

Fighting with the Empire
Canada, Britain, and Global Conflict, 1867–1947

Edited by Steve Marti and William John Pratt



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Introduction

Steve Marti and William John Pratt

“Britons” means us; it means all we stand for in Canada; it means French-Canadians and German-Canadians and it means magna charta.

– CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATES, MAY 7, 1942¹

IN MAY 1942, Douglas Ross rose briefly in Parliament to interject in the debate over sections of the War Appropriations Bill. Ross had been a critic of the government’s failure to promote martial music across the Dominion, so it might have come as no surprise that the Conservative member of Parliament for St. Paul’s, Ontario, added emphasis to his speech by reciting two verses of the patriotic standard “Rule Britannia!”² After reading out the famous line “Britons never will be slaves,” Ross explained that the title “Britons” applied to all Canadians.³ Such inclusivity might have struck his colleagues in the House of Commons as novel. Twenty-five years earlier, when Canadians rallied to support Britain’s effort against the Central powers, the title “Britons” had been reserved for those Canadians who could trace their heritage to the British Isles. Ross’s inclusion of German Canadians and French Canadians presented a stark contrast to his own party’s actions during the Great War. Not only had the Conservative government sanctioned the internment of immigrants born in the German, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian empires as enemy aliens, the rhetoric of its pro-conscription election campaign of 1917 had made a scapegoat of French Canada’s lagging enlistments.

The expanding definition of “Britons” reflected the need to mobilize Canadians for another global war. Ross offered his vision of inclusivity to Parliament in the wake of a referendum on conscription, during which strong opposition in French Canada had led Prime Minister Mackenzie King to delay the implementation of conscription until absolutely necessary. Having learned from the social divisions wrought by policies enacted during the Great War, King chose to conciliate French Canadians rather than alienate them from the war effort against the Axis powers and adopted some relatively selective criteria for the detention of German and Italian immigrants. The future prime minister John Diefenbaker also rose in the House in 1942 to call upon Quebec ministers to mobilize their constituents for war. He stated, “The challenge to us to-day as

Canadians, without regard to race or creed, is to unite in a common dedication to our way of life and our national life itself. If there is one thing that has done more to undermine this Dominion and its unity ... it is the fact that we as Canadians are too prone to hyphenate our citizenship.”⁴

The sweeping internment of Japanese Canadians earlier that year, however, revealed that exclusion and division persisted in Canada. Internment operations did not distinguish between recent immigrants and second-generation Japanese Canadians, but the dispossession of Canadian-born Japanese summarily deprived them of their rights as British subjects – protections that traced their origins to the Magna Carta. The abhorrent treatment of Asian immigrants in Canada reached its apex under the rationale of wartime security. Mobilizing for war against the Axis powers pushed statesmen such as Ross and Diefenbaker to call for a more inclusive version of Canada, but how far were Canadians willing to stray from the British template? Canada’s participation in a series of imperial wars in the first half of the twentieth century revealed incremental adjustments not only to the imagined boundaries of their nation but also to their bonds to the British Empire.

Canadian historians have long grappled with the complexities of identity inspired by Carl Berger’s landmark book *The Sense of Power*, which demonstrated how ideas of British imperialism were integral to Canadian nationalism before 1914.⁵ The familiar master narrative of Canadian history has long traced a seemingly inevitable historical trajectory towards national independence, but this course was punctuated and, at times, ironically accelerated by collective action with the British Empire. The Dominion of Canada’s earliest military engagements provide the most prominent examples of such imperial efforts. Historian Philip Buckner frames Canadian enthusiasm in support of Britain’s war against the Boers in South Africa – a conflict that served British interests far more than it benefitted the Dominion – squarely in terms of Canadians’ imperial nationalism.⁶ The role of imperial sentiment in motivating the Dominion’s commitment to imperial defence remains undeniable, and Canadian historians have pointed to the complementary goals of nationalism and imperialism to explain why Canadians participated so willingly in Britain’s wars.

