

POL 490H/2102H

Canada in Question – a Country Founded on Incomplete Conquests

Course Outline

Time and Place

Tuesday, 4-6pm

Room 257, University College

Professor Peter H. Russell

Office Hours

Tuesday, 2:30-4pm, SS3101

Or by appointment

Email: phruss@aol.com.

Students should feel free to email Professor Russell for assistance in preparing for a seminar presentation, or obtaining one of the readings. Beyond that, because of time commitments and his limited typing ability, he would prefer to meet with students to discuss matters relating to the course.

Course Content

The course examines the proposition that Canada as a political community is best understood as a country founded on two incomplete conquests. The first is Great Britain's treatment of New France after the military defeat of 1759. The second is the peace agreement Great Britain made with nations native to North America in 1764. The course will consider how the survival of French and Indigenous nations within Canada has shaped the country's constitutional development and given rise to its deepest cleavages and controversies. Though much of the course material is historical, the historical narrative will be examined through the lens of political science and political theory.

Organization of the Course

The course is organized as a weekly seminar. At the first seminar Professor Russell will talk about the thinking and work that led to proposing the course. At all subsequent meetings, one or two students will present brief (10-15 minute) presentations on one or more of the questions set out for the topic on the course outline, or on another question they think is pertinent to the incomplete conquests thesis or an alternative thesis. At this first seminar students will be matched with the various topics the course covers.

Course Requirements

Students will be graded on the following basis:

- 1) 20% for a review of one of the books listed in the course outline. The maximum length of the review is 1500 words. The review must be handed in no later than Tuesday February 26.

- 2) 60% for an essay on one of the topics covered in the course and how, if at all, it connects to the underlying thesis of the course. The maximum length of the essay is 8,000 words. The essay must be handed in no later than Friday, April 5, 2013.
- 3) 20% for seminar participation. Students are expected to test their ideas and thinking through conversation and discussion at the weekly seminar meetings.

Format of Book Review and Essay

The book review and essay must be submitted in hard-copy form, using a 12pt font. Essays should use the Canadian Political Science Association style for references.

Late Assignments

For both the book review and the essay: a penalty of 1% (of the grade) for each day of lateness, including weekends. Book reviews can be submitted at the Feb 26 class. Essays may be submitted at the April 2 class. Late reviews and essays (as well as essays submitted April 3-5) must be submitted to the Department of Political Science reception, Room 3018, 3rd floor Sidney Smith Hall (100 St. George Street). During the week there is an after hours mail slot in the department but it is not available on weekends.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious offence, and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources>. Normally students will be required to submit their course essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

Readings

There is no text book for this course. The book that comes closest to dealing with the thesis and topics covered in the book is Peter H. Russell's *Constitutional Odyssey: Can Canadians Become A Sovereign People?* University of Toronto Press, 3rd edition, 2004. A book that deals with many of the theoretical issues raised in the course is Alain-G. Gagnon and James Tully, eds., *Multinational Democracies*, Cambridge University Press, 2001. For each of the topics the course covers there is a large literature. A few items are listed in the course outline for each topic. Students are encouraged to explore the literature beyond these suggestions.

Blackboard

All information about additions or changes in course readings and assignments will be posted on the course website.

Seminar Topics

Week 1 (Jan 8): Introduction

Professor Russell will talk about the thesis of the course and work out the assignment of seminar topics.

Week 2 (Jan 15): Britain's Incomplete Conquest of New France

In what ways was the British conquest of New France not a complete conquest? How does British treatment of the *Canadiens* compare with its treatment of the *Acadiens*? What motives or factors explain the incompleteness of the conquest? What indications were there that the incompleteness might have an enduring influence on British North America?

Dufour, Christain, *A Canadian Challenge: Le defi Quebecois*, Oolichan, 1990

Morton, W.L., *The Kingdom of Canada: A General History from Earliest Times*, 1963, ch 9.

Neatby, Hilda, *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791*, McClelland & Stewart, 1966.

Wade, Mason, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967*, Macmillan, 1968, ch II.

Week 3 (Jan 22): The Treaty of Niagara – Canada's First Confederation?

What role did Indian nations play in the French and Indian War and what was their relationship with Great Britain after the war? Were the Indian nations in any sense conquered by the British? What prompted the Pontiac Uprising in 1763? To what extent can the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and its presentation to native nations at Niagara in 1764 be regarded as Canada's first Confederation?

Armstrong, Fred, *The War that Made America: A Short History of the French and Indian War*, Penguin Books, 2005.

