



# A MERE MATTER OF MARCHING: THE WAR OF 1812 - BRITAIN

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SSUNS2020

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Land Acknowledgement</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Letter from the Under-Secretary General, Committee Affairs</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Chair Letter</b>	<b>5-6</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>7-8</b>
The First Coalition (1793-1797)	7-8
The Second Coalition (1799-1802)	8
<b>The Napoleonic Wars (1803-Present Day, 1812)</b>	<b>8-10</b>
British Involvement	8-9
Anglo-Russian War (1807-Present Day, 1812)	9
Peninsular War (1808-Present Day, 1812)	9
The Continental System	10
<b>British-American Relations</b>	<b>11-14</b>
Impressment	11-12
The Jay Treaty	12
The Monroe-Pinkney Treaty	12-13
The Chesapeake Affair	13
Industrial Revolution	14
<b>The Current Situation in Great Britain</b>	<b>15-18</b>
Resignation of the Duke of Portland	15
Perceval's Rise	16
The Early Days of the Perceval Ministry	17
King George III's Decline	17-18
<b>The British War Economy</b>	<b>18-19</b>
The Luddites	19
<b>The Current Situation in North America</b>	<b>20-23</b>
Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's Foreign Policy with Great Britain	20-21
The War Hawks	21
Relations with the First Nations	21-22
Tecumseh	22
The Canadian Situation	23
<b>Current Crisis</b>	<b>24-25</b>
The Assassination of Spencer Perceval	24
Guiding Questions	25
<b>Character List</b>	<b>26-29</b>
<b>Works Cited</b>	<b>30-32</b>

## LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

“McGill University (Tiohtiá:ke/Montreal) is situated on the traditional territory of the Kanien’kehá:ka, a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst many First Nations including the Kanien’kehá:ka of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Huron/Wendat, Abenaki, and Anishinaabeg. We recognize and respect the Kanien’kehá:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which” McGill resides.<sup>1</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries, European nations discovered the Americas and quickly began their settlements. This was the beginning of the colonization of Indigenous Peoples across these two continents, and led to the greatest genocide the world has ever witnessed. For over 500 years Indigenous Peoples have been the subject of extreme discrimination and racism, facing atrocities from ethnic cleansing to assimilation to cultural segregation. It is imperative that we actively work to educate ourselves on Indigenous history so we may properly understand the context of our current geo-political situation and hold the tools necessary to help progress reconciliation efforts.

It is important that as the conference begins this coming November that you, wherever you may be, take a moment to acknowledge the traditional stewards of the land that you are on and understand the importance of not only this acknowledgement but of understanding and appreciating the critical nature of remembering Indigenous history around the world.

It is also important to understand that an acknowledgement is not enough, and not where we should stop. In order to achieve reconciliation, every person must be dedicated to recognizing the atrocities enacted by Euro-centric settlers, the long-lasting impact that colonization has had on Indigenous communities and Peoples, and actively working to rectify the situation. Remember to make space for Indigenous Peoples voices and to always accept and respect the opinion and experiences of Indigenous Peoples.

## CONTENT WARNING

\*Sensitive topics that will be addressed include colonialism and genocide, and racism

**Note:** Please ensure that while you are discussing and writing about these topics that you keep in mind the sensitive nature of many points. Please remain respectful and cognizant while depicting your character and discussing these topics.

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<sup>1</sup> “Land Acknowledgement.” Cultural and Indigenous Research in Counselling Psychology (CIRC), April 7, 2020. <https://www.mcgill.ca/circ/land-acknowledgement>.

## LETTER FROM THE UNDER-SECRETARY GENERAL, COMMITTEE AFFAIRS

Dear Delegates,

I am thrilled to welcome each of you to the 28th iteration of the Secondary Schools' United Nations Symposium (SSUNS). My name is Dharana Needham and I have the pleasure of serving as the Undersecretary-General for Committee Affairs. I have been involved with Model UN for two years, and have had the opportunity to staff our University-level conference, McMUN, participate in McGill's travelling delegation team, and serve on the SSUNS Secretariat. My experiences with Model UN have shaped not only my personal interests, but my academic and professional interests. As both a delegate and staffer, I deeply appreciate the content side of conferences, and truly hope that SSUNS 2020 is an accessible, enriching, and enjoyable conference for every delegate!

For the past several months the entire SSUNS team has been working tirelessly to create the committees that you will be exploring during the conference. I hope that you will find the debate to be engaging and stimulating. Alongside Sacha Delouvrier, Deputy for General Assemblies and ECOSOCs, Sarah Azzi, Deputy for Specialised Agencies, and Paul Kaiser, Deputy for Crises, I am pleased to introduce your background guide! Please note that this guide will provide you with a brief introduction into the topics that you will be engaging with come November, and is not intended to serve as your only source of information. It is important that you engage with additional resources in order to be as prepared as possible for your committee.

I look forward to meeting you all during our online conference this November! If you have any questions about the conference please feel free to email me at [committees@ssuns.org](mailto:committees@ssuns.org)!

Best wishes,  
Dharana Needham

*Dharana Needham*



## CHAIR LETTER

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the greatest war ever fought on Canadian soil! As your chair, I am proud to welcome you all to our committee at SSUNS, The War of 1812: Britain! I promise this weekend will be full of unpredictable twists and turns as you fight for Canada's very soul, and you will leave this conference wanting more!

As for me, my name is Kerry Yang, and I am currently in my junior year at McGill majoring in Neuroscience, with a minor in Finance. I was born and raised all over Canada, having lived in Vancouver, Toronto, and Oshawa, but I have spent most of my life living in Edmonton, Alberta, where I am proud to call home. I first started doing MUN in Grade 11, and it has been love at first sight. This is my fifth year doing MUN, having staffed for three years and being a delegate for four, and every moment of it is still as exhilarating and exciting as the first time I have done it. When I'm not spending time prepping for MUN or talking about politics, I love scrolling through TikTok, reading a nice novel, or exploring the wonderful city of Montreal.

Your Vice Chair is Philip Bligh, who is going into his second year at McGill majoring in History with minors in Math and Political Science. He is from outside of Boston in the United States, where he has lived his entire life. He has done MUN since his freshman year of high school, and this will be his 6th year where it will be part of his life. This committee is especially important to him, as it will be his first time being part of the dais for a McGill conference. Outside of MUN he can be found trying new foods around Montreal, playing chess, or enjoying the outdoors.

