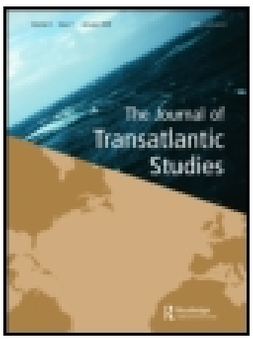

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The French in the heart of North America? 'Civilisation rallying', national unity, and the geopolitical significance of 1917

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This article addresses the role that 'civilisation rallying' (sometimes known as the 'kin-country syndrome') had in the orientation of both North American countries, Canada and the United States, towards the First World War, with special emphasis upon how France was being reconceptualised in debates taking place in each. France may have been 'ousted' from the geostrategic reality of North America back in 1763, but it had an uncanny way of failing to disappear. In fact, you could almost say that as strategic actors about to play an 'independent' role in global and European affairs, for both Canada and the US it was a case of France's having been 'present at their creation'. But while France figured in both North American countries' kin-country rallying, it did so for different reasons. Notwithstanding the differences, the pull of a transatlantic 'collective identity' whose European point of reference for the North Americans was France (along, of course, with Britain) was packed with tremendous policy significance, and never more so than in the critical year, 1917.

Keywords: First World War; Canada; United States; France; Britain; civilisation rallying; transnational collective identity

Introduction

Canada, as everyone knows, is currently celebrating its sesquicentennial. Notwithstanding its acknowledged significance as the year in which was established a federation linking the extant Canada (i.e. Quebec and Ontario, respectively, Canada East and Canada West) with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, 1867 cannot really be taken as the year in which modern Canada became an *independent* state; this latter development would require the passage of at least 64 more years,[1] with the adoption of the Statute of Westminster on 11 December 1931, through which the British parliament bequeathed the status of sovereign equality upon Canada and the other dominions of what by then was being called the 'British Commonwealth'. Some, however, will argue that effective (if not juridical) independence for Canada, at least, was attained in the latter stages of the First World War, and in a country, France, that had supposedly disappeared as a major player in North American political and strategic affairs back in 1763, with the conclusion of the Seven Years War.

Specifically, they claim that in addition to 2017 denoting Canada's sesquicentennial, it is also its *centennial* year, as a modern member of the international state system. Just as 1776 is said to signify America's own independence, even though

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that status was not gained politically and 'legally' until 1783 (also in France, as things turned out), so too is 1917 the year in which Canada is held to have transited from a condition of colonial dependence to one of effective political independence on the international stage ('home rule' over domestic affairs, otherwise known as 'responsible government', having already been secured in British North America even before 1867). For 1917 was the year in which a symbolically highly important battlefield victory was achieved by the Canadian Corps over the German Sixth Army, at Vimy Ridge, in April.[2] This battle, in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais region, took place one week after the American president, Woodrow Wilson, asked Congress to declare war against Imperial Germany, making of America a military ally of both Britain and France, though the president insisted on the appellation, 'associated' power.[3]

For North America, then, 1917 was a seminal year geopolitically. It can be considered the year of Canada's foreign policy 'birth', certainly if one heeds the words spoken by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, who told the large crowd assembled at the Vimy battlefield on 9 April 2017, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the attack, 'le Canada est né içi'.[4] It was also the year in which the US was 'born' as a European power, marking its first major insertion into the European balance of power. In both cases, France was a prominent geostrategic entity. It was the stage upon which enormously important geopolitical deeds were accomplished by Canada and the US. It was also, to degrees that varied as between the North American neighbours, a surprising emotional presence in their respective domestic debates.

Our purpose in this article is to show, to paraphrase the title of a book from that era published in the US, how and why for a short time France had returned to the 'heart' of North America, and with what implications.[5] We have chosen to employ as our conceptual organising vehicle the controversial notion of 'civilisation rallying' – a notion associated with the late Samuel Huntington but one that is also not inconsistent with many constructivist assessments premised upon the importance of 'collective identity'. In particular, we look at the way in which France was held, in each North American country, to have figured in its respective grappling with the meaning of transnational (and transatlantic) collective identity, at a time of great emotional upheaval.

In the Canadian case, there would turn out to be profound consequences for domestic unity linked to the events of a century ago; the Western Front was important not only for being the hearth in which was forged a new Canadian foreign policy identity, but also because of its impact upon national unity back home. We explore, in particular, the manner in which the Canadian domestic debate altered along ethno-national lines as between the initial pan-Canadian enthusiasm for war in August 1914 and the growing antiwar sentiment that would come especially to characterise French-Canadian opinion by late 1917, with the onset of conscription.

In the American case, there were also implications for national unity, though these have generally not been as well understood as have been the national unity implications stemming from the Canadian experience. France has sometimes been argued to have figured in an important way in the civilisational rallying that took place among America's dominant 'ethnic' grouping, 60% or so of the population tracing its descent to Great Britain, at a time when the 'culture wars' between that majority and a very large (and emphatically anti-Allied) minority of German-Americans and Irish-Americans were a constant feature of a 'home front' battle pitting pro-neutrality forces against pro-war ones, in what turned out equally to be a struggle for

America's very national identity. Some writers have gone so far as to argue that France made it easier for America to rally to England's side, given that France and Britain were such close allies at the time, and that Americans had traditionally favoured the former more than they had the latter country. This argument has been made, inter alios, by France's wartime ambassador to the US, Jean Jules Jusserand, who claimed that pro-Allied sentiment in America leaned much more towards France than towards England: 'Un plébiscite général sur la question de savoir à qui, dans le conflit, allaient les préférences de ceux qui en avaient, eût donné une écrasante majorité à la France' (over Britain, he meant).[6]

We develop our argument first by providing some conceptual and theoretical contextualisation for the notion of civilisation rallying, which as we will show has been attracting, even if *under a different label*, quite a bit of scholarly attention lately, on the part of analysts attempting to probe the part played by 'emotion' in foreign policy decision-making. We then turn to our first case, of Canada, where we demonstrate that emotion can be and is a Janus-faced variable, one that at times displays an evanescent, albeit critically important, quality. Following this, we look at how the American debate in 1917 was also heavily influenced by emotional arguments associated with assessments of ethnicity and its role in national identity. We conclude by remarking upon how quickly kin-country rallying abated, following the war, in both North American countries.

