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A TALE OF TWO LEGACIES: THE UNIQUE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN IDENTITIES

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MASTER OF DEFENCE STUDIES - MAITRISE EN ÉTUDES DE LA DÉFENSE

**A Tale of Two Legacies:
The unique development of the Canadian and American Identities.**

By Major John L. Cochrane, CD

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CF – Canadian Forces

NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NORAD – North American Aerospace Defence

R2P – Responsibility to Protect

UN – United Nations

US- United States

ABSTRACT

This is a persuasive paper, which examines the development of the Canadian and American national identities out of their common British heritage; it specifically attempts to identify how two countries that evolved from the same Empire developed in such different and distinct manners. It will conduct a historical analysis discussing where each country came from, how it has evolved, and where it is today. It asserts that the different method in which each country came to be was the overarching factor in the development of its national identity.

In order to support this argument, this paper will examine certain key components and events in each country's history that have been essential in how each defines its identity. In addition it will discuss how each country ensures that the importance of these defining aspects of their nation remain a cornerstone to their country's identity.

This paper concludes that the development of the Canadian and American identities were unique because of the distinctly different methods in which each country obtained its independence. Thus, the method in which each country came to be a state provides an explanation as to the development of each country's identity.

A TALE OF TWO LEGACIES – THE UNIQUE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN AND AMERICAN IDENTITIES.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION – IN THE BEGINNING

Our forms of government - though both cast in the democratic pattern - are greatly different. Indeed, sometimes it appears that many of our misunderstandings spring from an imperfect knowledge on the part of both of us of the dissimilarities in our forms of government.¹

President Dwight Eisenhower

How is it that two countries so closely related geographically and historically could develop such unique identities? America is a self-assured and confident country, while Canada has an inferiority complex.² More often than not, a Canadian self describes by what they are not, not American or not British, rather than what they are.³ Yet Canada and the United States exist side by side in two independent democratic states with common British heritage. How is it that these two countries which have common roots and are linked geographically can be so similar, yet so different?

Canada and the United States, like many other countries, were born out of colonialism. At the end of the Seven Year War between England and France both of these future states were under the rule of the British Empire.⁴ Within the territory captured by

¹ About.com Canada online. “9 U.S. Presidents Quotes About Canada”, <http://canadaonline.about.com/od/canadausrelations/a/uspresquotescan.htm>. Internet; accessed 24 April 2012.

² Pew Research Center. “America’s Image in the World: Findings from the Pew Global Attitudes Project.” <http://www.pewglobal.org/2007/03/14/americas-image-in-the-world-findings-from-the-pew-global-attitudes-project/>. Internet; accessed 2 February 2012.

³ Annexation.ca. “Mike Myers,” <http://www.annexation.ca/quotesrelationship.html>. Internet; accessed 13 March 2012.

⁴ Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan. *Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview*, (Oxford: ABC-CLIO., 2008)., 289.

the British was the French settlement of New France and its Roman Catholic citizens. This region would later become a significant factor in the development of different national identities between the United States and Canada.⁵ The colonists of the British settlements eventually aligned themselves with one another in the creation of two distinct elements; one declared its independence from England becoming the United States of America and the other remained loyal to England and eventually evolved into the Dominion of Canada.⁶

Americans for the most part have no doubt about whom they are. They are a confident people who are extremely self-assured. As they developed, prospered, multiplied and settled North America, they remained ambitious, optimistic, idealistic, and a sentimental people, while continuing to adhere to their belief in both physical and psychological freedom.⁷ They, like Canadians, developed from the British and owe much of their success to their forebears, but their national character is different. The development of their national identity is in large part to their storied history, but has also been greatly influenced by geography. America has always seen itself as a land of opportunity to all and successfully avoided the traditional constraints of class and space that confined Britain and Europe. America offered an opportunity to obtain land, wealth and acceptance.⁸ When the United States declared its independence from the British it separated itself from the traditional philosophies of Europe through not only geography, but also policy. Conversely although Canada was also geographically separated from the “Old World”, its policies and traditions were closely aligned with those of Britain.

⁵ Jonathon F. Vance. *A History of Canadian Culture*, (Toronto: Oxford University Press., 2009), 55-57.

⁶ J.A. Lower. *Canada – An Outline History*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited., 1973), 53-54.

⁷ Andrew Cohen. *The Unfinished Canadian: The People We are*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart., 2007), 20-21.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20-21.

Canada's development was largely influenced by the British, French, and later the Americans. These three nations had a clear influence on Canada institutionally.⁹ A system of democratic government, a belief in capitalism that is softened through social democracy, and a clearly defined rule of law.¹⁰ From the British and French traditions it exercises civil and common law. The retention of a constitutional monarchy while also exercising a Charter of Rights and Freedoms is a clear mix of British and American influence. Canada's economy is a mixture of capitalism and socialism fostering both public and private ownership which is a high blend of "Old World" and "New World" beliefs. Far from a socialist state, Canada enjoys a number of social programs and although not as broad as those in Britain and France, they are not nearly as limited as in the United States.¹¹

From the moment that the United States declared its independence from Great Britain the development of the national identities of Canadian and American states took sharply different tracks resulting in decidedly different outcomes. The differences in the development of each of these states has resulted in characteristics of their citizens that are unique despite the significantly common history provided by Great Britain. The United States is widely perceived as a country of patriotic citizens who have embraced the American Melting Pot, everyone is an American first.¹² Conversely Canadians are seen as a country comprised of many other nationalities, individuals see themselves as a German

⁹ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 302.

¹⁰ Cohen. *The Unfinished Canadian*, 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 26

¹² Men's Health. "Why I'm Afraid of Americans." September 30 2004. <http://www.menshealth.com/best-life/worlds-view-america>. Internet; accessed 7 April 2012.

Canadian, Italian Canadian or American Canadian.¹³ Thus the natural question that flows from this is why did these countries develop such different identities? *This paper will show that the national identities of Canada and the United States of America developed in decidedly different ways as a result of their means of separation from the British Empire and that these differences remain today.*

Chapter one of this paper has outlined several differences between Canada and the United States of America which affected each country's sense of self. It hypothesized that following its Declaration of Independence the United States' development was set on a different path from that of Canada which continued to grow from its colonial roots. As a result of these different paths each came to a decidedly different national identity. The study of evolution of the national identities of these two states begins in the second chapter by conducting a brief examination of Great Britain, the United States and Canada. This chapter will provide the facets that are widely interpreted to contribute to a nation's identity. It will review the traits, characteristics and history of Britain before moving on to presenting the steps immediately preceding the independence of both the United States and Canada followed by outlining several characteristics and traits that contribute to their national identities. The understanding of these three countries' traits and characteristics will provide a basis from which to grasp how Canada's and the United States' identities developed out of British colonies. The remainder of the paper will then turn to examining the difference in the development of the national identities of Canada and the United States. Chapters three and four will explore the United States and Canada's history to identify key events that helped to shape the development of their

¹³ MacLean's. "Everybody Loves Us." 21 November 2007.
http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20071121_6054_6054. Internet; accessed 1 April 2012.

identities. Chapter three will specifically examine three components of the United States: its key historical documents; involvement in conflict; and American citizens. The fourth chapter in its analysis of Canada will examine the same factors: key historical documents; involvement in conflict; and Canadian citizens; but will also include an additional factor discussing French Canada. The fifth and final chapter will conclude the paper and highlight the key differences in the development of the national identities of these two countries. It will then reinforce the significance of the way in which each country separated from Britain and how this affected the national identity of each state. The first step in the process will be to conduct a review of the colonial roots of both the United States and Canada.

CHAPTER 2

BRITAIN'S LEGACY AND CREATIONS

We lost the American colonies because we lacked the statesmanship to know the right time and the manner of yielding what is impossible to keep.¹⁴

Queen Elizabeth II

The term “national identity” is explained as “the depiction of a country as a whole, encompassing its culture, traditions, language, and politics.”¹⁵ In close concert with this is the concept of “nationalism” which is described as “the policy or doctrine of asserting the interests of one's own nation, viewed as separate from the interests of other nations or the common interests of all nations.”¹⁶ These two closely related concepts are common in all nation states throughout the world to varying degrees and essential to the development and survival of a nation.¹⁷ In order to foster national identity, nations develop “social myths” that allows them to distinguish themselves from other states, validate their existence, and represent their interests. The development of these “social myths” are intended to appeal to the “collective self of the nation” through the exploitation of historical events in a positive light and create a feeling of superiority when compared to other states.¹⁸ The feeling of superiority is fostered through national leaders, political and cultural institutions, and the mass media. As a result of these actions citizens see themselves as sharing a common history. They collectively mourn the

¹⁴ Brainy Quote. “Queen Elizabeth II”,

<http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/e/elizabethi112089.html>. Internet; accessed 25 April 2012.

¹⁵Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., xi.

¹⁶ Dictionary.com. “Nationalism.” <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/nationalism>. Internet; accessed 22 January 2012.

¹⁷ John Hutcheson, David Domke, Andre Billeaudeau, and Philip Garland. “U.S. National Identity, Political Elites, and a Patriotic Press Following September 11.”

<http://queensu.ca/politics/pols419/hutcheson.pdf>. Internet; accessed 1 February 2012.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

dead, see themselves as having a common history and heritage, and believe that the nation has a shared destiny. In addition to these collective beliefs, the citizens of a nation need to form a “psychological identification” with the state that inspires an internalization of national symbols.¹⁹ This psychological link with the state is essential to ensure that the citizens will place the nation above competing identities such as ethnicity, family, and religion in order to put the nation first.²⁰

The concepts of national identity and nationalism are essential to how and why countries develop their social myths. When these concepts are examined in relation to Canada and the United States, both of which were colonies of the British Empire and largely comprised of citizens from the British Isles, it would seem a reasonable assumption that these countries would have developed similar senses of self; however this is far from the case. The United States is a country that has a strong sense of self while Canada is still struggling to define its national identity. In order to better understand how these countries developed this chapter will first examine the political institutions, colonization history and cultural identity of the United Kingdom. This will set the stage for a brief examination of the political institutions and cultural identity of the United States and Canada. The chapter will close by highlighting the key differences between these two states before moving on to the next two chapters which will provided a more detailed history to identify how these two nations, that are so closely related, could develop so differently.

United Kingdom Colonies

¹⁹ William Bloom. *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press., 1990), 50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 50.

The British Empire existed for a period of roughly three centuries. At its height in the late 19th and early 20th century, the empire included territories on all continents, comprising about one quarter of the world's population and area.²¹ It was established for primarily commercial and political motivations and to a lesser extent emigration movements. Despite these primary intents, the largest impact of the British Empire was the dissemination of British ideals, political institutions, rule of law and the English language throughout a large part of the world.²² As both Canada and the United States were colonies to the British Empire there was therefore a significant influence in the development of each states national identity from their time under British rule. By briefly examining the political institutions, colonization history, and the cultural identity of the British it will foster a better understanding of its influence on development of both Canada's and the United States' national identities.

British Political Institutions

The history of the British political institution is seated in history and is the modern forbearer to many of the world's political systems. Great Britain was the first state to acknowledge the rights of its citizens when King John was forced to sign the Magna Carta in 1215 which resulted in him being forced to share power with his Barons. This was the first in a series of steps that saw a shift in political power and accountability from a monarchy, that had for centuries claimed a divine right to rule from God, to a national parliament that was increasingly representative of the nation's citizens. What is widely regarded as the first representative assembly was called to Parliament by King

²¹ Yahoo Education. "Encyclopedia: British Empire."

<http://education.yahoo.com/reference/encyclopedia/entry/BritEmp>. Internet; accessed 24 February 2012.

²² Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 161.

Edward I in 1295. Unlike the Monarchs ruling in Europe, the King of England required the approval of Parliament in order to tax his subjects.²³ The two chamber model that is present in the British Parliament, Commons and Lords, was first developed in 1341 and is a common feature in many parliamentary systems throughout the world.²⁴

When considering the British political system there are two documents that are surprising absent. The first is a domestic Bill of Rights. The rights of the citizens of the United Kingdom are largely based in common law. The UK has however chosen to recognize the European Convention of Human Rights and has made it part of its domestic law which can therefore be enforced by national courts. The second missing document is that of a written constitution. The United Kingdom is one of only three countries in the world that does not possess a written constitution.²⁵ The absence of these two specific documents, a Bill of Rights and written constitution, becomes significant when considering the importance that both of these documents represent in the United Kingdom's future colonies, including both the United States and Canada.

Colonization History

In 1604 King James VI of Scotland ascended to the English throne and negotiated an end to the hostilities with Spain through the Treaty of London. From the achievement of this peace England shifted its attention from war to the establishment of developing its own overseas colonies.²⁶ The Empire began to take shape in the early 17th century

²³ Roger Darlington's World. "A Short Guide To The British Political System." <http://rogerdarlington.me.uk/Britishpoliticalsystem.html>. Internet; accessed 23 January 2012.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 162.

²⁶ Nicholas P. Canny, *The Origins of Empire, The Oxford History of the British Empire Volume I*. (United States: Oxford University Press.; 1998) <http://books.google.com/?id=eQHSivGzEEMC>. Internet; accessed 5 February 2012. 70.

commencing with the English settlement of North America and the Caribbean.²⁷ This period of expansion continued until the loss of the Thirteen Colonies following the American War of Independence. The British Empire was comprised dominions, colonies, protectorates and other territories controlled or administered by the United Kingdom. It originated with overseas colonies and trading posts established by England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. It was established for primarily commercial and political motivations and to a lesser extent emigration movements. At its height, it was the largest empire in history and, for over a century, was the foremost global power.²⁸ By 1922 the British Empire had influence over about 458 million people, about one quarter of the world's population at the time.²⁹ The British Empire existed for a period of roughly three centuries. As the running of these colonies became increasingly expensive to Great Britain and the colonists desire for increasing autonomy, states were set on the path to independence. Having learned from their mistakes with the United States, colonies were granted the right to “responsible government” which was followed by an intermediate status know as a “Dominion” and finally were granted their independence from the Empire.³⁰ The hard split that occurred between the United States and Great Britain was dramatically different than the gradual departure of ways between Canada and Great

²⁷ Ibid. 34.

