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Volume 6, Number 1, 1971

St. John 1971

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030464ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/030464ar>

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Publisher(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (print)

1712-9109 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this article

Smith, A. (1971). American Culture and the Concept of Mission in Nineteenth Century English Canada. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, 6(1), 169–182. <https://doi.org/10.7202/030464ar>

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AMERICAN CULTURE
AND THE CONCEPT OF MISSION
IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH CANADA

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I

A society's sense of mission rests upon the belief that it has been charged by God or history with the performance of some great task. Islamic civilization saw itself chosen by God as the instrument by which His plans for mankind, revealed to the prophet Mohammed, would be realized throughout the world. Its violent encounters with the people of Africa, Europe, and the East became triumphal stages in the great *jihad* Allah required it to prosecute. "As for their victories and their battles," wrote the writer of *Al Fakhri* in satisfied contemplation of the wonders wrought by the Prophet's followers, "verily their cavalry reached Africa and the uttermost parts of Khurasan and crossed the Oxus."¹ In time the historical process itself came to be viewed as the agency responsible for issuing the call to action. It was Lenin's conviction that history had selected the peasants and proletariat of Russia, acting in temporary alliance through their soon to be established dictatorship, to "carry the revolutionary conflagration into Europe"² and thereby begin the remaking of the world. The peculiar attributes held to be associated with each society's special character, in the view of their beholders admirably equipping the society possessing them for the performance of its task, became proof that that task was indeed its to fulfil. The lightning strength of the Islamic invaders itself seemed to justify their programme: it must be for them to act as they did for had they not been given the capacity? To Lenin, paradoxically, the very backwardness of Russia offered revolutionary socialism its initial opportunity and gave the Russian people the chance to play a great role in history.

A peoples' understanding of its special character and of the mission whose fulfillment that character validates and makes possible has frequently arisen from the manner in which meaning is attached to its location in space. From antiquity men have supposed that climate and geography did much to make them what they were.³ A long line of modern thinkers, beginning with Montesquieu, has similarly postulated the existence of links between environment and the character of nations.

A society's location in space may do more than inspire its sense of character and mission. It may also sharpen and refine that sense. To be located in a strange and new land may be to become more fully alive to the responsibilities one bears as the representative of a special and chosen society. In such a land, one functions on behalf of those things for which his order stands in especially challenging and difficult circumstances.

The sense of mission and responsibility held by the Spanish and Portuguese was clearly heightened by the opening of the New World. The discovery of that place, heathenish, yet wealthy and inhabited by God's creatures, made more urgent the business of extending the sway of the culture and civilization whose leading representatives they felt themselves to be.

For three hundred years before the rise of creolism and the sense of estrangement from the Old World that accompanied it, they took it as their duty to incorporate the land in which they had been placed into the life of the land from which they had come. What was implied by the spirit in which they undertook the colonizing process, writes one observer, was not "the annexation of terra incognita, but the bringing together of what should rightfully be joined."⁴ Another concurs: "The Spaniards who left Spain had not migrated initially in an act of independence; they came to America in the service of the Crown and the Church."⁵

The French of New France shared this perspective. It was theirs, they thought, to extend in the New World the French and Christian civilization whose creatures they were. "I came," wrote Champlain, "to the conclusion that I would be doing very wrong if I did not work to find some means to [introduce New France] to the knowledge of God."⁶ And that knowledge was not to be drawn from some new and purer form of the old faith but from the old faith itself. Their activities controlled from the imperial metropolis, clergy, fur traders, and government officials alike functioned as its agents. They moved at the edge of the Empire, sometimes for reasons very much their own, but did not in the end feel themselves divorced from its centre.