This volume examines how Canadians imagined their relationship with Britain through the experience of war. Nation and empire may have been inseparable in the minds of Canadians, but they were never one and the same. The Dominion supported Britain’s war in South Africa out of imperial loyalty, but Canadians celebrated the exploits of their soldiers on the veldt to emphasize the inherent difference between Canadian militiamen and British regulars. For veterans, the war strengthened their devotion to imperial defence but also created a desire to see a larger, contiguous, Canadian-commanded expedition

operating as part of a larger British-led army.⁷ Fighting with the Empire as part of an imperial force strengthened sentimental attachments to Britain, but Canadians also fought with the Empire at the negotiating table to better define their place alongside the other Dominions. Canada remained a part within the whole, and the ways Canadians imagined this relationship changed over time. Each time war loomed on the horizon, Canadians recalibrated the equilibrium of national imperialism to determine why and how they would join a British war effort.

Fighting with the Empire delves into Canada's relationship with Britain and the Empire by focusing on the history of conflict and diplomacy. By exploring how Canadians responded to the threat of war, this volume examines how allegiances and identities were constructed in different social and strategic contexts. This relationship alternated most visibly between the opposing poles of imperial entanglements and national autonomy, but ties to Britain and the Empire require a more nuanced calculus. Military or diplomatic cooperation with Britain often advanced the national interest while also making a display of imperial solidarity. Many Canadians felt a strong connection to Britain because of their ancestry and were ready to fight in defence of the Empire, but travelling overseas highlighted the cultural differences between Britain and Canada. Indigenous peoples, French Canadians, and Asian, African, or continental European immigrants did not share this British lineage, but many were nevertheless ready to take up arms for Britain to claim the legal protections promised to British subjects, such as religious freedom or enfranchisement.⁸ Canada's participation in a series of imperial wars highlighted the tensions between nation and empire. The essays here examine the ways that the malleable relationship between Canada and Britain was shaped and reshaped through the experience of conflict and the conduct of diplomacy.

In exploring Canadian attachments to the Empire in wartime, this volume includes case studies that demonstrate how race and ethnicity factored into this imagined relationship. The study of the British world as a cultural phenomenon has highlighted the imagined continuity between Britons throughout the Empire, but this focus on "Britishness" often neglects the role of race or ethnicity in the construction of nationalism in the Dominions.⁹ The status of British subject extended beyond those who originated from the British Isles, and this distinction highlighted the contradictions of a British Canada. The threat of war helped draw out these contradictions. French Canadian, Indigenous, African, and Asian or continental European immigrants and their diaspora mobilized in support of the war effort to protect or assert their rights as British subjects. Their inclusion in the process of national mobilization helped strengthen Canada's contribution to an imperial war effort, but their participation also produced a

more diverse war effort, one that challenged the imagined homogeneity of Canada as a British nation.

To bring to light the experiences and motivations that compelled Canadians to participate in, or prepare for, the defence of the British Empire, this volume relies on new methods to explore the boundaries between nation and empire. The contributors examine how Canadian attitudes towards the imperial relationship were shaped and reshaped in response to, or in anticipation of, Canada's participation in British imperial wars. As case studies, the chapters reveal how different communities in Canada grappled with the complementary or competing categories of nation and empire. Together, they provide narrative stepping stones that reveal how wartime mobilization forced Canadians to examine and confront the tensions between nationalism and imperialism.

The study of the British world centres on exploring the persistence of Canada's cultural ties to the Empire, particularly after the Second World War. Due largely to the efforts of Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, this field of research addresses themes of migration, identity, and transnational connection, which tied Great Britain to its Dominions until the 1960s. Only a few of the nearly sixty chapters in Buckner and Francis's three edited collections on the British world address the impact of war and conflict on Canada's relationship to Britain.¹⁰ These chapters demonstrate that war and peace were central to discussions regarding Canada's place in the Empire from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, yet the impact of these conflicts played only a minor role in explanations of Canada's sudden break from empire in the 1950s and 1960s.¹¹ We share the "British world" approach to exploring the legacy of British identity and transnational connections in Canada, but we place a greater emphasis on qualifying the meaning and limits of Britishness in Canada. More importantly, the chapters in this volume provide a closer examination of the dissolution of imperial bonds through the experience of warfare.