²⁸ Niall Ferguson. Empire, *The Rise And Demise Of The British World Order And The Lessons For Global Power*. (London: Penguin Books Limited., 2002)
<http://books.google.ca/books?id=luSjXeSBYHEC&printsec=frontcover&dq=The+rise+and+demise+of+the+British+world+order+and+the+lessons+for+global+power.Ferguson.&hl=en&sa=X&ei=UgaOT5SfDajl0gZlunGDw&ved=0CDIQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=The%20rise%20and%20demise%20of%20the%20British%20world%20order%20and%20the%20lessons%20for%20global%20power.Ferguson%2C&f=false>
 Internet; accessed 10 February 2012.

²⁹ Yahoo Education. “Encyclopedia: British Empire.”

³⁰ The Free Dictionary. “British Colonial Rule.”
<http://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/British+colonial+rule>. Internet; accessed 3 February 2012.

Britain. These different paths of separation from the colonial master offers intriguing considerations as to how the United States and Canada developed out of Great Britain.

British Cultural Identity

Much like a child who takes on some measure of its parent's identity, colonies also take on aspects of its parent state. In the case of both Canada and the United States these countries have taken on many of the traits that were passed down from Great Britain. Therefore in order to better understand the development of the Canadian and American identities it is necessary to understand some aspects of the British identity, specifically its history and traits.

The 1707 establishment of the Kingdom of Great Britain created the first true sense of British national identity.³¹ It was from this that the actual concept of "Britishness" followed during its development thru the Napoleonic Wars, and refinement in the Victorian era. According to British historian Linda Colley the distinct, complex, and unique history of the creation of the United Kingdom produced a strong sense of "nationhood and belonging."³² She goes on to say that throughout Great Britain "Britishness became superimposed on much older identities, of English, Scots and Welsh cultures, whose distinctiveness still resist notions of a homogenised British identity."³³ From this early sense of nationhood came the ability to weather significant society changing events such as the 17th Century revolution and civil war, the agricultural and

³¹ Linda Colley. Gateway – An Academic History Journal on the Web. "Britons: Forging the Nation, 1701-1937." http://grad.usask.ca/gateway/reviewhampton_colley_britons.html. Internet; accessed 25 January 2012.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

industrial revolutions, urbanisation, the agricultural depression, industrialisation, the rise of the trade unions, universal suffrage and the growth of the welfare state.³⁴

According to one editorial in the British Newspaper the Telegraph Journal there are ten core values that espouse the British cultural identity: the rule of law; the sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament; the pluralist state; personal freedom; private property; British institutions; family; history; the English language; and lastly the British character.³⁵ This same editorial goes on to state that the concept of “statutory patriotism is an intrinsically un-British notion and that they “prefer simply to set out, the non-negotiable components of their identity.”³⁶ Although these views are simply those of an individual that has been published in a daily newspaper, it provides a simple concise view of how at least one British citizen views his state’s identity.

Great Britain has a complex and difficult history that has contributed to its development and collective identity. The British today are a “diverse, multi-national and multicultural society, with strong regional accents, expressions and identities”.³⁷ The social structure of Britain has changed dramatically over the past two centuries, seeing a decline in religious observance, an ever growing middle class, and increased ethnic diversity.³⁸ Many of these developments have also occurred in Canada and the United States whose respective identities have been influenced by their time as British colonies.

³⁴ Mike Baker. BBC World News. “How about some British history?”

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/education/6303901.stm. Internet; accessed 3 February 2012.

³⁵ The Telegraph. “Ten core values of the British identity.” <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/telegraph-view/3618632/Ten-core-values-of-the-British-identity.html>. Internet; accessed 20 January 2012.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ BBC News. “UK dialects - strong and varied” 15 August 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4152394.stm>. Internet; accessed 19 February 2012.

³⁸ BBC News. “UK dialects - strong and varied” 15 August 2005.

Conclusion

By briefly examining some key factors of the political institutions, colonial history, and the cultural identity of Great Britain it will allow for a better understanding of its influence on development of both Canadian and American national identities. Originally established for commercial and political motivations that later evolved in emigration, the British Empire existed three centuries. Its dispersion of British ideals, political institutions, the rule of law and English language influenced future unborn nations throughout the world.³⁹ As both Canada and the United States were two nations significantly influenced a basic understanding of how the British identity developed is important to understanding why Canada and the United States developed in the manner that they did. The next section of this chapter will conduct an initial overview as to how Canada has developed.

CANADA

The influence of Great Britain's history on the development of Canada is significant and wide spread throughout the nation. This natural assumption of British ideals, philosophies and traits stems from our slow and controlled separation from the Empire. This section of the paper accepts that the national identity of Canada started to form well before Canada was established as a Dominion. However in order to allow for a start state in determining the major differences between the development of the national identities of Canada and the United States it is necessary to examine the transition from colony to Dominion, the political institutions that were established in Canada, and its early identity, need to be briefly examined.

³⁹ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 161-163.

How Canada came to be

The establishment of Canada flows back much earlier than simply the British North America Act of 1867. Following the American Revolution in 1776, Britain took care not to lose any more colonies through wars of independence. Canada was a special case as its distance from Britain made it extremely difficult to effectively govern and therefore desirable that it should have a measure of control over its own governance.⁴⁰ This concept came to the forefront following the rebellions of 1837-38 against the British colonial government in Upper and Lower Canada. As a result of this Lord Durham was dispatched by the British Government to examine the situation. Following a five month stay in Canada he returned to Britain with the Durham Report strongly “recommending responsible government” be granted to the colonies. This led to the Act of Union in 1841 which joined Upper and Lower Canada into what became the United Province of Canada with East and West Canada respectively.⁴¹

Following several decades of this arrangement concerns started to arise with numerous external and internal challenges that were being experienced by the United Province of Canada. Internally there was a desire for increased authorities with the responsible government concept, which would hopefully address the constant political deadlocks between East and West Canada; British-Canadian nationalists wanted to unite the territories into one country that was dominated by British culture and the English language; the French-Canadian population were intent on obtaining political control within a new largely French-speaking Quebec; and economic interests for trade and

⁴⁰ The Free Dictionary. “British Colonies.” <http://encyclopedia.farlex.com/British+colonies>. Internet; accessed 3 February 2012.

⁴¹ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 93-94.

transport were becoming issues within the Province. Externally the British defence of Canada was expensive and they were seeking to remove this financial burden; and there was also the constant concern with the American belief in manifest destiny.⁴²

Out of these concerns came the 1864 Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences that laid the groundwork for Confederation through the production of the Seventy-Two Resolutions that presented an outline for uniting the British colonies in North America into a single federation. The resolutions were accepted by the majority of the provinces of Canada and were the basis for the 1866 London Conference that led to the British North America Act that saw the creation of the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867.⁴³

Although this was the official birth of Canada as a nation, it is important to note that in the development of the Canadian identity that the term “dominion” was chosen in order to indicate Canada's status as a self-governing colony that was still part of the British Empire; in essence although we were self-governing we were still under the rule of Great Britain.⁴⁴ The influence of Great Britain was immediately evident through the style of the political institutions that were established within the Dominion of Canada.

Canadian Political Institutions

The British North America Act established the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada with a Head of Government, a representative of the Monarch (Governor General) and an Upper and Lower House which are the Senate and House of Commons respectively.⁴⁵

⁴² Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 103,109,111.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 113-115.

⁴⁴ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 302.

⁴⁵ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 117.

This tradition is largely unchanged today. Canada remains a constitutional monarchy, with its executive authority formally vested in the Queen. Her authority is based in the Constitution and every act of government is carried out representing the Crown, however the authority for all acts stems from the Canadian people. The executive function is exercised by the Governor General acting on behalf of the Queen with the advice of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet.⁴⁶

Canada is a parliamentary democracy which subscribes to the belief that the law is the supreme authority in the execution of governing. Its Parliament still consists of three distinct elements: the Crown, the Senate and the House of Commons; however within the country the responsibility for lawmaking is shared among the federal, provincial and territorial governments.⁴⁷ It is a “representative” system of government that enacts laws through the legislature which is composed of individuals who represent the Canadian people. The legislature has two distinct “houses”. There is the upper house, which is comprised of the Senate, whose members are appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister; and a lower house, or the House of Commons, which is comprised of members who are voted to represent the Canadian public through elections. It is a simple-plurality system that elects the single member who receives the highest number of votes cast among the candidates in a specific electoral district.⁴⁸ The members that are elected are often members of a political party which represent common ideology and beliefs with which Canadian citizens can identify. These parties seek political power in order to implement their policies. The political party

⁴⁶ Parliament of Canada. “Parliamentary Institutions – The Canadian System of Government,” <http://www.parl.gc.ca/MarleauMontpetit/DocumentViewer.aspx?Sec=Ch01&Seq=2&Language=E>. Internet; accessed 30 January 2012.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

that has the most members elected will form the government with the Party Leader assuming the position of Prime Minister in a federal context or Premier in a provincial or territorial context.⁴⁹

Canada's adoption of the Westphalia style of government was largely thrust upon it through the British Parliamentary approval of the British North America Act. The implementation of this form of government greatly influenced the early stages of Canada's national identity.

Early Canadian Identity

The search for an early identity in Canada was problematic. English Canadians relied heavily on their loyalty and attachment to the British Empire, while French Canadians deeply resented this loyalty and were seen to be linked to ultramontanism of the era that desired a catholic church dominated self-contained society.⁵⁰ The difficulties with religious and linguistic differences were not solely experienced in Quebec. The early settlement of the west also saw tensions between the English and French-speaking populations. Louis Riel led The Red River Rebellion to defend the interests of French-speaking Métis against English-speaking Protestant settlers from Ontario. The execution of a Protestant from Ontario, Thomas Scott, threatened to divide the new dominion along religious and linguistic lines.⁵¹ These were the first of countless religious and language issues that would continue to plague Canada up to and including today.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Claude Belanger. [Marianopolis College Quebec History. "Ultramontane nationalism: 1840-1960"](http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/natpart3.htm) <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/natpart3.htm>. Internet; accessed 2 March 2012.

⁵¹ The Canadian Encyclopedia. "Red River Rebellion." <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/red-river-rebellion>. Internet; accessed 20 January 2012.

During its attempts to establish some form of identity Canada encountered other threats to the west. Concerns over the American belief in manifest destiny quickly became a potential issue in Canada's desire to settle the west and extend the dominion to the Pacific coast. British Columbia decided to join Confederation in 1871 as means of preventing American territorial aspirations over the Fraser Valley. In order to counter British Columbians concerns with the economic benefits of joining the United States the federal government promised the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This railway became a powerful and tangible symbol of the nation's identity.⁵² By linking the East to the West it stalled the inevitable economic and cultural pull from the South and gave Canada its first piece of national pride and identity.

Canada's early identity also developed from its acceptance of incorporating immigrants from Europe. Included in this policy was the acceptance of an estimated 100,000 unwanted "Home Children" from Britain who were shipped to British colonies with the intent of providing cheap labour forces which contributed to an early part of Canada's identity as the "country of the abandoned".⁵³ Canada saw itself as a nation that needed and wanted people from countries outside its traditional sources. Offers of free land attracted farmers from Germany, Poland, Holland, the United States and Scandinavian countries to the prairies. Many of these groups came in sufficient numbers to create communities that exerted an early influence on Canadian identity and was the forbearer to Canada's modern multicultural policies by which it would be later defined.⁵⁴

⁵² Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 138.

⁵³ Roy MacGregor. *Canadians: A Portrait of a Country and Its People*, (Toronto: Penguin Group., 2007), 231.

⁵⁴ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 304.

Despite these early factors that had minor impacts Canada's identity, it was still a nation that was integrally linked to the British Empire. The factors that started to come to the surface were early indicators of the challenges that Canada would experience in its development as a nation. These same factors were to eventually be some of the defining traits that have established Canada's identity of today.

Conclusion

The development of Canada's identity started long before the approval of the British North America Act by the British Parliament. Great Britain's development and history strongly influenced the development of Canada. The establishment of the Dominion of Canada was based on a number of domestic and international factors that presented a self-governing colony as providing mutual benefit for both Great Britain and Canada. Canada's adoption of the Westphalia style of government, that still persists today, is a solid indication of how closely tied we remained to Britain. What must not be overlooked however was the early and significant influence that other countries had on Canada's early identity. The threat of American expansionism under manifest destiny started a fear of absorption by the United States that is still felt today. An open immigration policy quickly started allowing large numbers of non-traditional sources of immigrants into the country that began influencing aspects of the country's cultural identity and would later define its multicultural beliefs. These factors are all important in establishing the major differences between the development of the national identities of Canada and the United States. The examination of transition from colony to Dominion, Canada's political institutions, and its early identity have provided a position from which to start understanding how Canada's identity has developed. This same process will now

be repeated for the United States in order to provide a consistent understanding of this nation prior to looking at specific aspects in the development of these countries national identities.

UNITED STATES

Much like Canada the influence of Great Britain's history on the United States is significant. However unlike Canada's gradual separation from the British Empire the United States disagreed with Imperial policy and declared its independence from the Crown. Regardless of this hard split from the British Empire, the United States adopted many of its philosophies and ideals from the Empire. That being said however, its political systems and early identity is extremely different from Canada. In this final piece of the second chapter the United States' succession to state, political institutions and early identity will be examined to provide a common starting point from which to look at the development of its national identity in relation to that of Canada.

How the United States came to be

The United States of America, as is Canada, is a product of the British Empire. On completion of the Colonial Wars with France and Britain's acquisition of French territory in North America, a Royal Proclamation was issued by King George the III in 1763 with the intent of stabilizing relations with the native Indians. This Proclamation stated that no settlers were to cross the Appalachian divide and that only licensed traders were to conduct business with the Natives.⁵⁵ This was the first in a series of laws that

⁵⁵ Walter A. McDougall. "The Colonial Origins of American Identity." <http://www.fpri.org/orbis/4901/mcdougall.colonialoriginsamericanidentity.pdf>. Internet; accessed 11 March 2012.

were enacted by the British over the ensuing years, each of which increased the strain on the relationship between colonists and the Crown.