Borrows, John. 1997. "Wampum at Niagara: The Royal Proclamation, Canadian Legal History and Self-Government," in *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada* edited by Michael Asch 155-172, University of British Columbia Press

Flexner, James Thomas, *Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson*, Syracuse University Press, 1979

O'Toole Fintan, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America*, State University of New York Press, 2005

Week 4 (Jan 29): Two Wars Pave the Way for a Canada with an English-speaking Majority

What explains French Canada's loyalty to the Crown in the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812?. How did Britain treat the Indian nations who were its allies in the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812? What constitutional principles and ideals did the English-speaking loyalists bring to Canada?

Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in Defence of Canada, 1774-1815*, Dundurn, 1993.

Benn, Carl, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*, University of Toronto Press, 1998

Jasanoff, Maya, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary War*, Knoff, 2011.

Morton, W.L., *The Kingdom of Canada*, chs 10 & 11.

Wade, Mason, *The French Canadians*, ch II

Week 5 (Feb 5): Rebellion, Lord Durham, Attempted Assimilation and Subjugation

In response to rebellion, Lord Durham recommended responsible government and the assimilation of French Canadians into an English-speaking Canada. Why did the first recommendation succeed and the second fail? In what way does colonial Canada's treatment of Indians parallel how the English would like to have treated the French?

Craig, Gerald M., ed., *Lord Durham's Report*, McClelland & Stewart, 1963

Dickason, Olive Patricia, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from the Earliest Times*, McClelland & Stewart, 1992, ch. 17.

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report*, Canada Communication Group, Vol. 1, ch.6.

Saul, John Ralston, *Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine & Robert Baldwin*, Penguin, 2010

Week 6 (Feb 12): Confederation: A Pact Between English and French?

To what extent can Confederation be interpreted as a constitutional agreement between the English and French? Did English and French political leaders share a common vision about the future of Canada? How did the Manitoba School Crisis in the 1890s end the possibility of Canada being a French/English society from coast to coast? Why did Canada's first peoples not participate in Confederation?

Ajzenstat, Janet et al, eds., *Canada's Founding Debates*, Stoddard, 1999, ch. 8.

Creighton, Donald, *The Road to Confederation: The Emergence of Canada: 1863-1867*, Macmillan, 1964.

Dickason, Olive Patricia, *Canada's First Nations*, ch. 18

Russell, Peter H., *Constitutional Odyssey*, chs. 1-3.

Silver, A.I., *The French Canadian Idea of Confederation, 1864-1900*, University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Waite, Peter, *The Life and Times of Confederation, 1864-1867*, University of Toronto Press, 1962, ch. 10.

Week 7 (Feb 26): Settler Colonialism Despite The Continuation of Treaties

After Confederation, Canada's relations with First Nations were regulated by treaties and the *Indian Act*. Compare the motives of the Canadian government and the First Nations in engaging in treaty relations. Do the imposition of the *Indian Act*, the military attacks on the Metis and the treatment of the Inuit constitute a program to complete the conquest of Canada's Aboriginal peoples? What ideological beliefs underlie settler colonialism? How successful was settler colonialism?

Dickason, Olive Patricia, *Canada's First Nations*, ch. 19
 Miller, J.R., *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 3rd edition, University of Toronto Press, Part Two
 Purich, Donald, *The Metis*, Purich, 1988
 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report*, chs 6, 9, 10 & 11
 Russell, Peter H., *Recognizing Aboriginal Title: The Mabo Case and Indigenous Resistance to English-Settler Colonialism*, University of Toronto Press, 2005, Part Two

Week 8 (Mch 5): Quebec's Quiet Revolution Launches Mega Constitutional Politics

What were Quebec's constitutional aspirations from Confederation to 1960? Why did Quebec change from being constitutionally conservative to constitutionally radical and what were the consequences of that change for Canada's constitutional politics? What light does the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and its implementation throw on the incomplete conquest thesis? How does the clash of Canadian nationalism and Quebec nationalism affect Canada's constitutional politics?