A bit of theory: civilisation rallying and the question of emotion in IR

In a widely read article published in *Foreign Affairs* two dozen years ago, Harvard professor Samuel P. Huntington ruffled quite a few feathers by postulating that in the future, international political relations were going, more and more, to be characterised by discord and conflict between cultural ensembles he stylised as 'civilisations'. Never one to mince his words or muffle his meaning, Huntington nailed his theoretical colours to the mast with a five-pound sledgehammer. 'It is my hypothesis', he wrote, at a time when many others were celebrating the blissful dawn of a post-Cold War age of peace, 'that the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic … . The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics'.[7] He would expand upon this thesis in an even more controversial book three years later, which bore a title nearly identical to that of the article.[8]

Ever since that time, Huntington's thesis has become a familiar touchstone in debates about contemporary international politics, as well as about IR theory. He has, to put it mildly, attracted a legion of critics, as well as a few defenders. But even among the latter one can sometimes sense a palpable desire to be distanced from the Huntingtonian thesis – at least when it bears the 'civilisational' impress. Among the latter group one finds Kim Richard Nossal, who is happy to dismiss the Huntington thesis as so much theoretical 'bathwater' deserving to be dumped, yet who also isolates within the Huntington version an important element of wisdom if not truth – a conceptual 'baby' that really does not deserve to be tossed out with the dirty theoretical water. The baby goes under the name (not original with Huntington, who borrowed it from H. D. S. Greenway) of the 'kin-country syndrome'.[9] Nossal realises how problematical it can be for an analyst to embrace the kin-country syndrome (or thesis), due to its being virtually welded at the lip to the civilisational

thesis, yet nevertheless he makes a strong (and, to us, compelling) case for taking it seriously. '[I]t can be argued', he insists, 'that while the "clash of civilizations" perspective may richly deserve to be pitched as so much shonky dreck, the "baby" – the kin-country thesis – deserves closer consideration for the light it can shine on certain international relationships'.[10]

And indeed it does deserve such consideration, which is what we propose in this article to give it. However, unlike so many who have written (pro or contra, but usually the latter) about the Huntingtonian notion of civilisation (or civilisational) rallying, we do not insist that this is something noticeably new in international politics. Even less do we argue that it is a phenomenon first observed in the 'postmodern' era that is supposed to have begun with the Cold War's ending.[11] In reality, what is today called civilisational rallying or the kin-country syndrome is rather old hat in international politics, and it certainly was a conspicuous feature of the world of a century or so ago.[12] So, too, is the case with a cognate concept believed also to have sprung into existence only in our post-Cold War, postmodern, age: the concept of the 'culture wars', said in particular to be plaguing the US, and to have as their chief, but hardly sole, field of combat the strivings of various groups to enhance their 'ethnic identity'.[13] Here, too, there is little that is new, when we cast our thoughts backward in time a century. For the world of 1917 was not just ensnarled in a combat of arms; there was also an important culture war raging, in North America as elsewhere. And in both North American lands, no less than in Europe, the politics of identity put a premium upon the ambiguous category of 'ethnicity', which while not the only base upon which individual or group identity claims get predicated, was (and remains) the most important such base.

One of the manifestations of identity politics in North America a century ago was the triggering of a sense of transatlantic collective identity with 'kin' across the Atlantic Ocean. It did do this, but as we show in our case studies, at the same time it also touched off a great deal of internal discord and rancour in both Canada and the US. Once again, France had a part, if an involuntary one and an ironic one, in these respective North American culture wars, as we will detail in this article's third and fourth sections. The 'French connection' of which we write in these pages was, in fact, doubly ironic; for not only was France 'back' as an important player in North American geopolitics more than a century and a half after its seeming ouster from that continental arena, but its re-entry was a function not of its erstwhile rivalry with its hereditary foe, England; rather, it was a function of the manner in which the image of France was made to blend with ideas associated with the rise of 'Greater Britain' as a civilisational construct, becoming for a time a near-surrogate for 'Anglo-Saxonism' in global politics.[14]

As Duncan Bell reminds us, the debate over the civilisational category, Greater Britain, had been gaining intellectual traction in certain parts of the world during the final third of the nineteenth century.[15] Greater Britain, like so many other policy ideas, could mean many things to many people. It could refer, at its most territorially expansive, to the entirety of a British empire upon which it was widely, often boastfully, proclaimed that the 'sun never set'. Or it could mean Britain and the 'settler dominions' of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand (with some adding Ireland to the mix). Or it could mean, at its most strategically ambitious, all of the English-speaking democracies including and especially the United States.[16]

By the first decade of the twentieth century, enthusiasts of a Greater Britain were waxing euphoric about two countries that had, until recently, figured high on the list of British foreign policy problems, and rather low on that of policy solutions. One of these was France. The other was the United States. With both countries, tensions had flared as recently as the last few years of the nineteenth century, so much such that during the 1890s there were credible rumours of war between Britain and each of those republics, arising from real or perceived clashes of interest on the periphery (the Sudan in the case of France, Venezuela in the case of the US).[17] But within a decade, thanks to the Anglo-American 'great rapprochement' and the Anglo-French 'entente cordiale', Britain managed to bring both of these rivals over to a position of being either allies-in-waiting (France) or at least sympathetic neutrals (the US).[18]

There were many reasons for the reorientation of British foreign policy, some of these rooted in a solid conception of what is often thought of as 'rational' self-interest, a fundamental tenet of much of realist theorising in IR.[19] But it is not just realists who have occupied themselves trying to figure out how and why peace could be made so quickly between countries for whom, just a short while before, the exchange of insults and threats was close to a being a national pastime.[20] Especially was this so in the case of one 'dyad', the Anglo-American duo, about which it might be thought that cultural similarity (namely, a common language and other legacies of a colonial past) must have played an outsized role in enhancing cooperation.

The scholarly and policy debate regarding the geostrategic institution known as the 'Anglo-American special relationship' (AASR) is germane to our argument, and not just because the case we examine in part four of this article (the American culture wars of 1914–1917) depended, for its policy significance, upon a fundamentally more cooperative relationship with Britain than had existed ever since the rupture of 1776. There is also the manner in which the AASR sometimes gets invoked in discussions of the role of emotion in IR, and this at a particular juncture in the discipline where there has been a resurgence of interest in the latter topic.[21] In the remainder of this section, we try to show how the AASR might contribute to furthering our understanding of the kin-country thesis.

Basically, on the matter of the AASR, the scholars can be divided three ways. One group, let us call them the sceptics, is frank in insisting that to the extent that there is anything particularly 'special' about the AASR, it inheres in how lousy an arrangement it has been for one, if not both, of the transatlantic partners. For the sceptics, the so-called merits of the AASR have been an overhyped and oversold contrivance, a kind of geostrategic snake oil that has been poured down the gullets of a credulous transatlantic public for far too long. Prominent sceptics (indeed, cynics) include Erwan Lagadec and Edward Ingram. For Lagadec, the only thing that can be said to be 'special' about the relationship between the US and the UK is its dysfunctionality:

> only 'special' insofar as it has been *more* contentious than any other in the recent past. As a result, the political 'special relationship' is but a futile exercise in deluded nostalgia. It leans on the altar of a past that never was, though it yields but the flimsiest results in the present, and is a useless tool to shape the future.[22]

Ingram even goes a step further, and considers the AASR to be nothing other than a sinister means by which the US ensnared a hapless Britain into its orbit of satellites,

blinding gullible British decision-makers to reality, such that '[a]lthough the United States did not formally declare war against Britain during World War II, it did destroy Britain and may have done so deliberately'.[23]

Against the sceptics are two other categories of analyst, each of which professes to discern utility in the AASR for both members, if for different reasons. One group, let us call them the 'Palmerstonians'[24] understands the AASR as being held together purely on the basis of rational calculations of interest in both the UK and the US. They agree that there is logical and empirical substance to this geostrategic institution, and they also think it has served each country reasonably well, ever since it came into existence. But they insist, in the manner of most (though not all) realist analysts, that self-interest provides the AASR's bonding agent, especially as that interest gets manifested through the pursuit of power. In the words of one such analyst, the AASR is nothing more or less than 'an element in the central power-balance, … [therefore] the failure to see it in this context leads to its either being sentimentalized or (and this comes to much the same thing) being written down as of no account'.[25]