First to be initiated was the Sugar Act of 1764. This taxed products such as coffee, sugar, and wine and came at a time when business in the colonies had diminished greatly with the shift of the fighting to the Caribbean. The result was that the colonies were in the midst of a depression and the additional tax exasperated the situation.⁵⁶

The British Parliament then passed the Stamp Act of 1765. This tax was imposed on the colonies in order to help pay for troops stationed in North America following the British victory in the Seven Year War.⁵⁷ The British reasoned that as the colonies were the primary beneficiaries of this military presence, that they should be at least partly responsible for the expense. To the colonists there was no threat from either the French or Natives, and the primary outside influence in the colonies was that of Britain. In addition to this, a conflict of economic interests simmered as the colonies called into question the right of the British to tax without representation.⁵⁸ The colonists boycotted the Stamp Act and concurrently boycotted British goods. This decision resulted in the repeal of this act by the British Parliament but the institution of the Declaratory Act which further increased the strain on the colonial and crown relationship.⁵⁹

The Declaratory Act stated that colonies were “subordinate” and that parliament could enact any law it wished to bind the colonies and people of American. For the American colonists this was an unconstitutional Act. This interpretation of what was unconstitutional clearly highlighted the differences in how the colonists and crown saw

⁵⁶ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 49.

⁵⁷ John A. Garraty. *A Short History of the American Nation 4th Edition*, (New York: Harper & Row Publishers., 1985)., 56-57.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.

governance and this was a key point in the development of the American national identity.

Following the implementation of the Townshend Acts, the situation continued to deteriorate. The British moved a Regiment of soldiers into Boston which further aggravated the situation and eventually resulted in the Boston Massacre which saw British soldiers fire into a crowd and kill five civilians. From this point forward the colonists saw British soldiers as a crown mechanism to control their liberties. These events lead directly to the Act that triggered the American Revolution.⁶⁰

The Tea Act instigated the Boston Tea Party in 1773. It was a response to the taxes levied by the British government and the Parliament's decision to award the sale of all tea to the East India Company. In response to the Tea Party the Parliament in 1774 responded with the Coercive Acts. This sparked outrage and resistance in the Thirteen Colonies causing the establishment of the First Continental Congress to coordinate the colonies resistance to the Coercive Acts. It called for a boycott of British trade, published a list of rights and grievances, and petitioned the king for redress of those grievances. The Crown ignored the petition which resulted in another meeting being called to coordinate the defence of the colonies.⁶¹ John Hancock stated the colonists intentions clearly at the Second Continental Congress: "...In defense of the freedom that is our birthright....we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressor and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed,

⁶⁰ Eye Witness to History. "The Boston Tea Party, 1773." <http://www.eyewitnesstohistory.com/teaparty.htm>. Internet; accessed 21 February 2012.

⁶¹ John R. Alden. *A History of the American Revolution*, (Toronto: Random House Inc., 1969), 155-156, 183.

and not before.”⁶² At the conclusion of the revolution, America would be a much different society than the one that existed under British rule. A notable difference was its concepts regarding political institutions.

American Political Institutions

The Political institutions of the United States are decidedly different than those of Great Britain. This is a result of their “hard split” from the Crown and the Americans dissatisfaction in the ways that they were governed; this established the first key pieces of the American identity. The Political institutions of the United States are based on the shortest written constitution in the world. It is comprised of a preamble, seven Articles, and 27 Amendments. It is from this document that the federal government of the United States of America was created in 1789. The constitution is considered a living document whose interpretation has and will continue to change over time. The document is drafted in such a way that it is not easily amended, however necessary changes can be made by the citizens of the state over time.⁶³

The Constitution established three separate branches of government: the Legislative Branch; the Executive Branch; and the Judicial Branch. These branches each have their own powers and area of influences. However in order to ensure that no branch of government had ultimate control, the constitution created a system of checks and balances that limited the power of each.⁶⁴ Although the three branches are similar to the British model, the checks and balances that were consciously put in place when the

⁶² Oracle Think Quest Education Foundation. “Traitors, Seamstresses, and Generals: Voices of the American Revolution.” <http://library.thinkquest.org/TQ0312848/ccs.htm>. Internet; accessed 2 March 2012.

⁶³ Martin Kelly. About.com. American History. “Overview of United States Government and Politics – Foundations and Principles.” <http://americanhistory.about.com/od/governmentandpolitics/a/amgovoverview.htm>. Internet; accessed 22 February 2012.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

document was drafted are a distinctly different feature in the American political structure.

Although it is the Constitution that establishes the system of government, the method in which the offices of the Presidency and Congress are filled are based upon the American political system. Unlike Britain and Canada which have numerous political parties, the Americans operate under a two-party system: the Democratic and Republican parties. This two-party system is maintained for historical reasons, however, and more importantly, it is because it supports the electoral system.⁶⁵

One of the key desires of the citizens of the United States when it revolted from the British Empire was the intent to ensure that the federal government does not have total power over the nation. In order to achieve this, the American approach to government is that although the central government has reserved powers when it comes to the welfare of the nation as a whole, the states are also reserved powers within their borders. This division of powers does overlap and sometimes leads to confusion. Thus in the Americans attempt to avoid empowering a single agency with too much power their system can create confusion as to who is the authority in a given situation.⁶⁶

The United States' decision to establish a system of government that ensured no one institution had a monopoly of power was huge change from the British allegiance to the Crown. Although there are numerous similarities to the Westphalia system of government, the Americans took great pains to ensure that their political system was not under the control of one individual or branch of government. The implementation of this form of government greatly influenced the early stages of America's national identity.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Early American Identity

The early aspects of American identity were affectively summarized by Thomas Jefferson who stated that Americans needed to accept and embrace their “right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”⁶⁷ These beliefs were fostered by the actions of the British and resulted in the revolution of the thirteen colonies. In essence, they rebelled because the Crown and Parliament began to restrict their freedom to expand their agricultural basis, commerce, and industry. Once independence was achieved, the new nation drafted a Constitution to support the expansion of the issues that the British sought to restrict. Once the Constitution was in place, they then sought to quickly develop their nation by the development and interpretation of laws and the acceptance of secular and religious values.⁶⁸

However not unlike Canada in its early development, the United States early identity was significantly influenced by its time as a British colony. Although the Americans embraced religious liberty as a key component of civil liberty, there was favouritism towards the Protestant Religion and a measure religious superiority present.⁶⁹ The early United States also adopted the English acceptance of a racial hierarchy that justified the expulsion or enslavement of other cultures that may have impeded the expansionist mentality that the Americans adopted immediately upon becoming a nation. The early support of slavery and Indian removal were two traits that were key aspects of early American identity that would be key components of the later development of the

⁶⁷ Walter A. McDougall. “The Colonial Origins of American Identity.”

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

current identity of the United States.⁷⁰ Finally the Americans in light of their successful revolution believed that it was their responsibility, and in fact their destiny, to expel the European masters in North America and incorporate as many of the colonies into the United States as possible.⁷¹

These early factors had major impacts on both the early and current American identity. Although much of its identity was born out of the rejection of the British Empire, it was largely influenced by many of the philosophies from the same British Empire that it rejected. Despite the overall positive concepts of the American philosophy of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,” there were numerous early challenges that presented themselves in the development of their identity that would play a significant role up to and including today. Samuel Huntington explains the core of the American identity as embodying the “principles of liberty, equality, individualism, representative government, and private property”.⁷²

Conclusion

The examination of the steps that led to the creation of the United States, its political institutions, and its early identity has provided a common point from which to examine the development of the American identity. It is evident that the American identity has been largely influenced by both its rejection and acceptance of various concepts of the British Empire. The policies of the British Empire that were largely rejected by the colonists set the conditions for the American Revolution which is the key

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ Walter A. McDougall. “The Colonial Origins of American Identity.”

⁷² Samuel P. Huntington. *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*. (New York: Simon and Schuster Inc., 2004), 41.

factor in the development of the American identity. The United States' hard split from the Crown created a unique political system and resulted in an overarching mistrust in central authority that still exists today.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

This chapter has briefly considered the concepts of *national identity* and *nationalism*, and outlined why they are essential to a country's development and its social myths. In order to better understand how the identities of Canada and the United States developed this chapter first examined the political institutions, colonization history, and cultural identity of Great Britain. As former colonies of the British Empire it is important to understand the influence that was thrust upon these two nations before they started developing their own unique identities. Following this brief examination of key aspects of Great Britain and its influence over its colonies, this section explored the creation of each country, its political institutions, and early cultural identity in order to provide a common starting point from which to further examine the development of each nation's identity.

As both the United States and Canada came from the British Empire, it would appear a safe assumption that there would be numerous similarities between the nations and that although their identities are not likely to be identical, they should in reality be similar, however this is not the case. Despite numerous similarities between the two countries, the United States has a strong sense of self while Canada is still struggling to define its national identity. Although this cannot be attributed to simply the means by which each nation was born, there is certainly evidence to suggest that the United States split from the British Empire forced it to stand on its own feet and to fend for itself.

Conversely Canada in its gradual separation from Great Britain never really had to accept responsibility for developing a system of government or laws. These two distinct aspects in the development of these countries set them on decidedly different paths.

The next chapter will examine the development the United States post the American Revolution with the intent of further defining the development of its national identity and determining how it is so decidedly different from that of its colonial relative – Canada.

CHAPTER 3

THE REBELLIOUS COLONIES – THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICA’S IDENTITY

*Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Beside, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of Nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us.*⁷³

Patrick Henry

The development of the identity of the United States commenced long before the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence. As was described in the previous chapter this former colony of the British Empire saw its identity directly influenced through both its acceptance and rejection of British policies and philosophies. The hard split that occurred between the United States and Great Britain was however the largest factor in starting the development of American identity on its path. The United States developed into a confident and self-assured country after its establishment as a nation. Although there are many factors that have influenced the development of the identity of the United States, this paper will examine three key aspects of its history that had significant impacts on its development after the commencement of the American Revolution. The first factor that will be considered are key documents in American history, this include: the Declaration of Independence, the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The second factor to be considered is the United States history of warfare. This will specifically examine threats to the country and will focus on the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and the War on Terror. The last factor that will be

⁷³ Famous Quotes of the American Revolution. “Patrick Henry”, http://www.pleasantridge.k12.ca.us/magnolia/studentlinks/websites78/social_studies/revolutionary_war/quotes.html. Internet; accessed 24 April 2012.

considered in the development of the United States' identity is that of its immigration policies with a specific focus on its early policies, the melting pot, and multiculturalism. Although these are by no means the only factors to be considered in the development of the American identity, they are three key considerations that provide a basis for how its identity developed in the way that it did.

AMERICA - KEY HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

National identity is believed to be at least partially centred on social myths. Nowhere is this more evident than in the United States whose identity is largely based on a number of key documents that were developed early in its history. These documents designed to ensure the “rights of men” have become a focal point for the American identity. These three documents, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights are essential pieces of how Americans see themselves today. Although many countries possess similar papers, what is important to remember is that these documents were drafted during and soon after the American Revolution at the birth of the United States; therefore these documents have been present through the vast majority of Americas existence and have become part of its identity commencing from the drafting of the Declaration of Independence.

Declaration of Independence

On the 4th of July 1776, the Continental Congress issued The Declaration of Independence. This statement announced to both the American colonists and Great Britain that the thirteen American colonies, who had now been at war with Great Britain

for a year, regarded themselves as independent states.⁷⁴ Contained within The Declaration was a clear explanation for the reason that on July 2nd Congress had voted to declare independence from Great Britain. It outlined the colonial grievances against King George III, and stated numerous natural and legal rights, including the right of revolution.⁷⁵

Following the ratification of the document, Congress issued several forms of the Declaration. The plan was that it would be published and printed as a broadside to be widely distributed amongst, and read to, the public. Once the final document was approved by Congress a hand written copy of the Declaration was sent to a nearby printing shop. Overnight 200 broadsides were produced for distribution.⁷⁶ A short time later, the Declaration was being reprinted in newspapers and read to audiences throughout the thirteen states. The first public readings of the Declaration took place on the 8th of July in Philadelphia, Trenton New Jersey, and Easton Pennsylvania.⁷⁷

The significance of this document was lost on the early Americans having served its original purpose of announcing the United States independence from Great Britain; its text being largely ignored after the American Revolution. However its significance as a major statement on human rights soon became evident. The second sentence of the Declaration is one that is closely associated with the American identity: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, which among these are Life, Liberty and the

⁷⁴ Library of Congress Digital Reference Section. “Declaration of Independence.” <http://www.loc.gov/rr/program/bib/ourdocs/DeclarInd.html>. Internet; accessed 16 February 2012.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ James R. Heintze. “The Declaration of Independence: First Public Readings.” <http://gurukul.american.edu/heintze/declar.htm>. Internet; accessed 14 March 2012.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

pursuit of Happiness.”⁷⁸ This concept has been applied throughout American history and been a key aspect during the abolishment of slavery and the women’s suffrage movement.⁷⁹

The importance of this document to the American identity cannot be understated. This document provided a symbol to rally around during the American Revolution and explained to the American colonists what they were fighting for; the right to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Once the United States had secured these rights, they then set to work drafting a means to protect it through the Constitution.

United States Constitution

The second key document that will be examined in the establishment of the American identity is the Constitution of the United States. It was adopted at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on September 17, 1787, and ratified by conventions in eleven states.⁸⁰ The Constitution is the supreme law of the United States. Its first three Articles outline the rules and separate powers of the three branches of the federal government: the legislature and bicameral Congress; the Executive branch led by the President; and a federal judiciary headed by the Supreme Court.⁸¹

The Constitution guides the American government and society in law and political culture and as was the case with the Declaration of Independence was drafted

⁷⁸ Library of Congress Digital Reference Section. “Declaration of Independence.”

⁷⁹ U.S. History. “Women’s Rights,” <http://www.ushistory.org/us/26c.asp>. Internet; accessed 14 February 2012.

⁸⁰ John R. Alden. *A History of the American Revolution.*, 514, 522.

⁸¹ John A. Garraty – *A Short History of the America Nation*, 91.

with the intent of providing a better existence for the people of the United States. This can clearly be seen through its opening preamble:

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.⁸²

This statement outlines a number of key factors that contribute to the development of the American identity. It clearly outlines the origin, scope and purpose of the document.

The use of statements such as “We, the people of the United States” and “One people” clearly speaks to the American concept of “All men are created equal” and supports the initial aspects of the American identity that were first seen in the Declaration of Independence. The reason for the development of the Constitution was in practical purpose to address the financial and international aspects of a nation.⁸³ Recognizing that there were problems with a central government that had extremely limited authority the “Founding Fathers” essentially removed the initial Articles of Confederation and created the Constitution. In their words this was “to form a more perfect Union” than the one that existed in the “perpetual Union” and to “secure the blessings of liberty”, for not only the current generation, but for all future American citizens.⁸⁴

The Constitution is the extension of a social contract that was originally established by the Articles of Confederation. It essentially explains how the more “perfect union” is to be achieved. The social contract places responsibility on both

⁸² The Charters of Freedom. “The Constitution of the United States.” http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html. Internet; accessed 14 March 2012.