Those Englishmen who came to live in America likewise found their sense of mission affected by their removal to a new world. What resulted in their case, however, was different than that yielded by the experience of the continental Europeans. The English in America did not consider that their position in the New World imposed upon them

an obligation to hurry its incorporation into the Old. They did not see it as their divinely appointed task to function as the agents of the civilization from which they came. They moved instead to escape the confines of that civilization until they might return to it on their own terms. Their task was to create in the free and uncorrupted New World a Christian society untouched by the impure influences of the Old. Theirs would be a society which might act as an inspiration to all of mankind and even, in the course of time, regenerate the civilization whose offspring its makers were. And so, where Champlain strove to introduce the principles of French and Catholic culture into the New World, John Winthrop set himself the task of establishing a new and exemplary form of human society, one that would function, in his famous phrase, "as a city upon a hill."

II

More, clearly, went into the making of the view the English and the Europeans had of themselves in the New World than the stimulus offered by life in that world. However strong and powerful that stimulus might be, it did not act uniformly on those exposed to it. It could not prevent these peoples from extracting a different meaning from the signal circumstance which brought them into contact with it. What determined that this should be so was the fact that each of them was accompanied on its journey across the Atlantic by more than an undifferentiated capacity to react to a fresh new land. Each brought with it a way of seeing the world. In the end it was its highly articulated manner of viewing reality which determined the fashion in which each reacted to the lands of the western hemisphere.⁷

The Spanish and Portuguese were men of the medieval world. They knew no challenge to the unity of Catholic civilization and authority. The English who crossed the Atlantic were products of a different age. With them came new modes of social organization, new economic forces, and a modern spirit. What they brought with them shaped their attitude to the world they left behind. It made them impatient with its traditions and anxious to be active. It made them knowledgeable of communities apart, for in their experience the unity of medieval Christendom was no more and men stood divided from one another. It helped, in the words of a Latin American historian, "to create a dynamic heritage contrasting with the relatively static heritage of the longer established Spanish-American."⁸ In short, it distinguished the

English in American from their Latin neighbours and made them feel much less closely linked to Europe.

Even more than the shape of their parent cultures was involved in the process by which these people acquired their understanding of their character and role as New World societies. Of great significance was the relationship each bore to that culture. The attitudes enjoined by the relationship themselves became primary components in the world view articulated by each of these peoples.

The English arrived as men alienated from their society. They had left their land in protest. Their goal, as Winthrop reminded his fellows, was to establish a society based on true Christian principle. In that sense it would be a new society, to be distinguished in the most basic of ways from that out of which it had come.⁹

The French and the *peninsulares*, by contrast, did not cross the Atlantic as men estranged from the culture that gave them birth. They came as the agents of a power and civilization whose values they accepted and wished to promote. Only in time, with the ideas of the Enlightenment, the example of revolutionary France and America, the rise of indigenous elites, and the collapse of the Bourbons before them did the societies of Latin America learn to reject the world from which they came.¹⁰ Their French and Catholic neighbours to the north never did reject it. They did not think the chasm that yawned between them and their parent society after the eighteenth century to be of their making. They considered themselves to have been abandoned by a power which first gave them up and then launched itself upon the path of revolution.

At the centre of their sense of mission through the 19th and into the twentieth centuries was the conviction that they must keep alive in the New World the old faith of Catholic Europe. "The mission with which Providence entrusted French Canadians," wrote Mgr. L.-F.-R. Laflèche in 1866, "is basically religious in nature: it is, namely, to convert the unfortunate infidel local population to Catholicism, and to expand the Kingdom of God by developing a predominantly Catholic nationality."¹¹ It was of particular importance to resist the materialist perfectionism implicit in the New World ethic. Central to the ultramontane persuasion was the notion that the New World could not be seen as a place apart. Men there were not different from other men. They were not above the laws of nature, remade by their sojourn in the New World, and able to set aside the constraints which had made

their fellows on the other side of the Atlantic selfish and sinful. Their lives, accordingly, must be regulated by the same truths which had regulated them in the Old World. It was the special duty of French Canada to make clear what those truths were. This did not mean a total rejection of materialism: as Mgr. L.-A. Paquet observed in 1902, concern with material things had its place.¹² What it did indicate was a clear reluctance to commit French Canada to unqualified acceptance of the idea that the New World possessed a special and distinctive character. "We have the privilege," said Mgr. Paquet, "of being entrusted with [the] social priesthood granted only to select peoples. I cannot doubt that this religious and civilizing mission is the true vocation and the special vocation of the French race in America. . . . Our mission is less to handle capital than to stimulate ideas; less to light the furnaces of factories than to maintain and spread the glowing fires of religion and thought, and to help them cast their light into the distance."¹³