Your Crisis Director is Xavier Palmer, a third-year student studying Political Science and Philosophy at McGill University. This is his third year staffing SSUNS. He grew up in New Jersey (shoutout to anyone else from the greatest state!) but he spent his 11th grade studying in Germany. He's obsessed with food, loves hiking, and he checks the news almost religiously—like most Poli-Sci majors. He's also an avid fan of electronic dance music (EDM), travelling, and dancing around to EDM while he's travelling. He's incredibly excited to bring this committee to life this November and is confident that, despite the abnormal circumstances of this year's conference, we will be able to deliver a fun and enriching experience all around!

Finally, Jamie Oneschuk is your Assistant Crisis Director for the weekend. He is currently entering his third year at McGill. He is double majoring in Economics and Psychology, with a minor in Science. Born in Toronto, Ontario, he lived there his entire life before coming to Montreal. He is a member of McGill's Delegation Team, and has been involved with SSUNS for the past 5 years (2 as a delegate, 3 as a staffer). Outside of MUN, he spends a lot of time training, as he is a member of McGill's Varsity Track and Field Team, throwing shot put and weight throw. He looks forward to meeting you all for a wonderful weekend!

As the British, we need your help to stop the Americans and their Manifest Destiny. With most of the British forces dealing with Napoleon, it is up to you delegates, to not only defend our borders against an aggressive American Army several times our size in Canada, but also deal with the multiple issues Great Britain is currently faced with, such as the Napoleonic Wars, the economic crisis, and the Luddites. It is up to your cunning wit, odds-defying boldness, and delicate diplomacy to not only allow the British side to rise victorious singing Rule Britannia, but also to consolidate your own power and rise to greatness. You must keep friends close, but enemies closer, and not be afraid to slit a throat (or ten) as you build alliances and double or triple cross the Americans. As you play your games, just remember to stay loyal to Great Britain because we will fight the fight and win the war (did I mention I love Hamilton as well).

But above all else, remember to have fun! These will be some of the greatest days of your life. You will make tons of new friends, gain so much new knowledge and insights into the issues we debate, and will have one of the most unique experiences you will ever encounter. I hope you all are as excited as I am about this committee and can't wait to see all of you in November when the White House burns, burns, burns!

Best,

Kerry Yang

Chair, War of 1812: Britain

## INTRODUCTION

The French Revolution in 1789 sent shockwaves around Europe, setting the context for decades of conflict around the world. These conflicts, including the wars against France and the later Napoleonic Wars, were fought from 1793 to 1815. Great Britain was extremely impacted; from when the First Coalition against France was formed in 1793, to 1815 when Napoleon was defeated at the Battle of Waterloo, Britain spent over £1,650,000,000.<sup>2</sup> Great Britain vastly expanded their militias, including 250,000 soldiers in the British army, 140,000 in the Navy, and 380,000 in home-based cavalry and infantry regiments; an estimated one in four adult males were serving by the early 1800s.<sup>3</sup> The British lived in fear of a French invasion, and these wars drastically influenced global economies and colonialist legacies. It is in this context that the War of 1812 occurred, fought between the United States and Great Britain from June 18th of 1812, to February 18th of 1815. While the War of 1812 was viewed as a major conflict from an American and Canadian perspective, it is important to contextualize it as being only one of many wars that Britain was involved in at the time. These next sections will explore the multiple major conflicts that the British were involved in after the French Revolution, and their impacts on the relationship between the United States and Great Britain leading up to the War of 1812.

### The First Coalition (1793 - 1797)

The First Coalition against France included Spain, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Sardinia. These forces lacked coherent communication and unified strategies, and often felt as if they had no personal interest in the war.<sup>4</sup> France declared the Levée en Masse in 1793, and built an army of over 1,000,000 soldiers with a much more coherent approach.<sup>5</sup> For these reasons, France achieved multiple victories early on in the war, defeating Holland in 1793, Prussia in 1795, Austria in 1796, and Spain in 1796. Catherine the Great also died during this period in 1796, which weakened Russia's relationship with Great Britain.<sup>6</sup> The Treaty of San Ildefonso combined the French and Spanish fleets, allied by the Dutch fleet, against the British fleet. Britain maintained a naval superiority despite these alliances, and they prevented

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<sup>2</sup> Asa Briggs, and William Ravenhill. "The Napoleonic Wars," June 28, 2020.

<sup>3</sup> Briggs and Ravenhill, "The Napoleonic Wars".

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Marjorie Bloy. "The Age of George III." The First Coalition 1793-1797, January 12, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The First Coalition and the Jacobin Regime." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., February 14, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "The Coup of 18 Fructidor and the Treaty of Camp Formio." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., February 14, 2017.



an invasion by 1797 while also suppressing a threatening Irish rebellion. The French defeat at the Battle of the Nile in 1798 allowed Britain's forces to regather and form a second coalition against the French.

### **The Second Coalition (1799 - 1802)**

The Second Coalition against France was an alliance between Turkey, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia. This coalition had early successes: Britain, under the Duke of York, was able to drive the French out of Holland, while a Russo-Austrian alliance drove the French out of Italy.<sup>7</sup> In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte staged a coup d'état and seized political power. Napoleon successfully defended France from a three-pronged attack from Britain, Austria, and Russia, and Britain averted an attack from Russia (who had joined forces again with France) because of their superior naval power. The War of the Second Coalition ended in 1802 with the Peace of Amiens, establishing a brief peace before war broke out yet again.

## **THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (1803 – PRESENT DAY, 1812)**

### **British Involvement**

The Treaty of Amiens was only a temporary peace, and problems quickly arose. British merchants and manufacturers were excluded from trade with France and its territories, which was a significant economic loss.<sup>8</sup> To counter this loss, Prime Minister Addington defied the treaty by holding on to the territory of Malta. The British feared that Napoleon was threatening stability in Europe once again, and with their own economic interests in mind, they declared war on May 18th, 1803. It was at this time that the Third Coalition of Prussia, Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Sweden was formed. Napoleon soon created a special force around the city of Boulogne with 100,000 troops, stationed to be ready for an invasion of England.<sup>9</sup> British warships posed a significant problem to this plan, as warships patrolled the English Channel. William Pitt also established an army of around 500,000 volunteer soldiers to guard the coast after he returned to power as Prime Minister.<sup>10</sup> At the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 the Royal British Navy defeated the French and Spanish navies, which solidified a British naval dominance and prevented Napoleon from continuing plans of an invasion of England. The rest of Europe, however, did not have such success against Napoleon. The Holy Roman Empire had fallen at the hands of the French in 1806, and

<sup>7</sup> Dr. Marjorie Bloy. "The Age of George III." The Second Coalition 1799-1801, January 12, 2016.