⁸³ John A. Garraty – *A Short History of the America Nation*, 88,89.

⁸⁴ The Charters of Freedom. “The Constitution of the United States.” and Constitution Society. “The Social Contract and Constitutional Republics.” <http://constitution.org/soclccont.htm>. Internet; accessed 15 February 2012.

governments and citizens with a focus on: justice, civil peace, common defense, general welfare, and freedom.⁸⁵ The notion of a social contract further supports the American concept of limited government authority and that government is for the people. This being said however the Constitution was viewed as flawed in some aspects and required further refinement, which lead to the first ten amendments of the Constitution which are known as the Bill of Rights.

Bill of Rights

The final document that will be looked at in the establishment of the American identity is the Bill of Rights. This is the collective name for the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution which seeks to protect the natural rights of liberty and property of the American people. It guarantees a number of personal freedoms, limits the government's power in judicial and other proceedings, and reserves certain powers to individual states and the public.⁸⁶ In simple terms, whereas the Constitution states what the State "can do", the Bill of Rights states what it "cannot do".⁸⁷

The Bill of Rights was a necessary completion to the Constitution that addressed concerns from several states of a means to ensure the restriction of central government authority over the American people. Thomas Jefferson stated that: "A bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse, or rest on inference."⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Martin Kelly. About.com. American History. "Overview of United States Government and Politics – Foundations and Principles."

⁸⁶ John A. Garraty – *A Short History of the America Nation*, 95.

⁸⁷ American Civil Liberties Union. "The Bill of Rights: A Brief History." <http://www.aclu.org/racial-justice/prisoners-rights/drug-law-reform/immigrants-rights/bill-rights-brief-history>. Internet; accessed 1 March 2012.

⁸⁸ American Civil Liberties Union. "The Bill of Rights: A Brief History."

Although initially drafted with solid intentions there were problems with the initial documents that had to be corrected over time. The first was that the Bill of Rights only applied to the Federal Government as a means of limiting central authority; however the 14th Amendment of the Constitution saw this adjusted to ensure that the same laws applied to individual states in order to ensure citizens the same protection from state governments. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, the Bill of Rights initially only legally protected white land owning men and excluded African Americans and women. It took additional Constitutional Amendments and numerous Supreme Court cases to extend the same rights to all U.S. citizens.⁸⁹

Despite the time that it took for the Bill of Rights to truly represent all American citizens it continues to be a vital document that represents a symbol of freedoms that are afforded the citizens of the United States. It is one of the founding symbols that aided in the establishment of the American identity and although it has been adjusted to reflect the changes in societal beliefs, its importance to the American identity is no less than when it was drafted.

Conclusion

The drafting of the Declaration of Independence, United States Constitution, and the Bill of Rights created three iconic documents that are symbols of the American state. The theory that a nation's identity is at least partially rooted in icons supports the notion that these documents have made a contribution to the development of the American identity. These three documents were designed to ensure the "rights of men" and have become a focal point for the American identity and are essential pieces of how Americans

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

see themselves today. These historic documents were created out of America's war with the British Empire and leads into the next item that has had a significant impact on the development of the American identity – warfare.

AMERICA AT WAR

The United States' history and evolution has been largely influenced by warfare. Americans have gone to war to win their independence, expand their national boundaries, define their freedoms, and defend their interests around the globe. The military history of the United States spans a period of over two centuries. During those years, it established a military to conduct the War of Independence, had a Civil War to unify the nation, and later had to defend its soil from armed attacks on two notable occasions; Pearl Harbour and the World Trade Centre. This paper does not have the ability to fully investigate all of the conflicts that the United States has participated in. It will however examine those that have posed a threat to the establishment of the nation, the American Revolutionary War; a threat to its continued existence, the American Civil War; and two international attacks on domestic soil, Pearl Harbour and September 11 2001. Although only a portion of America's history of conflict, the timings of each conflict in the nation's development are key factors in the American identity. This section will progress chronologically commencing with the War of Independence.

The American Revolution

The single most important event in the development of the American identity is that of the American Revolutionary War that was conducted between 1775 and 1783.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ John R. Alden. *A History of the American Revolution.*, 211, 489.

The reasons for this war were discussed earlier in this paper and will not be revisited; however what will be discussed is the importance that this war had on uniting the 13 colonies to face Great Britain.

The colonists were not initially intent on separating from Great Britain. In actuality they attempted to reconcile with King George III right up until 1775 when they sent him the Olive Branch Petition. The Crown's rejection of this peace request convinced many of the colonists that in order to secure their rights they would require complete independence from Great Britain.⁹¹ The colonists realized that in order to separate from Great Britain they would have to unite and pursue their goals as one. It was from this that a key step in the development of the American identity took place. By uniting to challenge the British the colonists found a common rallying point to which they could all relate and were committed to. This was a significant accomplishment as although a large portion of the citizens in the colonies were British, it was also comprised of many other races including: German, Dutch, Swedish, Jews, Scots-Irish, and French. These different races of people, which could not be found anywhere else in the world, united to fight for their rights in order to establish a separate identity from Britain.⁹²

It is almost without question that the American colonists had already started to develop a unique identity well before the American Revolution. While there were significant differences in ethnic diversity of the colonists, there were many different factors that led to a strong sense of unity and identity among the colonists. British neglect and victimization resulted in colonial unification that when combined with the

⁹¹ John R. Alden. *A History of the American Revolution.*, 183.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9.

geographic separation between Great Britain and its North America colonies resulted in a distinctively American identity.⁹³

Despite the initial successful steps towards an American identity, the differences between the colonies would provide challenges throughout the course of America's history. One of the most significant challenges would come in the form of a bloody civil war that would take place nearly a century after the Revolutionary War.

The American Civil War

The next significant event in the development of the American identity resulted from the denial of the very goal that the American Revolution had set out to achieve – “the right to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness” within the concept that “all men are created equal.”⁹⁴ From 1861 to 1865, the United States fought a bloody civil war. In the years preceding the war there was a separation of views between 11 Southern states and those in the North. Although there were many differences that were being experienced, the single largest issue was the federal government's right to intervene in the affairs of the individual states policies regarding slavery. Following the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, 11 southern slave states declared their secession from the United States and formed the Confederate States of America; the other 25 states supported the federal government.⁹⁵ What followed was four years of civil war that resulted in thousands of dead on both sides and on its completion the abolishment of slavery in all states.⁹⁶

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 33-34, 45.

⁹⁴ Library of Congress Digital Reference Section. “Declaration of Independence.”

⁹⁵ Winston S. Churchill. *The American Civil War*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1961), 26-30.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

This war marked an important milestone in the development of the American identity that was clearly described by President Abraham Lincoln at the Gettysburg

Address when he stated:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live.⁹⁷

The importance that is placed on the concept that all men are created equal is a key component that is reflected in all aspects of American to this point in its history and was a key component in its national identity. What America had not yet determined was who it considered to be a citizen and exactly who was created equal within that identity.

Lincoln also recognized that this extremely different opinion on the value of men had the potential to destroy the nation that they had built. Lincoln finished his address by stating:

“...-- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”⁹⁸ His reference to “a new birth of freedom” in which he was addressing the future of all persons in America was also a reminder that the federal government was there to represent and protect *all people*.

⁹⁷ Abraham Lincoln Online, “The Gettysburg Address.” <http://showcase.netins.net/web/creative/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>. Internet; accessed 25 February 2012.

⁹⁸ Abraham Lincoln Online, “The Gettysburg Address.”

The American Civil War marked the greatest transition in the development of the American national identity. The ratification of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments addressed the basic question of national identity: Who was a citizen of the United States? Under the amendments, anyone born in the United States and subject to its jurisdiction was a citizen, regardless of ethnicity or social status.⁹⁹

The effects of warfare on the American identity had thus far largely manifested itself in the defence of individual rights against acts of oppression. On completion of the American Revolution threats of external aggression were largely unknown and not anticipated due to the geographic protection that America possessed. Thus when America was attacked on December 7th 1941 at Pearl Harbour and then again on September 11th 2001, a new chapter was first added and then reinforced in the development of the American identity.

Homeland Attacks (Pearl Harbour, September 11 2001)

The attack on Pearl Harbor was a surprise military strike conducted by the Imperial Japanese Navy against the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on the morning of December 7, 1941. The attack was intended as a preventive action in order to keep the American Navy from interfering with military actions that Japan was planning in Southeast Asia against overseas territories of the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, and the United States.¹⁰⁰

The surprise attack came as a complete shock to the American public and led to the United States abandoning its policy of isolationism seeing its immediate entry into the

⁹⁹ The Charters of Freedom. "The Constitution of the United States Amendments 11-27." http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html. Internet; accessed 14 March 2012.

¹⁰⁰ John A. Garraty – *A Short History of the America Nation*, 478.

Second World War. The lack of any formal warning by the Empire of Japan, led President Franklin D. Roosevelt to proclaim “December 7, 1941, a date which will live in infamy”.¹⁰¹ His speech united the nation and further refined America’s identity. Regardless of the differences within the different states of the Union, in times of crisis the nation came first and without hesitation. Roosevelt’s speech united the country; all were focused on the defence of the nation and determine as in Roosevelt’s words to “... not only defend ourselves to the uttermost, but will make very certain that this form of treachery shall never endanger us again.”¹⁰² This statement proved true until the 11th of September 2001 when the United States was again attacked on its home soil.

Sixty years after the surprise attack on Pearl Harbour, the United States was again attacked in four coordinated suicide attacks in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania. The attacks although military in scale were conducted by the terrorist organization Al-Qaeda. Four passenger jets were hijacked and used as weapons by flying two into the World Trade Center in New York, one into the Pentagon in Washington, and the last plane was crashed as the passengers attempted to retake control before it reached its target. There were nearly 3,000 deaths as a result of the attacks, the largest death toll by a foreign action in the United States.¹⁰³

These attacks had an immediate effect upon the American people. The portion of the American identity that so quickly united the nation after the attack on Pearl Harbour was instantly revived in the aftermath of September 11th.¹⁰⁴ Volunteers travelled from all

¹⁰¹ Presidential Speeches. “Franklin Roosevelt - Pearl Harbor Speech December 8, 1941.” <http://www.famousquotes.me.uk/speeches/presidential-speeches/presidential-speech-franklin-roosevelt-pearl-harbour.htm>. Internet; accessed 25 February 2012.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Louise Richardson, *Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*, (New York: Random House., 2006), 143.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 143.

over the country to assist in the search for remains at the four attack sites and donations of blood soled all over the country. America was once again seeing it's citizens rise above their differences in support of the nation.

This was the first foreign attack on U.S. soil in nearly 60 years and much like Pearl Harbour it was a complete surprise to the American public. These attacks which were perceived as unprovoked and unwarranted united the American people in a manner not witnessed since the American Revolution. It reinforced the roots of their identity which are based in the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."¹⁰⁵

Conclusion

The United States has a military history that has spanned a period of over two centuries. This piece of this paper has examined those conflicts that have had a significant influence on the development and maintenance of the American identity. The conflicts discussed were the American Revolutionary War; the American Civil War; and the attacks on Pearl Harbour and September 11 2001. In each of these cases the Americans went to war in the defence of their freedoms. Although only a portion of America's history of conflict, it is clear that American values, and thus their identity, is based on the concepts that were established early in their existence and are centred on the concepts that "all men are created equal" and entitled to, the "right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."¹⁰⁶ These components of the American identity, and what they represent, are key reasons that people from around the world desire to emigrate to the United States.

¹⁰⁵ Library of Congress Digital Reference Section. "Declaration of Independence."

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

THE AMERICAN MELTING POT

The United States has relied on immigration in order to grow its population and foster its economy since it was established in 1776.¹⁰⁷ The immigration of large numbers of people in to a country can bring a vast array of cultural differences and ideas, which has the potential to further develop a nation's identity or diffuse it. The final portion of this chapter will address several factors that are interwoven in the development of the American identity. The aim is to examine three factors: American citizenship, immigration, and education in the history of the nation, as a means to understand the ways in which the United States attempts to incorporate persons who immigrate to America to identify with and develop an American identity.

American Citizenship

In order to immigrate to the United States it is not necessary to become a citizen of the nation. There are other means by which to reside in America, this is usually achieved through an immigration Green Card that allows an individual who is not an American citizen to live and work in the United States.¹⁰⁸

There are two primary methods for obtaining American citizenship. The first is referred to as birthright citizenship. This applies to an individual who is assumed to be a citizen given the fact that he or she was born within the United States. The second method is by naturalization, which is the process through which an immigrant applies, and is accepted for citizenship. These two methods of achieving citizenship are outlined

¹⁰⁷ John A. Garraty – A Short History of the America Nation, 225-226.

¹⁰⁸ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. "Green Card (Permanent Residence)." <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=ae853ad15c673210VgnVCM100000082ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=ae853ad15c673210VgnVCM100000082ca60aRCRD> . Internet; accessed 25 March 2012.

in the Fourteenth Amendment which states: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside.”¹⁰⁹

Citizenship in the United States is a highly sought after right that many immigrants desire. It is an agreement between the individual and the United States that incurs specific rights, privileges and responsibilities. Citizenship is understood as a "right to have rights" and serves as the starting point for numerous subsequent rights. These include the right to live and work in America, the right to Federal assistance, the right to vote, and eventually the right to run for office. It also encompasses several responsibilities including jury duty, registration for the draft for males over the age of 18, and to pay taxes to the United States Government.¹¹⁰ The United States Citizenship and Immigration webpage states:

Deciding to become a U.S. citizen is one of the most important decisions in an individual’s life. If you decide to apply to become a U.S. citizen, you will be showing your commitment to the United States and your loyalty to its Constitution. In return, you are rewarded with all the rights and privileges that are part of U.S. citizenship.¹¹¹

This statement demonstrates the United States’ continued commitment to the Constitution and what it represents to the American identity. Those persons requesting to become citizens of the United States are showing their “loyalty to the Constitution” and therefore

¹⁰⁹ The 14th Amendment. “The US Constitution: 14th Amendment.”

http://www.14thamendment.us/amendment/14th_amendment.html. Internet; accessed 13 March 2012.

