amphibious attacks, but New Orleans had not fallen earlier in the year.

At the same time, this contrast illustrates the difficulties of judging military potential and of assessing relative capability. More generally, the War of 1812 is instructive for military historians if the earlier established analysis of military history is supplemented by a greater understanding of the significance of the variety of military developments. For a long time, military history involved an analysis of the development of modern total war capacity, with a Whiggish teleology accordingly. Thus, the American Civil War supposedly looked toward the First World War, decisiveness was a key means and end, and major battles were a central element. The War of 1812, therefore, seemed irrelevant militarily as well as inconsequential politically.

This approach, however, appears much less relevant if the teleology is abandoned and the variety of military and political circumstances, developments and potential developments appreciated. From that perspective, the War of 1812 is instructive because of the number and difference of participants (including the Native Americans), the combination of land and sea conflict, the problems of pursuing limited goals and of a major power confronting a number of challenges, and in a context of difficult finances and only partial domestic support. Thus, paradoxically, although the War of 1812 plays an important (once much more important) role in the American public myth, notably with frigate victories, the battle of Lake Erie, the defense of Fort McHenry (celebrated in the national anthem) and triumph outside New Orleans, it is more instructive for the perspective of modern America in terms of the problems facing British power. The difficulties of limited war are instructive, but also the extent to which it provided opportunities. Both America and Britain were able to advance their interests by military steps in a context in which it was not possible to inflict serious losses on the other, or, rather, serious losses except on a particular front.

Thus the British defeat outside New Orleans did not end the capacity for amphibious attacks, and British forces pressed on to attack Mobile and to prepare for operations against Savannah and Charleston. Failure in the British advance along Lake Champlain in 1814 did not mean that more pressure could not have been mounted in 1815.

The key element of politics also emerges clearly. The potential of British operations was linked to divisions within America, not least the strength of Federalist opinion in New England. Moreover, these divisions contrasted with a more coherent situation in Canada. Quebecois proved more willing to support the Crown than in 1775-6. There was a parallel with the strength of Irish support for the Crown in the last decade of the Napoleonic War.

Aside from the impact of American opinion on the willingness of the militia to operate across state lines, there was, as in the War of Independence, a sense that the purpose of British operations was to change opinion within America. The same was true of the enforcement of the naval blockade. To a certain extent, this policy succeeded with war weariness increasing in America, a war weariness that the government sought to ignore by calls for more men and money. Both Britain and America were affected by such weariness, but, due to an absence of force projection, the Americans lacked an ability to calibrate military and political elements, whereas the British could seek to do so. In part, this contrast reflected the way in which the war played a role in American politics that was totally different from the situation in Britain, where it was insignificant in party, governmental, parliamentary, and public politics. This element was to be more generally true of much, but, crucially, not all, expeditionary warfare over the following two centuries, and remains the case today. In Canada, in contrast, the war was far more central, not least in subsequent memorialisation.

Indeed, in the long sweep of global military history, the War of 1812 established an instructive precedent, that of expeditionary warfare against an independent state where there was no intention to extend colonial control. Put differently, the War of 1812 can be seen as the first of the modern wars of informal empire, although with the important caveat that conflict was not begun by the major power. From the perspective of the Native Americans, and of the Spanish colonial authorities in Florida, the War of 1812 can also be seen as a conflict between clashing empires, rather like the Anglo-French struggle in North America the mid-18th century.

In 1812, American opportunities were greatest because of the element of surprise and because Britain was fully engaged against Napoleon. The latter underlined another element of military history, the need to choose not only between opportunities and fronts, but also between

opponents. Indeed, American opportunities were strongest in mid-1812 precisely because Napoleon at that point was at the apex of his power. The Americans thus became an informal member of the most important alliance in the West, only to discover, as French ambition was brought low in the snows of Russia, that they had backed the losing side. This strategic misjudgment was crucial as it left the initiative to Britain. The British could decide whether, when, and where to attack. The Americans could defeat attacks but not stop the attacking. This situation helped guarantee Canada. Even had American forces been successful in invading it, British pressure elsewhere would have led to a status quo ante bellum settlement that would have assured

its return. Thus, one reason for the Chesapeake operations in 1814 was to reduce American pressure on Canada. Alongside the efforts of those who became Canadians, the power of empire helped secure the integrity of Canada and, in ensuring the continued division of the North American anglosphere, made a major contribution to the future character of the West in world history.

Jeremy Black is author of The War of 1812 in the Age of Napoleon (University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), Fighting for America: The Struggle for Mastery in North America, 1519-1871 (Indiana University Press, 2011) and War and the Cultural Turn (Polity, 2012).

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AN EXAMINATION OF THE COVERAGE OF THE WAR OF 1812 IN *THE MONTREAL GAZETTE*, 1812-1815

Julie Perrone is a Ph.D. candidate in Canadian History at Concordia University in Montreal, where she examines the construction of national identity and the commemoration of heroes. She is also the Assistant Director of the Association for Canadian Studies, where she oversees the production of historical materials such as educational websites, learning guides, and conferences.

Julie Perrone est candidate au doctorat en histoire canadienne à l'Université Concordia à Montréal, où elle étudie la construction de l'identité nationale et la commémoration des héros. Elle est également directrice adjointe de l'Association d'études canadiennes, où elle supervise la production de matériel historique tel que des sites Web éducatifs, des guides d'apprentissage, des projets de recherche et des congrès thématiques.

ABSTRACT

The war may be recounted today as instrumental to the definition of 'Canadianness', but perhaps another question we should be asking is how the war was perceived then and whether it did indeed prompt some reflection on the Canadian identity at that moment. This line of questioning is at the basis of this article, reporting on the results of an examination of the coverage of the war as it happened from early 1812 to about mid-1815, in the *Montreal Gazette*. Found in this fascinating historical 'play-by-play' is indeed an embryonic Canadian identity, at least as expressed by the *Gazette's* editor at the time. This budding identity is not yet Canadian, but seems to define itself by the relationship it entertains with the mother country, Great Britain, and its southern neighbour, the United States. This paper will examine these changing relationships in the context of an emerging Canadian identity.

RÉSUMÉ

La guerre est racontée aujourd'hui comme ayant été essentielle à l'élaboration de la « canadianté », mais l'une des questions qu'il semble devoir se poser avant toute chose est de savoir comment la guerre était perçue alors et si elle a bel et bien incité une réflexion sur l'identité canadienne à ce moment. Ces interrogations sont à la base de cet article, qui rapporte les résultats d'un examen approfondi de la couverture « en direct » de la guerre en 1812, du début 1812 à la mi-1815, dans la *Gazette de Montréal*. On retrouve dans cette fascinante histoire au jour le jour de la Guerre une identité canadienne embryonnaire, du moins telle qu'elle est exprimée par l'éditeur de la *Gazette* à l'époque. Cette identité naissante n'est pas encore purement canadienne, mais semble se définir par la relation que les colonies britanniques nord-américaines entretiennent avec la mère patrie, la Grande-Bretagne, et leur voisin du sud, les États-Unis. Le présent texte examine ces relations changeantes dans le contexte d'une identité canadienne émergente.

INTRODUCTION

The Government of Canada invited considerable focus on issues of Canadian identity 200 years beyond the June 18th, 1812 declaration by American president James Madison war on Great Britain. Important efforts have been directed at promoting the 'defining' quality of the Fight for Canada, with the idea that the War of 1812 was a transformational event in the emergence of Canada and in the evolution of its national identity. The war may be recounted today as instrumental to the definition

of 'Canadianness', but perhaps another question we should be asking is how the war was perceived then and whether it did indeed foster such profound reflection on Canadian identity at that time. This line of questioning is at the root of this essay. To this end, I have examined the coverage of the war as it occurred from early 1812 to about mid-1815, in the *Montreal Gazette*. What I found was a fascinating historical 'play-by-play' that revealed an embryonic Canadian identity, at least as expressed by the *Gazette's* editor at the time. This nascent identity while

not yet Canadian, seems to define itself by the relationship it enjoys with the mother country, Great Britain, and its southern neighbour, the United States. This paper will examine these changing relationships in the context of an emerging “Canadianness”.

FROM SEEKING APPROVAL TO OPEN CRITICISM: THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BRITISH

In 1812-1815, Lower and Upper Canada were still British colonies, and its inhabitants British subjects. The *Gazette* comments related to the British, at least during the first half of the war, show a healthy relationship between colony and colonized. More specifically, there is a sense that British approval of Canadian soldiers, performance or loyalty is quite sought after.

On August 24 1812, we learn that Fort Michilimackinac was successfully captured in the name of Great Britain. Little is told about how this undeniable exploit took place, but many lines of this article are devoted to the praises bestowed upon Canadian soldiers by British Captain Charles Roberts. We learn that “Capt. R passes very high encomiums upon the gallantry and unparalleled exertions of the Canadians in accomplishing the different orders given to them...”¹ On another instance, the pride of being ‘worthy’ of British admiration overwhelms the narrative of General Isaac Brock’s victory over the Americans. Brock had successfully defended Queenston Heights against the invader, but died in battle before he could celebrate. On October 26, 1812, the victory is celebrated for its historical significance in British history (not Canadian history, it should be mentioned): “Our fellow-subjects in the U.K. will no doubt appropriate the splendid exertions of their Canadian brethren and will freely confess that they are worthy of the King, whom they serve and of the Constitution which they enjoy”.² It has been argued that the War of 1812 saw the formation of Canadian identity thanks to the emergence of specifically Canadian heroes such as Isaac Brock. But let it be said that, in effect, Brock died a British hero: “[The historian] will inscribe the name of BROCK on the imperishable list of British heroes and class the victory that resulted among the most brilliant events which adorn the page of British History”.³ Besides highlighting British approval of Canadian actions, the *Gazette* also acknowledges the dependency of Canada on Great Britain’s power. The arrival of reinforcements from England is of course source of joy throughout the war, given its rare occurrence. But on May 11, 1813, not only are the British naval officers incensed as a “fine brigade of Seamen from England under the command of that highly distinguished and gallant officer Sir James Lucas Yeo” but their deployment is also recognized as a god send for struggling Upper Canada, “our sister province; rendered now so dependent on their gallant exertions...”⁴

While the first half of the war saw a positive image of Great Britain, reflected in the pride expressed in being worthy of serving the British king, we can observe a slight change of discourse during the second half of the war. As mentioned before, the *Gazette* was privately owned, which perhaps allowed for some criticism of the British strategy for defending the Canadas.

The critiques are quite mild compared to today’s criticisms of our participation in any wars. But it can be argued that the very presence of any form of criticism in the *Gazette* at that time is indicative of a greater negative sentiment in Canadian society. Indeed, on September 7, 1813, the newspaper’s editor comments that “Most dreadful complaints are made here by some people against this administration in England for their total neglect of these Provinces”.⁵ Reporting on what seems to be increasing public discontent over the way in which the motherland has treated its ‘most valuable possession,’⁶ the editor calls for calm and patience. But to reassure its readers, it is not the argument that British reinforcements will be coming soon that he uses, but the fact that the Americans are not numerous enough to defeat the troops currently stationed in the two Canadas.⁷

The central critique directed at the British is its primarily defensive strategy. Of course, this defensive stance could be explained by the small number of reinforcements sent across the Atlantic; Great Britain was dedicating most of its military resources to fighting off the French in Europe. But while Canadians had been aware of this situation, argued the *Gazette* editor, “we are nevertheless of opinion, that a much greater effort will be required by her in the recovery of what she has lost on the continent, than would have been necessary for its preservation”.⁸ It was thus expected of Great Britain that she deploys more force since she now had to reconquer, rather than defend, her territory. The unsuccessful defence of Upper Canada was explained by the inadequate number of soldiers she had sent, not the performance of Canadian soldiers. In recounting the loss at Lake Erie, the editor indeed states that soldiers asked to take part in a sea battle because of a lack of qualified seamen, “what could be expected from such a composition in such a crisis, where so much depended on professional knowledge?”⁹ A victory in Kingston prompts the *Gazette* editor to ask that the “weak system of passive defence” be abandoned for a more aggressive policy towards the Americans,¹⁰ while the end of the war on European soil inspires him to remind Britain that the Canadas can “never be settled by defensive operations”.¹¹ Seeing that the defeat of Napoleon failed to resolve the conflict in the New World, he points out again a few months later that “our operations must carry with them more serious and important effects than have lately been witnessed in these Provinces,”¹² and that “we cannot

allow ourselves to anticipate, during their interruption, any other than the adoption of a system of more determined efficient and energetic measures than has distinguished the two last campaigns on the Canadian frontiers".¹³

What these few lines are meant to show is that the War of 1812 saw the realization that Canada could (and, to be fair, had to) defend itself against the Americans. The emergence of a distinct Canadian identity undoubtedly fed into the perceived lack of interest of Great Britain in defending its two North American provinces, and the very fact that the United States failed to conquer Canada was proof of the valour of Canadians in defending their country.

WE ARE NOT AMERICANS: THE DEMONIZING OF THE AMERICANS AS A BASIS FOR CANADIAN IDENTITY

The media has been known to contribute significantly in demonizing an enemy in times of war, and the *Gazette* during the War of 1812 was no exception. But while rendering a people evil and ignoble might be part of war time propaganda, the depiction of Americans during these years also served to define Canadians....as whatever their southern neighbours were not. Arguably, distinguishing ourselves from the United States has been a continuous process (and struggle) in our on-going identity making.

The Americans are most often depicted as acting dishonourably, compared to other enemies who might have defeated the British but acted gracefully throughout. For example on November 24, 1812, the news of the capture of a British stoop containing some things belonging to the late general Isaac Brock is not dwelled upon as much as the fact that these items were not returned. The *Gazette* editor indeed writes that "By a noble-minded enemy these would be restored; but such an expectation can hardly be formed in the present unfortunate instance".¹⁴ Interestingly the ultimate return of Brock's private objects at the beginning of December 1812 warrants a mere line in the newspaper, buried in other news about the war, and no comment on what should be deemed a 'noble' gesture according to the previous critique.¹⁵ According to the *Gazette*, Americans seemed to run afoul of every unwritten rule of honourable war conduct. In October 1813, the taking of Canadian prisoners of war prompts the editor to comment that the developing 'American character' is best reflected in their treatment of these unfortunate soldiers, a character "inconsistent with the conduct, and repugnant to the feelings of any honorable soldier, and also disgraceful to the Government..."¹⁶ Upon returning these prisoners towards the end of the war, but having delayed such actions in order to secure the return to safety of American prisoners, the American government's request is reported as being typical of "that abominable low cunning and chicane which have invariably marked [its] conduct..."¹⁷

If not commenting on the disrespectful war tactics of the Americans, the *Gazette* editor also criticizes the American tendency to inflate their victories. In July 1813, the Americans were able to capture a British schooner, using a flag of truce as a ruse to approach the ship. In addition to 'tricking' their enemy, reports the editor, the Americans were also guilty of purposely overestimating the value of their capture: "The enemy rates the value of this prize at 30,000 dollars, ten times its real worth..."¹⁸ In a similar manner, we learn a few months later that another means for Americans to improve the truth was to take civilians as war prisoners, a "mode of swelling the numbers of their prisoners which is disgraceful beyond measure..."¹⁹

Such a conduct during times of war was telling of the American character, according to the *Gazette* editor, and his reporting was definitely an exercise in defining the enemy, which "exhibited a want of principle",²⁰ but also in opposing to this the much more honourable British and Canadian characters. Reporting on an British expedition to Lake Champlain, the *Gazette* editor compares the behaviours of the two sides of the war. He states: "Here we cannot but remark the contrast that is evident between the conduct of our officers and those of our enemy... the latter invariably grasp at the smallest article with an avidity peculiarly their own, and consider war as giving sanction to the lowest and most infamous grades of private robbery..." In comparison, he continues, British officers are said to operate on fear, not of losing a battle or dying, but of "*dishonorable and disgraceful conduct*, even to an *unprincipled and dishonorable enemy*".²¹

In these inevitably short and insufficient examples, we can see that the War of 1812 made the need for a distinct Canadian identity more pressing. Defining the enemy as 'evil' and 'dishonorable' is arguably an expected element of any conflict, so we cannot be surprised to see the Americans being demonized in the *Gazette*. But something particular to our Canadian context is that we see emerging a certain anti-Americanism based on the perception that Americans are presumptuous, cunning and less honourable than us.