Amid the recent centenary of Vimy Ridge and the sesquicentennial of Confederation, as well as the upcoming centenary of the Treaty of Versailles, *Fighting with the Empire* sets out to reassess the impact of conflict and diplomacy on Canada's relationship to Britain and the Empire. Canada dispatched its largest overseas military deployments in the years between Confederation and the end of the Second World War. During this period of intermittent global conflict, the Dominion of Canada aspired to negotiate and assert its status as a nation within the British Empire. This volume draws a closer connection between the impact of war on Canadian society, international relations between Canada and Britain, and the imaginary bonds between nation and empire. In particular, individual chapters focus on the periods between watershed moments, such as

the ones marked by centenary commemorations, to understand how the experience of war changed Canadian attitudes towards Britain and the Empire.

Even before the bittersweet triumphs on the battlefield or the incremental constitutional concessions won over a series of imperial conferences, the prospect of participating in an imperial war pushed Canadians to question the place of their nation within the Empire. Together, the contributions to this volume reassess both formal and informal ties between Canada and Britain and explore how participating in an imperial conflict challenged the comfortable notion of imperial nationalism in Canada. By examining the experiences of soldiers, officers, statesmen, and civilian actors over the first eighty years of Confederation, the chronological scope of this volume offers a longitudinal analysis of the evolving ideas of nation and empire in Canada. Nationalist narratives of Canada's military history focus on the battlefield to examine the impact of war on Canada's relationship to Britain. Military victories such as Vimy Ridge are held up as moments of national awakening while the appointment of Canadian officers to command Dominion forces serve as benchmarks on the constitutional progression towards national autonomy. The contributions to this volume look beyond battlefield narratives to explore the subtler ways that warfare changed Canada's relationship to Britain.

When battlefield narratives are not explicitly constructing a patriotic edifice stretching from colony to nation, they often serve as an allegory for intellectual or cultural constructions of Canada's imperial relationship.¹² The study of home fronts or soldier's experiences can show how the bonds of empire were recast through broader experiences of war. Several Canadian historians have examined how imperial attachments shaped how Canadians understood their participation in Britain's wars. Historians of the Canadian home front have considered the importance of imperial sentiment in wartime mobilization. Ian Miller's *Our Glory and Our Grief* (2002) and Robert Rutherford's *Hometown Horizons* (2004) both show that the mobilization of the home front offered Canadians an opportunity to make imaginary ties to Britain and the war overseas concrete through patriotic demonstrations at home.¹³ Building on his description of Toronto as one of the great imperial cities, Miller argues that imperial sentiment drove wartime enthusiasm: "Torontonians were devoted to supporting Britain, defending the Empire, and achieving victory."¹⁴ While the 1931 Statute of Westminster, which restricted the imperial government's power over the dominions' affairs, is sometimes seen as a legal and symbolic watershed between an imperial past and a colonial future, scholars have noted that many Canadians in 1939 still felt that when Britain was at war, so too was Canada.¹⁵ For historian Serge Durflinger, ties to "British working-class political culture and social identity" made Verdun, Quebec, "uncommonly patriotic in

the defence of British, and therefore Canadian, interests” during the Second World War.¹⁶

The experience of Canadian soldiers and nurses stationed overseas during times of conflict has inspired scholars to explore the impact of these journeys on understandings of empire, nationalism, and their place within this network. Cynthia Toman has examined how gender and race shaped the national identity of military nurses in the First World War, expanding on the work of Katie Pickles, who revealed the centrality of maternal themes to female imperialism.¹⁷ Toman suggests that Canada’s nursing sisters showed a “fluidity of identity” in their awareness of their own distinction from British nurses while at the same time identifying with white, British femininity and British cultural traditions.¹⁸ Jonathan Vance expands on this approach to examine the broader experiences of Canadian soldiers posted in Britain during the world wars, revealing that Canadian soldiers identified themselves as “colonials” who were also “colonizing” enclaves of the imperial metropole by establishing training bases and rest homes throughout Britain.¹⁹ Robert Engen has recently argued that Canadian infantry in the Second World War showed no “feelings of patriotism, nationalism, or of ‘fighting for Canada’” but, at the same time, they took great pride in their separateness from the British.²⁰ By studying wartime mobilization or mobility, such works expose Canada’s imperial ties and reveal how personal experiences can shed light on the nuanced relationship between Canada and Britain.