<sup>8</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Third and Fourth Coalitions, 1803–07." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., March 18, 2020.

<sup>9</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "The Third and Fourth Coalitions."

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Marjorie Bloy. "The Age of George III." The Third Coalition (1803-7), January 12, 2016.



Napoleon captured the Austrian city of Vienna. After a crushing defeat at the battle of Austerlitz, the Austrian army was pulled out of war. Portugal retained trading relations with Great Britain, until it was invaded by a combined French and Spanish army.

### **Anglo-Russian War (1807 - Present Day, 1812)**

In 1806, Anglo-Russian relations were still intact. However, after disputes over land agreements and the death of Foreign Secretary Charles James Fox, who had worked to preserve foreign relations with Russia, the Anglo-Russian alliance began to weaken.<sup>11</sup> The failure of Britain to launch a diversion attack against France in 1807, from Tzar Alexander I's perspective, meant that Britain had left Russia alone to fight Napoleon's armies.<sup>12</sup> After British fears that Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and France would combine their forces, Britain went on the offensive by seizing and attacking Russian ships. Tsar Alexander I later declared war against Britain in October of 1807. This war did not pose a serious threat to Great Britain, and both sides engaged in only limited conflict; however, as of May of 1812, this war is still ongoing.

### **Peninsular War (1808 - Present Day, 1812)**

After France had successfully invaded Portugal, Napoleon betrayed his Spanish allies and annexed Spain as well. This territory proved difficult to hold on to, and Napoleon's armies were constantly threatened by Spanish guerilla warfare. Great Britain also sent warships to aid the Spanish, capturing Lisbon in 1808 and eventually forcing France to withdraw their forces from Portugal in 1809 after the Battle of Talavera.<sup>13</sup> This war is still a pressing issue in Europe in 1812, and it seems as if Portugal and Spain are steadily wearing down Napoleon's armies.

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<sup>11</sup> Elmo E. Roach. "Anglo-Russian Relations from Austerlitz to Tilsit." *The International History Review* 5, no. 2 (1983): 181-200., 4.

<sup>12</sup> Roach. "Anglo-Russian Relations from Austerlitz to Tilsit", 12.

<sup>13</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Peninsular War." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., April 28, 2020.



Figure 1: French Territorial Control by 1812<sup>14</sup>

## The Continental System

Napoleon knew that the British maintained a naval superiority, and that past invasion attempts were quickly defeated by the Royal British Navy. Instead of a physical war, Napoleon waged an economic battle against the British in an attempt to gain the upper hand. In November of 1806 Napoleon issued the Berlin Decree which established the Continental System. This created a trading blockade against Britain, wherein neutral European countries and French allies were prohibited from trading with Britain. However, due to British naval superiority, the Continental System was incredibly difficult to enforce. Furthermore, England fought back against the Continental System with Orders in Council, creating a counter blockade for France and Napoleon's allies.<sup>15</sup> This counter blockade had a heavy influence on the start of the War of 1812, as the United States attempted to maintain a favorable trading alliance with France. Napoleon is currently stretching his forces while trying to maintain this blockade, and it may create difficulties for him in the future.

<sup>14</sup> "Napoleonic Wars." School History, March 25, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "Continental System." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., January 29, 2020.



Figure 2: The Continental System<sup>16</sup>

## BRITISH – AMERICAN RELATIONS

### Impressment

Impressment, meaning the forced recruitment of unwilling individuals, often through violent means, was practiced by the British Royal Navy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.<sup>17</sup> Thousands of British sailors flocked to American ships, where they were offered higher pay, they were much less likely to be attacked, and they did not have the strict conduct imposed by the Royal Navy. One estimate states that 30% of the 70,000 American sailors during the Jefferson presidency were British.<sup>18</sup> This was a dangerous issue from the British perspective, as they were actively fighting in multiple countries in the Napoleonic Wars and their military needed able-bodied men to fight. The Royal Navy routinely boarded American ships to take back British sailors, which often resulted in American sailors being mistakenly abducted. Between 1803 and 1812, an estimated 6,000 Americans were taken by the British, fueling tensions between the two countries.<sup>19</sup> The United States attempted to limit impressment by issuing

<sup>16</sup> "European Maps." Europe 66 Introduction to Modern Europe. Temple University.

<sup>17</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. "Impressment." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., July 28, 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Donald R. Hickey, The Road to War, 1801–1812. In The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict University of Illinois Press. Retrieved July 1, 2020., 5-27.

<sup>19</sup> Hickey, The Road to War, 1801–1812, 11.

certificates of citizenship in 1796 (that specified distinguishing features); however, British sailors frequently purchased fake American identification certificates. British officials knew of this practice, and largely distrusted the legitimacy of the certificates. Tensions flared in the 1790s, and diplomacy was pursued to prevent war between Great Britain and the United States.

## **The Jay Treaty**

Negotiations began in 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, leading to the Jay Treaty, effective from 1796 to 1806. Britain agreed to evacuate their army units from the Northwest Territory, to give monetary compensation for attacks on American ships, and to make the United States a privileged trading partner. This act was also an attempt to end discrimination against American commerce, and it stated that the Mississippi River was open for both the United States and Britain.<sup>20</sup> Although it didn't stop British impressment, the Jay Treaty temporarily improved relations with the Americans. It also resulted in the growth of American exports from \$33 million in 1794 to \$94 million in 1801.<sup>21</sup> The Jay Treaty was also criticized by many Democratic-Republicans, who argued that it surrendered many American rights. In 1796 the Jay Treaty was officially ratified by both Britain and the United States; however, France, who was already at war with Britain, interpreted the treaty as an American violation of trade relations with France.<sup>22</sup> This led to the undeclared Quasi-War between the United States and France, which lasted from 1798 to 1800. Historian Donald R. Hickey claims that this was the first test for the Federalist navy, which eventually destroyed 3 French warships, recovered 70 American merchant ships, and captured 82 privateers.<sup>23</sup> The Convention of 1800 ended this undeclared war, when the United States waived their claims of French depredations, while France suspended previous treaties with the United States from the Revolution.<sup>24</sup>

## **The Monroe-Pinkney Treaty**

The Jay Treaty was only in effect for 10 years, and the issue of impressment had to be discussed again in 1806. The Federalist Party was no longer in power in the United States, and Thomas Jefferson, who was generally anti-British in his policies, was president.<sup>25</sup> Jefferson sent James Monroe (the Minister

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<sup>20</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Jay Treaty," May 14, 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Donald R Hickey. *The Road to War, 1801–1812*, 5-27.