Contradicting Coral Bell's dismissal of 'sentimentalised' accounts of the AASR has been the aforementioned rebound in the attractiveness of emotion as an exploitable variable for those who study foreign policy and IR theory.[26] Much of this is due, no doubt, to the post-Cold War unseating, by constructivism, of the realist paradigm, at least among those who may study, but not necessarily practise, diplomacy (that is to say, the scholars not the policy-makers).[27] In particular, it can be said to be a function of revived scholarly curiosity regarding the meaning of 'identity' for foreign policy decision-making – curiosity that may be a paramount aspect of constructivism, but is also visible at least among some realists (e.g. Huntington).[28] Now, identity is as protean a concept as one might hope to find in the study of politics, but then again, so too are all important concepts rather protean, because they are 'essentially contested' ones, to use Gallie's familiar expression.[29] Scholars who work in the area of identity might not be able to agree on what their core concept means, but at least we can associate them with certain 'levels of analysis', by which we suggest that the referent object for identity – the 'bearers' of identity, as it were – can be (a) individuals, or (b) states, or (c) transnational collectivities.[30]

Although the kin-country hypothesis can find applicability on any of these three levels, for our purposes in this section its most theoretically interesting one is the third, the systemic level of analysis called so memorably by Kenneth Waltz the 'third image'.[31] For what it suggests is that the social-psychological factor we think of as collective identity might be as relevant a bonding agent *between* countries as it is usually taken to be *within* them (at least, taken to be by scholars whose focus is upon the emotional and intellectual appeal of nationalism). Ethnicity need not be the only such transnational bonding agent;[32] but for the kin-country syndrome to make any sense, it has to be the most important unifying value capable of spanning national borders. This is why the AASR stands out as such an interesting case: those who study it, including and especially from a constructivist perspective, are intrigued by the 'emotional beliefs'[33] that sustain its existence, and (for some) that may have been instrumental in having brought it into existence in the first place.

Illustratively, to the extent that there has been a common theme built into assumptions (aspirational or otherwise) regarding Anglo-American geostrategic unity, it has been the notion of a 'kindred folk', a concept that flowed logically (and in an age permeated by 'racial' constructions of reality,[34] more or less naturally) from the earlier

category, widely in circulation at the start of the twentieth century, of the 'Anglo-Saxon'. For sure, that earlier descriptive became more than a little shopworn as time went on, not least because even in its heyday it was far from clear who qualified, and who did not, for membership in this collective identity – so famously lampooned in Mr Dooley's classificatory scheme as 'a German that's forgot who was his parents'.[35] And even among those who self-styled as 'Anglo-Saxonists' on either side of the Atlantic, it still could matter whether one happened to be an American, as opposed to an English, exponent of the creed; in other words, as Paul Kramer has brilliantly demonstrated, even this 'collective' identity was not immune to the pull of divergent national identities, especially as these latter rested on narratives of national 'exceptionalism'.[36]

Nevertheless, and even though Anglo-Saxon as a category of analysis may no longer possess much if any utility (at least outside of France, for in that country one frequently continues to encounter reference to Anglo-Saxons as if the word conveys meaning), there can be no denying that in its origins this institution we today think of as the AASR did very much bear a 'racial' stamp. Hence the significance of Srdjan Vucetic's claim, made in reference to theoretical debates regarding the origins of security communities in general and the AASR in particular, that much more than shared liberal political values, it was racial (kin-country) feeling that accounted for the great rapprochement between Britain and the US, such that what truly deserved emphasising as the wellspring of the AASR was '*Anglo-Saxon* democracy, not Anglo-Saxon *democracy*'.[37]

We have spent some time discussing the AASR for two reasons. First, it is, as we have tried to show above, a geostrategic institution whose origins and continued existence are held by many scholars to bear witness to the importance of transnational collective identity in IR, and as a result, the debate over the AASR speaks volumes about the tenability of the kin-country thesis. As we saw above, not everyone agrees that there *has* been an AASR worthy of the name; nor do even those who accept its reality as a geostrategic institution see it as having been an embodiment of anything other shared interests – 'rationally' and coolly calculated on the basis of impeccable cost–benefit analysis. But many scholars insist that without the category of 'kin country' or something like it, there would have been no reason for anyone to imagine that the AASR could either have arisen or endured as a feature of global politics.

The second reason gets us back to collective identity, only this time to *second-image* considerations – i.e. those identity 'pulls' that are confined within, and do not transcend, state borders. For if there can be, and is, much substance in claims that transnational collective identity is a very meaningful concept in IR and foreign policy, it is no less the case that 'national unity' squabbles themselves bear heavy witness to the emotional impact of rallying, save that these instances the 'kin' with whom, for various reasons, social actors are bonding in collective action are located within the state, and are vying for position against other collective entities similarly located. This is simply to say that *intrastate* culture wars have been an accompaniment of, if not a handmaiden to, the transnational, interstate, manifestation of identity. It seems that you cannot have one, without the other.

This dualism exposes an inherent contradiction in the kin-country hypothesis – a contradiction that shows up in both of our North American cases, albeit for differing reasons as between Canada and the US. We start with Canada.

The Canadian case: for the love of France?

What a difference a century can make. We say this not to draw a temporal link between our major thesis about 1917 being such a seminal year in North American geopolitical development; rather, we wish to connect two celebrations associated with Canadian 'national' existence that are rooted in a pair of years other than 1867 and 1917. Those years are 1908 and 2008. The earlier one saw the celebration of the tercentennial of Quebec's founding, in 1608; the latter marked its quadricentennial.

The most recent anniversary was noteworthy for two things. One was the controversy sparked by Prime Minister Stephen Harper's claim that 1608 marked not just the founding of the 'Quebec nation', but also of Canada itself.[38] This was a bit much, as far as some Quebec nationalists were concerned, piqued at Ottawa's attempt to 'bogart' the French heritage for its own pan-Canadian political purposes. To the *Bloc québécois* parliamentarian Michel Guimond, the prime minister's ascription of an eminently *federal* pedigree to the events of four centuries earlier constituted nothing short of a 'surrealistic rewriting of history'.[39] In addition to bringing to mind Salvador Dalí, Guimond's response charged Harper with making a mockery of the historical record, because the claim that Canada had been 'born French' seemed to skate rather blithely over the British conquest of New France during the Seven Years' War of 1756–1763. Nor was Guimond alone in so thinking.[40]

A second national leader managed to incur the wrath of Quebec sovereigntists. This time, it was France's president, Nicolas Sarkozy, who found himself being raked over the coals for similarly pooh-poohing the country's contested origins, through comments such as the following, made during a brief stopover in Quebec:

> I have always been a friend of Canada's, because Canada has always been an ally of France's. Frankly, anyone who thinks that the world really needs now is one more fracture is not someone who sees the same reality as I do.