Race, ethnicity, and indigeneity have generally been examined as categories of exclusion in Canadian studies of war and society. Histories of wartime internment, which focus on the experience of minorities who were classified by the Canadian state as enemy aliens during times of conflict, have illuminated how the outbreak of war deepened existing divisions of race and ethnicity in Canada.²¹ The internment of suspected enemy aliens in Canada presents an accurate but incomplete study of the experience of non-British minorities in wartime. These marginalized communities made repeated attempts to overcome exclusive policies by participating in the national and imperial war efforts. James Walker’s research on recruiting in the Canadian Expeditionary Force and Lyle Dick’s study of Japanese Canadians’ military service – and the commemoration of their service – both demonstrate that race and ethnicity were constructed into formidable, though permeable, social barriers in Canadian society.²²

The growing body of research on Canadian Indigenous peoples’ wartime experience highlights how constructions of race and indigeneity shaped Canada’s military history. The Canadian government’s sustained campaign to assimilate Indigenous peoples into settler society by attacking the basic structures of their culture – such as removing Indigenous children to residential

schools to undermine Indigenous language, family structure, and attachment to the land – also set the framework through which Indigenous peoples contributed to the imperial war effort. Historian Robert Talbot, for example, has shown how Indian agents extended these “civilizing” policies by soliciting the participation of Indigenous communities in the war effort; he also illuminated the extent to which Indigenous communities resisted these interventions.²³ The symbol of the British Crown plays an important role in power relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples in Canada. Scholars such as P. Whitney Lackenbauer, Katherine McGowan, and Timothy Winegard have highlighted the importance of historical ties to Britain, whether through treaties or alliances, in shaping Indigenous peoples’ perceived relationship with the Canadian settler state in wartime.²⁴ Winegard suggests that First Nations communities declared loyalty to both Canada and the Crown in 1914 but that returning veterans were disappointed by the lack of improvement in their position in Canadian society.²⁵ R. Scott Sheffield has shown that government resistance to changing assimilative policies remained after the Second World War, despite the varying ways in which First Nations people were perceived by bureaucrats and the public during the conflict.²⁶ First Nations peoples’ arguments against their conscription by the government ranged from the Six Nations arguing that they remained allies of the Crown (and not British subjects) to other nations pointing out the contradiction of fighting for a state that did not grant them the rights of citizenship. Such debates emphasize the complicated nature of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the Crown and Canada, and they beg further study of how identities were constructed and negotiated along ethnic lines.

A new wave of scholarship in Canadian international history is working to highlight how constructions of race influenced both Canadian foreign policy and Canadians’ perception of their place in the British Empire and the world. John Meehan has highlighted the importance of race and exoticism in shaping Canadian missions to Shanghai in the first half of the twentieth century. John Price’s *Orienteering Canada* places race at the centre of Canadian foreign policy towards the “transpacific” after 1945. These latter studies reveal that race was central to British Canadian identity, as practices of colonization and policies of exclusion were motivated by ideas of racial hierarchy and racial purity: Britishness was implicitly constructed in terms of whiteness. Essays in the recent edited collections *Within and Without the Nation* and *Dominion of Race* explore how constructions of race shaped Canadians’ perceptions of their place in the wider world across a wide chronological and geographical scope, though less than a handful of them explore Canadian experiences in the context of global conflict.²⁷

The chapters in this volume extend the methodologies of the new imperial and new international history to the study of war and society in Canada. The contributors present a series of case studies that examine how the process, or promise, of wartime mobilization forced Canadians to consider how they defined their place in the nation and the Empire. [Part 1](#), “Mobility and Mobilization,” examines how the process of wartime mobilization and the movement of people forced members of the British diaspora in Canada to confront the duality of imperial nationalism. For intellectuals or idealists, the development of a strong British nation in Canada complemented British imperial ambitions. The mobilization of Canadian contingents to fight as part of an imperial army, however, highlighted the competing interests underlying these supposedly complementary efforts. The Boer War marked the first deployment of Canadian soldiers overseas, but their integration into a larger imperial force prompted elaborate discussions on the qualities that distinguished Canadian soldiers from their British counterparts.