CONCLUSION

In examining the *Gazette* from 1812 to 1815, I haven't seen much in terms of defining the specifically Canadian character. As any emerging identity, it seems natural to begin this ongoing (and continuously challenged) process by detaching itself from the motherland and distinguishing itself from its closest neighbour. But I did find some examples of empathetic feelings between Upper and Lower Canada: "As our sister-province has thus given us an example of what courage and loyalty can effect, let us in Lower Canada when the enemy shall dare to invade our country (and which we may daily expect) follow their steps

in the paths of glory...”²² The editor’s pride in reporting the successful defence of Montreal shows a sense of a common destiny for inhabitants of the Canadas: “Armies of the enemy were advancing to invade us, [and] all classes of individuals ... have flown to the standard, with the determination of supporting their national character, and defending their country from the unhallowed grasp of the enemy”.²³ Hence there is indeed a growing sense of what can be construed as ‘national’ unity. And from our examination of the *Montreal Gazette’s* coverage of the war, this new sense of unity was formulated and elaborated in a context of American expansionism and British abandonment. And there emerged, from the story of the War of 1812, a distinct identity: not American, no longer British, just....Canadian.

NOTES

¹ The Montreal Gazette, August 24, 1812.

² The Montreal Gazette, October 26, 1812.

³ Ibid.

⁴ The Montreal Gazette, May 11, 1813.

⁵ The Montreal Gazette, September 7, 1813.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ The Montreal Gazette, October 26, 1813.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The Montreal Gazette, December 28, 1813.

¹¹ The Montreal Gazette, May 31, 1814.

¹² The Montreal Gazette, October 20, 1814.

¹³ The Montreal Gazette, November 3, 1814.

¹⁴ The Montreal Gazette, November 24, 1812.

¹⁵ The Montreal Gazette, December 8, 1812.

¹⁶ The Montreal Gazette, October 19, 1813.

¹⁷ The Montreal Gazette, June 28, 1814.

¹⁸ The Montreal Gazette, July 12, 1813.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ The Montreal Gazette, August 10, 1813. [their emphasis]

²² The Montreal Gazette, October 26, 1812.

²³ The Montreal Gazette, November 16, 1813.

PENSER LA GUERRE DE 1812 : QUELQUES IDÉES PROVENANT D'ÉTUDIANTS

Stéphane Lévesque est professeur agrégé en histoire à la Faculté d'éducation de l'Université d'Ottawa et le directeur du Laboratoire d'histoire virtuel (VH Lab), le premier centre de recherche CFI au Canada sur l'étude de l'éducation historique en ligne. Ses recherches se concentrent sur la pensée historique des étudiants, l'histoire du Canada, l'éducation civique, ainsi que sur les nouveaux médias et la technologie en éducation.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article porte un regard sur certaines idées d'étudiants canadiens sur la guerre de 1812. En utilisant des données empiriques et de la littérature pertinente en didactiques de l'histoire, il est proposé un modèle innovateur de progression dans la pensée historique sur le passé. On discute des implications de ce modèle pour l'éducation historique et la littératie historique.

Dans le cadre de leurs études primaires et secondaires, les étudiants ontariens dédient un nombre considérable d'heures à étudier l'histoire. À l'obtention de leur diplôme d'étude secondaire, ils auront acquis des connaissances sur l'Empire Romain, les coureurs des bois, les sociétés médiévales, le féminisme, l'Holocauste, la Charte des droits et libertés, le terrorisme du 11 septembre et, bien sûr, la guerre de 1812. Leurs cours d'histoire font aussi explicitement référence aux notions de « pensée historique », de « recherche » et de « littératie ». Toutefois, comme au sein de plusieurs juridictions, les programmes actuels d'histoire en Ontario ne favorisent pas nécessairement la progression des apprentissages au-delà d'une simple accumulation de faits chronologiques. Il en résulte que les étudiants se retrouvent sans opportunité structurée de développer leurs habiletés de penser l'histoire de façon critique, du moins pas dans la manière dont les lignes directrices du curriculum sont conçues.

Depuis un certain nombre d'années, un groupe de chercheurs, de réformateurs de programmes et d'enseignants canadiens ont porté leur attention sur cet enjeu, défini en terme de *progression* de la pensée historique. C'est Peter Seixas (2006) qui a initié le mouvement avec le projet national « Benchmarks of Historical Thinking » en 2006 (www.historicalthinking.ca). En se basant sur des décennies de recherche britannique dans le domaine, le projet représente une tentative d'adapter l'expérience pédagogique anglaise à la canadienne. Ce projet bilingue offre aux enseignants non seulement un langage pour traiter de pensée historique mais aussi une plateforme pour les chercheurs afin d'examiner la progression des apprentissages historiques chez les étudiants (Peck & Seixas, 2008).

PROGRESSION DE LA PENSÉE HISTORIQUE : DES « IDÉES DE TOUS LES JOURS » AUX « IDÉES SOPHISTIQUÉES »

La progression prend un sens très spécifique en didactique de l'histoire. Communément utilisée en littérature française et européenne, la notion de « progression » implique une séquence de développements dans l'apprentissage (voir Perrenoud, 2002; Ministère de l'éducation, des loisirs et du sport du Québec, 2009). Lorsqu'appliquée à l'éducation historique, la progression offre une manière toute particulière de *développer des idées sophistiquées* au sujet de l'histoire. Tel qu'observé par Lee and Shemilt (2003) dans le contexte pédagogique britannique :

La progression était juxtaposée avec l'« agrégation » pour mettre l'accent sur le fait que le progrès en histoire peut être plus qu'une augmentation de la quantité d'informations que les élèves puissent évoquer [...] La recherche suggère que la pensée des enfants sur l'histoire et le passé change avec leur croissance et qu'il est possible de voir ces changements en terme de développement.¹ (p. 13)

Depuis quelques années déjà, un nombre restreint mais croissant d'études a documenté l'engagement novice-expert avec le passé. Ces dernières ont mis en évidence les différences fondamentales dans la conceptualisation de la discipline historique entre historiens et étudiants. Elles ont fourni à la communauté académique une vision plus

Figure 1 : Activité de récréation virtuelle de la guerre de 1812



http://www.virtualhistorian.ca/vh10/english/War1812_Queenston_e/postcard.html

vigoureuse de l'état de la spécialisation historique ainsi que de quelques objectifs réalistes à atteindre en classe. «La différence entre l'approche de chaque groupe», Wineburg (2001) mentionne, «remonte à des croyances radicales sur le savoir historique, ou ce que l'on peut nommer une épistémologie du texte²» (p. 76). Ce qui fait des historiens des spécialistes, en fait, est non seulement leur vaste savoir mais plutôt leur «littératie historique» (Lévesque, 2010).

Mais le développement de la pensée historique n'est point tout ou rien : la progression est fondamentale à cette

conception (Seixas, 2006). En effet, Lee (2005a) a développé une conceptualisation de l'histoire particulièrement utile. Il soutient que, contrairement à la vie quotidienne, la pensée historique nécessite une compréhension de deux savoirs complémentaires de la littératie historique : le savoir de premier ordre à propos du passé (le contenu) et le savoir métahistorique de second-ordre.

Le premier type de savoir historique met l'accent sur la substance du passé. C'est l'essence même de l'histoire : le contenu. Le contenu historique est traditionnellement encadré par une forme narrative, avec tous les défis

épistémologiques d'une telle « mise en scène ». Le deuxième type de savoir historique, c'est-à-dire métahistorique, se concentre sur les concepts et le vocabulaire qui fournissent « les bases structurelles de la discipline » (Lee, 1983, p. 25). Ces concepts ne sont pas le contenu de l'histoire : la substance. Ils sont plutôt des outils conceptuels nécessaires à l'étude du passé en tant que discipline ainsi qu'à la construction de récits historiques. Le projet de la pensée historique a identifié les concepts métahistoriques suivants : la preuve, la pertinence historique, la continuité et le changement, les causes et les conséquences, le point de vue historique (et l'empathie) et la dimension éthique (Seixas, 2006). Sans ces concepts, il serait impossible de comprendre le savoir historique car ces derniers « façonnant notre manière de faire de l'histoire » (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 199).

Comme Lee (2005b) le soutient, dans la mesure où les étudiants détiennent des idées « plus sophistiquées que d'autres, on peut parler d'une progression dans la manière dont ils comprennent la discipline historique³ » (p. 37). Lorsque l'on commence à penser en terme de savoir de premier et de second ordre, on peut plus précisément et adéquatement (1) mesurer les idées préconçues des étudiants au sujet de l'histoire et (2) trouver des stratégies afin de graduellement améliorer et perfectionner leurs idées.

LA PROGRESSION À TRAVERS LE REGARD DES ÉTUDIANTS : LA BATAILLE DE QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, 1812

Puisque le développement d'idées sophistiquées liées l'histoire est complexe et contre-intuitif, il est important de débiter avec les idées des étudiants eux-mêmes. Au plan curriculaire, procéder à partir des idées des étudiants peut aider à minimiser notre tendance à imposer des modèles d'évaluation génériques encadrant habituellement des niveaux vagues de réalisation tels que : « démontre une connaissance limitée de » ou « démontre une bonne connaissance de » (Ministère de l'éducation de l'Ontario, 2005, p. 18). Dans cet article, je vous présente les résultats d'une enquête réalisée auprès d'une classe d'étudiants (n=29) inscrits à un cours avancé d'histoire canadienne (12^e année) dans une école anglophone du Sud de l'Ontario. Pour cette enquête, notre équipe de recherche a fourni aux étudiants un bref synopsis de la tâche ainsi qu'un résumé historique de la bataille de Queenston Heights sur la rivière Niagara (1812). Les étudiants ont ensuite passé trois cours de 75 minutes à compléter l'activité individuellement dans un laboratoire informatique. À l'aide de sources primaires disponibles en ligne sur le site www.historienvirtuel.ca (compte-rendu de la bataille par un officier de la milice canadienne Archibald McLean, plan historique de la région du Niagara et simulation informatique), les étudiants

devaient créer une représentation numérique de la bataille en se basant sur un fameux tableau britannique produit par T. Sutherland en Angleterre en 1836 (voir Figure 1). Une fois complété, les étudiants devaient comparer et contraster leur représentation visuelle avec la peinture originale (qu'ils pouvaient consulter seulement après avoir recréé la bataille en ligne).

A partir des résultats obtenus, je vous présente trois exemples de réponses provenant d'étudiants. Ces exemples offrent une gamme de réponses possibles basées sur leurs conceptions de l'histoire et plus particulièrement du concept de « preuve ». Mon analyse s'appuie sur le modèle de progression susmentionné (voir le tableau 1). Pour une clarté conceptuelle, j'ai dénombré trois niveaux de progression : réaliste, relativiste et critérialiste (voir VanSledright, 2010, pp. 64-67).

Tableau 1 : Modèle de progression en éducation historique

POSITIONS ÉPISTÉMOLOGIQUES ENVERS L'HISTOIRE	CARACTÉRISTIQUES ET IDÉES GÉNÉRALES
Position réaliste	L'« histoire » et le « passé » sont la même chose. Le présent fournit une fenêtre sur le passé. L'histoire est déterminée par des autorités. Il y a un véritable récit historique qui existe. Nous connaissons le passé par le biais d'un accès direct à des témoins (autorités). Les sources sont traitées comme des informations factuelles, certaines étant valables et d'autres non. La compréhension historique équivaut à obtenir la bonne version du passé et la rapporter fidèlement.
Position relativiste	L'« histoire » et le « passé » ne sont pas la même chose. Nous connaissons le passé à travers de résidus laissés par des prédécesseurs (les sources). L'histoire est le récit du passé à partir d'une perspective particulière. Les différences de perspectives sont dues aux opinions personnelles, aux biais ou la perte d'information/de résidus du passé. La compréhension historique est relativiste, les sources sont des « illustrations » et les interprétations personnelles sont aussi légitimes que diverses. Aucune utilisation d'outils disciplinaires pour choisir entre des interprétations rivales du passé.
Position critérialiste	L'« histoire » et le « passé » ne sont pas la même chose. Nous connaissons le passé à travers l'usage critique de résidus en tant que « preuve ». Les preuves historiques doivent être contextualisées et interrogées en tant que partie intégrante du processus informatif. La validité d'une source n'est pas fixée dans le temps. La compréhension historique est fondée sur des critères et des outils en vue de créer des récits basés sur des résidus (des preuves). Les récits sont contextualisés et provisoires, ouverts à un examen et aux modifications au fil du temps.

LE NIVEAU RÉALISTE

Les étudiants s'appuyant sur une vision réaliste de l'histoire voient le passé comme une fenêtre directement accessible à partir du présent. À la question «comment étudie-t-on le passé?», ils invoquent naturellement l'accès direct aux témoins des événements historiques. Comme Saïd l'indique, «l'histoire c'est l'information et les comptes-rendus personnels». Selon cette perspective, l'histoire et le passé sont du pareil au même car les représentations du passé émanent directement des acteurs de l'époque. Cidessous, dans l'explication de l'étudiante (Clara), on peut noter que les différences entre sa recreation et la peinture de 1836 sont dûes essentiellement aux erreurs factuelles dans l'enregistrement fidèle des faits et de l'utilisation de l'information sur la bataille. «Les différences entre ma peinture et l'original», avoue-t-elle, «proviennent peut-être du fait que je n'ai pas lu la lettre d'Archibald McLean assez minutieusement et que je n'ai pas pu avoir tous les détails dont j'avais besoin...» Il n'est donc pas surprenant que Clara ait passé un temps considérable à comparer exclusivement des détails factuels entre sa représentation et celle de 1836.

À partir de cette position réaliste, la bataille de Queenston Heights n'a pu avoir lieu que d'une manière. La différence dans la façon de la (re)présenter est un simple problème factuel qui peut être résolu en consultant les témoins de la bataille. Dans son explication, la véracité est liée directement à l'autorité et la proximité des témoins de l'événement. «La sienne (la peinture) était probablement plus fidèle», admet-elle, «car l'artiste qui a créé la peinture était sans doute présent à l'événement ou a connu quelqu'un qui y était». Confrontés à plusieurs versions différentes de la bataille, des étudiants comme Clara font face à une impasse épistémologique. Le passé est fixe et la perspective historique complètement ignorée. Il n'y a pas de contextualisation historique des événements dans un cadre social particulier ni de prise de conscience que nos visions contemporaines sont assujetties à nos propres conditions et valeurs modernes.