<sup>22</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Jay Treaty," May 14, 2020.

<sup>23</sup> Donald R. Hickey. *The Road to War, 1801–1812*, 5-27.

<sup>24</sup> Hickey, *The Road to War, 1801-1812*, 7.

<sup>25</sup> "The Monroe-Pinkney Treaty." American Battlefield Trust, July 23, 2019.

of England), and the diplomat William Pinkney with their main objectives being to end impressment and to restore the re-export trade.<sup>26</sup> However, Britain was in a much more dangerous position than they were in 1794. By 1806, Napoleon had defeated the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian armies in major battles, and Britain was in no position to allow their Royal Navy soldiers to work on American trade ships.<sup>27</sup> British and American diplomats drafted the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty, which failed to meet the needs of both nations. Jefferson eventually rejected the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty by failing to submit it to the senate, and Britain refused to end their policy of impressment; this act may have prevented later conflicts between the United States and Great Britain, but the negotiations only escalated previous tensions.

### **The Chesapeake Affair**

By 1807, tensions between Great Britain and the United States were high after the failed Monroe-Pinkney Treaty and the continuation of British impressment policies. The British were also actively enforcing their counter-blockade against the French Continental System, and they sent multiple warships to Chesapeake Bay to block the French from trading with the United States. British officials knew that four deserters were serving on the USS Chesapeake, yet they were unable to secure their capture through diplomacy. After the American commander of the USS Chesapeake refused to return the four sailors, British Vice-Admiral Sir George Berkeley ordered his commanders to use force. The HMS Leopard fired into the USS Chesapeake, killing three American sailors and wounding sixteen others.<sup>28</sup> After the deserters were captured from the USS Chesapeake it was discovered that only one of the four deserters was actually a British citizen, while the rest were Americans who had been “pressed” into service.<sup>29</sup> The British deserter was hanged, and the American sailors were almost given a penalty of 500 lashes each.<sup>30</sup> The British government attempted to redress their actions by returning the American sailors and paying reparations; however, the incident only fueled the anti-British movement in America that would eventually lead to war in 1812.

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<sup>26</sup> Hickey, *The Road to War, 1801–1812*, 14.

<sup>27</sup> “The Monroe-Pinkney Treaty.” American Battlefield Trust, July 23, 2019.

<sup>28</sup> Hickey, *The Road to War, 1801–1812*, 16.

<sup>29</sup> Jason Ridler, “Chesapeake Affair 1807”. In *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Historica Canada. Article published May 09, 2011; Last Edited June 06, 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Ridler, “Chesapeake Affair 1807”.





**Figure 3: The Chesapeake Affair, 1807<sup>31</sup>**

## Industrial Revolution

The term “Industrial Revolution” is used to describe the growth of production in Europe and the United States from the late 18th century to the mid-19th century, with Britain being the first to achieve this manufacturing growth. It is important to note that this term is often subject to historical debate; however, revolution or not, methods of production were shifting with new technological advancements. Textile production shifted from home production (the putting-out system) to large factories, while new innovations in iron and steel production produced higher-quality materials, contributing to Britain’s wartime production and the expansion of railroads.<sup>32</sup> The industrial revolution’s impacts were not limited to the economy; brutal working conditions, child labor, minimal safety procedures, environmental pollution, and low wages all created social and political movements, as seen in with the Luddites, who will be discussed later.<sup>33</sup> The Industrial Revolution was embedded into Britain by the early 19th century, and it is an important piece of context for the war of 1812.

<sup>31</sup> Irwin, John Bevan. Chesapeake vs. Leopard, June 21, 1807, n.d. The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

<sup>32</sup> History.com Editors. “Industrial Revolution.” History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 29, 2009.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, Lacey Baldwin, and Mark A. Kishlansky. “William Pitt the Younger.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., June 28, 2020.

## The Current Situation in Great Britain

### Resignation of the Duke of Portland

Now during these tumultuous times, British Parliament was also in disarray, with constant changes in leadership and alliances in the House of Lords, and the creation of a new “Tory” party. But in 1807, a man by the name of William Cavendish-Bentinck, the 3rd Duke of Portland, arose to become the newest Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.<sup>34</sup> The reason why King George III picked him as the Prime Minister was because George saw him as loyal to the crown, and most members of Parliament saw him as a moderate, neutral man.<sup>35</sup> Yet, although the Duke of Portland was the Prime Minister, he was in actuality ineffective, being extremely indecisive and lackluster. He depended mainly upon his extremely fractured cabinet, which contained many prominent ministers, such as Spencer Perceval, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.<sup>36</sup> Portland’s ministry was at first supported by the majority of the population in the United Kingdom, evident from their strong victory during the 1807 general election, but as time went on, they gradually lost support due to poor decisions and lack of action. One of the most prominent examples of Portland’s weak ministry was the Walcheren expedition, in which British troops were sent to the port of Antwerp in an attempt to open up another front in the war against Napoleon. This was a disastrous loss for the British, since many soldiers died not from war, but from disease, demoralizing the Portland government and increasing its unpopularity.<sup>37</sup> The ministry was also further weakened by an intensifying rivalry between George Canning and Lord Castlereagh, eventually culminating in a duel as a result of Canning trying to have Castlereagh removed from cabinet. This constant bitterness between the two froze the Portland government, and over time became increasingly indecisive and unable to pass legislation.<sup>38</sup> To make matters worse, Portland was a very sickly man, and suffered a stroke in the summer of 1809. This was the final straw for Portland and his weak government, and when his seizures stopped, he officially resigned as Prime Minister<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>34</sup> David Wilkinson. "The Pitt–Portland Coalition of 1794 and the Origins of the 'Tory' Party." *History* 83, no. 270 (1998): 249-64.