Amy Shaw’s chapter examines newspapers and soldiers’ correspondence to explore the careful construction of Canadian soldiers as embodiments of an idealized archetype of British manhood who also exhibited the unique traits of Canadian frontier masculinity. The experience of colonial warfare in South Africa forced Canadian soldiers to confront their role as agents of empire as well as the more unsavoury realities of their frontier identity. The outbreak of war in 1914 prompted a much greater mobilization of human and material resources to support the imperial war effort, yet these combined efforts led volunteers to question whether they should devote themselves to support national or imperial war efforts. Steve Marti’s chapter on the patriotic work of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) considers how wartime mobilization pulled apart the strands of the IODE’s ideals of imperial citizenship. The desire to take a leading role in maximizing voluntary patriotic work in Canada prompted an expansion of the organization’s membership, which ultimately compromised the IODE’s idealized imperial sisterhood in favour of Canadian demographics. The lengthy deployment of Canadian soldiers overseas during the Second World War strained individual morale and unit cohesion as soldiers longed for the comforts of home. Though many English Canadian soldiers thought of Britain as an ancestral home, William Pratt’s examination of censors’ reports during the Second World War uncovers a shifting preference among Canadian soldiers for North American consumer goods and a growing distaste for British products. In each case, Canadian participation in an imperial war effort highlighted the growing divergence between nation and empire and unravelled the comfortable logic of national imperialism.

Part 2, “Persons and Power,” explores the impact of individual officials as figureheads or representatives of the Crown or Dominion government. These prominent persons wrote, enacted, or assented to policies that defined or redefined Canada’s constitutional status within the Empire; however, outside the halls of power, these statesmen acted as a relatable personification of the state for the public. The Canadian public’s ability to relate to these representatives reflected an idealized version of the imperial relationship. Eirik Brazier’s chapter examines the role of imperial officers in the pre-1914 militia and criticisms that they alienated Canadian politicians with their attempts at reform. Brazier challenges this assessment of senior British officers seconded to the Dominion of Canada by highlighting their role as public representatives of the Crown. In their ceremonial role, imperial officers embodied the ideals of uniformity and shared military traditions among British colonial forces; they symbolized organic continuity between the Canadian militia and the British army.

Robert Talbot’s chapter delves into the politics of the Department of Foreign Affairs during the interwar years. In the aftermath of the First World War, William Lyon McKenzie King appointed a slate of civil servants that shared his goal of an Anglo-French rapprochement in Canada. Under their guidance, Canadian foreign policy responded to the various international crises during the 1930s by cultivating public consent, particularly in French Canada, as a precursor to any imperial or international commitments. Claire Halstead’s chapter re-examines the royal tour of 1939 to focus on the response of ordinary Canadians to the arrival of the royal couple. The tour anticipated the outbreak of another European war and sought to rekindle Canadians’ emotional attachment to Britain and the Empire in the event of another major war. While Brazier shows that imperial pageantry implied conformity within the Empire, Halstead reveals that Canadians’ often welcomed the monarchs as “their own.” Statesmen, whether civil servants or imperial figureheads, represented the power structures of the British and Canadian states. These appointments encouraged participative exercises of imperial loyalty that relied increasingly on winning public approval before committing the Dominion to imperial entanglements.

Part 3, “Hardly British,” examines the meaning of the British Empire to communities in Canada that did not trace their ancestry to the British Isles. The rhetoric that tied Canada to Britain and the Empire often relied on the sentimental ties and common heritage of the dominant British diaspora. British settlement on Indigenous lands, the incorporation of French settlers into Confederation, and the reliance on immigration from continental Europe, Asia, and the Caribbean to sustain demographic growth all worked to disprove the rhetoric of a racially homogenous British Canada. The cultural and racial