III

English Canadians, like other men in the New World, developed a conviction that they had a special mission to fulfil. Like that of their neighbours, their sense of mission owed much to the fact that those who framed it were acutely conscious of their location in space. And it too was modified by the cultural environment in which its makers operated.

The principal and overriding fact shaping the outlook of those Englishmen who first came to the northern part of North America was their reverence for continuity, tradition, and properly constituted authority. The western world was passing through a great upheaval. That upheaval had sundered the unity of the Empire and introduced dangerous principles of government to men on both sides of the Atlantic. Those who came to British North America, whether as Loyalists or immigrants from Britain, brought with them an outlook at the core of which was a determination that the pernicious and destructive doctrine which rested on those principles must be resisted. Their task was to erect on the North American continent a bulwark against this formidable cancer of the body politic. It was for them to recreate in this territory a society governed by modalities the very image and transcript of those at the heart of the British constitution.

Striking and incontrovertible proof that this was indeed their mission was offered, they thought, by their success in maintaining a precarious existence next to their expanding republican neighbour. British North America had been placed under a severe test in the first years of its existence. Its people had been cajoled and threatened and finally invaded. But they had not yielded nor given up the true faith. For one of them especially there was a deep lesson in British North America's demonstrated capacity to endure. To John Strachan, as S. F. Wise has pointed out, "the miraculous survival of tiny Upper Canada was a North American testimony to God's gracious dealings with those whom he designed especially to prosper."¹⁴ It was a clear and dramatic indication that they were His agents in the New World.

Strachan's sense of his community as an outpost of British civilization and a bastion of the true faith was shared by other British North Americans. Montreal's *Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal* noted in 1824 that the special character of the British American provinces derived from the fact that they, "unlike most other appendages of the Empire",¹⁵ were almost wholly inhabited by natives of Great Britain or their descendants. They thus possessed "the same moral and political sentiments"¹⁶ and cherished "the same domestic and national feelings as their fathers and their ancient kindred."¹⁷ Culture in Canada, when at last it developed, would surely function as a branch "of that venerable tree of art and science which has from old spread its fruits and its shelter over so great a portion of the world."¹⁸

The *Canadian Magazine*, published at York, found British North America in the 1830's in process of becoming a mirror image of European society. It was, in fact,

Europe, with only one difference — means to gratify a love of reading, and intellectual acquirement — That difficulty is about to be surmounted, and then the resemblance will be complete.¹⁹

At mid-century the *Anglo-American Magazine* told its readers how appropriate it was

That we should rejoice over the triumph of civilization, the onward progress of our race, the extension of our language, institutions, tastes, manners, customs and feelings . . . The genius of Britain presides over the destiny of her offspring — the glory of the Empire enshrouds the prosperity of its Colony — the noble courage and strength of the Lion inspires and protects the industry of the Beaver — the Oak and the Maple unite their shadow over breasts which beat in unison for the common weal.²⁰

British culture and civilization was the *élan vital*. The job of men in the wilderness was to unleash its power as quickly and fully as possible. There must be no compromise between the culture of the Old World and that of the New. The one did not need purification by the clean air of the other. The culture of the Old World might indeed be altered by the atmosphere of the New. But the growth yielded by this process would be strange and abnormal. It was not therefore to be encouraged. What should be encouraged was a reaffirmation of the vitality and relevance of the Old World and its culture.