Sarkozy went on to say that he did not understand why a declaration of fraternal and familial affection for Quebec had to be accompanied by a show of disaffection for Canada: 'France is a country that brings things together, rather than splits them apart.'[41] He hastened to add that his supporting Canadian unity in no way detracted from the historic links between France and Quebec; and as did such other political figures as Prime Minister Harper, Premier Jean Charest of Quebec and Prime Minister François Fillon of France, so too did President Sarkozy insist upon the 'special', 'unique' and 'privileged' quality of France–Quebec relations.[42]

This 2008 tug-of-war for France's affection was interesting in its own right; but what was even more revealing than the jousting between federalists and sovereigntists was the historical novelty of either side's insisting upon having bragging rights to a *French* heritage. Consider the second reason why the 400th was such a noteworthy anniversary: it stood in such stark contrast with the cognitive place France had occupied at the time of the tercentenary events, back in 1908. In that earlier year, it would have been very difficult to imagine such an outpouring of esteem for the chief member-state of what one of us refers to as the transatlantic 'Francosphere'.[43] For as the historian Patrice Groulx explains, the 1908 birthday bash served primarily to underline the advantages of colonial status both for the city of Quebec and for French Canada, and to highlight their attachment to the *British* Empire. The Prince of Wales was chief among the visiting dignitaries, and his presence not only lent the

festivities royal lustre, it also served as a reminder that Quebec was a 'fleuron de l'Empire britannique'.[44]

What happened during the intervening century? How is it that an event (the Conquest) dating back to the eighteenth century should have been interpreted so differently in 2008 from the manner in which it had been regarded in 1908? It seems that in Quebec's collective consciousness (to say nothing of Canada's) one myth has given way to another. Newly celebrated, at least in the lore of Quebec nationalism, has been the idea that Great Britain conquered rather than 'acquired' New France, a tale that buttresses pride in the power of Quebec's ability to have resisted so well the encroachments of 'Anglo-Saxon hegemony' in North America. Downgraded in the shuffle has been the older myth, the one holding that France 'abandoned' the French-Canadians to their fate – a fate that would assuredly have been a happier one had it not been for Louis XV's lamentable decision to prefer Martinique and Guadeloupe to those 'quelques arpents de neige' so dismissively labelled by Voltaire.[45] Thus, Elizabeth Armstrong could remark, as late as the eve of the Second World War, that notwithstanding an almost instinctive 'love' for France, the French-Canadians remained haunted by feelings of bitterness, enmity and humiliation regarding the country they felt had so callously 'abandoned' them. To back up her claim, she cited these lines of the poet Louis Fréchette, which clearly conveyed the resentment towards the former mother country:

> *Nous t'avons pardonné ton abandon, Ô France*
> *Mais s'il nous vient encore parfois quelques rancœurs*
> *C'est que, vois tu, toujours blessure héréditaire*
> *Tant que le sang Gaulois battra dans notre artère*
> *Ces vieux souvenirs-là saigneront dans nos cœurs.*[46]

It was this myth, of abandonment, that would so condition the French-Canadian response to the ordeal of the kin country during the First World War, preventing their 'love' for France from being translated into consistent policy preferences supportive of the war effort.[47] To be sure, the start of the war saw numerous celebrations throughout the belligerent countries, with Canada being no exception.[48] Everywhere in the belligerent countries, the war's outbreak took on a festive tone, for in each country, the war was self-evidently defensive, and therefore 'just', and even more happily, the war would be short, glorious, and relatively costless. Everyone was going to win, no one would lose (except, of course, the other side).

For a while, Quebec exemplified this war-induced sense of euphoria, with several parades mounted to celebrate the embarkation of the first Canadian contingents to leave for the battlefield. Whereas six years earlier, in 1908, France might still have been a relative absentee from the Canadian 'heart', the onset of war and the construction of a military alliance between Britain and France changed things greatly. Crowds in Montreal shouted 'Vive la France!' and 'God Save the King', as they cheered the boys off to war. Elizabeth Armstrong relates that many observers at that moment discerned a remarkable 'union of the races', triggered by love for, and loyalty towards, both France and England in the streets of the province's two principal cities.[49] Pro-war sentiment would not for long characterise the Quebec mood, but at the initiation of the fighting in August 1914, there was little to choose from as between the enthusiasm of the denizens of Toronto and those of Montreal or Quebec City.[50]

Nor did the affection for France and the fight completely dissipate, even though the war was turning out to be not so short, glorious, or costless, after all. In the middle of the war's bloody year, 1916 – the year of Verdun and the Somme – Olivar Asselin, renowned Quebec anti-imperialist and founder of the weekly journal, *Le Nationaliste*, decided to enlist, and in so doing made it clear his action was prompted by admiration for France rather than for the policies of the Canadian government headed by Robert Borden:

> Sans doute, Mesdames et Messieurs, la France a pu quelques fois nous blesser par son indifférence. *Mais parce que sans elle la vie française s'arrêterait* en nous comme une eau qui gèle, bénissons-la quand même, défendons-la quand même ! C'est la lumière, c'est la chaleur, c'est la vie ! Et donc, nous marchons pour les institutions britanniques parce que par elles-mêmes, et indépendamment des demi-civilisés qui les appliquent aujourd'hui en Ontario, elles valent la peine qu'on se batte pour elles … . Et nous marchons pour la France parce que sa défaite, en même temps qu'elle marquerait une régression du monde vers la barbarie, nous condamnerait, nous ses enfants d'Amérique, à trainer désormais des vies diminuées.[51]

Asselin's words not only demonstrated the emotional appeal of civilisation rallying; they also hinted at the forces that were already conspiring to limit that same appeal in French Canada. Even as he was writing, it was beginning to appear as if another casualty of the European combat was going to be Canadian national unity. More than the lingering of the abandonment myth, there was the spectre of those 'demi-civilisés' in Ontario that threatened to alter the attitude in Quebec towards the war effort: needless to say, French-Canadians were indignant about the ongoing efforts of neighbouring Ontario to greatly limit if not expunge altogether the use of French in the province's schools, a campaign for which the Conservative government in Queen's Park earned the epithet, 'Prussians of Ontario', hurled at it by nationalist intellectual Henri Bourassa and others, even before the Quebec mood had soured on the war.

Truth to tell, and notwithstanding the early outpouring of enthusiasm for the war effort, French-Canadian opinion would prove to be both ambivalent, and variable; in this respect, the emotional appeal of the war was always felt more keenly by public opinion leaders such as Asselin than it was by the masses themselves. The ambivalence of the latter was reflected in the anaemic enlistment rates from French Canada. Only 3.7% of the troops deployed in the first contingent Canada sent to France upon the outbreak of war consisted of French-Canadians; the vast majority (64%) were British-born enlistees, with a further 25.6% consisting of non-Francophones born in Canada. Three years later, the breakdown revealed a comparable imbalance between the two Canadian ethnic groups, with French-Canadians making up only 4.5% of the enlistees, as opposed to 49.2% being British-born Canadians and another 40.2% Canadian-born anglophones.[52]

So while there was indeed some French-Canadian civilisation rallying going on right after the war started, more compelling identity pulls were also at work, combatting whatever sway that transatlantic collective identity might otherwise have exerted upon French Canada. No one expressed these competing identity claims – 'national' as opposed to transatlantic – better than Henri Bourassa, whose observations, made in a pamphlet published in 1916, deserve quoting at length:

> Above all, the French-Canadians are the only group exclusively Canadian … . They look upon the perturbations of Europe, even those of England or France, as foreign events. Their sympathies naturally go to France against Germany; but they do not think they have an obligation to fight for France, no more than the French of Europe would hold themselves bound to fight for Canada against the United States or Japan … . Even if the irritating bilingual question was non-existent, our views on the war would be what they are. The most that can be said is that the backward and essentially Prussian policy of the rulers of Ontario and Manitoba gives us an additional argument against the intervention of Canada in the European conflict. To speak of fighting for the preservation of French civilization in Europe while endeavouring to destroy it in America, appears to us as an absurd piece of circumstances. To preach Holy War for the liberties of the people overseas, and to oppress the national minorities in Canada, is, in our opinion, nothing but odious hypocrisy.[53]

Bourassa's words reflect how far this early supporter of the war effort had moved, as a result of developments both on the home front and on the Western front. By 1915, the human toll of the fighting in France continued to mount, and Ottawa's search for new recruits was beginning to raise questions about the sustainability of an all-volunteer force. Those questions would, by the war's latter years, generate major challenges for national unity – challenges that no one could possibly have foreseen in the first flush of martial enthusiasm the previous year. The limits of transatlantic civilisation rallying were becoming clearer with each additional day of combat.

By the end of the war's second year, Prime Minister Robert Borden was appealing for a 500,000-strong Canadian army, and this at a time when only 213,000 had so far flocked to the colours. To say again, only a minority of those early enlistees had been Canadian-born, and of the 97,000 who *were* in that category, only 12,000 were French-Canadian; this meant that French-Canadians constituted only 4.5% of total enlistees, even though French-Canadian males between the ages of 18 and 45 made up some 40% of all Canadian-born males in this demographic cohort.[54] Recriminations from English Canada about French-Canadian 'slackers' were met by retorts about the absurdity of English Canada expecting French-Canadians to die on battlefields defending liberties that were denied them in English-Canadian schoolrooms (not just Ontario's, but also Manitoba's).

Added to the increasingly bitter domestic debate fuelled by competing identity claims was the dry tinder of conscription, which became the law of the land subsequent to the passage of the Military Service Bill on 24 August 1917. And the ensuing dissension over conscription, culminating in the draft riots in Quebec City on Easter weekend 1918, in which troops from Toronto shot protesters on the streets of the provincial capital, killing four and wounding others, effectively put paid to the 1914 euphoria about the 'union of the races'. Independent Canada may well have been 'born' in France in 1917, as Prime Minister Trudeau proclaimed, but what was born was still a far cry from the country that Canada would become a century later.

The American case: France and the 'culture wars'

Ethnic tensions did not just complicate Canadian national unity a century or so ago. Although no one back then could possibly have labelled the inter-ethnic contestations that so characterised American debate during the years 1914–1917 as the 'culture wars', there could be no minimisation of the impact that ethnic identity had upon the country's most searing foreign policy question, of whether to intervene in the

European war. We are far from being the first to remark that ethnic group interests might have played a part in the Wilson administration's decision-making; indeed, several writers have detected an important connection between America's demography and its strategic choices at the time. Usually their arguments have concentrated upon the well-known desire of President Woodrow Wilson, in August 1914, to commit the country to a policy of strict neutrality – even, as he put it, 'to be neutral in thought as well as in action'[55] – not only because of a longstanding and hallowed diplomatic tradition cautioning about the dangers of involvement in the European balance of power but also because of the more contemporary worry that with so many Americans tracing their heritage to either of the two great warring camps in Europe, there existed a risk that conflict engendered on the Old Continent might reverberate disturbingly in the US itself, should America throw its formidable weight behind one of the two warring blocs.[56] In the dramatic words of Ernest May, those demographic realities led government officials to the assumption that 'the nation could never take part on either side without bringing on a civil war at home'.[57]

As told by analysts who take seriously ethnicity's impact on policy-making, the story of the country's delayed entry into the conflict has a great deal to do with the preferences of America's two largest 'immigrant' groups, the German-Americans and the Irish-Americans, each of whom for reasons of their own favoured a policy designed to provide the least possible succour to the British and French (though it was mainly the former who attracted their enmity, especially so in the case of the Irish-Americans, who professed much goodwill towards France, until the *entente cordiale* prompted them to pitch their nationalist woo in Germany's direction).[58] If it could have been arranged, most German-Americans, and a considerable portion of Irish-Americans, would not at all have minded an American entry into the war on *Germany's* side; but that seemed clearly to be out of the question save for all but the most deluded partisans of the Central Powers' cause. So the default option for the two groups became to militate in favour of the strictest possible neutrality on America's part.

According to how one chooses to interpret the consequences of the two groups' militancy, it could be argued to have been reasonably successful, and it is easy to suppose that the militancy must have had something to do with delaying for nearly three years America's entry into the war.[59] Given that this delayed entry would have a profound impact upon the course of fighting on the Western Front, to say nothing of the war's effect on the political status quo in Ireland, it is similarly not hard to accord considerable significance to the Irish- and German-American influence attempts, even if doing so must require invoking some counterfactuals.[60]

However, the two ethnic lobbies must also be said ultimately to have failed miserably in their objective of keeping America neutral. But that they did fail in the end is scarcely a reason to deem their militancy to have counted for nothing. To the contrary, the ontological warfare waged by the two groups prior to April 1917 was to have a profound impact, albeit hardly the one that was sought, or desired, by them. For in their unrelenting public-relations offensive against England and all things English, the anti-Allied campaigners actually managed to achieve what once had been thought improbable, namely the cementing of a nascent transatlantic collective identity enabling – or better, requiring – those traditional Anglophobes who had been so numerous among the *English-descended* Americans to experience a radical 'identity shift', one that led them increasingly to see Britain's cause as their own cause, and to sense all attacks

on English civilisation and identity to be attacks on their own civilisation and identity. In short, this identity shift would play an important part in taking Anglo-American cooperation, whose incipience was clearly glimpsed in the 'great rapprochement' between the two countries during the last few years of the nineteenth century, to an altogether higher geostrategic level – a level that saw the US become, if not de jure a military ally of Britain, then certainly one de facto, as co-belligerent and 'associated power' against Germany in 1917 and 1918. While there surely were reasons appertaining to *physical* security that impelled America's decision to go to war, there were as well powerful *ontological* security concerns underpinning the drift towards war.[61] Seen in this way, then, the culture wars of a century ago did condition America's approach to the actual war in Europe, by giving what at the time was still the largest segment of the US demographic mix an ontological stake in the struggle overseas.[62]

The ethnic contestation was basically a three-way affair, mixing up ethnic groups each of which professed to have a formative impact upon the moulding of the American national identity: the English-descended Americans, the Irish-Americans and the German-Americans.[63] The latter two groups found themselves allying against the dominant group.[64] Their struggle took its most heightened form in the arena of foreign policy and it was in this arena that emotions were to play such a key role. The dominant group, the English-descended one, constituted somewhat less than two-thirds of the American population at the time the war broke out, though 'English' was being broadly construed so as to include the other two 'nations' of Great Britain, Wales and Scotland. One would have thought such a large group would have meant that kin-country rallying would have led the US into the war in 1914, at Britain's side. Something like that could have been claimed by 1917, but it did require a few years of bitter ontological combat on the home front to convince America's English that they really did share much with their kinfolk across the sea.