L'analyse de Clara sur son travail

La position réaliste ne reconnaît pas le concept-clé de «preuve» pour étudier le passé. Lorsque les étudiants se demandent «comment étudier la bataille de Queenston Heights?», il n'est pas naturel pour eux de penser aux sources comme étant des reliques ou des traces présentant des indices probants sur le passé. L'hypothèse que le passé est fixe fait des sources historiques des «encyclopédies d'information». Elles ne sont pas questionnées pour ce qu'elles sont, mais seulement lues pour les faits qu'elles présentent. Pour ces étudiants, il y a un véritable récit historique à découvrir et les sources qui sont fidèles raconteront exactement ce qui est arrivé. La compréhension historique est seulement une question de retracer les sources d'informations qui conviennent.

The Battle of Queenston Heights

5. Explain the similarities and differences between your work and the one of 1836.

My painting is similar to the historical painting produced in 1836 in regards to the placement of subject matter. Both paintings have the American troops coming from the left side (the American side) and invading the right side (the British side), as it occurred in the historical event. The American troops are crossing the River at Queenstown. Most of the Americans were killed in the boats, hence the American soldiers drowning in the river in my painting. The Americans arrived at the bottom of the mountain and climbed up it, as seen in both paintings. They charged the British and got possession of the mountain. But the British, with the help of the Indians, snuck up from behind the Americans who tried to escape down the mountains. This resulted in the victory of the British at Queenston Heights. All of these events are present in the original painting, but my painting only includes up to where the Americans climb up the mountain. My painting does not include Indians, nor does it include the British victory over the Americans. Also, the subjects of the original painting are much more proportional to the background while the subjects of my painting are not proportionate.

6. What could account for these similarities and differences? (interpretation, use of different sources, bias, positionality, etc)

The differences of my painting and the original could be because perhaps I did not read the Letter of Archibald McLean thoroughly enough and did not get all details I needed to, one specific example being including the Indians in my paintings. Also, maybe in 1936 when the painting was created the artist did not have as much information about the historical event at Queenston Heights, so they may have left out some parts.

7. Is the original work of 1836 necessarily "more accurate" than yours? Explain your answer.

The original painting of 1836 is more accurate than mine, mostly because of the proportion of the subject matter. There was not even enough room to including the same number of boats in my painting as were included in the original. It was also probably more accurate because the artist who created the painting may have been at the event, or may have known someone who was.

1. Les différences entre les deux peintures sont présentées exclusivement en termes de différences factuelles (principalement des omissions) de personnages, d'armement et de conception graphique.
2. Les différences émergent d'une mauvaise copie des faits provenant de la source originale.
3. Une certaine reconnaissance que la peinture originale puisse ne pas être fidèle due au temps écoulé depuis l'événement.
4. La fidélité du tableau est liée à la proximité de l'événement. Etre un témoin le rend plus véridique.

LE NIVEAU RELATIVISTE

Une fois que les étudiants réalisent que le passé n'est pas fixe mais accessible à partir des *résidus* laissés par les témoins du passé, ils peuvent développer différentes idées de l'histoire. À la question « comment étudie-t-on le passé? », les étudiants dits « relativistes » se tournent vers la nécessité d'accéder et de lire ce qui est disponible : les sources. Cette position épistémologique ne présuppose pas que l'histoire et le passé sont la même chose. Ces étudiants savent que ce qui est arrivé est reporté par des sources variées. Il en résulte donc plusieurs véritables histoires qui sont déterminées par le passé. Tel qu'Anna nous le dit : « Il y a plusieurs témoins de la bataille, et on peut assumer que c'était considéré par différentes perspectives ».

Le défi, à partir de ce point de vue n'est pas de rester fidèle aux témoins mais plutôt de décider quelle perspective il faut adopter. Considérons par exemple les explications d'Alan ci-dessous : « Il y a différents comptes-rendus des événements historiques, » soutient-il, « et étant donné que c'est arrivé dans le passé, il est très difficile de décider fidèlement ce qui est véritablement juste ».

L'analyse d'Alan sur son travail

Le problème fondamental pour les étudiants relativistes découle de la croyance que l'histoire est simplement la perspective de quelqu'un sur le passé, quelqu'un transmettant son opinion personnelle sur les événements d'une autre époque.

Pour ces étudiants, les différences dans les comptes-rendus sont le résultat de « distorsions » telles que les biais, les mensonges et les allégeances partisans (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 212). Les étudiants à ce niveau de compréhension savent très bien, grâce à leurs expériences personnelles, que les récits du quotidien peuvent être déformés afin de servir des agendas particuliers. Plusieurs imposent naïvement cette vision de « bon sens » du récit sur l'histoire. Dans le cas d'Alan, par exemple, les écarts entre son travail et celui de 1836 « se produisent en raison des biais possibles du créateur de la peinture » et « leur nationalité ». Être Canadien, Américain ou Britannique peut, de ce point de vue, former sa propre représentation de la bataille.

Bien que les étudiants relativistes aient des idées plus sophistiquées sur l'histoire que leurs pairs réalistes, ils sont toujours confrontés à la notion de « preuve ». Les sources historiques ne sont pas questionnées en terme de leur *provenance*, de leur *nature* et de leur *fiabilité*. Leur première fonction est de servir en tant qu'« illustrations » d'affirmations et d'interprétations particulières (Dickinson, Gard, et Lee, 1978). La peinture de 1836 est une illustration de l'interprétation britannique de la guerre de 1812 de la même manière que le récit d'un soldat local à Queenston Heights représente la version canadienne de la bataille. Dans les deux

cas, les « résidus » comportent des faits et des opinions, ce qui nous rend la tâche très difficile. Cette compréhension des sources repose sur la conviction que la fiabilité d'une source est fixe plutôt que dépendante des questions que l'on pose. Ces étudiants sont incapables de voir que l'histoire n'est pas un choix arbitraire entre des témoins différentes sur le passé. « Les relativistes, » soutient VanSledright (2010), « possèdent peu de stratégies et d'outils pour discerner les meilleurs récits des autres car ils n'ont pas de critères d'évaluation et ont une conception naïve de la preuve » (p. 66).

Work of 1836

The work of 1836 depicts many American boats approaching the shores of Canada, with many men making it ashore alive. The letter from Archibald McLean states that very few people made it alive to the Canadian shore. The painting from 1836 also depicts American boats approaching the town, but the letter only describes American men sneaking up to the shore right under the cliff. My painting attempts to show these changes in the number of people who made it alive and the location of getting to the shore. Another difference between my paint and the one from 1836 is that the painting from 1836 does not clearly show the Indians coming to the aide of the British on the top of the hill. My painting attempts to show this, although the Indians are very large and do not really make it into the picture. The painting from 1836 does not clearly show that the Americans had taken the top of the hill; it just looks like they were trying to climb to the top when they were attacked. The letter from Archibald McLean tells his story of how he and other officers were told to go retrieve the top of the hill, which had been taken over by Americans.

These differences occur due to the possible biases of the creator of the painting. They may have heard someone else's version of the battle, instead of the letter Archibald McLean, which accounts for the differences in the painting. Another factor which may influence the artist of the painting is their nationality: American or Canadian. Depending on which one they were, they might portray it as one side being stronger than the other.

There are many different accounts of historical events, and since it happened in the past, it is very hard to accurately decide who is absolutely correct. While the work of 1836 is not correct, it isn't incorrect either, it depends upon the perspective of the person viewing the work of art.

1. Les différences entre les deux peintures sont comparées en se référant à la source originale qu'est la lettre. La lettre présente un récit de ce qui est arrivé durant la bataille.
2. Les différences sont expliquées en termes de « biais » des auteurs. Des facteurs personnels tels que la nationalité changent l'interprétation du récit.
3. La véracité est liée à la perspective de l'individu. Il est très difficile de déterminer quel récit est le plus juste.

LE NIVEAU CRITÉRIALISTE

Certains étudiants dans notre étude reconnaissent qu'étudier l'histoire est plus complexe que de sélectionner des récits. Lorsqu'interrogé sur la question « comment étudie-t-on le passé? », ces étudiants *critérialistes* s'éloignent du biais personnel pour parler de la nature de l'histoire comme processus d'enquête. Pour Teresa, « l'histoire est l'étude du passé. Quoique le passé ne change jamais, les interprétations que nous faisons du passé changent ». Contrairement aux groupes précédents, ces étudiants acceptent que les comptes-rendus présentent divers points de vue car ils sont des reconstructions du passé basées sur l'interprétation des preuves.

Considérons l'explication donnée par Tim ci-dessous. « Personne ne voit le passé de la même façon », soutient-il, car « ma peinture représente ma propre interprétation de la bataille que j'ai élaborée à travers d'autre partie du site web ». Ici, Tim reconnaît que les sources qu'il a analysées pour sa recreation ne sont pas seulement différentes mais ont aussi informé sa propre interprétation de la bataille. Différentes questions et différentes sources peuvent conduire à des interprétations divergentes. Certains critères et des outils d'analyse permettent aux historiens de faire des récits basés sur des preuves. Plus que cela, c'est la nature même des récits historiques d'être incomplets et provisoires. Comme Tim l'avoue, « malheureusement, je n'ai pas pu placer les membres des Premières nations dans les images car je n'étais pas au courant de leur position dans la bataille ». Tim sait que ces « guerriers amérindiens » ont été la clé du succès de la bataille. Mais il admet que son interprétation des sources n'a pas aidé à les positionner pendant le combat. Il s'agit là d'une reconnaissance importante de la pensée historique.

L'analyse de Tim sur son travail

Une autre caractéristique importante de la position critérialiste est la catégorisation des sources en tant que preuves pour tirer des déductions particulières. Pour les étudiants réalistes, les sources sont des « images du passé », transmettant de manière véridique ce qui s'est réellement passé. Pour les relativistes, cependant, les sources sont des « illustrations », présentant des perspectives personnelles. Pour cette raison, nous ne pouvons jamais connaître le passé avec certitude, alors il est inutile de chercher plus loin. Pour les critérialistes, l'usage des sources est différent. Les historiens ne sont pas simplement forcés de choisir entre divers récits. Ils peuvent créer leur propre récit du passé en utilisant un processus d'enquête pouvant les mener à des conclusions divergeantes des sources utilisées. Ce processus disciplinaire, qui appelle à des « heuristiques » (Wineburg, 1991), rend la comparaison et le contraste des sources possibles et engendre par le fait même un jugement sur leurs valeurs respectives et leur autorité.

The war of 1812: the battle of Queenstown Heights questions

1. The original painting displayed on the website resemble the painting that I constructed. They both shared similarities such as the positioning of the American boats heading towards the town and towards the steep cliff. The British soldiers are positioned at right, top of the hill. Because the boat and people sizes on the painting program are disproportionate it is quite hard to paint an accurate picture of the battle. My painting conveyed there were more American soldiers then British. I unfortunately was unable to place the first nations people in the pictures as I was unaware of their position in the battle. In the actual battle of Queenstown Heights I imagine there were a lot more American boats, more cannons and more of an attack in the narrows of the battle site.
2. The individual who painted the original picture had a dissimilar interpretation of the battle then I. No one envisions history the same. My painting is representative of my own interpretation of the battle that I got from other parts of the site.
3. The original work isn't more or less accurate then mine. He had limited recourses and therefore this took away from the accuracy of his painting. I had access to a lot more resources then him and by having this access I was able to recreate a more detached and precise portrayal of the battle.

1. Les différences entre les deux tableaux sont présentées en termes de faits et de la conception graphique. (Position réaliste des éléments). Les sources ne disent pas tout. Le manque d'indices sur les Premières nations est reconnu comme une limite.
2. Les différences sont expliquées en termes de perspectives et d'utilisation de sources pour créer des interprétations.
3. La véracité n'est pas une question de proximité. L'accès aux sources primaires mènerait vers une représentation plus fidèle.

Avec la position critérialiste vient aussi la notion que nous, en tant qu'acteurs du 21^e siècle, pouvons potentiellement en savoir davantage sur le passé que les témoins de l'histoire eux-mêmes. Ceci est une réalisation de l'activité de Tim. « L'œuvre originale [de 1836] », écrit-il, « n'est pas plus ou moins véridique que la mienne. Il avait des ressources limitées [...] J'avais accès à beaucoup plus de ressources que lui et en ayant cet accès, j'ai pu recréer un portrait plus détaché et précis de la bataille ». Les critérialistes sont conscients du fait que la perspective est importante mais aussi que la perspective historique rend possible une vision détachée du passé. Les sources ne sont pas simplement « biaisées »; elles doivent être analysées dans le contexte particulier dans lequel elles ont été produites. Cela implique une suspension temporaire de nos propres idées préconçues afin de prendre en compte les messages implicites des sources en tant qu'artefacts

rhétoriques ayant des messages cachés et latents (Wineburg, 2001, p. 65). À travers ce processus disciplinaire, il devient possible de poser des questions et de générer un savoir à partir de sources; un savoir dont les acteurs eux-mêmes n'avaient pas conscience.

DISCUSSION ET CONCLUSION

Dans son livre marquant *The Unschooled Mind*, Gardner (2004) soutient de façon convaincante que très tôt dans la vie nous développons des cadres explicatifs et des idées sur le monde. Cette « compréhension intuitive » s'avère extrêmement utile pour expliquer nos expériences de tous les jours. Lorsque les enfants atteignent l'âge scolaire, ils n'entrent pas en classe la tête vide. Ils ont déjà acquis des idées sur le monde et sur le passé. Ces idées peuvent être extrêmement utiles et charmantes mais elles peuvent aussi créer des défis considérables pour un nouvel apprentissage car les idées intuitives de tous les jours ne fonctionnent pas toujours très bien dans le contexte de l'éducation historique. L'enseignement formel est supposé mettre au défi les idées communes et les remplacer avec des idées sophistiquées. Mais est-ce le cas? Dans le domaine de l'éducation historique, on pourrait penser qu'au moment de leur graduation après le secondaire, les étudiants auront acquis un savoir étendu sur leur culture, leur société et des idées sophistiquées sur le passé collectif.

Mais en dépit de 12 ans d'enseignement formel et de cours dans le domaine de l'histoire, plusieurs étudiants ont de graves problèmes à comprendre la nature de l'histoire en tant que discipline. Pour Gardner, les idées intuitives se développant tôt dans la vie perdurent même après une exposition prolongée à l'éducation scolaire. Par conséquent, le développement de la pensée historique n'est pas entièrement lié à l'âge. Les étudiants ne deviennent pas automatiquement plus intelligents en grandissant. Chez les étudiants de douzième année, les idées liées à l'histoire fluctuent considérablement. Même les étudiants qui ont offert dans l'enquête des réponses sophistiquées présentaient plusieurs défaillances dans leurs explications. Qui plus est, les conclusions de notre étude révèlent que les idées individuelles des étudiants sur l'histoire sont « découplées » (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 213), c'est-à-dire que leur propre compréhension de certains concepts peut être sophistiquée tout en conservant une compréhension très naïve de d'autres concepts. Ceci est particulièrement évident dans l'explication des étudiants quant aux différences entre leur récréation et la peinture de 1836. Par exemple, ils pouvaient consacrer un effort considérable à expliquer comment l'histoire est basée sur les perspectives historiques mais naïvement conclure qu'il n'y avait qu'un seul véritable récit de la bataille.