¹¹⁰ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. “Citizenship Rights and Responsibilities.”

<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.749cabd81f5ffc8fba713d10526e0aa0/?vgnextoid=4d4a9b66f5e3a210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=39d2df6bdd42a210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>. Internet; accessed 25 March 2012.

¹¹¹ U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. “Naturalization Oath of Allegiance to the United States of America.”

<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.5af9bb95919f35e66f614176543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=facd6db8d7e37210VgnVCM100000082ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=dd7ffe9dd4aa3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>. Internet; accessed 25 March 2012.

expected to adhere to the core values of the American identity. Despite this required loyalty to the United States Constitution there are concerns of the impact that immigration has on the American identity.

Immigration

Over the course of its existence millions of people have decided to make the United States of America their home. Like many other countries, Canada included, they have relied on the flow of immigrants from abroad to populate its largely unsettled regions and create an ever increasing work force. The influx of various cultures cannot but have an effect on the identity of a nation and America is no different.

The initial belief and hope of many early Americans was that the United States would become a *melting pot*. This term refers to a heterogeneous society becoming more homogeneous, thus the different elements "melting together" into a harmonious whole with a common culture. It was a theme that was widely used to describe the assimilation of new immigrants to the United States up to the early 1970s.¹¹²

Despite this belief that those immigrating to the United States would assimilate through the melting pot, there has always been a fear of a loss of national identity through immigration. There is fear that the new immigrants are unwilling or unable to assimilate into American society and that they are too committed to maintaining their cultural connections, and thus too far removed from core American values.¹¹³

There are others however who see the benefits to the culture and diversity that the differing immigrants bring to America. According to New York University History

¹¹² Time Magazine. "America's Fear of Outsiders." <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1627019,00.html>. Internet; accessed 18 March 2012.

¹¹³ America Gov. Achieve. "Immigration and U.S. History." <http://www.america.gov/st/peopleplace-English/2008/February/20080307112004ebyeessedo0.1716272.html>. Internet; accessed 22 February 2012.

Professor Hasia Diner the fear that each generation experiences regarding the influx of immigration is consistent with the last and typically proves unwarranted. She goes on to state that most historians agree that aside from the cultural benefits that immigrants bring, they also provide valuable contributions to the nation.¹¹⁴

There is little doubt that the identity of a nation will be affected by significant immigration. The United States has had millions of immigrants since its establishment as a state. Although they have brought cultures, languages and religions that are different than what was traditionally common in America; the core concepts of American identity that are built around the “right to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness” have not changed and is the very reason that they have come to America.¹¹⁵ The reason for the sustainment of this core value is largely based in the American dedication to remembering and more importantly teaching its history.

History Education

The United States has a history that is unique among countries. The reason and means by which the country was established is essential to the American identity. In order to ensure that this is not lost over time history is a key component of the education system and intended to safeguard a key aspect of the national identity.¹¹⁶ The importance of history to a nation was not lost on President John F Kennedy who stated:

History, after all, is the memory of a nation. Just as memory enables the individual to learn, to choose goals and stick to them, to avoid making the same mistake twice—in short, to grow—so history is the means by which a nation establishes its sense of identity and purpose. The future arises out of the past, and

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ The Bradley Project on America’s National Identity. “E Pluribus Unum.” <http://bradleyproject.org/EPUREportFinal.pdf>. Internet; 25 February 2012.

a country's history is a statement of the values and hopes which, having forged what has gone before, will now forecast what is to come.¹¹⁷

America has subscribed since the nineteenth century to the notion that everyone is entitled to a basic education regardless of their circumstances. It believes that education is a core component for developing and maintaining its national identity.¹¹⁸

The importance of remembering history has not been lost over time. Even recently the United States Department of Education supported the Teaching American History project. This project was designed to bring together teachers from elementary through college levels along with curriculum designers, public historians and school administrators with the aim of improving the participants' "knowledge and appreciation of American history."¹¹⁹

The American identity is steeped in its history, for this reason it is essential in the minds of Americans that all citizens, by birth or naturalization, have at least a basic knowledge of their nation's history. President Kennedy again astutely summarized the reasons for its importance: "...There is little that is more important for an American citizen to know than the history and traditions of his country. Without such knowledge, he stands uncertain and defenseless before the world, knowing neither where he has come from nor where he is going..."¹²⁰

Conclusion

¹¹⁷ American Heritage Collections, travel, and Great Writings on History. "JFK On Our Nation's Memory." <http://www.americanheritage.com/content/jfk-our-nation%E2%80%99s-memorypage=2>. Internet; accessed 7 March 2012.

¹¹⁸ The Bradley Project on America's National Identity. "E Pluribus Unum."

¹¹⁹ Teaching American History. "About the Project – Teaching with Collaborative Teams." <http://www.tahvt.org/about.htm>. Internet; accessed 5 March 2012.

¹²⁰ American Heritage Collections, travel, and Great Writings on History. "JFK On Our Nation's Memory."

The aim of this section was to examine three factors all relating to the citizens of America: citizenship, immigration, and education in the history of the nation. This was intended to develop an understanding of the ways in which the United States assists persons who immigrate to America in identifying with and developing an American identity. Since 1776 the United States has relied on immigration in order to grow its population and foster its economy. However there is often a fear that large amounts of immigration to a country can bring too many cultural differences and ideas; this infusion of increased diversity has the potential to either further develop a nation's identity or diffuse it. It is largely recognized that increased immigration is generally good for a nation. How does this affect the core elements of the American identity? It doesn't. Through the education of the nation's history to both its immigrants and its own citizens, the American identity is not being forgotten.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

As was stated at the start of this chapter, the development of the identity of the United States commenced long before the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence. What has become apparent is that the key aspect of the American identity is the adherence to the notions that "all men are created equal" and the "right to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness". These have been consistent from the drafting of the Declaration of Independence through to today. These facts are steadfast in the American identity and are beliefs that Americans cling to. Their principle political documents all have the same basic messages to the American citizens; the wars they have fought have either been for the attainment, maintenance or defence of these rights; and their citizens are expected to not only adopt the American identity, but to also learn and be loyal to it.

The development of the American identity was set on this path when it went to war with the British Empire for the rights of its citizens. This steadfast belief that “all men are created equal” and the “right to life liberty and the pursuit of happiness” was set in motion by an inattentive and abusive British Empire that took for granted the colonies of America. The philosophies of the American identity were established at that time and remain consistent today. This now leads into the development of Canada’s identity and the determination of why it developed such a decidedly different identity than that of the United States.

CHAPTER 4

SLOW AND STEADY – THE DEVELOPMENT OF CANADIAN IDENTITY

*Canada is the only country in the world that knows how to live without an identity.*¹²¹

Marshall McLuhan

On July 1st, 1867 the Dominion of Canada was created. The new country had approximately 3.3 million citizens and there was a 60/40 split of Protestant to Catholic faith. Canada's identity did not just appear at Confederation, much like that of the United States it started to develop long before it officially separated from the British Empire. The eventual separation of Canada from Britain came after hundreds of years of tight ties between the Empire and its colony. This gradual progression of separation from Britain is a key factor in the development of its national identity. Although there are many factors that have contributed to the development of Canada's identity, this section will duplicate the areas that were examined in relation to the development of the American identity with one notable additional section that examines the contributions of French Canadians. The areas to be examined are: key documents in Canadian history, these include: the Constitution Act 1967, the Constitution Act 1982, and the Canadian Bill of Rights. The second factor that will be considered is the Quebec factor. This section will focus on the key influences that the French have had on the development of Canadian identity by specifically examining the impact following the British victory over the French in North America, the ideological differences regarding Canada's conflicts, and the continuing issues of today. The next factor that will be considered is Canada's history of warfare. This section will be specifically focused on the expeditionary nature of Canada's

¹²¹ All Great Quotes. "Marshall McLuhan," http://www.allgreatquotes.com/canada_quotes.shtml. Internet; accessed 23 January 2012.

involvement in conflict and examine its reliance on alliances specifically with Britain, the United Nations and Military Alliances. The final factor that will be considered in the development of Canada's identity is that of Canadian citizenship, immigration, and education. Although these are by no means the only factors to be considered in the development of the Canadian identity, they are four key factors that provide a basis for how its identity has developed.

KEY DOCUMENTS IN CANADIAN HISTORY

Canada's national identity is influenced, at least in part, by Confederation. Images of the Fathers of Confederation in Charlottetown and Quebec negotiating the details of the Constitution Act are at least partially responsible for the development of the Canadian identity. The Constitution Act is the base document from which the Canadian Constitution and Charter of Rights and Freedoms are derived. Although these key documents are a significant part of how the Canadian identity could be defined, they are largely unknown and certainly not characterized as essential pieces to the nation's identity. Although there are other countries with similar documents Canada's key documents did not come through revolution or war, but through evolution and convenience. For this reason the documents appear more as a necessity on the way to independence than a genuine desire for autonomy. As will be seen in the examination of the Constitution Act of 1867, Confederation did not have a united backing.

Constitution Act 1867

In 1867 the British Parliament passed the Constitution Act.¹²² The Act united the three colonies of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick joining them to create a new Confederation that became the Dominion of Canada within the British Commonwealth. What must be understood however is that although Canada became a Dominion, it was not an independent country and in fact it remained officially a colony of Great Britain until 1982.¹²³

The creation of the Dominion of Canada was strictly one of convenience. Each organization that was involved in this merger progress was seeking something that it desired. The Empire wanted the Dominion of Canada to defend itself, and Nova Scotia and New Brunswick wanted railways. The British-Canadian nationalists saw an opportunity to unite all regions of the country with British culture influence, and French-Canadians hoped to exert political control within the province of Quebec. In addition to these varying motives behind the acceptance of the federation, the Act provided a division of powers between the provinces and the federal government. The provinces were granted control over areas such as education and Quebec was granted the authority to maintain its civil law and its uniqueness was recognized. The federal government did however have the authority to intervene in provincial matters if it was an act to maintain good government, order, and peace.¹²⁴

Although each party had its own reasoning for agreeing to Confederation there were many in the colonies that were not in favour of the Confederation Act. Both Prince

¹²² This act was originally known as the British North America Act but was renamed the Constitution Act in 1982.

¹²³ Canada in the Making. “Constitutional History: 1867-1931: Becoming a Nation.” http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/themes/constitution/constitution13_e.html. Internet; accessed 20 February 2012.

¹²⁴ CanadaFAQ.ca. “When did Canada become a country?” <http://www.canadafaq.ca/when+did+canada+become+a+country/>. Internet; accessed 13 March 2012.

Edward Island and Newfoundland declined to join and held out until 1871 and 1949 respectively. In 1868 there was a strong separatist movement in Nova Scotia that claimed the province was not eligible to join Confederation without a popular vote. Additionally the French-speaking population of Canada was also divided on the merits of confederation, a fact that continues to haunt Canada today.¹²⁵

Although each colony joined confederation for a particular reason, each reason was largely different. The lack of unity in the reasons for Confederation set the Dominion of Canada on a difficult course in the establishment of a national identity. In addition to this, despite the Constitution Act and Confederation, Great Britain still had the authority to legislate for Canada.¹²⁶

Constitution Act 1982

In 1982 the British Parliament passed The Canada Act 1982 to address the request of the Canadian federal government to "patriate" Canada's constitution to Canada. This ended the requirement for the Canadian federal government to have to request that amendments be made to the Constitution of Canada, as they had historically been made by the British parliament.¹²⁷

The Canada Act was the last request that the Canadian federal government would make of the British Parliament to amend the country's constitution. When the process was complete Canada thereby ceased being a Dominion of Britain and became the country of

¹²⁵ Canada in the Making. "Constitutional History: 1867-1931: Becoming a Nation."

¹²⁶ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 117.

¹²⁷ Canada in the Making. "Constitutional History: 1982-2002: The Modern Constitution."
http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/themes/constitution/constitution16_e.html. Internet; accessed 20 February 2012.

Canada.¹²⁸ This was a true opportunity for the country to unite as one nation in the support of a historic moment in Canada's history; however it instead became a battle of negotiations with the provincial governments who were concern with a potential loss of provincial authority. Following difficult negotiations, all provinces, but Quebec, agreed to the Constitution Act following the insertion of the *Notwithstanding Clause* that allows Parliament and Provincial legislatures to override parts of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms for temporary periods. The Canada Act 1982 received royal assent on the 29th of March 1982 in London and in Canada on the 17th of April 1982 when the Queen signed the Constitution Act 1982.¹²⁹

This momentous occasion in which the nation had the opportunity to rally around the country of Canada and celebrate, instead became a negotiation for the rights of the provinces over those of the nation. As was seen during the negotiations for Confederation, the provinces were not united in their support for the nation, but more concerned with their ability to protect their regional concerns. The concern and negotiations were in relation to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that were designed to protect the citizens of Canada.¹³⁰

Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms

In 1867 the newly formed Dominion of Canada had virtually no rights built into the Constitution except for a few references to language and denominational education. The fathers of Confederation had little stomach for the constitutional rights favoured by their southern neighbours, and the decision to avoid entrenching a bill of rights was

¹²⁸ CanadaFAQ.ca. "When did Canada become a country?"

¹²⁹ Canada in the Making. "Constitutional History: 1982-2002: The Modern Constitution."

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

perfectly consistent with the British tradition of parliamentary supremacy.¹³¹ Although Canada had a Bill of Rights that was established in 1960 under Prime Minister John Diefenbaker this was not entrenched in the Constitution and the belief in parliamentary supremacy was fading. In 1968 Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau in a speech at the conference of Federal-Provincial First Ministers, Trudeau proposed a constitutionally entrenched bill of rights that would “identify clearly the various rights to be protected, and remove them henceforth from governmental interference.”¹³² In 1982 when the Canadian Constitution was patriated to Canada the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms came into effect. The Charter of Rights applies at all levels of Canadian governments and protects the following: fundamental freedoms; democratic rights; the right to live and to seek employment anywhere in Canada; legal rights; equality rights for all individuals; official languages of Canada; minority language education rights; Canada's multicultural heritage; and native people's rights.¹³³ It asserts that everyone regardless of colour, race, religion, or belief is entitled to certain fundamental rights that no government can remove or suspend without cause.