<sup>35</sup> Jeremy Black. "LAST YEARS, 1801–20." In *George III: America’s Last King*, 379-410. Yale University Press, 2006.

<sup>36</sup> Ian Hearn. "Death of a Prime Minister." In *Assassin!: 200 Years of British Political Murder*, 28-37. LONDON; ANN ARBOR, MI: Pluto Press, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."

<sup>38</sup> Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."

<sup>39</sup> Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."





**Figure 4:** The Walcheren Expedition<sup>40</sup>

### Perceval's Rise

After Portland's resignation, the United Kingdom was plunged into a political crisis. Multiple former ministers wanted to become the new Prime Minister, but due to the fractious nature of British Parliament at this time (and a few ill-timed duels), the only person George trusted as Prime Minister was Spencer Perceval. The son of the 2nd Earl of Egmont, Perceval studied law at Cambridge before pursuing a career in politics. Being an effective orator, strong debater, and dependable minister, Perceval was well liked by his ministerial colleagues and more importantly, the King<sup>41</sup>. George saw Perceval as very straightforward and a loyal Protestant who would be against Catholic Emancipation, which was a much more pertinent issue as a result of the Act of Union with Ireland, and in October of 1809, Perceval became Portland's replacement as Prime Minister.



**Figure 5:** Spencer Perceval<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Lynn Dawson. "Walcheren 1809: A Blighted Expedition by Jacqueline Reiter." Lynn Bryant's Writing with Labradors, October 15, 2019.

<sup>41</sup>Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."

<sup>42</sup> "Spencer Perceval." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, May 15, 2020.

## **The Early Days of the Perceval Ministry**

Although a principled and steadfast leader, Perceval was given an extremely weak government. Many candidates for the Ministership, such as Canning, were bitter over the perceived slight and did not support his government. Combining this with the fact that there was a constant battle between George and the Whigs, a very sizable and influential party in Parliament, Perceval's ministry was not expected to last.<sup>43</sup> His government had a narrow base of support, with multiple people rejecting ministerial positions, and only able to get one member of the House of Commons to join his cabinet, causing Perceval to rely mainly on backbencher support. He himself even had to continue as the Chancellor of the Exchequer as he was unable to find someone to fill in the position. This caused Perceval's government to be mixed in composition, made up of individuals with different viewpoints and opinions who were willing to join the desperate Perceval. Yet Perceval was in luck. Even though his government was extremely mixed in composition, the British Parliament was in flux. It was less about party loyalty, but more about the individual and their own beliefs and opinions. Certain individuals in Parliament also had more clout than others, and Perceval could pass bills through Parliament as long as he tried to target these individuals and kept in line with the opinion of the majority.<sup>44</sup> The only problem was Perceval's government was thrust into crisis after crisis.

## **King George III's decline**

Perceval was hated by Catholics, social reformers, anti-war activists, Opposition in Parliament, and many of his own government backbenchers,<sup>45</sup> but luckily was supported by King George III, who helped guide him through the political landscape and made sure he would be able to survive as Prime Minister. But throughout the years, George's eyesight had been getting progressively worse, and he had several bouts of insanity that left him in very poor health. He was unable to attend his Diamond Jubilee in 1809 held at Frogmore due to his poor health, and his health fully broke down when his favourite daughter, Amelia, caught a fatal illness and died. This caused George to relapse into insanity, and Perceval was forced to introduce a regency bill on December 10, 1810, for George IV, Prince of Wales, to become regent.<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately, George IV and Perceval were constantly at odds, and when Perceval was forced

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<sup>43</sup> Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."

<sup>44</sup> Black, "LAST YEARS, 1801–20."

<sup>45</sup> Hernon, "Death of a Prime Minister."

<sup>46</sup> Hernon, "Death of a Prime Minister."

to introduce and pass the regency bill, he knew he had to limit the Prince of Wales' powers or else his government would be dissolved and he would no longer be Prime Minister. The bill passed, and even though the Prince of Wales was upset with it, he did not change Perceval's government. But the Prince was slightly more progressive than his father, and did have connections with the Whigs, the main party in opposition to Perceval and the Tories, thus Britain's government was constantly dangling in a very precarious position.

## THE BRITISH WAR ECONOMY

Thanks to the Industrial Revolution, Britain's GDP and GDP per capita continued to grow at rapid rates during this period.<sup>47</sup> Wool and textiles, iron production, and crop production greatly expanded, supporting the increased amount of machinery and weaponry needed for the war efforts against Napoleon. But since these resources were all being used for the Napoleonic Wars, food and manufactured goods were becoming more and more scarce for Britain's middle and lower classes, which not only increased costs, but also drove up inflation. Furthermore, as the prices rose, the amount of money working families had decreased due to the creation of an income tax to help fund the war. In the past, Britain mainly funded wars through the selling of government securities, which they paid back through taxation during peacetime, specie payments (which was payment in coin or bullion), and the printing of new bank notes. Yet due to the massive scale of the Napoleonic Wars and the greatly increased debt caused by it, the method Great Britain was using to fund the War was unsustainable and would lead to economic collapse. The specie payments were greatly diminishing the gold reserve (and since the Pound Sterling was based on the gold standard, these payments decreased the value of the Pound), and the newly printed currency was causing further inflation at a steady rate. As a result, the Bank of England paused all specie payments and increased regulations on the printing of banknotes, thus steadying the inflation, but also creating a revenue problem, especially in the face of the burgeoning national debt. So as a result, the government introduced an income and a property tax, which ensured a steady flow of revenue, and allowed Great Britain to continue to fund the war.<sup>48</sup> However, these new taxes, along with the inflation, caused the living costs to climb without a corresponding increase in employment income for many British citizens, and many citizens were beginning to feel the "hard pinch of poverty where it had

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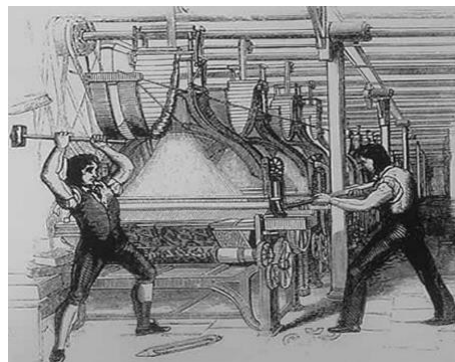
<sup>47</sup> Michael D. Bordo, and Eugene N. White. "A Tale of Two Currencies: British and French Finance During the Napoleonic Wars." *The Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 2 (1991): 303-16.