This view of British North America's character and mission, possible only so long as the cultural milieu which shaped it retained a powerful grip on the Canadian mind, was not to endure. As American culture and ideas flowed northwards into Canada English Canadians came increasingly to form their ideas of what was signified by their location in space in terms of that variant of the New World idea which was most fully articulated in the United States. They came to view themselves not as the agent of an Old World culture charged with civilizing the New, but as men uplifted and restored by their New World environment whose duty it was to regenerate the Old.

No small part in this process was played by the massive and continuing entry of American publications into nineteenth century Canada. With them came that vision of life's meaning which reposed at the centre of American culture. It found itself in time positioned to do in Canada what it did in the United States: mediate the experience and shape the understanding of those exposed to it.

The entry of these publications was as visible as its consequences were momentous. William Lyon Mackenzie noted in the early nineteenth century that "In many parts of Canada, and New Brunswick, the United States journals have an extensive circulation . . ." ²¹ In the 1850's the traveller Isabella Bishop observed the tendency of Canadians to read American literature: "Cheap American novels", she wrote, "often of a very objectionable tendency, are largely circulated among the lower classes . . ." ²² At Confederation D'Arcy McGee drew attention to the manner in which Boston functioned as the cultural metropolis for Montreal. Take a thousand, he suggested, of our most intelligent citizens, and, while you will find Montreal unknown among them as an intellectual community, half will have been swayed by Boston books and Boston utterances. ²³ Twenty years later, in an article entitled "American Influence on Canadian Thought," Sara Jeanette Duncan

argued that more American than British writers were familiar to Canadians. Canadian writing displayed American characteristics. Persons born in Britain might retain an interest in British literature, but "the mass of Canadians" prefer American writing. In short, she concluded, a "great number of American books and magazines . . . find ready readers here."²⁴

The presence of these publications, and of the ideas contained in them, insured that Canadians would not for long see the significance of their location in terms similar to those of the Spanish and French who sought to incorporate the lands to the west into the great civilization from which they had come. They would, like Americans, come to see themselves as men free of the constraints imposed by old world civilization and positioned to build a new community.

IV

Some English Canadians adopted with enthusiasm this view of their society's experience and mission. Rebels, Reformers, and Liberals worked vigorously to have their society recognized as one in all essentials distinct from British and European. Canada's mission was to function fully as a community of the New World. It must throw off the trappings of the Old. Having done this, it might then strive to revitalize those decaying societies on the other side of the Atlantic.

William Lyon Mackenzie pronounced it essential that Canada identify itself with the struggle for liberty being waged in America in the 1830's. Nor was his vision limited to North America. Not only were the people of the New World rising up "in stern and awful majesty". It was not "to this country and continent alone, nor chiefly, [that] this revolution [is] confined. It reaches the old world."²⁵ The New World, free and unencumbered, was reaching out to inspire those who remained in chains across the Atlantic.

Later commentators shared Mackenzie's conviction that it was the destiny of the New World to liberate the Old by showing it what true democracy and freedom could accomplish. From the New World would radiate outwards across the Atlantic knowledge of the principles upon which society must be founded. The idea of involvement with the Old World was not, then, objectionable; indeed it was to be welcomed, for it would allow the New World to fulfil its destiny. But precisely because it was through involvement with the Old World that

the New World fulfil its destiny, that involvement had to be of the right kind. It must advance the principles which had come to be associated with life in the New.

"It is", the essayist and historian J. W. Longely wrote in 1882, the business and mission of the Western Continent to leaven the Old World with the principles of a more enlarged freedom and a juster equality, not to bend its back to the remnants of a feudalism broken but not destroyed, decaying but not extinct. A king, an hereditary aristocracy, and a State Church, would scarcely be congenial to the ideas of a free-born Canadian, who has always enjoyed a universal freedom as broad as the sky, and has imbibed from infancy a notion of equality which would be irritated and galled by closer relations with a country which still preserves privileged order and worships vested interests.²⁶