The reason is clear. American identity, even and especially that championed by the dominant ethnic group, had for so long a time taken as its touchstone the *political* differentiation between America and the former mother country. The glorious meaning of the Revolution had, ever since 1776, been passed down from generation to generation as constituting the very essence of 'American-ness'. England *was* and had to be America's significant oppositional 'other', and as such it warranted being opposed and kept at a distance, rather than being accommodated in any geostrategic embrace – and this, even though, Americans were and remained consistently since the Revolution very 'culturally' English. Politically, however, one could not be a good American if one were seen to be too sympathetic to England. Thus, the Americans' penchant for 'twisting the lion's tail'[65] as often as they could during the period between the ending of the Revolution and the close of the nineteenth century. Nor did the rapprochement of the latter period fundamentally change the strategic 'anglophobia' of the US,[66] even though it did soften the image of the former mother country.

What *did* change matters fundamentally was the identity shift that took place in the emotional cauldron of the neutrality years. One reason for the shift was international: increasingly, as the war dragged on and the tales of misery proliferated, the combat became framed as a 'civilisational' struggle, of Right against Wrong. Initially, in August 1914, Americans saw the fighting as a clash of national interests, and judged accordingly their own stake (minimal) in such a clash. As the cause of England (and France) became more and more associated with virtue and civilisation

themselves, the pole of indifference was weakened. But to snap the pole required a second civilisational clash, one that was taking place on the home front, where there had been incessant Irish- and German-American efforts to demonstrate that rallying to the side of England was fundamentally an 'un-American' position, and that true American-ness was represented by the non-interventionist position; anything less would constitute a betrayal of the Revolution.

After three years of being told by Irish- and German-Americans how 'un-American' they were becoming, it is only natural that the English-descended majority would react in such a way as not only to reclaim for itself the mantle of genuine American national identity, but to do so in a manner supporting and even requiring what had heretofore been a taboo: an alliance with Britain. Thus, 1917 really did constitute a second American revolution, a geopolitical one, for in entering the European balance of power at England's (and France's) side the US was repudiating the bedrock principle of its foreign policy over the past 125 years. Effecting this revolution required, or at least put a premium upon, invoking the long-ago ties of affection with America's 'oldest ally', France. In the American culture wars, France took on, for a short term, a significance that it had only intermittently possessed in all the years since the Revolution (America's, not its). In reality, the quality of France's relationship with America during the nineteenth century was not much different from that of the Anglo-American relationship for nearly all of that same century: with both powers, until very late in the century, America maintained relations that were often strained, sometimes hostile, and only rarely other than mediocre at best.[67] 'Friendship', in that era, would not have been a word applied to America's relations with either European power, until the closing years of the century.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, there would be an alteration in America's ties with France nearly as dramatic as the one that occurred in America's relations with England, and this would contribute to the ease with which France became, during the culture wars of 1914–1917, virtually an Anglo-Saxon land in the eyes of the English-descended Americans. It may not have been true, as Jusserand claimed it was, that the latter during the war preferred France even to Britain, but it certainly was true that invoking France could and did provide useful political cover for English-descended Americans in the domestic contestation. No German- or Irish-American, after all, could claim that an alliance with France violated the fundamental tenet of US grand strategy and would cause poor George Washington to spin in his grave. Far from it: the idea of a French alliance was as American as apple pie by 1917, thanks to the second 'great rapprochement' that occurred in the early twentieth century, the one between the US and France.[68] As a result of this unsung rapprochement, France would turn out to be an asset, not just to the English, but to the latter's kin in the former colony.[69]

Conclusions

We have made two major claims in this article. The first concerns a year, 1917, which we consider to have been so tremendously significant for both North American countries, for reasons related closely to France and to the North American countries' own respective strategic interests. France may have been 'ousted' from the geostrategic reality of North America back in 1763, but it had an uncanny way of failing to disappear. In fact, you could almost say that as strategic actors about to play an

'independent' role in global and European affairs, for both Canada and the US it was a case of France's having been 'present at their creation' (to transmute well-known phraseology associated with a famous American-born son of English-Canadian parents, the diplomat Dean Acheson).[70]

Our second major claim relates to this elusive but highly important variable known as 'collective identity', particularly as it takes the form of the kin-country hypothesis, with its conceptual (and Huntingtonian) appendage of 'civilisation rallying'. Our argument here was that France figured in both North American countries' kin-country rallying, albeit for somewhat different reasons. In Canada's case, the kin-country claim had a stronger rooting in ethnicity than it did in America's case. For Canada, a century ago was demographically much different from America. Where the former country had a large minority of its population able to trace their descent from France, the latter country had almost (though not quite) as sizeable a majority of its people of English (British, really) descent, but without any comparably proportioned French minority. This did not prevent America also rallying to France's side during the Great War, though the postulated kinship in this case was less of an 'ethnic' and more or an ideological provenance, battening as it did on images of 'old allies' and sister republics'[71] locking arms – finally – in common struggle against the German enemy.

So, in the end, two things are clear: 1917 was obviously a critical juncture in the strategic affairs of both North American countries; and France played an important role at the time. Less clear, however, is what if anything our examples tell us about the plausibility of the kin-country hypothesis. True, there *did* take place rallying at the side of France, and in the process one saw frequent invocations of the civilisational stakes prompting that rallying. Yet to the extent that collective identity of an ethnic nature was the foundation upon which the rallying was constructed, it is important to note the strength of the national identity contestations when contrasted with the transnational ones. In Canada, national identity would come to trump transnational identity as a motivating factor in politics, as the salience of the national unity crisis demonstrates. No less important though, were the domestic identity claims in the US, where the mooted 'war to end all wars' really turned out to be a war that only ended a particular kind of fighting – the culture wars, at home – and even then only for a short time.

Notes

1. Some say more, and they regard the 'patriation' of the Canadian constitution in 1982 to be the final step in the country's long march to independence.
2. As with all symbols, the meaning can be contested, sometimes hotly so. Not everyone accepts that Vimy *did* constitute such a fundamental turning point in Canada's political development. Frankly critical of this version are Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *The Vimy Trap: Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016). A more nuanced assessment of the meaning of Vimy is Tim Cook, *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2017). For a pair of concise summaries of this dispute, see Robert Everett-Green, 'Vimy: Birthplace of a Nation – or a Myth?', *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), April 1, 2017, F3; and Amy Shaw, 'Battle Wary', *Literary Review of Canada* 25 (April 2017): 14–15.
3. Harvey A. DeWeerd, *President Wilson Fights His War: World War I and the American Intervention* (New York: Macmillan, 1968).