It was envisioned by Prime Minister Trudeau in 1981 before it was drafted that the Charter would become a source of national pride and unity. As he stated:

We must now establish the basic principles, the basic values and beliefs which hold us together as Canadians that beyond our regional loyalties there is a way of life and a system of values which make us proud of the country that has given us such freedom and such immeasurable joy.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Canada's Human Rights History. “Charter of Rights and Freedoms.” <http://www.historyofrights.com/events/charter.html>. Internet; accessed 21 February 2012.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Government of Canada. “Constitution Act 1982.” <http://www.walnet.org/csis/reports/constitution.html>. Internet; accessed 13 March 2012.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

This notion was supported by Professor Alan Cairns who stated that "the initial federal government premise was on developing a pan-Canadian identity;" while the former premier of Ontario Bob Rae has stated that the Charter "functions as a symbol for all Canadians" because of its adherence to the core value of freedom.¹³⁵ This view has in fact been adopted by more than half of Canadians. A Subject Experience Survey (SES) survey that was conducted in February 2007 for the 25th Anniversary of the Charter; it determined that six in 10 Canadians believed that Charter was moving Canadian society in a positive direction.¹³⁶ However although a majority of Canadians support the Charter of Rights and Freedoms - most have only a limited understanding of what it is all about. Nik Nanos, a pollster with SES Research stated that "Canadians really need a civics lesson when it comes to the Charter." This was further supported by Peter Russell, a political scientist at the University of Toronto who reported that they have "...done a lot of opinion polling on what people think is in the Charter, and they haven't a clue."¹³⁷

The Charter of Rights and Freedom is a key piece of Canadian history. Canada progressed from a nation that accepted the British tradition of parliamentary supremacy to a nation with a formal document to protect its citizens from all levels of government. However, although widely recognized, it is for the most part not understood and the protections that it affords Canadian citizens are largely taken for granted and often overlooked.

Conclusion

¹³⁵ NationMaster.com. "Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms." <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Canadian-Charter-of-Rights>. Internet; accessed 19 February 2012.

¹³⁶ Canada.com. "Canadians love their Charter of Rights and Freedoms -- even if they don't know much about it." http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=a2c727e4-2767-485b-aff3-5271f4d8b86c&sponsor Internet; accessed 22 February 2012.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

Canada's history has some significant documents that are tied to it. The Constitution Act 1867, the Constitution Act 1982, and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms are pieces of Canadian history that have helped shape this nation. However they are largely unknown and certainly not characterized as essential pieces to the nation's identity and have been constantly influenced by regional concerns. As Canada developed slowly and was never in a position in which its rights were truly threatened, these documents have little meaning to its national identity. However, Quebec is the one province that has truly benefited from, and understands, the importance of these key documents.

THE QUEBEC FACTOR

In order to conduct a proper examination of the development of the Canadian Identity a key factor that must be addressed is that of Quebec. British North America and then Canada has been comprised of French and English settlements since Britain defeated France in the Seven Year War.¹³⁸ This left the British with a sizeable French settlement that was linguistically and culturally very different from themselves. The size and will of the French settlement prevented assimilation into British subjects, despite repeated attempts.¹³⁹ The early difficulties between these two unique peoples were often the result of the French Canadian imperative for cultural and linguistic survival placed in contrast to the English Canadians loyalty to the British Empire. The impact of two unique cultures in the development of a national identity proved to be challenging for the fledgling nation. There are three key aspects to consider within the development of the Canadian

¹³⁸ Lower, Canada an Outline History, 44.

¹³⁹ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 304.

identity when examining the impact of French Canada. These are: history and culture; the world wars, and sovereignty. The impact of these areas on Canadian identity are significant; when one third of a country views issues differently than the other two-thirds, a nation's identity will always be in turmoil. The first area to be examined is history and culture which are the corner stones of French influence on the Canadian identity and lead directly to the other two issues to be discussed.

History and Culture

The culture of French Canada commenced the moment that French settlers established New France. The religion of the settlers was Roman Catholic which was in stark contrast to the British who were Protestant. Thus when France was defeated in the Seven Year War and ceded New France to Britain there was an instant cultural and language difference that saw the views of the French and British largely at odds with one another. The British however in order to maintain loyalty to the Crown produced the Quebec Act in 1774.¹⁴⁰ The Act removed any reference to the Protestant faith from the oath to the King; guaranteed free practice of the Catholic faith; and authorized the use of the French civil law for private matters while enforcing the use of English common law for public administration and criminal prosecution.¹⁴¹ This was the first of many steps that would be taken over the next three centuries that were designed to maintain the loyalty of the French settlers through various compromises in issues of language, culture and religion.

¹⁴⁰ Belanger, Claude. Marianopolis College Quebec History. "Quebec Act 1774." <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/1774act.htm>. Internet; accessed 16 February 2012.

¹⁴¹ The Quebec Act, 1774. http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/PreConfederation/qa_1774.html. Internet; accessed 14 March 2012.

The Roman Catholic Church was pre-eminent in French Canada and had significant influence on the citizen's culture and politics. French-Canadian nationalism was closely linked Roman Catholicism.¹⁴² During the period of 1840 -1960, the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada and what would become Quebec moved in to ultramontane Catholicism with the church condemning all manifestations of liberalism.¹⁴³ In the French speaking areas, the Church controlled all schools from primary to university, and health, social, and charitable institutions. There were no major decisions or initiatives taken without the clergy being involved or providing its blessing.¹⁴⁴

Although the culture of Quebec was affected by its interactions with the other colonies of British North America, the United States, and Great Britain, the strongest influence remained that of France. As such, French Canadians had a solid attachment to their own language, religion and culture. Once ceded to the British Empire they became determined to maintain their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness in the face of British domination and the continuous immigration of English speaking people. This survivalist determination is a cornerstone of French Canadian identity and has had a significant influence on the development of the Canadian identity by forcing two distinct cultures to adapt and work to overcome what are significant differences. There is nowhere that these differences were more pronounced than that of Canada's participation in war.

Quebec and Warfare

The cultural differences between English and French Canada were clearly demonstrated during periods of war. Although French Canadians were prepared to

¹⁴² Claude Belanger. Marianopolis College Quebec History. "Ultramontane nationalism: 1840-1960."

¹⁴³ The Roman Catholic Church policy that the absolute authority of the church should be vested in the pope.

¹⁴⁴ Claude Belanger. Marianopolis College Quebec History. "Ultramontane nationalism: 1840-1960."

participate in the defence of their own colony or nation, as was seen during the American Revolution and the War of 1812, they were not prepared to participate in British imperial wars.¹⁴⁵ This came into conflict with English Canada which was still fiercely loyal to Great Britain and felt that Canada should support her unconditionally. The first incident where the clearly established lines between the French and the English became apparent was during the Boer War when Quebec nationalists' predicted that Canada would eventually be drawn into imperial wars through its unquestioned loyalty to Great Britain, they were eventually proven right.¹⁴⁶

When World War I commenced, Canada agreed to support the Empire with a volunteer Army. Quebec, although not supportive of the war, did not object to Canadian participation on a voluntary level.¹⁴⁷ However, when English Canada felt that Canada as a colony of Britain was not providing enough support Prime Minister Robert Borden enacted legislation instituting conscription – The Military Services Act.¹⁴⁸ The reaction in Quebec was instant outrage and immediate condemnation of the decision. There were protests and a refusal to submit to the will of parliament. In late March 1918 police in Quebec tried to arrest a young man who did not have his conscription papers on him. A riot erupted as other came to the man's aid. After several days of rioting the military was sent in under martial law to quell the disturbance. The protest became more violent and

¹⁴⁵ The first invasion occurred in 1775, and succeeded in capturing Montreal and other towns in Quebec before being repelled at Quebec City by a combination of British troops and local militia. During this invasion, the French-speaking Canadians assisted both the aggressors from the 13 Colonies and the defending British. The War of 1812 also saw the invasion of American forces into what was then Upper and Lower Canada.

¹⁴⁶ Province of Quebec. "War and Compulsory Service." <http://provincequebec.com/history-of-quebec/war-and-compulsory-service/>. Internet; accessed 14 February 2012.

¹⁴⁷ Province of Quebec. "War and Compulsory Service."

¹⁴⁸ CBC: Canada A People's History. "The Conscription Crisis." <http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP12CH2PA3LE.html>. Internet; accessed 14 February 2012.

the soldiers opened fire on the crowd with four individuals being killed.¹⁴⁹ When the war ended eight months later the divisions between French and English Canada were enormous.¹⁵⁰ The conscription crisis had further confirmed the divide that was proving difficult to overcome in hopes of establishing a national identity and this same crisis was to be revisited several times during the Second World War, and then again during The War on Terror.¹⁵¹

French Canada's view on the support to overseas wars that were not in direct defence of Canada was in stark contrast to those of the English speaking majority. A country that has been clearly divided on numerous occasions over issues that most countries would rally around defines the extensive differences in the views of English and French Canadians. These ideological differences over Canada's involvement in war have had a definitive impact on Canada's ability to develop a clearly defined identity.

The Challenge Continues

Despite the passing of nearly a century and a half since Confederation this challenge of French/English unity remains and continues to influence part of Canada's national identity.

In 1990 Canada saw the development of a national political party from Quebec, the Bloc Québécois, whose ultimate goal is separation from Canada.¹⁵² This party reached its pinnacle in 1995 when a referendum was conducted regarding Quebec's participation in Canada and nearly succeeded in its attempt to separate from Canada. Its

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ Province of Quebec. "War and Compulsory Service."

¹⁵¹ CBC News Canada. "Protestors rally as Soldiers march in Quebec." <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2007/06/22/scheffer-quebec-070622.html>. Internet; accessed 15 February 2012.

¹⁵² Bloc Québécois. "History." <http://www.blocquebecois.org/dossiers/parti/historique.aspx>. Internet; accessed 2 April 2012.

popularity has however diminished in recent years. Despite this, tensions have remained and as recently as 2006 Prime Minister Stephen Harper has had to continue to deal with issues of national unity stemming from English/French issues.¹⁵³ It was during this time that he and his government took great steps to recognize the uniqueness of Quebec through the *Nation within a Nation* motion. Harper made the following statement to the House of Commons on the 22nd of November 2006:

Mr. Speaker, the Québécois know who they are. They know they have contributed to Canada's founding, development and greatness. They know they have preserved their unique language and culture and promoted their values and interests within Canada. The question is a straightforward one: do the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada? The answer is yes. Do the Québécois form a nation independent from Canada? The answer is no, and it will always be no.¹⁵⁴

The Prime Minister went on to say:

And with their English and French speaking fellow citizens and with people drawn from all the nationalities in the world, they have been part of making this country what it is – the greatest country on earth – a shining example in a dangerous and divided world, of the harmony and unity of which all peoples are capable. And we will do what we must, what our forefathers always have, to preserve this country – a Canada, strong, united, independent and free.¹⁵⁵

Harper, as have previous PMs, understands that a united Canada sets an example for the rest of the world and provides Canada with significant credibility in multilateral institutions. U.S. President Bill Clinton in 1995 stated that "in a world darkened by ethnic conflicts that literally tear people apart, Canada has stood for all of us as a model of how

¹⁵³ Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper. "PM declares that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." 22 November 2006. <http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=1415>. Internet; accessed 18 March 2012.

¹⁵⁴ Prime Minister of Canada Stephen Harper. "PM declares that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada."

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

people of different cultures can live and work together in peace, prosperity and respect."¹⁵⁶ He reaffirmed this view in 2009 when he was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from McGill University in Montreal.¹⁵⁷ Clinton's continued observance of Canada's unity speaks to world's quiet hope that two cultures can continue to live in relative harmony. Perhaps this is one aspect of how the world perceives the Canadian national identity – a country of two cultures that live in *relative* harmony.

Conclusion

Since before Confederation there have been significantly different linguistic, cultural and religious views between the English and French of North America and later Canada. These differences can easily be linked to the supposed difficulty that Canada has in defining its national identity and certainly the difference in its development when compared to the American identity, however perhaps there is a misinterpretation of the influence that the French have had on the Canadian identity. The challenges that Canada has continued to work through regarding the differences between English and French citizens has been present since confederation; so the question becomes, at what point does the impediment to the Canadian identity actually morph and become part of it. Thus perhaps it is time to consider rather than hindering the development of the Canadian identity that it has actually contributed to it.

CANADA - EXPEDITIONARY WARS

¹⁵⁶ Clyde H. Farnsworth, "Clinton's Support for Unity Pleases English Canadians," New York Times (27 February 1995) [journal on line]; available from <http://www.nytimes.com/1995/02/27/world/clinton-s-support-for-unity-pleases-english-canadians.html?src=pm>; Internet accessed 25 October 2011.

¹⁵⁷ McGill Publications, "Bill Clinton wows audience during Hon Doc ceremony" McGill Reporter (October 2009) [journal on line]; available from <http://publications.mcgill.ca/reporter/2009/10/bill-clinton-wows/>. Internet; accessed 3 November 2011.

The impact of conflict is significant on the development of a national identity for all countries and Canada is no exception. Where Canada does differ from many nations is that since its establishment as a Dominion it has never fought a war, nor been attacked, on Canadian soil.¹⁵⁸ Given Canada's participation in global conflict over the past century this fact is often overlooked, yet its influence in the development of Canadian identity is significant. It is reasonable to assume that the identity of a nation that has had to defend its territory will be different than one that has never encountered a threat to its home. Canada's involvement in conflict has been entirely expeditionary in nature and always in support of another nation or organization. This has afforded Canada the opportunity to determine which conflicts it feels it must support as opposed to those that are optional. For this reason rather than examining individual conflicts, this section will explore the development of Canada's identity through its support to Britain, the United Nations, and military alliances in times of conflict.

Great Britain

Canada's vast involvement in war has been as a result of its links to Great Britain. Following Confederation English Canada still held deep loyalties to the Empire and felt it their duty to contribute in Britain's times of need. While this same feeling could not be said of French Canadians, the fact remained that the English speaking majority more often than not offered to assist the Empire.¹⁵⁹ Great Britain's influence on the development of Canada's post Confederation identity started quite inadvertently. During a series of *Colonial Conferences* between 1897 and 1907 Great Britain continually pushed for closer imperial relations through the establishment of defence agreements that

¹⁵⁸ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 305.