If some Canadians thought it the destiny of their society to communicate to the Old World knowledge of the proper principles upon which society should rest others thought that it could best fulfil its role in the world by serving as a haven for the oppressed. William Norris of Canada First, in the words of Carl Berger, believed that "the North American environment, assisted by liberal institutions, virtually transformed ignorant Europeans into self-reliant and respectful citizens."²⁷ Because of this belief, he conceived "the ultimate purpose of an independent Canada to be roughly similar to the mission of the United States."²⁸ As Norris himself put it, independence would enable

Canada to fulfil her destiny, to be the asylum for the oppressed and downtrodden peoples of European asylum where under their own vine and fig tree, they can live in the enjoyment of happiness and liberty, perpetuating British institutions down to the most remote generation.²⁹

V

The manner in which the thought of these men paralleled that doctrine of the New World's significance articulated in the United States is impressive enough; even more illustrative of the power wielded by the American ethos was the fate met by that sense of Canada's mission held by the most imperially minded of her citizens. These were the men whose ancestors had sacrificed much to keep a united Empire. These were the men who were determined to keep the flame of British and monarchical civilization alight in the New World. These were the British North Americans whose sense of mission most closely resembled that of the French and Spanish. These were men who knew they were in the New World but did not at the beginning agree that this fact alone

made them unique and set them apart. Yet in time even they were moved to construct a vision of Canada's destiny which turned on the conception that it was indeed a fresh and vital community with qualities that clearly distinguished it.

By mid-century they had begun to suggest that the strength of Britain might after all be augmented by the peculiar vapours of the New World. The old country, suggested William Kirby in 1846, had denied itself. Its great land-based traditions had collapsed midst the smokestacks of industrialism. It no longer had the special strength necessary to sustain the principles which had made its civilization worthy and honourable. But those same principles, at the heart of which was a reverence for authority, justice, order and a carefully regulated and hierarchically organized society, might find new life in the uncorrupted soil of the New World.³⁰

This was far from an assertion that Britain and its institutions were wholly decadent and corrupt. It did not represent a total commitment to the New World idea. But it did involve a clear suggestion that the things most to be valued in British civilization might be restored by the magic of the New World. And so the idea that Canada was destined to serve as an outpost of British culture was combined with a modest and restrained version of the New World myth to produce a new conception of Canada's role and purpose in the world.

A traveller to British North America in 1849 caught the beginnings of this change. The British North American colonies, wrote James Dixon conventionally enough, "will carry out and perpetuate all that is venerable in our system."³¹ But then came the new note: the suggestion that there were special and potent forces operating in the New World. England was now, in fact, Dixon asserted, being planted in "new soil," soil which "will reproduce our nation on a gigantic scale."³²

By the 1880's G. M. Grant, stressing his country's tie with Britain, could take time to point out that it was very much a community of the New World. "We are," he wrote,

devoted to the monarchical principle, but any aristocracy, save that of genius, worth, or wealth, is as utterly out of the question with us, as with [Americans].³³

And in 1899 Colonel George Taylor Denison considered that the days of the British race itself might be numbered "unless the new blood in the Colonies, will leaven the mass."³⁴

VI

Canadians, then, found their assessment of what duties they had, and what strength they possessed, affected by a particular vision of what life in the western hemisphere entailed. They found themselves engaged in defining their place and role in the world in terms of what they increasingly held to be Canada's quintessential New World character. They found themselves, in short, subscribing to a view of their national destiny which had much in common with that expensive vision articulated so enthusiastically by the people to their south.

There were, of course, differences. The Canadian, for all that he became convinced of his special power and capability as a creature of the New World, could not forget his link with the Old. He could not rest content with a role which involved him merely in acting as a model and source of inspiration for the rest of mankind. He felt himself linked directly to the Old World. He must act directly upon it. He must use his new strength in support of that from which he had come. And so, argued the *Canadian Monthly* in 1877, Canada's

ultimate destiny is not annexation to the United States or a precarious independence . . . but to be a free British dependency, at once the grateful scion and the faithful potent ally of the mother-stock.³⁵

Canada's tie with Britain and its heritage of British institutions made it inevitable that some of its people should conceive of their society in a manner different from that in which Americans conceived of theirs. Its tie with the Old World, they thought, had prevented it from yielding to materialism and vulgarity. Its vitality was uncorrupted by excess. Yet that vitality, though channelled by Old World restraint, remained a gift of the New. It must be used to uplift and regenerate that which had kept it pure and undefiled.