diversity of the British Empire, as well as its liberal ethos, necessitated a legal definition of the British subject to unite disparate populations into a single category. The difference between a British subject and the – still undefined – Canadian citizen highlighted the tensions between racial and legal conceptions of citizenship, particularly as the onset of war raised issues of loyalty, security, and the obligation to perform military service. Geoff Keelan's chapter highlights French Canadian perspectives on Canada's participation in the First World War. While generally supportive of Canada's involvement in the war at its outbreak, the attitude of French Canadian *nationalistes* shifted when Ontario's Conservative government implemented Regulation 17 and when conscription was enacted in 1917. Both developments contradicted the traditional freedoms of British liberalism. Mikhail Bjorge's chapter explores the rash of illegal strikes in collieries at the outbreak of the Second World War. Led by committees of xenophobic miners, these strikers demanded the dismissal of recent European immigrants, playing on the threat of sabotage by enemy aliens. Bjorge situates these strikes in the longer narrative of nativism in the Canadian labour movement, which helped define its membership in terms of race, and the Canadian state's reluctance to correct this intolerance. The demands of the war effort and the need to maximize the Dominion's industrial output, however, required the Canadian state to uphold the rights of European workers in miners' and manufacturers' unions.

In the final chapter, R. Scott Sheffield surveys the contributions of First Nations communities to the Canadian war effort during the Second World War. While band councils often framed patriotic gifts in terms that honoured their relationship to the Crown, the implementation of conscription after the 1942 plebiscite heightened the need to clarify the relationship between First Nations communities, the Crown, and the Canadian government. Much as First Nations communities contributed to the Canadian war effort by enlisting or donating funds, these contributions were often intended to leverage their status as allies of the Crown in negotiations with the Dominion government. Although imperial wars were often described in terms of a familial obligation, as is shown in [Part 1](#) of this volume, this rhetoric of race patriotism held little relevance outside of Canada's British diaspora. Securing the participation of First Nations, French Canadian, or continental European communities in Canada's war effort necessitated a legal rather than a racial definition of Canadian citizenship that often drew on British conventions. Ironically, this pluralism, based on British legal conventions, helped dispel British race patriotism in Canada and facilitated the inclusion of a larger proportion of the population in the Canadian war effort.

Canada's participation in three imperial wars during the first eighty years of Confederation expedited a transformation in Canada's relationship to Britain.

The contribution of Canadian lives, funds, and resources to an imperial war effort was leveraged to achieve a constitutional transition from colony to nation, but the considerations of wartime mobilization forced a more fundamental transformation in the popular perception of Canada's relationship to Britain and the Empire. Alongside the martial accomplishments of Canadian victories on the battlefield and the collective grieving for lives sacrificed in the name of nation and empire, mobilizing a national contribution to an imperial war effort disrupted the comfortable logic of Canadian national imperialism, whose contradictions were so easily reconciled in peacetime. Contributing to the imperial war effort brought Canadians to fight alongside British and other imperial soldiers, but it also highlighted the growing divergence between Canada and Britain. *Fighting with the Empire* explores the middle ground between narratives that celebrate the emergence of a Canadian nation through warfare and studies that equate Canadian nationalism with British imperialism. This volume examines how the paradox of raising a national effort to fight in an imperial war forced Canadians to reconsider their relationship to Britain and to one another and the gradual changes that transformed that relationship over time.

Notes

- 1 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19th Parl., 3rd Sess., May 7, 1942, 2225.
- 2 For his criticism of the government's failure, see *ibid.*, 19th Parl., 1st Sess., July 8, 1940, 1425.
- 3 These were the lyrics sung by Douglas Ross, as recorded in *Hansard*. The editors acknowledge that versions of this patriotic staple vary between "Britons never *will* be slaves" and "Britons never *shall* be slaves."
- 4 Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 19th Parl., 3rd Sess., June 15, 1942, 3334.
- 5 Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
- 6 Philip Buckner, "Canada," in *The Impact of the South African War*, ed. David Omissi and Andrew S. Thompson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), 234.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 241-42.
- 8 We use the term "Indigenous" when discussing broader, often transnational patterns in settler-Indigenous relations. The term "First Nations" is used when referring specifically to Indigenous peoples in Canada, separate from the experiences of Métis and Inuit. The term "Indian" is only used when referring to historical terminology, such as "Indian agent."
- 9 "Britishness" refers to more than diasporic ties to Britain; it defines a synthetic identity based on shared cultural values. As Linda Colley explains in her groundbreaking study on the emergence of British nationalism in the nineteenth century, a common British identity emerged out of a period of protracted war with France. Importantly, Colley demonstrates that the idea of Great Britain appealed to residents of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales because it provided valuable – if sometimes intangible – benefits. The promise of economic and social mobility for the enterprising or intrepid Scots, Irish, or Welsh turned England's burgeoning empire into a British concern. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