<sup>48</sup> Bordo, and White. "A Tale of Two Currencies", 303-16.

hitherto been a stranger.”<sup>49</sup> Some of these workers began to protest and riot over the new conditions, with one riot birthing into what is now known as The Luddite Movement.

## The Luddites

Contrary to popular belief, the Luddites were not against technology. Rather, they were skilled labourers that were extremely adept at operating machines in the textile industry.<sup>50</sup> The main reasons why they were upset were the rising living costs, the tendency by manufacturers to ignore standard labour practices, endangering the workers, and the fact that the manufacturers would hire unskilled labourers over skilled labourers because they could be paid less and were easily replaceable if they were hurt or injured.<sup>51</sup> They wanted more work, safer working conditions, and higher wages due to their skill in operating machinery, as food was becoming more costly, and employment was difficult to come by. On March 11, 1811, in Nottingham, hundreds of people began protesting at several textile manufacturing plants demanding better conditions and more pay.<sup>52</sup> This protest was broken up by the British troops, which greatly angered the protesting workers. As a result, they converged en masse during the night at a nearby village and began smashing all the textile machinery. These attacks began spreading throughout the English countryside, spreading to Wakefield in the north all the way to Loughborough in the south. As the riots spread, the Luddites began to get into violent skirmishes, sometimes even killing mill owners, posing a big threat towards the British textile industry, and creating a new problem that the British government must deal with.



**Figure 6: The Luddites**<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Richard Conniff. “What the Luddites Really Fought Against.” Smithsonian.com. Smithsonian Institution, March 1, 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Conniff. “What the Luddites Really Fought Against.”.

<sup>51</sup> Conniff. “What the Luddites Really Fought Against.”.

<sup>52</sup> Conniff. “What the Luddites Really Fought Against.”.

<sup>53</sup> “The Luddites.” Memento. January 23, 2018.

## THE CURRENT SITUATION IN NORTH AMERICA

### Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's Foreign Policy with Great Britain

Meanwhile in the United States, tensions were ramping up against Great Britain. After the Chesapeake Affair, Thomas Jefferson and the American Congress felt that they were disrespected. In order to retaliate and stop American impressment, while trying to force Britain to respect American sovereignty and neutrality, Congress put back into effect the previously suspended Non-Importation Act of 1806. This Act forbade the import of certain British goods in order to coerce Britain, before expanding into a total embargo in December 1807.<sup>54</sup> This proved to be immensely unpopular among many Americans, especially with the Federalists (the main opposition party at the time) and New Englanders, who often had close ties to the Canadians and the British. New Englanders, such as those in New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts, depended on trade with Canada, and many began smuggling goods, or just outright ignoring the Embargo. State officials were fearful of enforcing such an unpopular law, even under Jefferson's direct command to enforce them, and several members within his own party, the Democratic Republican Party, outright expressed their dissent of the embargo.<sup>55</sup> As a result, Jefferson was forced to repeal the Embargo Act on March 1st, 1809, and Madison (who rose to office on March 4th, 1809) replaced it with a more lax act, the Non-Intercourse Act, which only forbade trade with French and British ports, allowing for trade with Canada.<sup>56</sup> This Act was promptly ignored like the earlier act, but it did not really concern Madison or Congress, because they had already begun moving on to different methods to try to harm the British. As the Embargo continued to be ineffective, Jefferson and Madison began looking into more force-oriented methods to punish the British. Since the Chesapeake Affair, the United States had continuously been hiring merchants and using government officials to spy on British-owned Canada, and from what they gathered, war seemed to be an effective method to harm the United Kingdom, and also contribute to the American idea of Manifest Destiny. Since the 1790s, thousands of American settlers began pouring into Upper Canada with the promise of free land, and these new American immigrants soon greatly outnumbered the Canadians and the American Loyalists who trekked to Canada after the

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<sup>54</sup> Reginald C. Stuart. "Special Interests and National Authority in Foreign Policy: American-British Provincial Links During the Embargo and the War of 1812." *Diplomatic History* 8, no. 4 (1984): 311-28.

<sup>55</sup> Stuart. "Special Interests and National Authority in Foreign Policy, 311-28.

<sup>56</sup> William Chazanof. "The War of 1812." In Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company: The Opening of Western New York, 112-33. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1970.

American Revolution.<sup>57</sup> The British were essentially governing an American colony, with an armed force smaller than the militia of the State of Kentucky. These facts led Jefferson to believe that Canada would willingly join America, and to write, “The acquisition of Canada this year, as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, will be a mere matter of marching, and will give us experience for the attack of Halifax next, and the final expulsion of England from the American continent.”<sup>58</sup> To Jefferson and Madison, it seemed that since Canada was so dependent on the United States in terms of trade and resources, war would be an easy way to drive Britain out of North America and expand American borders.

## **The War Hawks**

As Jefferson and Madison were looking into the potential benefits of war, Congress was already moving in that direction. Throughout the early 1800s, a group of young, expansionist hungry Democratic-Republicans began gaining and consolidating power within the American Congress.<sup>59</sup> Congressmen such as Peter B. Porter of New York, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina relentlessly pushed for expansion, from Canada to the north all the way to Florida to the south. In 1811, Henry Clay was elected as speaker in the House of Representatives, and began putting the War Hawks into key committees, such as putting Peter B. Porter as the chair of the Foreign Relations Committee.<sup>60</sup> The War Hawks argued that war would not only provide land rewards, but also fight back against British impressment and continue America’s encroachment of Indigenous lands. In January, 1812, the War Hawks successfully convinced Congress to allow the creation of a twenty-five thousand person army to “defend the United States,”<sup>61</sup> which continued to push the United States closer and closer to the brink of war with Great Britain.

## **Relations with the First Nations**

As the Americans continued to expand, the First Nations grew more and more worried about the continuous American expansion into their territories. After the Treaty of Paris and the Jay Treaty, Great Britain completely disregarded their Indigenous allies and allowed America to take large swathes of Indigenous land while at the same time pulling away their forces, allowing America to continue colonizing

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<sup>57</sup> "Essays." PBS.

<sup>58</sup> Amanda Foreman. "The British View the War of 1812 Quite Differently Than Americans Do." Smithsonian.com. July 01, 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Chazanof. "The War of 1812."