Les pratiques d'enseignement requises pour la création d'une histoire personnelle valable pour le 21^e siècle doivent être développées progressivement et régulièrement. Les modèles de progression, tel que celui présenté ici, ne peuvent garantir la réussite pour tous les étudiants au même rythme. Ceci est au-delà de toute théorie de l'enseignement de l'histoire. Mais on peut fournir aux étudiants et aux enseignants au moins trois prises d'action complémentaires : une évaluation diagnostique, une planification de cours et une responsabilité de l'histoire scolaire. Ces actions peuvent permettre une structure des connaissances historiques par la caractérisation de certains types de concepts fondamentaux et métahistoriques qui forment la base du développement d'idées plus sophistiquées sur le passé. Ces modèles ne peuvent pas (et ne devraient pas) être considérés comme englobant la totalité de la connaissance historique. Cependant, ils peuvent être utiles en vue d'approfondir la compréhension de certains aspects de la structure disciplinaire de l'histoire. Ils fournissent également aux enseignants un langage particulier et un ensemble d'outils nécessaires au développement de pratiques d'enseignement de l'histoire qui font actuellement défaut dans nos programmes, dans les manuels scolaires et même dans le discours pédagogique.

Alors que nous célébrons le 200^e anniversaire de la guerre de 1812, cette discussion sur la pensée historique et les modèles de progression peuvent aider les Canadiens en général, et les étudiants en particulier, à acquérir des moyens plus sophistiqués de représenter et d'utiliser le passé.

NOTES

¹ Traduction libre

² Traduction libre

³ Traduction libre

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THINKING THE WAR OF 1812: NOTES ON STUDENTS' HISTORICAL IDEAS

Stéphane Lévesque is Associate professor of history education at the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa and the director of the Virtual Historian Laboratory (VH Lab), the first CFI research centre in Canada to study the on-line learning of school history. His research focuses on students' historical thinking, Canadian history, citizenship education, and new media and technology in education.

ABSTRACT

This article looks at some Canadian students' ideas about the War of 1812. Using empirical data and relevant literature in history didactics, it proposes an innovative model of progression in thinking historically about the past. It discusses the implications of this model for history education and historical literacy.

Ontario students spend considerable time learning *about* history. By the time they graduate from high school they have learned about the Roman Empire, the coureurs des bois, medieval societies, feminism, the Holocaust, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, September 11 terrorism and, of course, the War of 1812. Their courses also make explicit references to notions of “historical thinking,” “literacy,” and “inquiry”. But, as in many jurisdictions, current history programs in Ontario do not necessarily develop in any progressive way beyond the mere chronological accumulation of facts. The result is that students have no structured opportunity to develop their abilities to think critically about history, at least not in the way curriculum guidelines are designed.

For a number of years now, a group of Canadians scholars, curriculum designers, and educators have been paying serious attention to this very issue, as defined in terms of *progression* in historical thinking. It is Peter Seixas (2006) who instigated the movement with the national project “Benchmarks of Historical Thinking” in 2006 (www.historicalthinking.ca). Relying on decades of British research in the field, the project represents an attempt at adapting the English educational experience *à la canadienne*. It offers educators not only a language to talk about historical thinking but a platform for researchers to investigate students' progression in historical learning (Peck & Seixas, 2008).

PROGRESSION IN HISTORICAL THINKING: FROM “EVERYDAY IDEAS” TO “POWERFUL IDEAS”

Progression has a specific meaning in history didactics. Commonly used in French and European literature, the notion of “progression” implies a sequence of learning developments (see Perrenoud, 2002;

Ministère de l'éducation, loisirs et du sport du Québec, 2009). When applied to historical learning, progression indicates a particular way of *developing more powerful ideas* about history. As Lee and Shemilt (2003) observe from the British educational context:

Progression was juxtaposed with “aggregation” to emphasize that progress in history could be more than an increase in the amount of information pupils could recall... Research suggested that children's ideas about history and about the past changed as they grew older and that it was possible to view these changes in terms of development. (p. 13)

For years now, a small but growing number of studies have documented novice-expert engagement with the past. They have highlighted the fundamental differences in how historians and students conceptualize the discipline and “do history”. They have provided the scholarly community with a more robust framework of what expertise in history looks like as well as some targets for what might be accomplished in class. “The differences in each group's approach,” Wineburg (2001) discovered, “can be traced to sweeping beliefs about historical inquiry, or what might be called an epistemology of text” (p. 76). What makes historians experts, then, is not only or not so much their vast content knowledge but their “historical literacy” (Lévesque, 2010).

But developing historical literacy is not all-or-nothing: fundamental to the definition is the notion of progression (Seixas, 2006). Lee (2005a) has developed a conceptualization of history particularly useful. He argues that unlike intuitive ideas developed in everyday

life, sophisticated historical thinking requires an understanding of two complementary features of historical literacy: first-order substantive knowledge of the past and second-order meta-historical knowledge.

The first type of historical knowledge focuses on the substance of the past. It is what history is about – the content. Substantive history has traditionally been framed in narrative form, with all the epistemological challenges of such “*emplotment*”. The second type of historical knowledge, referred to as meta-historical, concentrates on the concepts and vocabulary that provide “the structural basis for the discipline” (Lee, 1983, p. 25). These concepts are not what history is about – the substance. They are, rather, background conceptual tools needed for the study of the past as a discipline and the construction of historical accounts. The Historical thinking project has identified the following meta-historical concepts: evidence, historical significance, continuity and change, cause and consequence, historical perspective (empathy), and moral judgement (Seixas, 2006). Without these concepts, it would be impossible to make sense of the substance of the past, as “they shape the way we go about doing history” (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 199).

As Lee (2005b) contends, insofar as the ideas students hold “are more powerful than others, we may talk about progression in the way [they] understand the discipline of history” (p. 37). Once we start thinking in terms of first-order and second-order knowledge, we can more precisely and accurately (1) measure students’ preconceived ideas about history and (2) find ways of gradually extending these ideas and make them more sophisticated.

PROGRESSION THROUGH STUDENTS’ EYES: THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS, 1812

As the development of powerful ideas about history is continuous and counter-intuitive, it is important to start from students’ own ideas. On a curricular level, doing so may help reduce the tendency of imposing generic assessment models typically framed around vague attainment levels such as “limited knowledge of” or “some knowledge of” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2005, p. 18). In this article, I will present results of a digital investigation with a class of students (n=29) enrolled in a senior history elective (Grade 12) in one large southern Ontario school. Students were provided with a brief synopsis of the task, the battle of Queenston Heights on the Niagara River, and spent three additional classes completing the activity individually in a computer lab. Using a primary source account of the battle from a Canadian militia officer (Archibald McLean), a historical map of the Niagara region, and a web simulation (www.virtualhistorian.ca), students had to recreate a visual representation of the battle based on a famous British painting produced by T. Sutherland in England in 1836 (see Figure 1). They then had to compare and contrast their

visual representation with the original painting (which they could only see after recreating the battle online). Following are three samples of students’ responses to the activity. They offer a range of performances based on their ideas about history and of the concept of “evidence” in particular. I will discuss them according to the progression model presented above (see Table 1). For conceptual clarity, I have delineated three levels of progression: realistic, relativistic, and criterialist (see VanSledright, 2010, pp. 64-67).

Table 1: Progression model in historical literacy

EPISTEMOLOGICAL STANCES TOWARD HISTORY	CHARACTERISTICS AND GENERAL IDEAS
Realistic stance	<p>“History” and the “past” are the same. The present provides a window to the past. History is fixed in time by authorities. There is a true story of the past “out there”. How we know the past is answered by direct access to witnesses (authorities). Sources are treated as factual information, some are accurate and others not. Historical understanding is equated with getting the right story of the past and reporting it truthfully.</p>
Relativist stance	<p>“History” and the “past” are not the same. How we know the past is answered by reference to the residua left by predecessors. History is the story of the past from a particular perspective. Differences in perspectives are due to personal opinions, biases, or loss of information/residua from the past. Historical understanding is relativist, sources are “illustrations” and personal interpretations are as legitimate as diverse. No use of disciplinary tools to arbitrate between competing interpretations of the past.</p>
Criterialist stance	<p>“History” and the “past” are not the same How we know the past is answered by critical use of residua in the form of “evidence”. Historical evidence must be contextualized and questioned as part of an inquiry process. Reliability is not fixed or tied to proximity of the events. Sources can yield different inferential statements depending on questions asked. Historical understanding is based on criteria and tools to make evidence-based accounts. Accounts are contextualized and provisional, opened up to review and change over time.</p>

THE REALISTIC STANCE

Students who hold a realistic view of history see the past as a directly accessible window from the present. To the question “how do we know the past?,” they naturally invoke direct access to witnesses of the events in question. As Saïd observes, “history is information and personal accounts”. From this perspective, history and the past are the same since representations of the past are emanating directly from the actors of the time. In the student’s

Figure 1: Virtual Historian War of 1812 Recreation activity



http://www.virtualhistorian.ca/vh10/english/War1812_Queenston_e/postcard.html

explanation below, differences between his recreation and the painting of 1836 are due to factual mistakes in accurately recording and using the information about the battle. “The differences of my painting and the original,” Clara confesses, “could be because perhaps I did not read the Letter of Archibald McLean thoroughly enough and did not get all the details I needed to...”. So it is no surprise that Clara spent considerable time explaining exclusively factual details between her representation and the one of 1836.

From this realistic stance, the battle of Queenston Heights only happened in one true way. The difference in how we (re)present it is a simple factual problem that can be resolved by going back to witnesses of the battle. In her explanation, accuracy is tied directly to the authority and proximity of witnesses to the event. “It [painting] was also probably more accurate,” she admits, “because the artist who created the painting may have been at the event, or may have known someone who was there”. In the face of such different versions of the battle, students

like Clara confront an epistemological impasse. The past is given and historical perspective completely ignored. There is no contextualization of the events in a particular social context of the time, nor is there any realization that our contemporary views are shaped by our own modern conditions.

Clara's analysis of her work

The Battle of Queenston Heights

5. Explain the similarities and differences between your work and the one of 1836.

My painting is similar to the historical painting produced in 1836 in regards to the placement of subject matter. Both paintings have the American troops coming from the left side (the American side) and invading the right side (the British side), as it occurred in the historical event. The American troops are crossing the River at Queenstown. Most of the Americans were killed in the boats, hence the American soldiers drowning in the river in my painting. The Americans arrived at the bottom of the mountain and climbed up it, as seen in both paintings. They charged the British and got possession of the mountain. But the British, with the help of the Indians, snuck up from behind the Americans who tried to escape down the mountains. This resulted in the victory of the British at Queenston Heights. All of these events are present in the original painting, but my painting only includes up to where the Americans climb up the mountain. My painting does not include Indians, nor does it include the British victory over the Americans. Also, the subjects of the original painting are much more proportional to the background while the subjects of my painting are not proportionate.

1

6. What could account for these similarities and differences? (interpretation, use of different sources, bias, positionality, etc)

The differences of my painting and the original could be because perhaps I did not read the Letter of Archibald McLean thoroughly enough and did not get all details I needed to, one specific example being including the Indians in my paintings. Also, maybe in 1936 when the painting was created the artist did not have as much information about the historical event at Queenston Heights, so they may have left out some parts.

2

3

7. Is the original work of 1836 necessarily "more accurate" than yours? Explain your answer.

The original painting of 1836 is more accurate than mine, mostly because of the proportion of the subject matter. There was not even enough room to including the same number of boats in my painting as were included in the original. It was also probably more accurate because the artist who created the painting may have been at the event, or may have known someone who was.

4

1. Differences between the two paintings are discussed exclusively in terms of factual differences (mostly omissions) in figures and armament and graphic design.
2. Differences emerge from poor copying of original source facts.
3. Some recognition that original painting might not be accurate due to time elapses since event.
4. Accuracy of painting is tied up to the proximity to the event. Being a possible witness makes it more accurate.

The realistic stance does not recognize the key concept "evidence" for making sense of the past. When students ask themselves how we know the Battle of Queenston Heights?, it does not naturally follow that they will think of sources as relics and records proving some evidential clues about the past. The assumption that the past is given makes historical sources "bearers of information". In this view, historical sources are treated like an encyclopaedia. They are not questioned for what they are, but only read for the factual information they present. For these students, there is a true story "out there" and accurate sources will tell exactly what happened. Historical understanding is only a matter of tracking the correct sources of information.

THE RELATIVISTIC STANCE

Once students realize that the past is not given but only retrievable through the *residua* left by predecessors, they can develop different ideas about history. To the question "how do we know the past?" relativist students turn to the necessity of accessing and reading what was left – the sources. This epistemological stance does not presuppose that history and the past are the same. Students know that what happened is reported by various sources. They also acknowledge, as a result of this, that there is no single true story fixed by the past. As Anna tells us, "There are many witnesses of the battle, and it would be assumed that it was viewed from different perspectives".

The challenge, from this standpoint, is not to remain truthful to the witnesses but to decide what perspective to adopt. Consider the explanation from Alan below. "There are many different accounts of historical events," he maintains, "and since it happened in the past, it is very hard to accurately decide who is absolutely correct".

Alan's analysis of his work

Work of 1836

The work of 1836 depicts many American boats approaching the shores of Canada, with many men making it ashore alive. The letter from Archibald McLean states that very few people made it alive to the Canadian shore. The painting from 1836 also depicts American boats approaching the town, but the letter only describes American men sneaking up to the shore right under the cliff. My painting attempts to show these changes in the number of people who made it alive and the location of getting to the shore. Another difference between my paint and the one from 1836 is that the painting from 1836 does not clearly show the Indians coming to the aide of the British on the top of the hill. My painting attempts to show this, although the Indians are very large and do not really make it into the picture. The painting from 1836 does not clearly show that the Americans had taken the top of the hill; it just looks like they were trying to climb to the top when they were attacked. The letter from Archibald McLean tells his story of how he and other officers were told to go retrieve the top of the hill, which had been taken over by Americans.

1

These differences occur due to the possible biases of the creator of the painting. They may have heard someone else's version of the battle, instead of the letter Archibald McLean, which accounts for the differences in the painting. Another factor which may influence the artist of the painting is their nationality: American or Canadian. Depending on which one they were, they might portray it as one side being stronger than the other.

2

There are many different accounts of historical events, and since it happened in the past, it is very hard to accurately decide who is absolutely correct. While the work of 1836 is not correct, it isn't incorrect either. It depends upon the perspective of the person viewing the work of art.

3

1. Differences between the two paintings are compared in reference to the original source letter. The letter presents one story of what happened during the battle.
2. Differences explained in terms of "biases" of the creators. Personal factors such as nationality shape the interpretation of story.
3. Accuracy is tied to individual perspective. Very hard to tell which story is more accurate.