- 10 See chapters by Patrick Brennan and Jeffrey Grey in *Rediscovering the British World*, ed. Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2003), and the chapter by Wesley C. Gustavson in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration, and Identity*, ed. Buckner and Francis (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
- 11 Similar criticisms can be levied against the debate between José E. Igartua and C.P. Champion. See Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945–1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) and Champion, *The Strange Demise of British Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationality, 1964–1968* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).
- 12 For challenges to narratives of colony to nation in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, see Mark Osborne Humphries, "Between Commemoration and History: The Historiography of the Canadian Corps and Military Overseas," *Canadian Historical Review* 95, 3 (September 2014): 384–97; Terry Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914–1918," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 35–61; and Jeff Keshen, "The Great War Soldier as Nation Builder in Canada and Australia," in *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*, ed. Briton C. Busch (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 3–26.
- 13 Robert Allen Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 48–87.
- 14 Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 197–99.
- 15 Jack Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 19, and Jeff Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 12.
- 16 Serge Durlinger, *Fighting from Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 4.
- 17 Cynthia Toman, "A Loyal Body of Empire Citizens': Military Nurses and Identity at Lemnos and Salonika, 1915–17," in *Place and Practice in Canadian Nursing History*, ed. Jayne Elliott, Meryn Stuart, and Cynthia Toman (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 8–24, and Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- 18 Cynthia Toman, "'Help Us, Serve England': First World War Military Nursing and National Identity," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 30, 1 (Spring 2013): 146.
- 19 Jonathan A. Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and Two World Wars* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2011).
- 20 Robert Engen, *Strangers in Arms: Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army, 1943–1945* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 21, 81.
- 21 See, for example, Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Bohdan S. Kordan, *Enemy Aliens, Prisoners of War: Internment in Canada during the Great War* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002); and Martin F. Auger, *Prisoners of the Home Front: German POWs and "Enemy Aliens" in Southern Quebec, 1940–46* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
- 22 James W. St.G. Walker, "Race and Recruitment in World War I: Enlistment of Visible Minorities in the Canadian Expeditionary Force," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 1 (1989): 1–26, and Lyle Dick, "Sergeant Masumi Mitsui and the Japanese Canadian War Memorial," *Canadian Historical Review* 91, 3 (2010): 435–63.

- 23 Robert J. Talbot, “‘It Would Be Best to Leave Us Alone’: First Nations Responses to the Canadian War Effort, 1914–18,” *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 45, 1 (2011): 90–120.
- 24 P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Katharine McGowan, “Competing Loyalties in a Complex Community: Enlisting the Six Nations in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914–1917,” in *Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives*, ed. P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Leslie Mantle (Winnipeg: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007), 89–116.
- 25 Timothy Winegard, *For King and Kanata: Canadian Indians and the First World War* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 7.
- 26 Scott Sheffield, *The Red Man's on the Warpath: The Image of the “Indian” and the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004).
- 27 See John Price's chapter on Asian Canadians during the First World War, Francine McKenzie's chapter on Robert Borden at the 1919 Peace Conference, and P. Whitney Lackenbauer's chapter on encounters between African Americans and Indigenous peoples during the Second World War in *Dominion of Race: Rethinking Canada's International History*, ed. Francine McKenzie, David Meren, and Laura Madokoro (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017); Kristine Alexander's chapter on internationalism in the Girl Guides movement during the interwar years is framed in the context of the legacies of the First World War. See “Canadian Girls, Imperial Girls, Global Girls: Race, Nation, and Transnationalism in the Interwar Girl Guide Movement,” in *Within and Without the Nation: Canadian History as Transnational History*, ed. Karen Dubinsky, Adele Perry, and Henry Yu (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 276–92.

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