4. Roy McGregor, 'This Was Canada at Its Best', *Globe and Mail*, April 10, 2017, A1, A8; Ian Austen, '100 Years On, Battle Is a Pivotal Moment for Canada', *New York Times*, April 10, 2017, A6.
5. John H. Finley, *The French in the Heart of America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).
6. Jean Jules Jusserand, *Le sentiment américain pendant la guerre* (Paris: Payot, 1931), 43.
7. Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer 1993): 22–49, quote at 22.
8. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).
9. Huntington, 'Clash', 35.
10. Kim Richard Nossal, 'Throwing Out the Baby with the Bathwater? Huntington's "Kin-Country" Thesis and Australian-Canadian Relations', in *Shaping Nations: Constitutionalism and Society in Australia and Canada*, ed. Linda Cardinal and David Headon (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2002), 167–81, quote at 179. Readers possessing familiarity with German can figure out the meaning of that substance, 'dreck', deserving to be pitched (politely, rubbish); but they are likely to be confused by its adjective, 'shonky', which is Australian English for something poorly executed, or shoddily done. We thank Kim Nossal for this contribution to our linguistic edification.
11. For that claim, see Dennis J. Sandole, *Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10.
12. Eric Kaufmann, *The Rise and Fall of Anglo-America: The Decline of Dominant Ethnicity in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
13. In addition to ethnicity, markers of identity can include gender, sexual orientation, and even such various lifestyle choices as gun ownership; see Todd Gitlin, *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America Is Wracked by Culture Wars* (New York: Henry Holt, 1995).
14. In an era that saw a heightened consciousness of 'race', France was sometimes even being stylized not just as a near-surrogate of Anglo-Saxonism, but as one of the very members of the Anglo-Saxon 'family', as a result of a creative reading of French demography that rendered the country's dominant ethnicity as 'Anglo-Norman', therefore closely akin to that of Britain by dint of a common descent from both the Norsemen and the Saxons (in France's case, represented by the Franks). See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 26–33, 62–7. Also see Jacques Barzun, *The French Race: Theories of Its Origins and their Social and Political Implications Prior to the Revolution* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1966; orig. pub. 1932).
15. Not excluding in Canada; see Edward P. Kohn, *This Kindred People: Canadian-American Relations and the Anglo-Saxon Idea, 1895–1003* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004).
16. Duncan Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 7.
17. See Darrell Bates, *The Fashoda Incident of 1898: Encounter on the Nile* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); and Marshall Bertram, *The Birth of Anglo-American Friendship: The Prime Facet of the Venezuelan Boundary Dispute – A Study of the Interrelation of Diplomacy and Public Opinion* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992).
18. For the cases, respectively, of France and the US, see Christopher Andrew, *Théophile Delcassé and the Making of the Entente Cordiale: A Reappraisal of French Foreign Policy, 1898–1905* (New York: Macmillan, 1968); and Bradford Perkins, *The Great Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1895–1914* (New York: Atheneum, 1968).
19. See, for instance, Aaron L. Friedberg, *The Weary Titan: Britain and the Experience of Relative Decline, 1895–1905* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988). Also see Zara S. Steiner, 'Views of War: Britain Before the "Great War" – and After', *International Relations* 17 (March 2003): 7–33.
20. See Stephen R. Rock, *Why Peace Breaks Out: Great Power Rapprochement in Historical Perspective* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
21. For examples, see Neta C. Crawford, 'The Passion of World Politics: Propositions on Emotion and Emotional Relationships', *International Security* 24 (Spring 2000): 116–56;

Rose McDermott, 'The Feeling of Rationality: The Meaning of Neuroscientific Advances for Political Science', *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (December 2004): 691–706; Andrew A.G. Ross, 'Coming in from the Cold: Constructivism and Emotions', *European Journal of International Relations* 12 (June 2006): 197–222; Roland Bleiker and Emma Hutchison, 'Fear No More: Emotions and World Politics', *Review of International Studies* 34 (January 2008): 115–35; and Jean-Marc Coicaud, 'Emotions and Passions in the Discipline of International Relations', *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 15 (September 2014): 485–513.

22. Erwan Lagadec, *Transatlantic Relations in the 21st Century: Europe, America and the Rise of the Rest* (London: Routledge, 2012), 80.
23. Edward Ingram, 'The Wonderland of the Political Scientist', *International Security* 22 (Summer 1997): 53–63, quote at 56–7. For a similar view, see Guy Arnold, *America and Britain: Was There Ever a Special Relationship?* (London: Hurst, 2014).
24. So named by us because of Lord Palmerston's oft-cited 1848 comment in the House of Commons about Britain's having neither eternal friends nor eternal adversaries, but only eternal interests.
25. Coral Bell, *The Debatable Alliance: An Essay in Anglo-American Relations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 129–30. Also see William Clark, *Less than Kin: A Study of Anglo-American Relations* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1958).
26. See, in particular, Todd H. Hall, *Emotional Diplomacy: Official Emotion on the International Stage* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016); and Idem, 'On Provocation: Outrage, International Relations, and the Franco-Prussian War', *Security Studies* 26 (January 2017): 1–29.
27. On the popularity of constructivism among academic specialists in foreign policy and IR, see David G. Haglund, 'The Paradigm that Dare Not Speak Its Name: Canadian Foreign Policy's Uneasy Relationship with Realist IR Theory', *International Journal* 72 (June2017): 230–42.
28. Especially in his final book, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004).
29. W.B. Gallie, 'Essentially Contested Concepts', in *The Importance of Language,* ed. Max Black (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1962), 123. On the ambiguities associated with identity, see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, 'Beyond "Identity"', *Theory and Society* 29 (February 2000): 1–47; as well as Philip Gleason, 'Identifying Identity: A Semantic History', *Journal of American History* 69 (March 1983): 910–31.
30. William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
31. Kenneth N. Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959).
32. See Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt and Bernhard Giesen, 'The Construction of Collective Identity', *Archives of European Sociology* 56 (1995): 72–102, where a distinction is made between three Weberian ideal types of collective identity: primordial (namely, ethnic), civic, and cultural.
33. The term is Jonathan Mercer's, who defines it thus: 'An emotional belief is one where emotion constitutes and strengthens a belief and which makes possible a generalization about an actor that involves certainty beyond evidence.' See Jonathan Mercer, 'Emotional Beliefs', *International Organization* 64 (Winter 2010): 1–31, quote at 2.
34. See C. Loring Brace, '*Race*' *Is a Four-Letter Word: The Genesis of the Concept* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
35. Finley Peter Dunne, *Mr. Dooley in Peace and War* (Boston, MA: Small, Maynard, 1898), 54.
36. Paul A. Kramer, 'Empires, Exceptions, and Anglo-Saxons: Race and Rule Between the British and US Empires, 1880–1910', *Journal of American History* 88 (March 2002): 1315–53.
37. Srdjan Vucetic, *The Anglosphere: A Genealogy of a Racialized Identity in International Relations* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 34. His word-play in this passage constitutes a veiled critique of a competing theoretical claim regarding the formation of security communities, resting on the assumption that liberal democracies do

not use or threaten violence against fellow liberal democracies with whom they might have disputes. This competing claim bears the label of 'democratic peace theory'.