Brunet, Michel, "The French Canadians' Search for a Fatherland," in Peter H. Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada*, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1966
 Cook, Ramsay, *Canada, Quebec, and the Uses of Nationalism*, McClelland & Stewart, 1986
 Johnson, Daniel, *Egalite ou independence*, Les Editions de l'Homme, 1965
 McRoberts, Kenneth, *Quebec: Social Change and and Political Crisis*, 3rd ed., McClelland & Stewart, 1988.
 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, *A Preliminary Report*, Queen's Printer, 1965.
 Russell, Peter H., ch 6.
 Trudeau, Pierre Elliot, *Federalism and the French Canadians*, McClelland & Stewart, 1968

Week 9 (Mch 12): The Political Renaissance of Aboriginal Peoples

What are the main factors that account for Aboriginal peoples getting a better hearing in Canadian politics after World War II? Why was the Trudeau/Chretien 1969 White Paper rejected by Aboriginal peoples? How important was the Supreme Court's decision in *Calder* in reversing the federal government's policy with respect to Aboriginal peoples? What relationship if any, is there between Quebec nationalism and Aboriginal nationalism? Was there progress towards decolonising relations with Aboriginal peoples?

Alfred, Gerald R. *Heeding the Voices of our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism*, Oxford University Press, 1995.
 Foster, Hamar, Raven, Heather and Webber, Jeremy, *Let Right Be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder case and the Future of Indigenous Rights*, UBC Press, 2007
 Fleras, Augie and Elliott, Jean Leonard, *The Nations Within: Aboriginal-State Relations in Canada, the United States and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, 1992
 Miller, J.R., *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, Part Three

Russell, Peter H. *Recognizing Aboriginal Title*, ch. 5
 Weaver, Sally M., *Making Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970*, University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Week 10 (Mch 19): Immigration and the Challenge of Multiculturalism

How does change in the ethnic composition of the English-speaking majority in Canada affect Canadians' capacity to accept the incomplete conquests on which Canada was founded? What makes a country multicultural? What makes a country multinational? Can Canada be both multicultural and multinational? What were Trudeau's reasons for supporting multiculturalism? To what extent is Canada officially multicultural?

Bissoondath, Neil, *The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada*, Penguin Books, 1994.
 English, John, *Just Watch Me: The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1968-2000*, Vintage Canada, 2009, pp. 140-147.
 Kaplan, William, ed., *Belonging: The Meaning and Future of Canadian Citizenship*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
 Kymlicka, Will, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*, Oxford University Press, 1998.

Week 11 (Mch 26): Patriation and Its Unintended Consequences

To what extent were the politics of Patriation a struggle between Canadian nationalism and Quebec nationalism? How come Patriation was more favourable to Aboriginal nationalism than to Quebec nationalism? Did Patriation betray the trust between English and French on which Confederation was based? Was Patriation a substantial step towards decolonising relations with Aboriginal peoples?

Banting, Keith and Richard Simeon, eds., *And No One Cheered: Federalism, Democracy and the Constitution Act*, Methuen, 1983, chs 4, 5, 15..
 Graham, Ron, *The Last Act: Pierre Trudeau the Gang of Eight and the Fight for Canada*, Allen Lane, 2011.
 Romanow, Roy, John Whyte and Howard Leeson, eds., *Canada...Notwithstanding: The Making of the Constitution, 1976-1982*, Carswell/Methuen, 1984.
 Russell, Peter H., *Constitutional Odyssey*, chs 7, 8.
 Russell, Peter H., *Patriation and the Law of Unintended Consequences*, forthcoming in Lois Harder and Steve Patten, eds., *Patriation and Its Aftermath*, UBC Press, 2013.

Week 12 (Apr 2): The Failure of Mega Constitutional Politics and the Future of Canada

What do the failures of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accord indicate about Canada's capacity to secure a grand constitutional settlement of its constitutional difficulties? What does the failure of the 1995 Quebec referendum indicate about Quebec's capacity to separate from Canada? How useful is the incomplete conquest thesis in explaining the constitutional frustrations of Aboriginal, Canadian and Quebec nationalists. What potential does the thesis have as a basis for Canadian identity? How sustainable is Canada as a country without a securing a formal resolution of its constitutional differences?

- Borrows, John, *Canada's Indigenous Constitution*, University of Toronto Press, 2010
- Cairns, Alan C., *Disruptions: Constitutional Struggles, from the Charter to Meech Lake*, McClelland & Stewart, 1991.
- Griffiths, Rudyard, *Who We Are: A Citizen's Manifesto*, Douglas & McIntyre, 2009
- Russell, Peter H., *Constitutional Odyssey*, chs. 9-12
- Saul, John Ralston, *A Fair Country: Telling Truths About Canada*, Viking, 2008.
- Taylor, Charles, *Reconciling Solitudes: Essays on Canadian Federalism and Nationalism*, McGill-Queens University Press, 1993.