

Hon. William B. Wilson, of Pennsylvania:—"Canada Has a Tariff on Farm Produce Almost Equal to Our Own, and Yet the American Farmer Has Produced His Crops Under American Conditions, Shipped Them into Canada, Paying the Canadian Duty, and Has Sold There Nearly Three Times as Much Farm Produce During the Past Five Years as Canada Has Sold to the United States." Down with the Tariff Wall and the American Farmer Has Absolute Control of Canadian Market!

RECIPROCITY, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

By LIEUT.-COL. J. PENNINGTON MACPHERSON, author of "The Life of Sir John A. Macdonald,"—
Montreal Daily Star

Sir Wilfrid Laurier knows very well that annexation is in the air. He doesn't seem to be able to get away from the subject; he is always lugging it in, but raising it as a straw—which he immediately knocks down—by saying that it is an insult to Canadians to say that they would go in for annexation. Who said they would? He deliberately shuts his ears to the plain speaking of the American public men and the American public press, and says that talk is "beneath the contempt and beneath the attention of a serious people."

Lord Roberts would tell him that there is nothing more dangerous than treating your enemy with contempt. He referred to the subject at Simcoe on Tuesday last, 15th inst., and illustrated his conception of what the agreement meant, in these words:

"I see a lot of pretty girls about me and some young men ogling them. Supposing one of these young men went to one of these girls, with his heart in his hands, and supposing somebody else went to that maid and said: 'My dear child, don't marry a man like that, he may die or lose his job, and where would you be then?' What would the girl do? Would she not say, 'If John will risk it I will risk it also'?"

And so we say we'll try the chances of reciprocity with our neighbors, because we see the chances of greater prosperity in it."

This is, in the language of the Toronto Globe, "a most apt illustration." Canada is the pretty girl, and Uncle Sam is ogling her.

What the Americans Want.

Sir Wilfrid told the Pilgrims' Club in London that when people asked him if it were true that the Americans wanted Canada, that he replied: "Of course they do, and I don't blame them for it. The Americans know a good thing when they see it." In Parliament, last winter, Sir Wilfrid said: "Once upon a time the conviction of every American was that the Canadian Confederation should become a part of the American Union. Recent events have shown that there are still men in the United States who harbor that hope."

Then he addressed this warning to our neighbors: "Remember, that the blood that flows in your veins is just as good as your own, and that if you are a proud people, though we have not your numbers, we are just as proud as you are, and that, rather than part with our national existence we would part with our lives."

It is rather extraordinary to see him get so worked up in February over a question that in August he declares to be "beneath the contempt and beneath the attention of a serious people." The sentiments expressed are undoubtedly the sentiments of all true Canadians but it is not the height of folly to venture into the entangling web woven by reciprocal trade, when we may have to lay down our lives to get out of it?

In another part of his speech, when referring to the possibility of Canada being forced into closer relations with the United States, Sir Wilfrid said:

"Well, sir, if Canada would be forced, what would force it? Nations there have been which, in the face of a great emergency, a great national calamity, would rise to the occasion, and even the women throw their jewels and ornaments into the common fund for the protection of the country."

The Motive Behind Sir Wilfrid's "Contempt."

This sounds more like hysterical fear of possible annexation than profound contempt for it. The fact of the matter is, Sir Wilfrid doesn't dare discuss the annexation question. He told his Simcoe audience that he was "as old a bird" as any of his opponents—and that is true. He is the craftiest "old bird" in politics to-day. He knows that if the people once recognize that annexation will be the outcome of this pact they will sweep his party out of power as a tornado sweeps the land, or every opposing obstacle. So he lightly dismisses the subject as beneath contempt, but his motive is plainly apparent.

The great emergency, the great national calamity, which he had in his mind when he made the above speech was, of course, with the United States. No doubt, the women of Canada are as brave as the men and, if the country were reduced to such dire extremities, would cheerfully make any sacrifices to prevent forcible annexation, but it is not pleasant to contemplate the possibility of such a war. We are joined together by the closest commercial and social ties; we speak the same language and many of our people are joined to theirs by the nearest and dearest relationships of life. Such a conflict would be more than ordinarily horrible; but we must look to the history of the past, and from it draw lessons for our guidance in the future. In 1812, the United States declared war against us, wantonly and carelessly, the one object in view being the forcible annexation of the country. This step was strongly opposed by many right-minded members of Congress, and the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island refused to contribute their quota of men. No doubt, vast numbers of Americans would again oppose any proposition for another invasion, but the population of the United States is not homogeneous and the voice of humanity might again be drowned by the clamor of the democracy.

Some Incidents of the Past.

Many of the older inhabitants can recollect the events of 1861 when we were nearly again involved in war over the Trent affair. Hostilities undoubtedly the sentiments of all true Canadians but it is not the height of folly to venture into the entangling web woven by reciprocal trade, when we may have to lay down our lives to get out of it?

British troops were sent to Canada, at the most inclement season of the year, to garrison our principal cities and towns, and every preparation was made for the dire conflict that seemed

imminent. The United States were not then in a position to fight, for the fearful civil war between North and South was being waged. Had their hands been free, Canada might again have been the battle-field. Had their men of less than middle age can recall the Venezuela incident and the panic that ensued over President Cleveland's attitude, a panic that resulted in great pecuniary loss to many of our people through the enormous depreciation of stocks that followed.