Nowhere was this argument advanced with greater force than in Sara Jeanette Duncan's turn-of-the-century novel *The Imperialist*. Influenced by Henry James in both style and conceptualization, Duncan used her book to explore the tension between the Old World and the New. She examined one way in which the Empire might be revitalized and the growing American influence in Canadian and imperial affairs limited. For Murchison, the novel's protagonist, the answer lay in closer association of the Empire's different parts. Thus strengthened it might withstand American pressure. Canada, now bearing the brunt of that pressure, would certainly find its position improved.

But imperialism would not merely serve and protect Canadian independence in North America. Britain, Murchison was convinced, was in decline. What would revitalize it was a closer association with Canada. Canada, like the United States, was a community of the New World. It was in fact potentially stronger than the United States for it had not let the potent magic of the New World go to its head. The flow of the vital New World juices through its veins had been regulated by the sense of moderation and restraint acquired from its Old World parent. But they remained the juices of the New World. Canada's destiny lay in a supreme activism directed towards allowing them to course unimpeded to the centre of the Empire.

In Murchison himself was the old made new. On the platform to make his speech to the electors of Elgin, he appeared as "a dramatic figure, standing for the youth and energy of the old blood . . ." ³⁶ He was the man of the Old World, regenerated by his sojourn in the New. Fresh and vigorous and innocent, he was prepared to use his strength and that of his society to regenerate the land from which he had come.

VII

English Canadians, then, came to view their mission as one befitting a society not merely an extension of, but qualitatively different from, those of the Old World. How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? Their point of view was determined by the cultural matrix within which the elements composing it took form. As the character of that matrix changed, the ideas to which it gave rise changed also. English Canadians came, irresistibly, to form the fundamental myths articulating that which was supposedly basic in their national experience in terms of a vision of reality created by another people.

NOTES

¹ Cited in Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958), 134. Dawson refers to the "intense religious enthusiasm" of the Moslems which made the Holy War "a supreme act of consecration and self-sacrifice." *Ibid.*, 133.

² Cited in Leon Trotsky, *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*, (Edited and translated by Charles Malamuth), New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941), 424.

³ J. W. Johnson, "Of Differing Ages and Climes," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXI (Oct.-Dec., 1960) pp. 465-480.

⁴ Richard M. Morse, "The Heritage of Latin America," in Louis Hartz, et al, *The Founding of New Societies: Studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada, and Australia* (New York: Harbinger Books, 1964) 152.

⁵ Germán Arciniegas, *Latin America: A Cultural History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967) xxv.

⁶ Cited in Morris Bishop, *Champlain: The Life of Fortitude* (Carleton Library; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 183.

⁷ For a clear and concise account, by an historian, of the manner in which the cultural environment operates in the shaping of a society's outlook, see David M. Potter, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Ninth Impression; Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1965) especially Part I, "The Study of National Character," 3-74; for an account by two sociologists of the influence exerted by culture in the formation of ideas see Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Anchor Books edition; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1967); for a brief history of the concept of ideology, see George Lichtheim, "The Concept of Ideology," *History and Theory*, IV (2) 1965, 164-195. Potter's account is straightforward and uncluttered; Berger and Luckmann argue for a new understanding of the sociology of knowledge; Lichtheim is concerned with what they would consider merely one branch of it; but all make the simple and basic point upon which the argument in this paper turns: the cultural environment in which men live shapes the manner in which they perceive their universe.

⁸ Irving A. Leonard, "Introduction," Mariano Picón-Salas, *A Cultural History of Spanish America from Conquest to Independence*, trans. Irving A. Leonard (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965) x.