38. Bernard Descôteaux, 'Prendre sa place', *Le Devoir* (Montréal), May 7, 2008, A6; Gilles Toupin, 'Le Bloc furieux', *La Presse* (Montréal), May 8, 2008, A25.
39. Quoted in Robert Dutrisac and Isabelle Porter, '400^{e} de Québec: Couillard corrige Charest", *Le Devoir*, May 13, 2008, A1 (unless otherwise noted, all translations in the text are our own).
40. Michel De Waele, 'De la commémoration au détournement de l'histoire', *Le Devoir*, July 10, 2008, A7.
41. Quoted in Vincent Marissal, 'On choisit ses amis, pas sa famille', *La Presse*, October 18, 2008, A5.
42. Quoted in Malorie Beauchemin and Tommy Chouinard, 'Les politiciens fêtent sous la pluie', *La Presse*, July 4, 2008, A4; and Antoine Robitaille, 'Sarkozy choisit l'unité canadienne', *Le Devoir*, October 18, 2008, A1.
43. Justin Massie, *Francosphère: L'Importance de le France dans la culture stratégique du Canada* (Québec: Presses de l'Université de Québec, 2013). The allusion here, of course, is to the more familiar recent concept in international relations, that of the 'Anglosphere.' See, for this concept, James C. Bennett, 'The Emerging Anglosphere', *Orbis* 46 (Winter 2002): 111–26; and Idem, *Anglosphere: The Future of the English-Speaking Nations in the Internet Era* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004). For a critical assessment, see Srdjan Vucetic, 'Bound to Follow? The Anglosphere and US-Led Coalitions of the Willing, 1950–2001', *European Journal of International Relations* 17 (March 2011): 27–49.
44. Quoted in Claire Harvey, 'Le premier consulat de la France à Québec a été ouvert en 1858', *Le Devoir*, September 27, 2008, H4.
45. In this article, we utilize interchangeably the terms 'French-Canadians' and 'Quebeckers', more for convenience's sake and not because we think the terms apply to the same socio-cultural collectivity *today*; words have a way of being employed historically in a manner that, to say the least, must look odd if taken in their *contemporary* sense. For instance, Quebeckers considered themselves, during the time of New France, to be 'Canadians'; after the Conquest of that colony, they self-identified as 'French-Canadians', and continued to do so until the last few decades of the twentieth century.
46. Quoted in Elizabeth H. Armstrong, *The Crisis of Quebec, 1914–18* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 46.
47. We have written on this at some length; see David G. Haglund and Justin Massie, '*L'Abandon de l'abandon*: The Emergence of a Transatlantic "Francosphere" in Québec (and Canada's) Strategic Culture', *Québec Studies* 49 (Spring/Summer 2010): 59–85.
48. Notes one author, canvassing the mood in Vienna,

> [o]n May Day 1914, workers had marched on the Ringstrasse with the chant, '*Frieden, Brot, und Freiheit!*' … On August 1, many of the same crowd marched again with '*Alle Serben müssen sterben!*' … In Paris workers had sung the 'Internationale' on May Day before returning to their tenements. Now their throats rang with the 'Marseillaise' while the Kaiser's effigy went up in flames. Everywhere life leaped from lonely gray grind to grand national adventure. Hurrah! (Frederic Morton, *Thunder at Twilight: Vienna 1913/1914* (New York: Scribner, 1989), 320–1)

49. Armstrong, *Crisis of Quebec*, 88.
50. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760–1967*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968), 643.
51. Quoted in Yvan Lamonde and Claude Corbo, eds., *Le rouge et le bleu: une anthologie de la pensée politique au Québec de la Conquête à la Révolution tranquille* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999), 344–5.
52. Wade, *French Canadians*, 2: 650, 744.
53. Quoted in Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and Biculturalism, 1900–1918* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970), 166, 168.
54. Armstrong, *Crisis of Quebec*, 121–2.
55. Quoted in Ernest R. May, ed., *The Coming of War, 1917* (Chicago, IL: Rand-McNally, 1963), 1.

56. When the war began, America's population was 92 million, of which 32 million were either foreign born or 'first generation'. Notes one author,

> [w]hen the conflict did come, the entire foreign-language press and a majority of ethnic organizations, depending on the fortunes of their native lands, turned either for or against American principles of neutrality and isolationism, creating thereby many of the internal and external problems which were to plague the nation from then on. (Louis L. Gerson, *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1964), 60–2)

57. Ernest R. May, *The World War and American Isolation, 1914–1917* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 34.
58. For a discussion of the unintended complications Irish-Americans' anti-English activities had on what had been heretofore a positive, if sentimental, relationship between the Irish and the French, see Jérôme Aan De Wiel, 'Austria-Hungary, France, Germany and the Irish Crisis from 1899 to the Outbreak of the First World War', *Intelligence & National Security* 21 (April 2006): 237–57.
59. Consider the claim made, for instance, by one scholar who has:

> searched in vain for evidence that the Administration's policies were altered directly under pressure from Irish critics. Indirectly, however, Irish America contributed to the diplomacy of neutrality … . Though considerably weaker than the pro-Ally forces, Irish and German propagandists helped to create the divided nation that made war unfeasible for two and a half years.' (Edward Cuddy, 'Irish-American Propagandists and American Neutrality, 1914–1917', *Mid-America* 49, no. 4 (1967): 252–75, quote at 274–75)

60. For valuable reminders of the epistemological bona fides of counterfactuals in IR, see Richard Ned Lebow, 'What's So Different about a Counterfactual?', *World Politics* 52 (July 2000): 550–85; as well as James D. Fearon, 'Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science', *World Politics* 43 (January 1991): 169–95. Also see Lebow, *Archduke Franz Ferdinand Lives: A World without World War I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
61. On the concept of 'ontological security', see Jennifer Mitzen, 'Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma', *European Journal of International Relations* 12, no. 3 (2006): 341–70; and Brent J. Steele, *Ontological Security in International Relations: Self-Identity and the IR State* (London: Routledge, 2008).
62. Excluding the Irish Catholics (who also could be counted as British until the interwar years), America's British-descended share of the overall population was more than 60% during the early decades of the twentieth century.
63. For a useful account of that contestation, written by someone who played an active role in it (on the German-American side), see George S. Viereck, *Spreading Germs of Hate* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930).
64. For the two groups' militancy during the neutrality years (and after, in the case of the Irish-Americans), see Clifton James Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914–1917* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1939); Charles Thomas Johnson, *Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901–1918* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); and Michael Doorley, *Irish-American Diaspora Nationalism: The Friends of Irish Freedom, 1916–1935* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005).
65. John E. Moser, *Twisting the Lion's Tail: American Anglophobia between the World Wars* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).
66. Stephen Tuffnell, '"Uncle Sam Is to Be Sacrificed": Anglophobia in Late Nineteenth-Century Politics and Culture', *American Nineteenth Century History* 12 (March 2011): 77–99.
67. Henry Blumenthal, *France and the United States: Their Diplomatic Relations, 1789–1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970).
68. Reflective of this resumed mood of amity, celebrating the centrality of France to the establishment of American independence, was James Breck Perkins, *France in the American Revolution* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1911).

69. See David G. Haglund, 'That Other Transatlantic "Great Rapprochement": France, the United States, and Theodore Roosevelt', in *America's Transatlantic Turn: Theodore Roosevelt and the* '*Discovery*' *of Europe*, ed. Hans Krabbendam and John M. Thompson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 103–19.
70. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: Norton, 1969).
71. See Robert B. Bruce, *A Fraternity of Arms: America and France in the Great War* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), and Patrice Higonnet, *Sister Republics: The Origins of French and American Republicanism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988).

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