<sup>60</sup> Chazanof. "The War of 1812."

<sup>61</sup> Chazanof. "The War of 1812."

without British opposition.<sup>62</sup> Although Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), tried to form a Confederacy to fight back against the Americans, their coalition was destroyed at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794.<sup>63</sup> As the First Nations continued to resist the American expansionism, and Anglo-American relations became more strained, the British realized that war was inevitable and they needed strong Indigenous allies to help in the eventual war with America. So, London had Sir James Craig, governor-in-chief of British North America, to create a reconciliatory policy with the First Nations in an attempt to sway them over. The British began meeting with Indigenous warriors and chiefs at Amherstburg both publicly in councils, and privately through secret letters and meetings in an attempt to win their support, including the influential Shawnee War Chief, Tecumseh.

## **Tecumseh**

After the death of Thayendanegea, Tecumseh emerged as a powerful leader in support of the creation of a pan-Indigenous Confederacy to oppose American expansionism. Tecumseh argued that land belongs to all Indigenous people, and no one tribe had the right to surrender the land. Instead, all tribes should work together in harmony to defend the land and protect the land from colonial expansion.<sup>64</sup> Tecumseh, along with his brother Tenskwatawa (a religious leader who brought about a traditional Indigenous spiritual revival, also known as the Prophet), founded the village of Prophetstown on the intersection of the Wabash and Tippecanoe rivers. They wanted the village to become the new center of the new Indigenous confederation, and began recruiting other First Nations, such as the Ojibwa, Shawnee, Odawa, Kickapoo, and many others. But on November 7, 1811, while Tecumseh was out recruiting more allies to join his confederacy, William Henry Harrison, the Governor of Indiana launched an attack on Prophetstown, destroyed its supply chains, and burnt it to the ground, in what is now known as the Battle of Tippecanoe.<sup>65</sup> After this attack, Tecumseh, who already allied with the British after meeting them at Amherstburg, began war preparations to exact revenge on the senseless burning of his village, and this began arming and training his men in earnest.

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<sup>62</sup> Robert S. Allen. "His Majesty's Indian Allies: Native Peoples, the British Crown and the War of 1812." *Michigan Historical Review* 14, no. 2 (1988): 1-24.

<sup>63</sup> James H. Marsh, Michael Eamon, and Tabitha Marshall. "First Nations and Métis Peoples in the War of 1812." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. January 26, 2011.

<sup>64</sup> Marsh, Eamon, and Marshall. "First Nations and Métis Peoples in the War of 1812."

<sup>65</sup> Marsh, Eamon, and Marshall. "First Nations and Métis Peoples in the War of 1812."



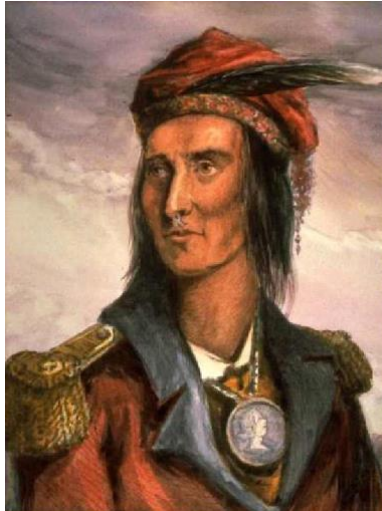


Figure 7: Tecumseh<sup>66</sup>

## The Canadian Situation

Although the British were able to gain strong support from many First Nations, especially with Tecumseh's coalition, the number of soldiers that they directly had at their disposal was still significantly smaller than the forces the Americans had. Most British soldiers and sailors were preoccupied with the war against France, and the only troops Great Britain had in Canada were 1,600 troops from the 41st Regiment, a few Canadian militias and Fencibles, and some Frigates and Ships of the Line to defend coastal territories and trade.<sup>67</sup> The merchant class, seeing war as a potential way of reclaiming vast swathes of land which they lost from the Jay Treaty, and the Indigenous allies were extremely enthusiastic for war, but the other groups, especially the American Immigrants and the Upper Canada Assembly, were hesitant for war and did not want to do any preparation. Many Canadians did not want to fight the Americans due to close ties and a strong trade relationship, a sentiment exacerbated by the hesitancy of the Canadian Assemblies to provide support for war, causing the regiments to be small, poorly equipped and having low confidence.

<sup>66</sup> "Tecumseh." Wikipedia. June 15, 2020.

<sup>67</sup> Fred Landon. "The War of 1812-1814." In *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*, 22-43. McGill-Queen's University Press, 1967.



Figure 8: Canadian Militia Uniforms<sup>68</sup>

## CURRENT CRISIS

### The Assassination of Spencer Perceval

Meanwhile in Great Britain, at around five o'clock on May 11, 1812, Prime Minister Spencer Perceval arrived at the Houses of Parliament in order to debate on the suspension of the Orders-in-Council, the decrees blocking trade with France that have been leading to immense tension with the United States. Perceval left his cloak and walking stick with an attendant and began climbing the stairs up the lobby of the House of Commons. As he walked up the steps with his friend Lord Osborne, a tall, large boned stranger known as John Bellingham was waiting for him behind a pillar, a pistol in hand. As Perceval passed Bellingham, Bellingham reached out his pistol to Perceval's chest and shot him point blank into his heart. Perceval was then rushed to the drawing room and placed on a sofa, where a surgeon declared him dead. Bellingham then calmly sat down and told the crowd that "It was a private injury because of a denial of justice on behalf of the Government,"<sup>69</sup> meaning he acted alone based on private grievances he had against the government. He was promptly hung a week later at eight o'clock in the morning after causing the first (and only) assassination of a British Prime Minister in history.<sup>70</sup> Perceval's assassination caused a political succession crisis, as currently Britain has no standing Prime Minister, but needs one as Napoleon gains strength in Europe, social unrest grows, and Anglo-American relationships become more and more strained.

<sup>68</sup> "Canadian Militia Uniforms 1812." Maj James B. Ronan's Blog.

<sup>69</sup> Ian Herson. "Death of a Prime Minister." In *Assassin!: 200 Years of British Political Murder*, 28-37. LONDON; ANN ARBOR, MI: Pluto Press, 2007.

<sup>70</sup> Herson. "Death of a Prime Minister.", 28-37.