⁹ For a classic account of the manner in which Winthrop and his colleagues viewed their situation in America, see Perry Miller; Errand into the Wilderness; in his *Errand into the Wilderness* (Harper Torchbooks: New York: Harper and Row, 1964) 1-15. For a brief yet comprehensive examination of the American concept of mission, see Russel B. Nye, "The American Sense of Mission," in his *This Almost Chosen People: Essays in the History of American Ideas* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966), 164-207. For a lengthier treatment of the same theme, see Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansion in American History* (Encounter Paperbacks; Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1963). For a reply to Weinberg, see Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (Vintage Book; New York: Random House, 1966). Recent writers, without denying the proposition that Americans felt themselves apart from the Old World, have emphasized the extent of their involvement with that world's culture. See Frank Thistlewaite, *America and the Atlantic Community: Anglo-American Aspects, 1790-1850* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963); Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strange New World, American Culture: The Formative Years* (New York: The Viking Press, 1967); Robert Kelley, *The Transatlantic Persuasion: The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); and Robert O. Mead, *The Atlantic Legacy: Essays in American-European Cultural History* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).

¹⁰ "The independence proclaimed in the *Mayflower Compact* of 1620," writes one observer, "was not formulated in Hispano-Indian America until 1810." Arciniegas, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Mgr. L.-F.-R. Lafliche, *Quelques Considerations sur les rapports de la société civile avec la religion et la famille* (Trois Rivières, 1866), cited in Ramsay Cook, ed., *French Canadian Nationalism: An Anthology* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), 98.

¹² Mgr. L.-A. Paquet 'Sermon sur la vocation de la race française en Amérique,' cited in *ibid.*, 158.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁴ S. F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," *The Bulletin of the Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada*, XVIII, 1965, 15.

- ¹⁵ "Quebec Literary and Historical Society," *The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal*, No. 1, July 1824, 3.
- ¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*
- ¹⁷ *Loc. cit.*
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.
- ¹⁹ *Canadian Magazine*, I (1) January 1833, 1.
- ²⁰ "The Cities of Canada: Toronto," *Anglo-American Magazine*, I (1) July 1852, 1.
- ²¹ "A Letter to England by Peter Russell," *Colonial Advocate*, April 6, 1826. Cited in Margaret Fairley, ed., *The Selected Writings of William Lyon Mackenzie, 1824-1837* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960) 116. 'Peter Russell' was a pseudonym used by Mackenzie.
- ²² Isabella Bishop, *The Englishwoman in America* (London, 1856) cited in G. M. Craig, ed., *Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867*. Pioneer Books (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1955) 217.
- ²³ D'Arcy McGee, "The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion," *Montreal Gazette*, November 5, 1867.
- ²⁴ Sara Jeanette Duncan, "American Influence on Canadian Thought," *The Week*, IV (32) July 7, 1887, 518.
- ²⁵ *The Constitution*, July 26, 1837. Cited in Fairley, *op. cit.*, 218-219.
- ²⁶ J. W. Longely, "The Future of Canada," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly*, VIII (2) February 1882, 153-154.
- ²⁷ Carl Berger, "The Vision of Grandeur: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1966) 147.
- ²⁸ *Loc. cit.*
- ²⁹ William Norris, "The Canadian Question," (Montreal, 1875) cited in *loc. cit.*
- ³⁰ William Kirby, *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada* (Niagara, 1859).
- ³¹ James Dixon, D. D., *Personal Narrative of a Tour Through a Part of the United States and Canada: with notices of the history and institutions of Methodism in America* (New York, 1849) cited in Craig, *op. cit.*, 171.
- ³² *Loc. cit.*
- ³³ G. M. Grant, "Canada's Present Position and Outlook," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly*, V (2) August 1880, 198.
- ³⁴ Sir Sandford Fleming Papers, Denison to Fleming, May 6, 1899, cited in Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) 181.
- ³⁵ *Canadian Monthly*, XII (2) August 1877, 198.
- ³⁶ Sara Jeanette Duncan, *The Imperialist* (New Canadian Library; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1961) 229.