The critical problem for relativist students stems from the belief that history is only about someone's perspective, about someone conveying his or her opinions on past events. The differences in the accounts are the result of "distortion" such as biases, lies, and allegiances (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 212). Students, at this stage, know very well from personal experience that everyday stories can be twisted in order to suit particular agendas. So many naively impose this common-sense view of story-telling on school history. In the case of Alan, for example, the discrepancies

between his work and the one of 1836 "occur due to the possible biases of the creator of the painting" and "their nationality". Being Canadian, American, or British would, in this view, inform his own representation of the battle.

Although relativist students have more sophisticated ideas about history than their realistic peers, they are still confronted with the concept of "evidence". Historical sources are not questioned in terms of their *provenance*, their *nature*, and their *reliability*. Their primary function is to serve as "illustrations" of particular assertions and interpretations (Dickinson, Gard, & Lee, 1978). The painting of 1836 is an illustration of British interpretation of the War of 1812 in the same way the first-hand account of a local soldier at Queenston Heights represents the Canadian version of the battle. In either case, the *residua* contain some facts and opinions, thus making it very hard for us to decide. This understanding of sources rests on the belief that the reliability of a source is fixed rather than dependent upon the questions we ask. These students were unable to see that history is not about arbitrarily choosing between different voices from the past. "Relativists," VanSledright (2010) contends, "possess few strategies or tools for discerning better histories from others because they lack criteria for deciding and hold a weak conception of evidence" (p. 66).

THE CRITERIALIST STANCE

Some students in our study recognized that knowing history is more complex than choosing between different stories that best suit our wishes. When asked "how do we know the past?," these "criterialists" shifted the focus from personal bias to the nature of history as an inquiry process. For Teresa, "history is the study of the past. The past never changes but the interpretations we make of the past do". Unlike the previous groups, these students accept that accounts present different points of view because they are reconstructions of the past based on interpretations of the evidence.

Consider the explanation given by Tim below. "No one envisions history the same," he contends, because "my painting is representative of my own interpretation of the battle that I got from other parts of the [computer] site". Here, Tim recognizes that the sources he analyzed for his recreation were not only different but informed his own interpretation of the battle. Different questions and different sources can lead to divergent interpretations. Criteria and tools allow historians to make evidence-based accounts. More than this, it is in the nature of historical accounts to be incomplete and provisional. As Tim confesses, "unfortunately I was unable to place the First Nations people in the pictures [sic] as I was unaware of their position in the battle". Tim knows that "Indian

warriors” were key to the success of the battle. But he admits that his interpretation of the sources did not help him infer their position during the fight. This is a significant acknowledgement of historical thinking.

Tim’s analysis of his work

The war of 1812: the battle of Queenstown Heights questions

1. The original painting displayed on the website resemble the painting that I constructed. They both shared similarities such as the positioning of the American boats heading towards the town and towards the steep cliff. The British soldiers are positioned at right, top of the hill. Because the boat and people sizes on the painting program are disproportionate it is quite hard to paint an accurate picture of the battle. My painting conveyed there were more American soldiers than British. I unfortunately was unable to place the first nations people in the pictures as I was unaware of their position in the battle. In the actual battle of Queenstown Heights I imagine there were a lot more American boats, more cannons and more of an attack in the narrows of the battle site.
2. The individual who painted the original picture had a dissimilar interpretation of the battle than I. No one envisions history the same. My painting is representative of my own interpretation of the battle that I got from other parts of the site.
3. The original work isn't more or less accurate than mine. He had limited resources and therefore this took away from the accuracy of his painting. I had access to a lot more resources than him and by having this access I was able to recreate a more detached and precise portrayal of the battle.

1

2

3

1. Differences between the two paintings are presented in terms facts and design. (Realistic position) Sources do not tell everything. Lack of clues from the source on First Nations is recognized as a limit.
2. Differences explained in terms of perspectives and use of sources to create interpretations.
3. Accuracy is not a question of proximity. Access to primary sources lead to more accurate portrayal.

Another important feature of the criterialist stance is the categorization of sources as evidence for particular inferences. For realist students, sources are “pictures of the past”. They convey in a truthful way what really happened. For relativists, however, sources are “illustrations” presenting personal perspectives. Because of this we can never know the past for sure, so there is no point in looking further. For criterialists, the use of sources is different. Historians are not simply forced to choose between different stories. They can (re)create their own account of the past using an inquiry process which may lead them to arrive at conclusions different from the sources used. This disciplinary process, which calls for “sourcing heuristic”

(Wineburg, 1991), makes it possible to compare and contrast sources and arrive at sound judgements about their value and ultimately their authority.

With the criterialist stance also comes the notion that we, as 21st century agents, can potentially know more about the past than witnesses themselves. This is the realization of Tim’s sourcing activity. “The original work [of 1836],” he writes, “isn’t more or less accurate than [sic] mine. He had limited resources... I had access to a lot more resources than [sic] him and by having this access I was able to recreate a more detached and precise portrayal of the battle”. Criterialists are aware of the fact that perspective matters, but they also know that historical perspective makes it possible to look at the past with detachment. Sources are not simply “biased;” they must be placed into the particular context in which they arise and be judged accordingly. This implies temporarily suspending our own preconceived ideas to read the “subtexts” of sources as rhetorical human artifacts with hidden latent meanings (Wineburg, 2001, p. 65). Through this disciplinary mental process, it becomes possible to ask questions and generate knowledge from sources; knowledge that actors themselves might not have been aware of.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In his influential book *The Unschooled Mind*, Gardner (2004) convincingly argues that very early in life people develop explanatory frameworks and powerful ideas about the world. This “intuitive understanding,” proves to be extremely serviceable to explain everyday experiences. So when kids reach formal schooling age, they do not enter their classrooms as empty vessels. They have already acquired powerful stories about the world and the past. These ideas can be extremely useful and charming but they can also create considerable challenges to new learning simply because intuitive ideas from everyday life do not always work very well in the context of school history. Formal schooling is supposed to challenge common-sense ideas and replace them with scholastic ones. But do they? In history education, one would think that by the time students graduate from high school they should have acquired extensive knowledge about their culture and society and powerful ideas about the collective past.

Despite 12 years of formal schooling and courses in the field of history, many students have problems understanding the nature of history as a discipline. For Gardner, intuitive ideas developed early in life remain durable even after extensive exposure to scholastic thinking. Progression in disciplinary understanding is, therefore, not entirely an age-related factor. Students do not automatically get smarter in their thinking as they get older. At the Grade 12 age level, students’ ideas about history fluctuate considerably. Even

students who offered more sophisticated answers presented many inconsistencies in their explanations. More than this, the findings from this study reveal that individual students' own ideas about history are "decoupled" (Lee & Ashby, 2000, p. 213), that is, their understanding of certain concepts can be sophisticated while their understanding of other concepts is very naïve. This was particularly evident in students' explanations of the differences between their recreation and the painting of 1836. For example, they could spend considerable effort explaining how history is based on historical perspectives but naively conclude that there is only one true story of the battle.

The complex literacy practices required for creating a personal, usable history for 21st democracy have to be developed regularly and progressively. Models of progression in history, as the one presented here, cannot guarantee successful achievement for every student at the very same pace. This would be beyond any theory of history education. But they can provide students and teachers at least three additional means of actions: diagnostic assessment, course planning, and school history accountability. They can offer a structure of historical knowledge with a characterization of particular types of substantive and meta-historical concepts that provide the basis for developing more powerful ideas about the past. Models cannot (and should not) be regarded as encompassing the totality of knowledge in history. Students' own multifaceted sophistication cannot easily be captured by such progression models which present ideas in clear delineated ways. Nonetheless, they can be useful to further students' understanding of some aspects of the disciplinary structure of history. They provide teachers with a distinctive language and set of tools necessary for developing historical literacy practices that are currently lacking in our curricula, approved textbooks, and even educational parlance. As we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812, discussion on historical thinking and models of progression can help Canadians in general, and kids in particular, acquire more powerful ways of representing the past for present-day orientation.

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PLAYING WITH THE WAR OF 1812: TEACHING HISTORY WITH GAMES AND ‘PLAYFUL HISTORICAL THINKING’

Timothy Compeau is a Ph.D. candidate at Western University. His dissertation explores notions of honour among the loyalists in the American Revolution. Timothy is also active in public history and has been involved in a number of 1812 bicentennial projects. He was project manager for *Tecumseh Lies Here*, an alternate reality game, and he is the host of Canada’s History Magazine’s video series “The War of 1812 Field Guide”.

Timothy Compeau est candidat au doctorat à l'Université Western. Sa thèse explore les notions d'honneur parmi les Loyalistes de la Révolution américaine. Timothy est également actif dans l'histoire publique et a été impliqué dans un certain nombre de projets sur le bicentenaire de 1812. Il a été chef de projet pour *Tecumseh Lies Here*, un jeu en réalité alternée, et il est l'hôte de la série de vidéos de la revue Canada’s History : « The War of 1812 Field Guide ».

ABSTRACT

The complexities of the War of 1812 tend to get lost in the bicentennial commemorations. This paper explores the use of games and Robert MacDougall’s concept of “playful historical thinking” as ways to let students and museum visitors discover the conflicting interpretations and uncertainties of the war. Specifically, this paper examines the alternate reality game (ARG) *Tecumseh Lies Here* which ran in the Fall of 2011.

RÉSUMÉ

Les complexités de la guerre de 1812 ont tendance à se perdre dans les commémorations du bicentenaire. Ce document explore l'utilisation des jeux et le concept de Robert MacDougall de « la pensée historique ludique » comme moyens pour laisser les étudiants et les visiteurs du musée découvrir les interprétations contradictoires et les incertitudes de la guerre. Plus précisément, cet article examine le jeu en réalité alternée (JRA) *Tecumseh Lies Here*, qui s'est déroulé en automne 2011.

This past summer communities across Ontario commemorated the War of 1812 and celebrated 200 years of peace between the United States and Canada. Towns and cities unveiled new parks and monuments, and somewhere every weekend a period military encampment sprung up and battle re-enactments took place. Visitors were provided with clear versions of the War of 1812 which bolstered the prevailing line in the commemorations that the conflict led to a unified and independent Canada.¹ The men in red are on our side; those in blue are the invading Americans. But the War of 1812 was rarely that simple.

The complexities of the war can be seen in the history of every community the conflict touched, a reality I encountered while working with the Eastern Ontario town of Gananoque in the lead-up to their bicentennial projects. Gananoque was a strategic supply depot along the St. Lawrence River and was raided by American forces

in September 1812. The bicentennial committee came up with several interesting ideas, and in a series of private e-mails I was asked to find the identities of the militiamen who were wounded and captured during the raid so that their names could be placed on a cenotaph. It turned out that several of the captured militiamen on the list actually deserted and joined the Americans rather than fight for the British Empire. The area around Gananoque was notoriously pro-American and most settlers despised the ruling loyalist elite.² The local authorities spent much of the war hunting spies and traitors, and trying to prevent “desertions and vile elopements,” sometimes of entire families. While the Americans made one violent attack on the community and departed, the garrisoned British soldiers stripped local farms and fields in a prolonged campaign of larceny.³ Meanwhile, American merchants, eager for British gold, continued to trade with the north

shore of the St. Lawrence River. As Alan Taylor argues in his latest book, the War of 1812 was as much a civil war as a war between nations and empires and consisted of more shades of gray than red and blue.⁴

In addition to the uncertain loyalties of Gananogue's residents, the details of the American raid on the village were far from certain. The several surviving reports describe wildly different events. American newspapers reported the raid as a pitched battle between hundreds of redcoats and American soldiers while the memoirs of a young Canadian militiaman depict the attack as little more than an armed robbery, in which the "valiant Yankees" nabbed a few tick-ridden blankets and set a warehouse on fire. Between the fog of war and passage of years, we can be sure of very few details.⁵ Tasked with creating an exhibit for the Arthur Child Heritage Museum of the Thousand Islands in Gananogue,⁶ my colleague Devon Elliott and I came up with a simple yet effective way to exhibit the various accounts.⁷ We made recordings of each primary source and stored them on a miniature computer connected to a speaker hidden inside an unadorned 1812 soldier's hat. In front of the hat sit two badges – one American and one British. Sensors can distinguish between the American and British badges, and when a badge is placed on the hat, the visitor hears anecdotes of that particular perspective of the raid. In total there are eight different versions of the raid, and the visitor is encouraged to come to his or her own conclusions about what really happened.

This is a simple incarnation of what Professor Robert MacDougall of the University of Western Ontario calls "playful historical thinking". By playful he does not mean cute or cartoonish, but rather play is meant as informal ways for museum visitors, students, or the public to work out the complexities of history for themselves without being spoon-fed pre-packaged verdicts. This manner of play can be fun, but it can also be anxious and difficult. In the words of Professor MacDougall, playful historical thinking is "a healthy, productive, and even responsible way for citizens of the twenty-first century to relate to the past. It recognizes limits on our ability to fully know other peoples and times, yet makes the effort to know them just the same. It wears its certainties lightly and takes pleasure in the...mystery, and strangeness of the past".⁸ While people and governments might be looking for tales of nation building and the triumph of the "Spartan bands of Canadian Loyalist Volunteers"⁹ over powerful invaders, teaching the complexities and ambiguities of the War of 1812 is vital for a proper understanding of the conflict.

For the past few years, I and several other graduate students at Western, working under Professor MacDougall, have been exploring the use of playful historical thinking

to bring the richness of the War of 1812 to life. We focused on developing and running a new kind of game which holds promise for teaching history in complex and rewarding ways. With funding from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the Ontario Augmented Reality Network, our goal was to devise a game in which the players had to perform the tasks of practicing historians.¹⁰ They had to collect their own evidence, formulate their own theses, and construct their own historical narratives. This took the form of an "Augmented Reality Game" or "ARG" for short. Unlike video games, in which play occurs within a simulated, digital realm, ARGs exist in both the online world and in public spaces like streets, museums, and schools. Most ARGs rely on a community of players who have to work together in order to solve difficult puzzles, normally too challenging for one person to accomplish on their own. Game designers distribute clues, missions, and story elements through websites, email, text messages, and even objects sent through the mail or hidden in public spaces. Game players then use wikis, Twitter, and blogs to analyze evidence, solve puzzles, and ultimately direct the narrative of the game.¹¹ The players must question their sources and assemble a narrative based on fragmentary and contradictory evidence.