### Guiding Questions

1. What economic policies will you employ in order to address the burgeoning national debt from the Napoleonic Wars? What tactics will you use to address the social unrest and the Luddites as result of the increased taxation and high inflation?
2. How will you improve and repair relationships with the First Nations and get them onto your side against the Americans?
3. How will you gain support among the citizens of Canada if you were to go to war against America? How will you train Canadians who have never really fought in a war, and how will you arm them with limited resources and reinforcements?
4. How will you create a new government after Perceval's assassination? Who will be the new Prime Minister, and how will you prevent their ministry from falling?
5. How does the international situation affect the situation in North America?

## CHARACTER LIST

**George Prevost:** Born in 1767, Prevost served in many conflicts such as the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. As such, he is seasoned in military conflict and is currently Governor General and Chief Military Commander of British North America, however while he commands the overarching theatre of battle, he does not have too much say over specific battle tactics, and rather commands the theatre of war as a whole. Despite the majority of battles occurring in Upper Canada, Prevost likes to ensure all of Canada is ready for possible attacks.

**Tecumseh:** Born in 1768, Tecumseh has worked hard to ensure the safety and prosperity of his people the Shawnee. Recently, he was chosen as the leader of a union of tribes, named in his sake. However, turbulence amongst the British and Americans has forced Tecumseh to pick sides, and while currently loyal to the British, his first priority is that of his people.

**Isaac Brock:** Born in 1769, and known for his supreme battle wits, Brock has proven himself to the British, and as a result is now in charge of the defense of Upper Canada. Ensuring he has the support of other regions of British North America and beyond will be paramount to his success in his duties.

**Lord Liverpool:** Currently the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Liverpool is in charge of the current war efforts against Napoleonic France, and is in charge of all affairs happening in the colonies. A capable and intelligent statesman, he is very popular to many, including the King, and with the recent assassination of Spencer Perceval, Lord Liverpool is a strong contender for the Prime Minister's office.

**George Canning:** A dominant figure in British politics, George Canning is a brash and bold politician who likes to act before he thinks, which has given him his notoriety. Generally greatly supported by the public, but disliked by the King, Canning currently has no position in parliament, as he has rejected serving as the Foreign Secretary in Perceval's government, but he is bound to find a new office with the recent assassination.

**Lord Wellington:** A general in the Peninsular Campaign against Napoleon, Lord Wellington is famous for his adaptive style of warfare, allowing him to win massive victories against superior forces, and giving the

British a foothold in Europe. With his skilled expertise, he is a valuable asset to war efforts in Europe and beyond, but will need to focus his efforts in certain theatres of operation if he is to succeed.

**Elizabeth Coles Stewart:** After her husband was banished under suspicions that he was a spy, Elizabeth now runs a spy network she and her husband had developed that can gather key information about the activities of American Troops.

**Gordon Drummond:** Born in 1772 in Quebec City, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada was in charge of the political and civil aspects of Upper Canada, as well as having his own regiment for its defense.

**Robert Milnes:** To the Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada, the war seems so far away. While he obviously wants to ensure forces do not reach him and his people in Quebec City, he does not want too many of his people to be impacted or hurt by this war.

**Alexander Cochrane:** Leader of British Naval operations in Atlantic Canada, he is ultimately the highest-ranking naval officer in North America, and therefore must decide how best to use his forces, be that procuring supplies, blockading forts, or otherwise.

**Charles de Salaberry:** Known to never back down from a fight, de Salaberry leads a well-trained and disciplined regiment of Lower Canadian militiamen, known as the Canadian Voltigeurs. These men, mostly French, hate the British and refuse to fight in the British Army, however, they are willing to die to defend their lands.

**Tenskwatawa:** Brother of Tecumseh, also known as “The Prophet” he is a key leader in the Shawnee tribe, and among Tecumseh’s Confederacy. However, he has a particular distaste for Europeans, and believes his people would be best without them.

**Lord Castlereagh:** The current Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Lord Castlereagh is a commanding and intelligent leader, whose quick thinking and pragmatism has allowed him to become one of the most prominent British statesmen. Although a skilled diplomat and a strong orator, his imposing measures have

led to low popularity among most citizens of the British Empire, and he will have to be wary of movement against him

**Mookomanish:** Leader of the Anishinaabe Tribe, as part of Tecumseh's confederacy, he believes in Tecumseh's cause, however he must also put his people first, and go where the tides of war take him.

**Ahyouwaigh (John Brant):** Leader of the Mohawk tribe, he is a part of Tecumseh's Confederacy. Not all tribes joined the confederacy for the same reasons, or with the same passion, and Ahyouwaigh's people are not too happy with the way they are being treated. Things must change.

**Henry Bathurst:** Born in 1762, Bathurst, while not known for his charisma or prowess in an argument, was a stellar administrator and loyal member of British Government. His devotion over the years earned him the title of Minister of War and the Colonies. While the North American theatre is important to the Empire, many other areas around the world require their attention as well; balancing these will be key.

**Richard Pierpoint:** A former slave from Senegal, Pierpoint was a loyalist who joined the British during the American revolution, under the understanding that should he survive through the war, he would leave with his freedom. He now commands a militia of free black men, known as the Coloured Corps, and is a well-respected and prominent leader of the Black Canadian community.

**Mateo Gonzalez Manrique:** The current Governor of West Florida under Spanish rule, he has shown sympathy to the British in the past. While Spain is not currently close allies with either the British or Americans, if he were to allow the British to garrison at his bases or supply resources, he could serve as a key ally in the coming times.

**Richard Bickerton:** Born in 1759, the First Naval Lord of the British Royal Navy commands the greatest fleet ever to grace the planet. While the naval power he controls is unrivaled, he has so many different places around the world to command that the North American theatre is just a blip on his radar, however his support in these times could be vital.

**Robert Ross:** as Major General in charge of troops off the east coast of the United States, Ross has a large number of troops in ships ready to land on the battlefield when the time is right.

**Henry Proctor:** Military officer in Upper Canada, he is known to run a very tight ship, and does not tolerate insubordination. However, he is also known to use very textbook military strategies and not be able to improvise, something he must overcome if he is to be successful.

**Menawa:** A key Muscogee leader, he leads a large tribe of indigenous people in Alabama. He fights hard against the encroachment of Americans and Europeans on his people's land, and if promised his sovereignty, could serve useful to the British in the times to come.



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