¹⁵⁹ Province of Quebec. "War and Compulsory Service."

included an Imperial Army and Navy. Despite Canada's loyalty to the Crown, it refused to commit to this for fear of having its troops committed without its own approval.¹⁶⁰

Thus this marked a clear line of autonomy from Great Britain and the start of separation of Canada's identity from the Crown.

When World War I broke out in 1914 Canada immediately supported the British declaration of war against Germany and its allies. Sir Wilfred Laurier, spoke for the majority of English-Canadians when he proclaimed:

It is our duty to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the Mother Country, conscious and proud that she has engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, for any purpose of aggrandizement, but to maintain untarnished the honour of her name, to fulfil her obligations to her allies, to maintain her treaty obligations, and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and power. It will be seen by the world that Canada, a daughter of old England, intends to stand by her in this great conflict. When the call comes our answer goes at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call of duty:
'Ready, aye ready.'¹⁶¹

While overseas, Canada achieved considerable degree of autonomy from British control. For the first time, Canadian forces fought as a distinct unit under a Canadian-born commander. Canada's victories at battles such as Vimy Ridge, the Second Battle of

¹⁶⁰ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 146-147.

¹⁶¹ JE Le Rossignol. University of Nebraska-Lincoln. "Canada and the War."

http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1051&context=midwestqtrly&sei-redir=1&referer=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.google.ca%2Furl%3Fsa%3Dt%26rct%3Dj%26q%3D%26sir%26wifrid%26laurier%26it%26is%26our%26duty%26to%26let%26great%26britain%26know%26and%26to%26let%26the%26of%26friends%26and%26foes%26of%26great%26britain%26know%26that%26there%26is%26in%26canada%26but%26one%26mind%26and%26one%26heart%26and%26that%26all%26canadians%26are%26behind%26the%26mother%26country.%26source%3Dweb%26cd%3D14%26ved%3DOCDIQFjADOAo%26url%3Dhttp%253A%252F%252Fdigitalcommons.unl.edu%252Fcgi%252Fviewcontent.cgi%253Farticle%253D1051%2526context%253Dmidwestqtrly%26ei%3Dr6KJT--vLoTW0QGBoozpCQ%26usg%3DAFQjCNH7IA0qzaUf4_bnfIet38JdUJfc4w#search=%22sir%20wilfrid%20laurier%20our%20duty%20let%20great%20britain%20know%20let%20friends%20foes%20great%20britain%20know%20there%20canada%20one%20mind%20one%20heart%20all%20canadians%20behind%20mother%20country.%22 Internet; accessed 27 February 2012.

Passchendaele and the Battle of the Somme were significant events in the development of Canada's identity.¹⁶² These success on the battlefield amounted to moderate world recognition by a presence at the Versailles Conference and a seat in the new League of Nations. However this support to Great Britain and international recognition came at a cost with the *Conscription Crisis* at home.¹⁶³

When Canada offered its support for Great Britain without hesitation, it was disturbed by the fact that it became automatically involved when on August 5th 1914, the Governor General declared a war between Canada and Germany without the government's consent.¹⁶⁴ This would drive significant changes during the inter-war years on the level of autonomy between Britain and Canada.

During the inter-war years the British Parliament passed the Statute of Westminster on the 11th of December 1931. This British law clarified the powers of Canada's Parliament granting the former colony "full legal freedom" from Great Britain except in the areas where it chose to remain subordinate.¹⁶⁵ This Statute was an important aspect in the development of Canada as a nation as it provided the nation the ability to truly control its own destiny for the first time in its history. Thus it also allowed for the first time in its history Canada to declare war as an independent state a mere eight years later.

Following the German invasion of Poland on 1st of September 1939, Britain and France declared war on Germany on the 3rd of September 1939. Seven days later, on the

¹⁶² Jonathon F. Vance. *Maple Leaf Empire-Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars*, (Don Mills: Oxford University Press., 2012),103, 105.

¹⁶³ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 159.

¹⁶⁴ Vance. *Maple Leaf Empire-Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars*. 39.

¹⁶⁵ The Canadian Encyclopedia. "The Statute of Westminster."

<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/statute-of-westminster>. Internet; accessed 15 February 2012.

10th of September 1939, the Parliament of Canada in its continued dedication to Great Britain declared war on Germany.¹⁶⁶

The significance of the Second World War reinforced Canada's place in the world that had started to be established during World War One. On completion of the war over one million Canadians would have served, and Canada possessed the fourth largest air force and third largest naval fleet in the world.¹⁶⁷ Again however there were challenges to national unity through a divided English and French philosophy regarding the war. Despite this, the development of Canada's identity was reinforced as an independent nation based on the pride in the feats that Canadians achieved during the war; this enhanced Canada's confidence as a nation.¹⁶⁸ Although Canada had become a modest world power, they were still largely viewed as subordinate to Great Britain and not taken seriously by the Great Powers of the day.¹⁶⁹ It was from here that Canada's support shifted from that of a colonial loyalty to Britain, to a continental partnership with United States, and a global responsibility under the United Nations.¹⁷⁰

United Nations

When World War Two finally ended in August 1945, Canada turned its interests to the fledgling United Nations. Canada had learned that countries with the largest populations and militaries would continue as the Great Powers while Canada was being

¹⁶⁶ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 188.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 189 and Canadian Battlefields Foundation. "Canada and the Second World War 1939-1945." http://www.canadianbattlefieldsfoundation.ca/foundation/canada_in_ww2.htm. Internet; accessed 12 March 2012.

¹⁶⁸ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 190-192.

¹⁶⁹ The Canadian Encyclopedia. "Second World War." <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/second-world-war-wwii>. Internet; accessed 23 January 2012.

¹⁷⁰ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 196-197.

identified as what would eventually be termed as a Middle Power. Therefore it was in the United Nations where Canada felt that it could best influence world events.

The UN provided an organization that offered collective global responsibility to ensure that the wrongs of the previous world wars were not repeated. Thus, when North Korea invaded South Korea in June 1950, the UN Security Council condemned the act and called on UN members "to render every assistance" to the South.¹⁷¹ Canada as a responsible member of the UN agreed to provide military support. Initially, Canada contributed three destroyers and an air-transport squadron, however when the UN Secretary General Trygve Lie sought additional support from Canada and other nations, Canada agreed to provide ground troops.¹⁷² While the war was ongoing, Canada also utilized the UN in an attempt to foster an environment where a negotiated peace could be achieved.¹⁷³ An armistice was eventually reached through a negotiated peace in July 1953.¹⁷⁴

Canada's contribution to the United Nations is arguably most well-known for Lester B. Pearson.¹⁷⁵ His proposal in 1956 offered a solution to the United Nations General Assembly to solve the Suez Canal conflict in the Middle East in a manner that would avoid a major conflict. His recommendation to employ a force under the United Nations to supervise an orderly withdrawal of both combatants was seen as an effective

¹⁷¹ The Canadian Encyclopedia, "Korean War." <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/index.cfm?PgNm=TCE&Params=A1ARTA0004370>. Internet; accessed 2 November 2011.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ Find Law, "Text of The Korean War Armistice Agreement - July 27, 1953."

<http://news.findlaw.com/wp/docs/korea/kwarmagr072753.html>. Internet; accessed 2 November 2011.

¹⁷⁵ CBC News Background. "Canada: The World's Peacekeeper."

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/cdnmilitary/worldspokeeper.html>. Internet; accessed 27 February 2012.

peaceful solution to an extremely volatile situation.¹⁷⁶ He was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize the following year and set the stage for Canada's future participation as Peacekeeping soldiers for the foreseeable future.¹⁷⁷ This involvement in Peacekeeping has become a widely recognized symbol of the Canadian soldier and many citizens perceive this as part of Canada's national identity.

Although Canada remains an active participant in the United Nations, the last decade has seen Canada step away from Peacekeeping operations due to an increasing ineffectiveness of the United Nations in conflict resolution (Rwanda, Former Yugoslavia); thus it has become more involved in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and operations lead by the United States.

Military Alliances

Canada has since the Second World War been reliant on alliances for its security; first with the UN, then NATO and later NORAD (North American Aerospace Defence). Canada's reliance on these organizations has influenced its development as a nation and in each of these organizations Canada is a junior partner. Canada is not a member of the permanent Security Council within the UN; is a minor contributor to NATO; and although active in NORAD still contributes a miniscule amount in comparison to the United States. From the establishment of these alliances there has been an increase in military commitments around the world and Canada is having difficulty keeping up.¹⁷⁸ The ever increasing expectation of Canada's partners for additional military operations

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ CBC News Background. "Canada: The World's Peacekeeper."

¹⁷⁸ War Museum – Education. "Canada and NATO." <http://www.warmuseum.ca/education/online-educational-resources/dispatches/canada-and-nato/>. Internet; accessed 10 March 2012.

has exposed Canada's limited resources. Constant government reductions to the military resulted in alliance partners complaining that Canada was not “pulling its weight” and diminishing Canada’s influence on the international stage.¹⁷⁹

Over the course of the last decade Canada has reaffirmed its commitments to its alliance partners. Canada has become a global leader in the security of persons throughout the world with its RtoP (Responsibility to Protect) motion in the United Nations that is intended to force countries to intervene in independent states in order to protect the citizens of the country from the state.¹⁸⁰ Canada is in the midst of a modernization of its military equipment to better respond to its alliance responsibilities. For the last decade it has been committed to the NATO mission in Afghanistan after the US invoked NATO article 5 for collective defence after the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001.¹⁸¹ Canada committed immediately and within two years Canada had its largest combat deployment since the Korean War. Canada has also had 158 casualties while operating in that country, mostly in the volatile Kandahar region where few NATO countries wanted to operate.¹⁸² The decisions that Canada made in accepting the mission in Afghanistan gained Canada a reputation as a professional, hardworking and effective military force that was “punching above its weight.”¹⁸³ The pride that was demonstrated throughout Canada at the sacrifices its soldiers were making was demonstrated

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ ICRtoP. “International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect.” <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/document-archive/united-nations>. Internet; accessed 5 March 2012.

¹⁸¹ NATO Review. “Invoking Article 5.” <http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2006/issue2/english/art2.html>. Internet; accessed 15 March 2012.

¹⁸² CBC News Background. “In the line of duty: Canada’s casualties.” <http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/afghanistan/casualties/list.html>. Internet; accessed 9 March 2012.

¹⁸³ Russ Campbell’s Blog. “US Secretary Gates: Canada’s punching above its weight.” <http://russ-campbell.blogspot.ca/2011/06/us-secretary-gates-canadas-punching.html>. Internet; accessed 8 March 2012.

throughout the country with shows of emotion at the repatriation of every soldiers' remains.

The War on Terror has affected the continual development of Canada's national identity. There are many people and politicians such as the late NDP leader Jack Layton who felt that Canada should not be part of the war and return to the role of peacekeepers.¹⁸⁴ There were still others, such as Retired General, and former Chief of the Defence Staff, Rick Hillier who felt that Canada should increase its commitment and use this opportunity to increase Canada reputation with its allies.¹⁸⁵ However, both camps supported the sacrifices of the soldiers and the work that they were doing on behalf of Canada.

Conclusion

For most countries their sense of national identity is never stronger than when they are at war, at risk of war, or remembering war. Feeling towards war, its threat or memory, has traditionally influenced and contributed to a collective national sentiment which is at the core of a national identity.

This is not the case within Canada; there is no single national sentiment towards its involvement in war or remembrance of it, although there are definite emotions regarding the subject. This is not to state that Canada's national identity has not been influenced by war, quite the contrary. The impact of war and conflict on Canada's national identity is significant simply because it has not traditionally rallied around the

¹⁸⁴ thestar.com. "Canadian Military should return to peacekeeping roots: Layton." <http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/politics/article/971625--canadian-military-should-return-to-peacekeeping-roots-layton>. Internet; accessed 6 March 2012.

¹⁸⁵ Canada.com. "Chief of defence a superstar who worried about privates." 16 April 2008 http://www.canada.com/story_print.html?id=a2c727e4-2767-485b-aff3-5271f4d8b86c&sponsor. Internet; accessed 27 February 2012.

prospect and memory of its participation in war. The views of English and French Canada regarding war are complete opposites. Where English Canada has traditionally supported Canada's participation in war, French Canadians are absolutely opposed to it. A contributing factor to this divide is that Canada has never been attacked on Canadian soil and all of her wars have been in support of other nations and in the context of military alliances. Canada's support to Britain, enrollment in the UN and other military alliances has contributed to Canada's national identity, however always from the roll of a junior partner and rarely a leader.

The contribution to a national identity from the wars that the state has fought is reliant on their remembrance. In a country such as Canada which is comprised of a significant immigrant population, the development of these new citizens to Canada is reliant upon the decision of how, or if, these wars will be remembered by its citizens.

CANADIANS

Canada is a multicultural society and as such in 1988 en-acted The Canadian Multiculturalism Act. This is a formal recognition of the diversity of Canadians and is a statement of commitment to preserve and enhance the various cultural heritages of Canadians.¹⁸⁶ The formal recognition of Canada as a multicultural society has significantly influenced the development of Canada's national identity. This section will examine Canadian citizenship, immigration, and education, outlining the influence that each has on national identity.

Canadian Citizenship

¹⁸⁶ Department of Justice. "Multiculturalism Act." <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-18.7/page-1.html#h-1>. Internet; accessed 16 March 2012.

On January 1st 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act became law.¹⁸⁷ This Act established a distinct citizenship for Canadians; this is significant because prior to the establishment of this Act individuals residing in Canada were considered British subjects. As Canadian independence had been achieved in steps since Confederation in 1867, the Second World War created a national pride that resulted in a desire amongst Canadians to have a distinct citizenship.¹⁸⁸ There have been numerous amendments to the original Canadian Citizenship Act from 1947, one that is important to the Canadian identity is an amendment that was installed in the Canadian Citizenship Act of 1977 which permits Canadians to have multiple citizenship thus allowing individuals to hold citizenship to more than one state.¹⁸⁹

There are several ways to be identified as a Canadian citizen, these include: being born in Canada or by birthright; through the naturalization process in Canada which is being a landed immigrant and then applying for citizenship; and lastly by being born outside Canada but one of the parents being a Canadian citizen at the time of birth, this is referred to as the first generation born outside Canada exception.¹⁹⁰

Canadian citizenship, much like that of the American citizenship, results in both rights and responsibilities. The basic rights that are afforded to all Canadian citizens are outlined within The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Citizenship responsibilities include: “obeying the law, taking responsibility for oneself and family, jury duty, voting, helping others in the community, protecting and enjoying the heritage

¹⁸⁷ Department of Justice. “Citizenship Act.” <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-29/>. Internet; accessed 16 March 2012.