For our game, entitled *Tecumseh Lies Here*, we chose the most abiding mystery of the War of 1812: the death and disappearance of the legendary Shawnee warrior Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames in October of 1813.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee Prophet, worked to unify the First Nations of the Old Northwest into a confederation to resist advancing American settlers. In 1812 this loose confederation formed an alliance with British forces in Upper Canada. In spite of early successes along the Detroit frontier, by late 1813 the British under General Proctor abandoned the Detroit River and were in full retreat, much to the horror and astonishment of Tecumseh and his followers. Tecumseh managed to convince Proctor to make a stand near the village of Moraviantown, which resulted in a decisive American victory at the Battle of the Thames. Tecumseh was killed, the British fled, and the dream of a Native confederacy was destroyed. Controversy erupted almost immediately following the battle as to what had happened to Tecumseh's remains. Some eye witnesses reported that Tecumseh was mutilated and carved into grisly trophies by the victors, others that he was spirited away by his warriors and buried in a secret tomb known only to a select few. The mystery of Tecumseh's death and burial has never been solved, but throughout the generations many people have sought his grave.¹²

The mystery of the whereabouts of Tecumseh's remains was only one layer of our story. We wanted the players to engage with the many ways in which the history of Tecumseh and the War of 1812 in general has been used and abused. Tecumseh's legacy and the circumstances surrounding his death remain sensitive issues considering the long history of white misrepresentation of First Peoples. Tecumseh has been embraced by Americans as the romantic epitome of the noble savage and the free spirit of the Native American. Canadians claim him as a martyr for the cause of independence from the United States. He is even one of the four principal Canadian heroes selected by the government.¹³ We are aware that our game could seem to perpetuate the same macabre fixation with Tecumseh's grave that the game critiques, but we wanted *Tecumseh Lies Here* to be a subversive sort of commemoration which challenged these nationalist myths and outdated ideas.

Tecumseh Lies Here focussed on London, Ontario and the surrounding area and it took place in real time over the course of about two weeks. E-mails from mysterious and quirky characters started things off, and the players encountered an online video of man in a green Napoleonic-era uniform, trapped in a room, with no memory of who he was or why he was there, just snippets of a forced march, coloured leaves, and an impending sense of doom. Through a scattered set of clues, the players figured out that our trapped soldier was named Captain Smith, a re-enactor who, like so many people before him, was on a misguided quest for the lost grave of Tecumseh. Had he become so consumed with his search that he lost his grip on reality? Or had he uncovered some nefarious secret and was now paying the price? Players had to solve the mystery by following clues from Smith's research notes, much of which was in code. One of their first tasks was translating a note from Shawnee into English, which led our players to Western's Weldon library and a copy of Edward Eggleston's unflattering history of Tenskwatawa from 1890.¹⁴ This started them on a hunt through the library and through the historiography of Tecumseh, from the earliest histories to modern scholarship, all disguised as a search for a missing person. In each book we hid clues, such as newspaper clippings or copies of letters from the War of 1812, which led to more puzzles and more information. Our intent was to guide them through the evolution of the myth of Tecumseh in American and Canadian national histories. Eventually the players, like historians beginning their research, had compiled a set of secondary sources and built a timeline of the circumstances and controversies surrounding the Battle of the Thames, all the while trying to figure out how to save the hapless Captain Smith. Meanwhile our characters tried to confuse the players by confronting them with erroneous

facts, forged documents, and competing interpretations. The players had to learn how to decode several clues using encryption techniques that would have been familiar to Napoleonic officers – Vigniere squares, book ciphers, and even a primitive form of an enigma machine developed by Thomas Jefferson. Players could interact with the fictional characters in real time through twitter, e-mail, and even text messages and voice mail, creating an immersive experience which was, according to our student testers, often tense and accompanied by an eerie feeling that “this is not a game”.

The game took players beyond their computers to track down clues at local historical sites such as the Museum of Ontario Archaeology, an 1812-era cemetery, Fanshawe Pioneer Village and sites in and around London rumoured to be the possible resting places of the Shawnee warrior.¹⁵ For the finale the players had to use a reverse GPS box, created once again by Devon Elliott, which contained the last clues. It could only be unlocked after the players had visited specific locations, including the alleged place where Tecumseh was killed, just outside the village of Thamesville.

The response from our test players was very positive.¹⁶ The collaborative, collective nature of the game produced some surprising and unexpected results. Puzzles that relied on obscure references to very minor events in the War of 1812 were solved with amazing speed. Our players arrived at far different conclusions and went down surprisingly different avenues than we expected. Their own discoveries had us re-writing the game and adapting our own ideas to the narrative they produced. In the end the players were able to free Smith, thwart the bad guys, and explore the various interpretations of the Battle of the Thames, the contributions of the First Peoples, and wider legacies of the War of 1812. They not only confronted the ambiguities and mysteries of the war, but how the conflict has been used and abused ever since. Our team at Western is currently working on another version of *Tecumseh Lies Here* to coincide with the bicentennial of the Battle of the Thames in October 2013.

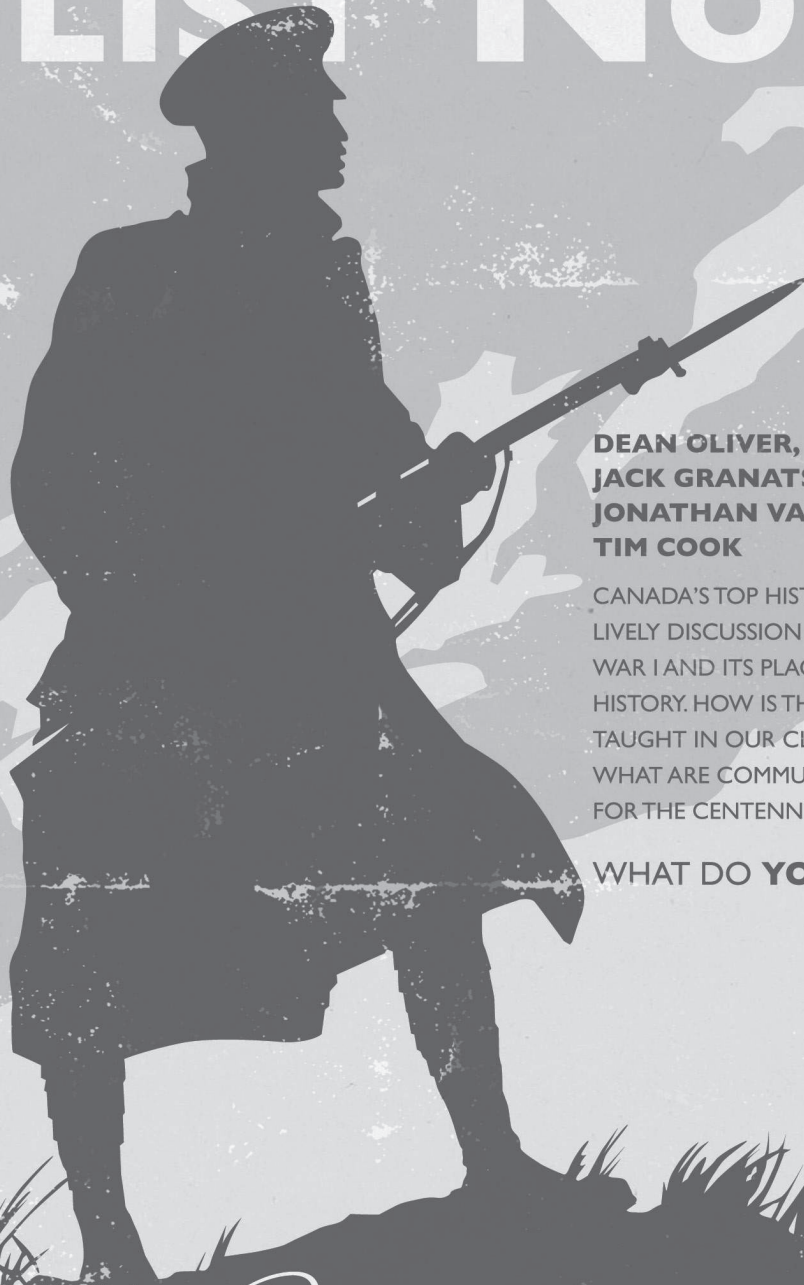
Teaching the uncertainties of history may be the trickiest thing for public educators to accomplish. Confusion, anxiety, and disillusionment are all possible outcomes for our students and museum visitors. But teaching them to question the accepted narratives is vital for forming critically thinking citizens. By allowing our students the freedom to think playfully and question the history they are taught – be that through counterfactuals, games, or engaging with the primary sources – they are able to achieve their own insights and discoveries. While large and complex games like *Tecumseh Lies Here* are likely not feasible for every institution, playful historical

thinking can be employed in a variety of ways not just to liven up the classroom or museum, but to introduce new ways of thinking about the past. From small examples like the talking shako in Gananoque to the expansive world of ARGs, playful historical thinking has shown its potential to engage audiences and deliver rewarding and resonating experiences with history.

NOTES

- ¹ The Canadian government lists the lasting contributions of the War of 1812: <http://1812.gc.ca/eng/1305743100762/1305743162190>.
- ² Glen Lockwood, *The Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne: The Making of Community on the Gananoque River Frontier, 1796-1996* (Carleton Place, ON: Motion Creative Printing, 1996): 96-97.
- ³ Letter from Joel Stone to Nathaniel Coffin, 13 March 1814. Letter from Nathaniel Coffin to Joel Stone, 19 November, 1814. Queen's University Archives, Joel Stone Papers.
- ⁴ Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels & Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010).
- ⁵ *The Pittsfield Sun* (Pittsfield, Massachusetts) Oct. 8 1812. Memoirs of Hiel Sliter, taken from Glen Lockwood, *The Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne...96-97*, and Thaddeus Leavitt, *The History of Leeds and Grenville* (Belleville, ON: Mika Silk Screening, 1972 [1879]): 39.
- ⁶ <http://www.1000islandsheritagemuseum.com>.
- ⁷ <http://devonelliott.net>.
- ⁸ <http://www.robmacdougall.org/blog/2010/03/playful-historical-thinking/> The quotation is from Robert MacDougall and Timothy Compeau, "Tecumseh Lies Here: Goals and Challenges for a Pervasive History Game in Progress," in Kevin Kee, ed., *Pastplay: Playing with Technology and History* (Forthcoming).
- ⁹ Egerton Ryerson, *The Loyalists of America and their Times, From 1620-1816*, Vol. 2 (Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1880): 379.
- ¹⁰ <http://www.oarn.net/>.
- ¹¹ For more background on the history and uses of ARGs see: Dave Szulborski, *This Is Not A Game: A Guide to Alternate Reality Gaming* (Macungie, PA: New Fiction Publishing, 2005); Jane McGonigal, "This Might Be a Game: Ubiquitous Play and Performance at the Turn of the Twenty-First Century" (Ph.D. diss, University of California at Berkeley, 2006); Markus Montola et al, *Pervasive Games: Theory and Design* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2009).
- ¹² For the most comprehensive examination of the mystery surrounding the death of Tecumseh see: Guy St. Denis, *Tecumseh's Bones* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2005). For a history of Tecumseh's career and historical significance see: R. David Edmunds, *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984) and John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998).
- ¹³ <http://1812.gc.ca/eng/1339440491192/1339441158221>.
- ¹⁴ Edward Eggleston, *The Shawnee Prophet: or, the Story of Tecumseh; including sketches of Indian Chiefs, Famous in the Frontier Wars* (London: Lock & Co., 1890).
- ¹⁵ The Museum of Ontario Archaeology: <http://www.uwo.ca/museum/> and the Fanshawe Pioneer Village <http://www.fanshawepioneervillage.ca/> both enthusiastically helped during the running of our game.
- ¹⁶ See the blog post by one of our players, Adriana Ayers, at: <http://activehistory.ca/2012/05/tecumseh-lies-here/>.

ENLIST Now!



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JACK GRANATSTEIN,
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COMMEMORATING TECUMSEH

Dr. Robin Jarvis Brownlie is an Associate Professor in the Department of History at the University of Manitoba and the author of *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* (Oxford University Press 2003). Dr. Brownlie has published widely on issues such as Crown-First Nation relations, Aboriginal rights and treaties, oral history, and Aboriginal perspectives on history. Her newest publication is a volume co-edited with Dr. Valerie Korinek, *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012).

Dr. Robin Jarvis Brownlie est une professeure agrégée au département d'histoire à l'Université du Manitoba et l'auteur de « *A Fatherly Eye: Indian Agents, Government Power, and Aboriginal Resistance in Ontario, 1918-1939* » (Oxford University Press 2003). Dr Brownlie a beaucoup publié sur des enjeux tels que les relations entre la Couronne et les Premières nations, les droits autochtones et les traités, l'histoire orale et les perspectives autochtones sur l'histoire. Sa plus récente publication est un volume co-édité avec Dr Valerie Korinek : « *Finding a Way to the Heart: Feminist Writings on Aboriginal and Women's History in Canada* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012) ».

ABSTRACT

Tecumseh has inspired many tributes in the past two centuries. In Upper Canada, he was quickly adopted as a symbol of the colony's resistance to American invasion, becoming a major figure in a colonial nation-building discourse. Examining the literature produced in Upper Canada, this paper argues that the Shawnee leader's legacy has been appropriated in the service of the colonization process that he spent his life trying to stop. As Canadians reflect on the 200th anniversary of the War of 1812, it is appropriate to ask what it means to commemorate Tecumseh in Canada at this time.

RÉSUMÉ

Tecumseh a inspiré plusieurs hommages dans les deux derniers siècles. Au Haut-Canada, il fut rapidement adopté comme un symbole de résistance de la colonie face à l'invasion américaine, devenant une figure majeure dans le discours colonial de l'édification de la nation. En examinant la littérature produite par le Haut-Canada, ce texte argumente que le legs du leader de Shawnee a été approprié au profit du processus de colonisation qu'il a passé sa vie à tenter d'arrêter. Tandis que les Canadiens célèbrent le 200^e anniversaire de la guerre de 1812, il est approprié de demander la signification de la commémoration de Tecumseh au Canada de nos jours.

The commemoration of Tecumseh, the brilliant Shawnee warrior, leader, and pan-Indigenous organizer, has a long history. From the early nineteenth century to the present, he has inspired biographies, commentaries, and literary productions, most of them from non-Indigenous people.¹ American, British, and Canadian authors have penned tributes to his courage, vision, and leadership. Indeed, he has been lionized by a series of German authors as well. His biographer, John Sugden, notes that no other Indigenous leader in North American history has been the subject of as many books, popular and scholarly alike. His image has been pressed into service for many purposes—nation-building discourses, anti-American propaganda, justification of the colonial project, entertainment, even the promotion of Nazi values in Germany.² As Canadians reflect on the 200th anniversary of the war that ended his life, it is worth posing questions about what it means to commemorate Tecumseh in Canada at this time, under

these socio-political circumstances, and in consideration of the historical contexts that shaped his life.

There are good reasons for Tecumseh's enduring fame. He was a man of exceptional ability who combined remarkable skills in diplomacy, oratory, and military strategy with courage, purpose, and charisma. He impressed everyone he met, friend and foe alike, and the earliest testimonies to his virtues were produced while he was still alive. His greatest adversary, US General William Harrison, called him "one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions, and overturn the established order of things".³ The British commander of Upper Canada, General Isaac Brock, wrote shortly after meeting him, "a more sagacious or more gallant Warrior does not I believe exist. He was the admiration of every one who conversed with him ..."⁴

Tecumseh is prominent in the current commemorations of the War of 1812. Most of the online texts that describe his participation in the war state clearly that his reason for joining the British was to continue his long struggle against the aggressive expansion of the United States—not to “fight for Canada.”⁵ It is possible that he had a particular antipathy to the American “Long Knives,” who had killed his father, his older brother, and many others who opposed further encroachment. The Americans’ massive dispossession of the Shawnee and neighbouring nations in Tecumseh’s lifetime had been rapid and ruthless, accomplished primarily by means of brute force and bloodshed, combined with coerced treaties. Yet Tecumseh had also witnessed the duplicity of Britain, which had encouraged Indigenous resistance to American expansion in the 1790s, but then closed Fort Miami to its Indigenous allies in 1794 in their hour of need.⁶ The British were a lesser evil compared to the Americans, given their much slower pace of land appropriation, but they were also clearly seeking to replicate their lost American colony in the lands they still held. Tecumseh joined forces with them in 1812 only to pursue his own goals.

After Tecumseh’s death in October 1813 at the Battle of Moraviantown, he quickly became a symbol—of Indigenous warfare and resistance, of the War of 1812, and specifically of Upper Canadian resistance to American invasion. Upper Canadians adopted the Shawnee leader as a war hero who had been centrally important in repelling the initial American invasions and saving the colony from swift annexation. In works of fiction and histories of the war itself, they created a literature that reflected the role they assigned to Tecumseh in their nation-building discourses. The first writings on Tecumseh took the form of long poems, two of which were published in the 1820s. Poets George Longmore and John Richardson, both born and raised in the Canadas, wrote these works as part of their efforts to help found a “national” literature and identity.⁷ In the decades that followed, a number of Upper Canadian works on the War of 1812 appeared, also showing an obvious intent to bolster an Upper Canadian identity as well as express a widely felt antagonism toward Americans.⁸ In these works, there was invariably a passage on Tecumseh, paying him tribute as a warrior, a saviour of the British colony, and an exceptional example of an Indigenous man—one who stood out in part by contradicting the negative colonial images of Indigenous people that had become so ubiquitous.

The early Canadian literature about Tecumseh displays several characteristic features. One is that the glorification of the Shawnee warrior had distinct patterns and limitations. Though he was depicted as a great fighter

and a wise and powerful leader, the notion of savagery frequently overrode other aspects of the narrative. When Tecumseh himself was not being portrayed as “savage,” he was being praised for avoiding or preventing “savage” behaviours such as torture, execution of war prisoners, or alcohol use. Moreover, whether Tecumseh himself was honoured or disparaged, these works tended to offer largely negative portrayals of Britain’s other Indigenous allies. Longmore and Richardson, authors of the two poems of the 1820s, ostensibly intended to honour Tecumseh, but each also undermined the laudatory message. Both works made it clear in different ways that an Indigenous man could not be equal to a British man. A mid-century chronicler of the War of 1812, Gilbert Auchinleck, had only positive words for Tecumseh himself, but left no doubt that other Indigenous people were fatally flawed. Poet John Richardson also wrote novels and a well-known chronicle of the War of 1812, and in these works he often depicted Indigenous people as cruel, warlike, and given to violation of European military protocols.⁹

The two long poems that initiated Canadian tributes to Tecumseh betrayed a deep ambivalence about their subject. While George Longmore and John Richardson displayed admiration for Tecumseh in many ways and to some extent glorified his image, they also condemned his fellow Indigenous warriors and, more broadly, the culture from which he stemmed. For George Longmore, a veteran of the continental Napoleonic wars who was born and raised in Lower Canada, Tecumseh was a noble warrior, handsome, proud, free, and brave. In his 1824 poem “Tecumthé. A Poetical Tale in Three Cantos,” Longmore credits his subject with having “shewn an intellect endued / With more than common powers of mind” and lauds him as “**Tecumthe**, foremost ‘midst the brave / Who scorn the hand which would enslave.”¹⁰ Longmore’s Tecumseh is graced with reason and the instinct for freedom, while the Shawnee society that nurtured him is represented as offering the virtues of simplicity, healthfulness, freedom, and spontaneity. Clearly, in many ways this portrayal accorded with the Noble Savage image. Yet Longmore did not fully embrace the primitivist approach, which has typically judged Indigenous cultures superior in key ways to western ones.¹¹ Instead, in the end he found Tecumseh wanting because he had no western schooling. Despite some impressive qualities, the Shawnee leader was still “the savage of the woods,” and an “untutored soul,”¹² and thus forever set apart from the educated, cultivated British. Thus, as literary scholar Leslie Monkman points out, “in a poem ostensibly honouring Tecumseh, he is ultimately denied his place in ‘the immortal page of Fame’ because of his lack of what the white man calls education.”¹³

John Richardson, a veteran of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada, where he was born and raised, was in some ways even more admiring of the man he honoured with his long poem *Tecumseh, or the Warrior of the West*.¹⁴ He declared that his work was written to “rescue the name of a hero from oblivion” and “preserve the memory of one of the noblest and most gallant spirits that ever tenanted the breast of man”.¹⁵ Richardson’s Tecumseh was a “towering warrior” of “godlike form”, a “monument of strength” with a “mighty arm”.¹⁶ The poet presented his subject as wise and prudent in his counsels, brave in battle, merciful in protecting American war prisoners from execution by Indigenous warriors. Yet this is only, in effect, half of Richardson’s characterization of the Shawnee leader. Much of his text is devoted to showing Tecumseh as a ferocious and insatiable killer, driven by “the hot fires of hatred”¹⁷ and a lust for revenge. He portrays him “rag[ing] through the deep phalanx / Of deadliest enemies soon bath’d in blood, / Whose quivering scalps, half-crimson’d in their gore, / The reeking warrior from the spoilers bore”.¹⁸ Tecumseh is determined to avenge the wounds of his people “With the deep groans of those he pledg’d to chase / Like the fierce monsters of his native wood, / Till gorg’d with victims and with human blood”.¹⁹ Richardson ends his poem with Tecumseh’s death in the Battle of Moraviantown and the desecration inflicted on his body by American soldiers. The warrior falls with “Rage in his heart, and vengeance in his glance,”²⁰ while the Americans are excoriated as “wild hell-fiends” for their dishonourable treatment of his remains. It is an ugly final picture, and hardly one that leaves the impression of the “noble and gallant spirit” Richardson sought to preserve in memory.

In his 1855 chronicle of the War of 1812, Gilbert Auchinleck praised Tecumseh’s physical strength and agility, his eloquence and “lofty spirit,” his ability to control his followers in the field and to “prescribe in the council”.²¹ He noted with approval Tecumseh’s plain attire, so different from the “gaudy decoration” favoured by “other savages,” and highlighted his rejection of alcohol, while damning Indigenous people as a group for their alleged alcoholism.²² Much of the rest of Auchinleck’s passage on Tecumseh’s character was devoted to condemning the Americans for their treatment of both Tecumseh’s memory and Indigenous people in general. He set about showing that, despite the Americans’ claim that Tecumseh “neither gave nor accepted quarter,” the Americans themselves had a much poorer record in this regard and in some cases actually boasted about the fact that they gave no quarter to Indians. Similarly, Auchinleck highlighted the mangling of Tecumseh’s body by Kentuckians and offered a critical reading of published American attempts to justify this behaviour.²³

Ultimately, these early works were designed to use Tecumseh and the War of 1812 as vehicles and symbols to promote national identity in Upper Canada. They were written in an era when the notion of “savagery” dominated the western view of Indigenous cultures, and when Americans and British were still trading accusations over the war and both parties’ treatment of Indigenous peoples. Britain’s use of Indigenous allies in the War of 1812 had been the object of American attacks, as in previous conflicts. British and Upper Canadian writers countered with a critique of US aggression against both British territories and Indigenous peoples. Narratives about Tecumseh offered opportunities to criticize this aggression and the plight of the dispossessed, who had, in Richardson’s words, “scarce a land to weep— / Scarce room where now their mighty dead may sleep”.²⁴ Longmore also referenced the relentlessness of Indigenous territorial loss, describing Tecumseh as “Driven from the shore, which was his home” by “Rapine with voracious hand”.²⁵

In short, early Upper Canadian writing about Tecumseh was designed to co-opt this influential Indigenous leader, re-making him as a symbol of Upper Canadian resistance to the United States and its empire-building. Though the tone and details of subsequent portrayals shifted with changing views of colonization and Indigenous people, Canada has not abandoned its grasp on Tecumseh as a symbolic figure. He has been thoroughly incorporated by now into the pantheon of Canadian heroes as an integral part of Canada’s nation-building discourse. His legacy, in other words, has been appropriated in the service of the colonization process that he spent his life trying to stop. This approach can only be seen as a tragically ironic distortion of the Shawnee warrior’s legacy. Tecumseh dedicated his life to halting the colonization of Indigenous lands and preserving his people’s sovereignty and way of life. While his primary target was the advancing United States, there is no doubt that he would also have been ardently opposed to the expansion of settlement in British North America that followed the War of 1812.

Strikingly, the current testimonies to his war heroism overlook the fact that his cooperation with the British got him nowhere. He lost not only his life, but also his entire resistance campaign. Most university-level Canadian history books now acknowledge that the greatest losers in the War of 1812, as in the War of the American Revolution, were not the nation states, but Indigenous nations. Not only did these peoples lose their most inspiring and capable leader at the time, Tecumseh himself, but his confederacy was destroyed and its constituent nations overrun by the United States. The armistice signed between Great Britain and the United States restored pre-war boundaries and left the US free to continue its growth at the expense

of the Indigenous nations to its west and south. In Upper Canada, meanwhile, the advent of peace helped spark a massive influx of British immigrants whose arrival led to the dispossession—largely, but not entirely, by treaty—of most of Britain’s Indigenous allies in the War of 1812.²⁶

Far from being a patriot for Canada, Tecumseh was opposed to the basis of the colony’s existence, which was to claim Indigenous territories for the British Empire and fill them with British settlers. Safely in his grave, he became available 199 years ago for the discursive purposes of a literate culture eager to justify, unify, and identify itself. He has been associated with Canada ever since—in the minds of Canadians, at least—even though he had no real connection with the place, apart from a few visits to Fort Malden, short stays during the war, and his death on Upper Canadian soil. It is perilously easy to misuse the memory of Tecumseh, to use his iconic image in the service of aims contrary to his own. He died fighting the world view and geopolitical practices that dominated Upper Canada at the time and have shaped Canada ever since. He was a key figure in a movement of resistance to colonization that stretches unbroken from the seventeenth century to the present. Though his inclusion in discussions of the War of 1812 is appropriate and important, surely he also deserves more acknowledgment of the anti-colonial motivations that led him to lay down his life for Indigenous sovereignty. In commemorating the war two hundred years later, both Canada and the United States are engaging in a nation-building exercise that celebrates their completion of the vast colonial project of seizing North America. Then, as now, that project was pursued at the expense of Tecumseh and all the peoples of his country, the Turtle Island that predates Canada by thousands of years.

NOTES

¹ According to Tecumseh biographer John Sugden, the Shawnee and other Indigenous nations have oral traditions about Tecumseh, which I have not researched at this point. In the nineteenth century one book was published by an Indigenous researcher with some content relating to Tecumseh, namely the book written by Wyandot Chief Peter Dooyentate Clarke, *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts: and sketches of other Indian Tribes of North America, true traditional stories of Tecumseh and his league in the years 1811 and 1812* (Toronto, 1870).

² John Sugden, *Tecumseh: A Life* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997): ix; 393-5.

³ Governor William Harrison to the War Dept, Aug 6, 1811, in Carl F. Klinck, ed., *Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1978): 89.

⁴ Isaac Brock to Earl of Liverpool, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, York, Aug. 29, 1812, in Carl Klinck, *Tecumseh: Fact and Fiction in Early Records* (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1978): 141, reprinted from E.A. Cruikshank, ed., *Documents Relating to the Invasion of Canada and the Surrender of Detroit, 1812* (Publications of the Canadian Archives—N° 7, Ottawa, 1912): 192-193.

⁵ See, for example, the biography by Herbert Goltz on “The War of 1812 Website,” at <http://www.warof1812.ca/tecumseh.htm>; another website entitled “War of 1812,” found at <http://www.eighteenthelove.ca/?q=eng/Topic/6>; “1812 Ontario,” at <http://www.1812ontario.ca/history/important-people/tecumseh/>. Though the Canadian federal government website, “The War of 1812,” emphasizes Tecumseh’s military victories and positive relationship with Brock, it too acknowledges his primary opposition to the US: see <http://1812.gc.ca/eng/1340029669001> and <http://1812.gc.ca/eng/1317828221939/1317828660198#a4>.

⁶ Sugden, *Tecumseh*, 88-90, 310, 328. In 1794, Tecumseh was among the retreating warriors who were denied entrance to Britain’s Fort Miami after their defeat by US forces in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. He was also aware of Britain’s failure to protect Indigenous interests after the American Revolution, despite their many promises during the conflict.

⁷ George Longmore, “Tecumthé. A Poetical Tale in Three Cantos,” Montreal: *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal* (December 1824); John Richardson, *Tecumseh, or the Warrior of the West*. A poem in four cantos (London: R. Glynn, 1828).

⁸ Examples include John Richardson’s *War of 1812* (republished as Alexander Casselman, ed., *Richardson’s War of 1812*. Toronto: Historical Publishing Co., 1902); G. [Gilbert] Auchinleck, *A History of the War between Great Britain and the United States of America During the Years 1812, 1813 & 1814* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1972; orig. Toronto 1855); William Coffin, *1812: The War, and Its Moral*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1864.

⁹ Richardson’s publications on the War of 1812 include *A Canadian Campaign*, published serially in the *New Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* (London: Colburn) in 1826-7, and *War of 1812, first series; containing a full and detailed narrative of the operations of the right division, of the Canadian army* ([Brockville], 1842) He also wrote the novels *Wacousta*, *Hardscrabble*, and *Wau-nan-gee*, all with significant content relating to Indigenous warfare.

¹⁰ George Longmore, “Tecumthé. A Poetical Tale in Three Cantos,” Montreal: *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal* (December 1824), Canto III, lines 147-8: 161.

¹¹ Leslie Monkman, *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981): 5.

¹² Longmore, “Tecumthé,” Canto I, lines 145-198.

¹³ Leslie Monkman, *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981): 105.

¹⁴ John Richardson, *Tecumseh, or the Warrior of the West*. A poem in four cantos (London: R. Glynn, 1828).

¹⁵ John Richardson, *Tecumseh, or the Warrior of the West*. A poem in four cantos (London: R. Glynn, 1828), Preface, p. V.

¹⁶ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto I, Stanzas XXVII and XXIX.

¹⁷ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto I, Stanza XL.

¹⁸ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto I, Stanza XXIX.

¹⁹ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto I, Stanza XXXVI.

²⁰ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto 4, Stanza LI.

²¹ G. [Gilbert] Auchinleck, *A History of the War between Great Britain and the United States of America During the Years 1812, 1813 & 1814* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1972; orig. Toronto 1855): 229.

²² *Ibid.*: 229-230.

²³ Auchinleck, *History of the War*: 230-231.

²⁴ Richardson, *Tecumseh*, Canto 2, stanza XX.

²⁵ Longmore, "Tecumthé," Canto 3, lines 149-150.