¹⁸⁸ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. “Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship.” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp>. Internet; accessed 21 February 2012.

¹⁸⁹ Department of Justice. “Citizenship Act.”

¹⁹⁰ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. “Canadian Citizenship.” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/citizenship.asp>. Internet; accessed 22 February 2012.

and environment.”¹⁹¹ These rights and responsibilities are key factors in the Canadian national identity and important for those seeking to immigrate to Canada to be aware of.

Immigration

There are several requirements in order for an individual to immigrate to Canada. In general they include: being 18 years of age or older; must reside in Canada for three of four years as a permanent resident immediately prior to applying; must be able to communicate in English or French; and have knowledge of Canada that includes understanding the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.¹⁹²

New applicants to Canada, between the ages of 18 and 54, are required to pass a citizenship test before being granted Canadian citizenship. This exam is focused on the rights and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship, history, geography, economy and government. It is intended to ensure that an individual who is becoming a Canadian citizen has knowledge of Canada. Lastly they are required to take the citizenship oath:

I swear (or affirm) that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada, Her Heirs and Successors, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen.

The process that new immigrants to Canada must adhere to before being granted citizenship is intended to ensure that these individuals have a working knowledge of the Canadian state and what it represents. The process, although not removing the individuality of new citizens, is intended to foster, retain, and further develop the existing Canadian identity. This is a detailed process that ensures the basics of Canada are known

¹⁹¹ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. “Study Guide – Discover Canada The Rights and Responsibility of Citizenship.” <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/discover/section-04.asp>. Internet; accessed 2 February 2012.

¹⁹² Citizenship and Immigration Canada. “Canadian Citizenship.”

by those individuals entering the country; the sad reality however is that many of these individuals have more basic knowledge on Canada than those who are citizens by birth and this is a result of Canada's collective humility.

History Education

Canada's history is rich, vibrant, and sadly mostly forgotten. The impact of this fact is that Canada's identity is largely lacking in a historic understanding of itself. According to a 10 year survey conducted by the Dominion Institute four in 10 Canadians cannot name Canada's first Prime Minister or identify in what year Confederation took place.¹⁹³ All provinces and territories were included in the survey and of these only four had a mandatory history course required for graduation from High School. This has occurred for a number of reasons: shrinking budgets, increased curriculum requirements, and instruction of provincial and region history rather national history.¹⁹⁴ Although Canada's history is widely recognized as what should be a significant contributor to the Canadian identity, it is instead largely being ignored.¹⁹⁵

This is not a new observation about Canada's lack of concern regarding its collective history. In an address to the Empire Club in 1998, Dr Jack Granatstein spoke to his most recent book of the day "Who Killed Canadian History?" and answers his own question:

...the federal government is unwilling to leap over the provinces to try to reach the people with their history. Because our provincial governments

¹⁹³ The Dominion Institute. "The Canadian History Report Card." <http://report-card.dominion.ca/>. Internet; accessed 18 March 2012.

¹⁹⁴ The Globe and Mail. "Canada is failing history." <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/opinions/canada-is-failing-history/article1184615/>. Internet; accessed 18 March 2012.

¹⁹⁵ The Dominion Institute. "The Canadian History Report Card."

preach regionalism instead of teaching the history of the country. Because well-meaning people fear that if we teach about war we are glorifying conflict. Because school bureaucrats fear that teaching art history will offend someone, will make a child or a recent immigrant group uncomfortable. Because we believe wrongly that our history is divisive or boring or so undistinguished that it is not worth learning.¹⁹⁶

What Dr Granatstein is alluding to is that if Canada as a nation does not take heed of its past, how will it move forward without relearning lesson after lesson. He continues referring to the statement above: "...these things have been disastrous in my view in their impact on our consciousness of ourselves as Canadians. Let me be clear. We should study our failures and learn from them. But we should also study our successes and not just wallow in our failures."¹⁹⁷ Thus all aspects of history are a key component to the national identity; the good the bad and the ugly, and Canada is failing to recognize this.

The development of a nation's identity is greatly influenced by its past, it is a common unifying factor that all members of a state can rally around regardless if the individual is a third generation Canadian or a new Canadian citizen. Dr Granatstein's final comments support the importance of history to Canada's identity:

Canadians have worked together to build a nation, a nation that is far stronger than the misguided fools who would try to tear it down. We made a nation by working together, by doing great deeds in the past, knowing we can do more in the future--the usual definition of a nation. We need to know this for if we kill Canadian history, we will surely destroy our present and future.¹⁹⁸

The history component of Canada's national identity is in the hands of the education system to protect. As has been pointed out by both the Dominion Institute and Dr Granatstein the education system in Canada is failing to ensure that Canadians have an

¹⁹⁶ The Empire Club of Canada. "Who Killed Canadian History? Dr Jack Granatstein." <http://speeches.empireclub.org/61906/data?n=16>. Internet; accessed 21 March 2012.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

understanding of their past.¹⁹⁹ A nation's identity starts with its history and Canada largely has no collective understanding of where it came from and what it has accomplished.

Conclusion

For many countries throughout the world there is a concern that increased immigration and multiculturalism will dilute their states national identity through the incorporation of languages and cultures from other parts combined with a lack of desire of immigrants to learn about their new nation. After examining Canadian citizenship, immigration, and education and considering the influence that each had on the national identity, it is ironic that it appears that not only do immigrants influence the national identity by incorporating many of their own cultural aspects, but many are better educated on Canada's history than birthright Canadians whose education system does not place a significant value on Canadian history.

CHAPTER CONCLUSION

Canada's identity was well underway from the moment of Confederation and started to develop long before it officially separated from the British Empire. The gradual and drawn out separation of Canada from Britain came after hundreds of years of ties between the Empire and its colony. The method by which Canada eventually gained her independence from Britain is a key factor in the development of its national identity. The slow separation combined with increasing levels of responsibility allowed for a smooth transition of power, but did not foster a strong identity as it was largely tied to Great Britain. This chapter has examined four key topics that have had significant influence on

¹⁹⁹ The Dominion Institute. "The Canadian History Report Card."

development of the Canadian identity. The first area examined was: key documents in Canadian history, these included: the Constitution Act 1867, the Constitution Act 1982. and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The importance of these documents was more seen from a regional view as a means to retain provincial power.²⁰⁰ The relevance of the documents to the Canadian identity was largely lost on the average citizen who may have been familiar with the name of the document, but knew very little about it.

The second factor that was considered was Quebec. This section looked at the influence French Canada has had on the development of Canadian identity through an examination of Quebec's history and culture, its ideological differences regarding Canada's conflicts, and the issues of today. The impact on the Canadian identity by Quebec is enormous. The linguistic and cultural differences between English and French Canada have created tensions since before confederation, however somehow the nation manages to continue to make it work. What was once seen as a challenge to a national identity has perhaps become a cornerstone of it.

The next factor considered was Canada's involvement in warfare. It specifically focused on the expeditionary nature of Canada's involvement. This examination was conducted by examining the influences of major partners on Canada's involvement in conflict. Specifically looked at was Great Britain, the United Nations and military alliances. The major conclusion that became prevalent was that Canada as a nation has always been and will continue to be a junior partner on the world stage. Canada's inferiority complex when compared to its major partners such as Britain and the United

²⁰⁰ Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 300.

States offers an explanation as to why we have a tendency to describe our identity as what we are not (*not American or British*) rather than what we are.

The final factor that was considered was that of Canadian citizenship, immigration, and education. From this it became evident that many birthright Canadians are not particularly well educated on the history of the country. It also appears that not only do immigrants influence the national identity by incorporating many of their own cultural aspects, but that many are better educated on Canada's history than those actually born as citizens of Canada.

Although be no means the only factors involved in the development of the Canadian identity, they do start to offer a clearer picture as to why Canada developed in such stark contrast to that of the United States.

CHAPTER 4

THE SAME BUT DIFFERENT - CONCLUSION AND DETERMINATIONS

*Geography has made us neighbors. History has made us friends. Economics has made us partners. And necessity has made us allies. Those whom nature hath so joined together, let no man put asunder. What unites us is far greater than what divides us....*²⁰¹

President John F. Kennedy

Canada and the United States are two nations that although similar in many respects are surprisingly different. Like many other countries, both were born out of colonialism.²⁰² At the end of the Seven Year War between England and France both of these future states were under the rule of the British Empire, but only for a short period of time.²⁰³ Within less than 10 years after the completion of the war the colonialists of the British settlements had aligned themselves and created two distinct elements; one declared its independence from England becoming the United States of America and the other remained loyal to England and eventually evolved into the Dominion of Canada.²⁰⁴ This paper has shown that the national identities of Canada and the United States of America developed in decidedly different ways as a result of their means of separation from the British Empire and that these differences remain today.

In order to prove this thesis, this paper has investigated from the colonial period through today. The introduction of the paper outlined several differences between Canada and the United States of America which affected each countries sense of self. It

²⁰¹ Annexation.ca. "John F. Kennedy," <http://www.annexation.ca/quotesamerican.html>. Internet; accessed 15 April 2012.

²⁰² Herb and Kaplan. Volume 1 Nations and Nationalism: A Global Historical Overview., 298.

²⁰³ Ibid., 298.

²⁰⁴ Lower, *Canada an Outline History*, 48-53.

then asserts that following its Declaration of Independence, the United States' development was set on a different path from that of Canada which continued to grow from its colonial roots. As a result of these different paths each came to a decidedly different national identity.

The second chapter examined Great Britain to provide a background on from where the national identities of Canada and the United States evolved from. It then briefly reviewed characteristics and traits of both the United States and Canada with the intent of identifying those that are associated with them and thus contribute to their national identity.

The next two chapters of the paper then presented a more detailed investigation of the development of the national identities of the United States and then Canada. Chapter three looked at three key facets of America. The first area examined were significant American historical documents which included: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and the Bill of Rights. The second area examined was the United States involvement in conflict. The specific conflicts examined were those that directly contributed to its identity: the American Revolution, the American Civil War, and a more generic topic that discussed attacks on American soil. The third and final area investigated was Americans themselves. This area focused on American citizenship, immigration, and historical education.

The investigation of these areas allows several key deductions to be reached. The first is that their belief that "all men are created equal" and entitled to "life, liberty, and

the pursuit of happiness,” is present in their earliest pieces of history and its presence in the Declaration of Independence is regarded as an early recognition of human rights.²⁰⁵

The second deduction is that having been born of revolution, the United States has been, and will for the foreseeable future, stand united when required to fight for its rights. The American Revolution, the American Civil War and the attacks against Pearl Harbour and on September the 11th 2001 are all examples of the United States defending itself from enemies, foreign or domestic, in support of the notions of equality and the “right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”²⁰⁶

The third and final deduction is that Americans by birth or by naturalisation are expected to know and appreciate the history of their country and be prepared to defend it. Immigrants to the United States are required to renounce their citizenship to any other country and take an oath vowing to defend the United States from all enemies, foreign and domestic.

The United States’ was born out of a British abuse of authority that resulted in the American Revolution. It was this single moment in history that provided the cornerstone of what has become the American identity. From the moment the United States separated from Britain it was forced to fend for itself and eventually created the most prosperous and powerful country in the history of mankind.

The next chapter examined the development of the Canadian identity. The areas examined were largely duplicates of those looked at in the American chapter; however a significant section was added on the influence of French Canada. Canadian historical documents examined included: the Constitution Act 1867, the Constitution Act 1982, and

²⁰⁵ Library of Congress Digital Reference Section. “Declaration of Independence.”

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The second area examined was the influence of French Canada on Canadian identity. Next was a look at Canada's involvement in conflict through alliances with specific examination of Britain, the United Nations and other military alliances such as NATO and NORAD. The final area examined was Canadians. As was seen in the chapter on America this section focused on Canadian citizenship, immigration, and historical education. These factors paint a picture that is significantly different from that of the United States. Canada's long and drawn out separation from Britain allowed for a relatively simple transition to statehood, but inadvertently prevented the development of a strong identity as Canada was always standing in Great Britain's shadow.

Much like the Americans there are several deductions that can be drawn from factors that were considered. The key documents that have been produced throughout Canada's history are relatively unknown to the average Canadian citizen. This combined with the Provincial and Territorial governments' perspectives on these documents as being seen as a threat to regional authority as opposed to a source of national pride has thus resulted in these historic documents having never been rallied around and having a limited effect on Canada's national identity.

The second deduction stems from the significant linguistic and cultural differences that come from Quebec. These differences between English and French Canada have created tensions since before confederation, however somehow the Canadian nation manages to continue to make it a workable relationship. What was once seen as a challenge to a national identity has perhaps become a cornerstone of it and has been a driving factor in Canada's multicultural policies.

When examining Canada's military experiences the major deduction is that Canada never had an opportunity to stand from outside of Britain's shadow, before it moved to that of the United States' shadow. As a result of this Canada has always been and will continue to be seen as a junior partner on the world stage. This shadow that Canada seems to feel itself under contributes to its inferiority complex and offers an explanation as to why it tends to describe itself as what it is not (not American or British) rather than what it is (Canadian).

The final deduction is that Canada's adoption of multicultural policies and acceptance of other cultures it is actually fostering its own identity. While many birthright Canadians are not particularly well educated on the history of the country, all new immigrants are required to take a citizenship test which is focused on Canadian values, beliefs, and history. These new citizens are therefore greatly contributing to the collective memory and development of the Canadian identity.

Canada is a nation that was born out of necessity rather than desire. The creation of the Dominion of Canada at Confederation was a means to prevent American expansionism, remove the political deadlocks, increase the economic viability of the partners, and allow Britain to divulge its defence responsibilities. Canada's slow separation from Britain resulted in its identity being stunted until recently when its characteristics and traits are slowly starting to be defined. Alas, Canada's slow and deliberate separation from Britain is the main reason that the Canadian identity is what it is today.

The United States' hard separation from Great Britain sent it on a completely different path to its national identity than that of Canada which evolved to its eventual

independence over centuries. Regardless of the root that each took to arrive at this point, the national identities of these two nations although decidedly different have their fundamental foundations resting on the basic principles of freedom and democracy.

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