²⁶ For an account of the significant role of squatting and illegal land seizure in the dispossession of southern Ontario First Nations, see Sidney Haring, *White Man's Law. Native People in Nineteenth-century Canadian Jurisprudence*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

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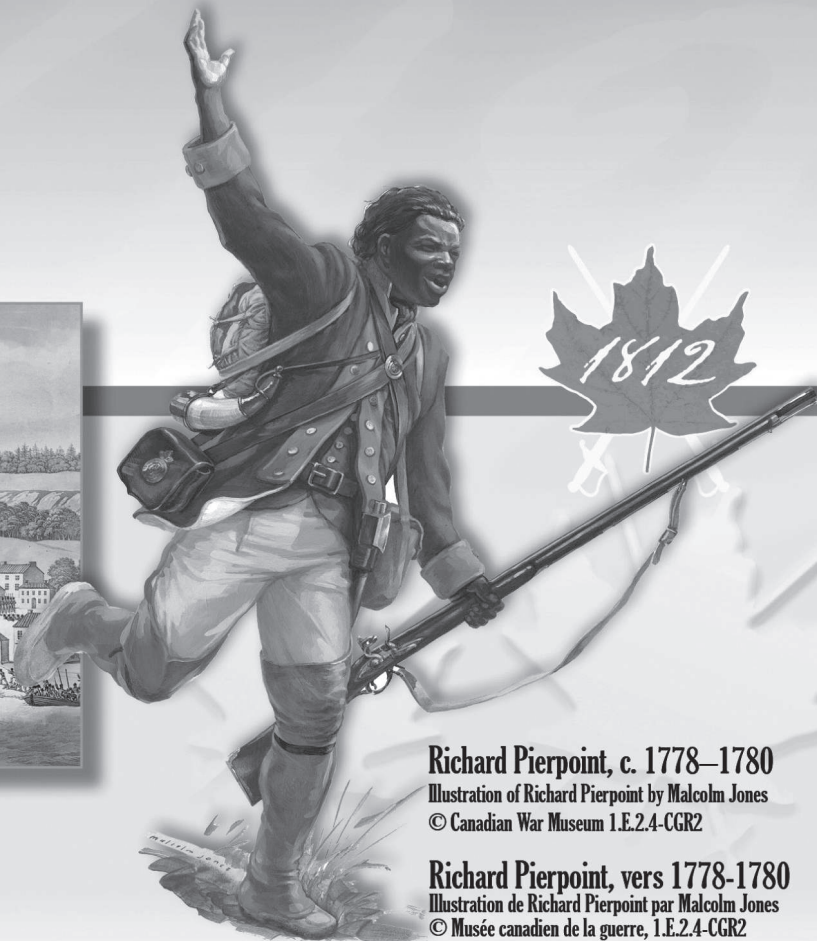
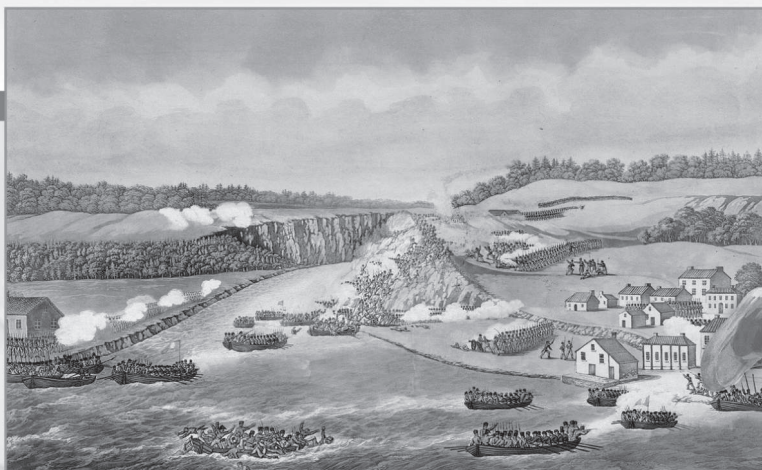
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Illustration de Richard Pierpoint par Malcolm Jones
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LES ACADIENS DU NOUVEAU-BRUNSWICK ET LA GUERRE DE 1812

Maurice Basque est historien et conseiller scientifique à l'Institut d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton. Il a publié plusieurs livres et articles sur différents aspects de la culture et de l'histoire de l'Acadie. Avec son collègue André Duguay, il travaille actuellement à un livre sur la participation acadienne à la guerre de 1812.

Maurice Basque is an historian and is scientific advisor at the *Institut d'études acadiennes de l'Université de Moncton*. He published several books and articles on different aspects of Acadian culture and history. He is presently working on a book, with his colleague André Duguay, on the Acadian participation in the War of 1812.

RÉSUMÉ

En examinant de près la participation acadienne à la guerre de 1812, il en ressort une pluralité de comportements, allant de l'enrôlement dans les milices locales à la neutralité en passant par l'hostilité à l'endroit des soldats britanniques.

ABSTRACT

When looking closely at the Acadian participation in the War of 1812, many behaviors become apparent such as active participation in local militias, a neutral stance in the conflict and hostility towards British soldiers.

Le bicentenaire de la guerre de 1812 est à l'origine de plusieurs nouvelles études sur l'importance de ce conflit dans les colonies de l'Amérique du Nord britannique. Le Nouveau-Brunswick n'échappe pas à cette affirmation. De nombreux livres, parus récemment, examinent entre autres la participation de la milice de cette colonie dans la guerre contre le voisin américain¹ ou encore le rôle joué par la marine britannique sur les côtes du Nouveau-Brunswick². Déjà en 1962, l'historien W. Austin Squires avait publié un ouvrage très détaillé consacré à un régiment du Nouveau-Brunswick qui avait fait une longue marche à l'hiver 1813 jusqu'à Kingston pour participer à la défense du Haut-Canada³.

Cette historiographie, si elle est en train de se renouveler du côté des historiens anglophones, fait très peu de place à la participation acadienne à la guerre de 1812-1814. Les Acadiens étaient pourtant présents dans plusieurs compagnies de milices du Nouveau-Brunswick dès la fin du 18^e siècle et certains d'entre eux détenaient des commissions de capitaine, tel par exemple le négociant Otho Robichaud de Néguaac dans la Péninsule acadienne⁴. Étant donné que le refus d'une fidélité inconditionnelle à la couronne britannique de la part des Acadiens avait été l'une des grandes causes de leur expulsion de l'Acadie entre

1755 et 1762, il est intéressant d'examiner leurs réactions au conflit entre la Grande-Bretagne et les jeunes États-Unis d'Amérique au début du 19^e siècle. Se réfugieront-ils encore dans un discours politique axé sur la neutralité et qui avait été à l'origine de leur désignation de, "Français neutres" de la Nouvelle-Écosse?

Les études consacrées aux communautés acadiennes des Maritimes qui ont vu le jour après les pénibles années du Grand Déplacement, dans le dernier quart du 18^e siècle et dans la première moitié du 19^e siècle, peinent encore à examiner de près les différents comportements des Acadiens face aux questions militaires et politiques de leur époque. L'image de petits villages acadiens répartis le long des côtes et repliés sur eux-mêmes, presque hors de leur siècle, n'est pas complètement disparue de l'historiographie contemporaine. La participation acadienne à la guerre de 1812 permet ainsi de nuancer un peu plus cette interprétation.

Grâce, entre autres, aux recherches de l'historien Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc⁵, il est possible d'établir qu'au moins une centaine d'Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick se sont enrôlés dans la milice lors du conflit de 1812-1814. Dans la région de Richibuctou, par exemple, sise dans le sud-est de la province, de jeunes Acadiens, laissant de

côté la neutralité de leurs pères, se sont portés volontaires en grand nombre. Écrivant en 1813, le lieutenant-colonel Joseph Gubbins, en tournée d'inspection de la milice néo-brunswickoise, relatait au sujet de cette nouvelle loyauté affichée à l'endroit des Britanniques :

*As for their loyalty to the British Government, when contending with the United States we need be under no apprehension, for there appears to exist a hatred, resembling a natural antipathy, between the bigotted French and the irreligious or fanatical Bostonians (as the Americans are called by them)*⁶.

L'officier Gubbins souligne que cette participation acadienne à la milice locale dans un moment de conflit est en bonne partie due à l'influence de l'évêque de Québec, monseigneur Joseph-Octave Plessis, qui, lors de sa visite pastorale dans la région en 1812, avait prêché avec force le devoir des Acadiens de demeurer fidèle à la couronne britannique. Plessis tenait donc le même discours aux Acadiens qu'aux Canadiens, c'est-à-dire de remercier la Providence d'avoir sauvé les catholiques de langue française des colonies de l'Amérique du Nord britannique des horreurs de la Révolution française et de l'Empire⁷. La visite de l'évêque Plessis dans le nord-est de la province en 1812 aura sans doute également contribué à l'enrôlement de plusieurs Acadiens dans la compagnie de milice locale⁸. De plus, on ne comptait pas seulement Otho Robichaud comme capitaine cette fois-ci, mais aussi d'autres Acadiens tels que Jean-Baptiste Légère et Jean-Baptiste Thériault de la région de Caraquet, principale communauté acadienne des rives néo-brunswickoises de la baie des Chaleurs. Le statut de capitaine de milice et même ceux des postes subalternes comme lieutenant ou enseigne ne sont pas à négliger dans cette société où les distinctions étaient rares, donc plus convoitées. Rappelons que dans les communautés catholiques, les capitaines de milice avaient droit au premier banc, situé en avant, à l'église paroissiale. D'ailleurs, à Caraquet, le capitaine de milice canadien-français Nicolas Boucher, qui avait participé à la guerre de 1812-1814, avait justement essayé d'utiliser son statut d'officier de milice pour s'accaparer le premier banc, ce que le curé lui refusa.

Si les exemples ne manquent donc pas pour illustrer la participation acadienne à la guerre de 1812, d'autres illustrent le contraire, c'est-à-dire un refus de s'enrôler et un sentiment de méfiance très prononcé à l'endroit des Britanniques. Ainsi dans la région de Memramcook, dans le sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick, les Acadiennes accueillent avec des cris et des larmes l'ordonnance des officiers

britanniques qui stipulait que les Acadiens devaient faire partie de la milice. L'image des tuniques rouges de ces militaires rappelait les années noires de la Déportation, un événement encore très présent dans la mémoire des Acadiens puisqu'une bonne partie d'entre eux l'avait vécu⁹. Réactions assez différentes des Acadiens du nord du Nouveau-Brunswick, déportés ou fils de déportés, qui marcheront dans les mêmes compagnies de milice, côte-à-côte avec des Loyalistes et d'autres sujets britanniques dans les mêmes compagnies de milice pour combattre l'ennemi américain.

Une autre région du Nouveau-Brunswick s'est aussi distinguée par son refus de participer activement au conflit. Le Madawaska, situé dans le nord-ouest de la province, aux confins des États-Unis et du Bas-Canada, a préféré afficher une neutralité pragmatique, ne souhaitant pas s'attirer les foudres des voisins américains avec qui ils cohabitaient. La frontière entre le Nouveau-Brunswick et les États-Unis à l'époque n'était pas clairement définie, ce qui a également contribué à la tiédeur des Madawaskayens, confrontés à la question de loyauté au monarque de Londres. L'officier britannique John Le Couteur, qui a pris part à la longue marche de l'hiver 1813 du 104^e régiment d'infanterie de Fredericton à Kingston, ne remarqua pas ces sentiments récalcitrants de la part de la communauté acadienne du Madawaska, mais cita plutôt son accueil très chaleureux à l'endroit du régiment qui traversait la région¹⁰.

En examinant de plus près la participation des Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick à la guerre de 1812, il est permis de constater que la communauté acadienne de cette province n'a pas réagi uniformément à ce conflit. Pour les notables des petits villages, les commissions d'officier de milice venaient s'ajouter à d'autres postes et fonctions qu'ils occupaient, faisant de ces hommes des acteurs incontournables de leur communauté et de leur région. Pour d'autres, sans doute pour les plus jeunes, la volonté de s'enrôler dans la milice dans un contexte de conflit peut être associée à une quête d'aventure ou encore à l'acquisition de pièces sonnantes. Rappelons que les miliciens touchaient une solde, et dans une société qui fonctionnait essentiellement sur le troc, des pièces d'or ou d'argent n'étaient certes pas à négliger. Mais le désir de mobilité sociale n'explique pas tout. Le souvenir de 1755 est plus que présent et les Britanniques, pour plusieurs, sont toujours l'ennemi qui les a chassés de leurs terres. Enfin, la neutralité n'est pas disparue de l'univers acadien, comme en témoigne la réaction prudente des habitants du nord-ouest de la province qui préfèrent ménager le chou et la chèvre au lieu d'afficher soit une hostilité ouverte envers les Britanniques ou encore des comportements enthousiastes de fidélité.

Chose certaine, la dimension plurielle des réactions acadiennes à 1812 témoigne d'une culture politique en transformation. La neutralité n'est plus le ciment qui unit le discours politique de la communauté acadienne. En s'interrogeant sur le rôle à jouer dans ce conflit qui oppose Américains, Amérindiens et Britanniques, les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick ne se limiteront pas à un seul scénario. En ce sens, la guerre de 1812 et ses enjeux locaux met à jour une société acadienne, non pas repliée sur elle-même, mais plutôt pleinement présente dans le siècle.

NOTES

- ¹ Voir par exemple Robert L. Dallison, *A Neighbourly War: New Brunswick and the War of 1812*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions, The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, vol. 19, The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, Fredericton, University of New Brunswick, 2012.
- ² Joshua M. Smith, *Battle for the Bay: The Naval War of 1812*, Fredericton, Goose Lane Editions, The New Brunswick Military Heritage Series, vol. 17, The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society, Fredericton, University of New Brunswick, 2011.
- ³ W. Austin Squires, *The 104th Regiment of Foot (The New Brunswick Regiment), 1803-1817*, Fredericton, Brunswick Press, 1962.
- ⁴ Voir David Facey-Crowther, *The New Brunswick Militia, 1787-1867*, Fredericton, New Brunswick Historical Society & New Ireland Press, 1990 et Maurice Basque, *Des hommes de pouvoir. Histoire d'Otho Robichaud et de sa famille. Notables acadiens de Port-Royal et de Néguaac*, Néguaac, Société historique de Néguaac inc., 1996.
- ⁵ Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, *La communauté acadienne et la guerre de 1812*, Halifax, Parcs Canada, document inédit, 2012.
- ⁶ Howard Temperly (ed.), *Gubbins' New Brunswick Journals, 1811 & 1813*, Fredericton, New Brunswick Heritage Publications, 1980: 73.
- ⁷ Maurice Basque, « Pour le meilleur et pour l'empire : image de la Révolution française et de l'Empire dans la Péninsule acadienne au tournant du 19^e siècle », *Les Cahiers de la Société historique acadienne*, vol. 21, n° 2-3 (avril-septembre 1990): 146-155.
- ⁸ Donat Robichaud, « Premières milices de Gloucester », *Revue d'histoire de la Société Historique Nicolas-Denys*, vol. 12, n° 2 (1984): 9-30.
- ⁹ Paul Surette, *Histoire des Trois-Rivières, volume 2 : Memramkouke, la lutte pour la terre (1806-1829)*, Memramcook, La Société historique de la Vallée de Memramcook inc., 2003.
- ¹⁰ Ronnie-Gilles LeBlanc, op.cit. et Donald E. Graves, *Merry Hearts Make Light Days: The War of 1812 Journal of Lieutenant John Le Couteur, 104th Foot*, Montreal, Robin Brass Studio Inc., 2012 : 98-100.

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