This war scare caused the government to determine to provide more adequate defence for the country. It is illuminating to read the following comments of the Ottawa Evening Journal, Dec. 1895, upon this proposition:

"The government, we are sure, has no desire to create an alarmist feeling nor to add to the difficulties of the situation created by the war scare of three weeks ago, but common sense demands that proper steps be taken to meet a contingency that might at any time arise, namely—the invasion of Canada by American forces. Who is there who does not remember how promptly and united the press and public men of the United States talked of the invasion of Canada by two weeks ago; how thoroughly harmonious was their language, how quickly it was assured as a matter of course that an army would be sent across the border to take possession of this country; and how easily and gaily the excursion appeared in the mind of our neighbors' eyes? Far from paying any attention to our feelings on the subject our destruction was their favorite theme, and we were entertained day after day with tales of the descent that would be made upon our homes and the destruction and havoc to which we would be submitted in case of war with England. It is all very well to say that there will be no war, but the situation created by the President is still serious and full of danger. Under these circumstances it is our duty to provide for the defence of the country, and it is nonsense to talk of doing so on the quiet. There need be no boasting and no unnecessary demonstration. The proper preparation for defence is a great public duty which cannot be shirked, and no foolish attempt to be silent about it would succeed."

Uncle Sam Always Making Preparations.

If words have meaning and events have significance it is now, and always has been, the policy of the American government to keep in view the possibility of war with Canada. They have gradually increased the number of their warships on the great lakes until they now have nine—and this in direct contravention of the Rush-Bagot treaty. Sir Wilfrid told the Pilgrims' Club that it was an inspiring sight to see two nations living in such perfect harmony as Canada and the United States. The Americans have a fort at St. Marie which commands our locks there. They are putting Fort Mackenzie in repair which will block the entrance to Lake Michigan and, with Fort Wayne at Detroit will control Lakes Huron, Saint Clair and Erie. They have Fort Niagara to threaten the Welland Canal. They have recently built a strong fort at Oswego to protect that entrance to Erie Canal and dominate Lake Ontario, and have paid \$100,000 for the demolition of buildings which interfered with the range of the guns. They have a strong fort on Lake Champlain and large barracks at Plattsburg and Ethan Allen, from which they can operate against Montreal and destroy our system of canals. To offset these preparations we have not a single war vessel or a single gun. We appear to be living in a fool's paradise and believing that they are doing it just for the fun of the thing. Articles occasionally appear in their papers which might well cause our rulers to do a little thinking. Take this, for instance, from the New York Army and Navy Journal, in reference to improvements upon the canals of the country:

Senator Chandler's Prediction.

Since then Senator Chandler, formerly Secretary of the United States Navy, has contributed a signed article to his paper published at Concord, New Hampshire, in which he predicts war between Great Britain and the United States. "It will arise," he said, "out of the British disregard of the direct interests of America. As an offensive war it may not come for twenty years, as a defensive war it may come sooner. One sure

result will be that the United States will acquire Canada." If Canada entered into that matrimonial alliance with Uncle Sam which Sir Wilfrid Laurier so strongly advocates and then found that a mistake had been made and tried to annul the marriage would not such action come under what Senator Chandler calls "disregard of the direct interests of America?"

The past has seen Toronto twice in the possession of an American army; the past has seen them control the whole peninsula of Ontario from Amherstburg to Hamilton; the past has seen the whole country from St. John's to Montreal and from Montreal to Quebec held by their troops. Unpleasant as the thought may be, it is only common prudence to recognize that this history may repeat itself and that for national gain or through a supposed offence against that delicate sentiment termed "national honor," a renewal of the deplorable struggle might be brought about.

Canadians as "The Enemy."

Even more significant than these newspaper articles is the issue from the "Adjutant's Office, United States Artillery School, Fort Monroe, Virginia," of a pamphlet giving a full description of Canada, its physical features, means of communication, military forces and where stationed, the strategic points and the lines by which the country is to be attacked. I have in my possession a copy of this book—which contains 28 pages, and will give a few sample extracts which make most interesting reading. The friendly feelings spoken of by President Taft are not conspicuous. We are spoken of as "The enemy."

"Although, owing to the length and character of the frontier, it would be quite impossible for the Canadians to defend it throughout its whole length, we would be forced to capture and establish ourselves in some vital points before we could obtain any decided military advantage, and there are only a few such points. If these points were properly fortified and garrisoned, they could be held during the five months in which alone it would be possible for us to carry on operations on the large scale necessary to specify the numerous localities around which the struggles of old wars have surged, of which time does not allow."

"It is proposed to ask Congress to appropriate \$2,000,000 to be expended in still further widening the locks so as to take vessels of 26 feet beam, thus making the width of the canal on the Delaware and Raritan canal locks through which the torpedo boat Cushing has just passed. This will allow small torpedo boats to be sent into Lake Ontario, via Oswego, and into Lake Erie, via Buffalo."

War Strategy Discussed by the Press. And this is from the New York Sun, in reference to a proposed Georgian Bay Canal and one from Lake Erie to Lake St. Clair:

"If they should build either of these canals they would have routes of their own from the lower to the upper lakes. Hence, one result would be to place in the hands of American defences already on this line. Fort Wayne, especially, which with the new armament of high power guns and breech-loading rifled mortars intended for it, will easily command the Detroit River between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, would be left aside. But it would still be easy to erect another fort on the St. Clair River, above the canal now projected, and it would be easier yet to improve Fort Wayne so as to give it a garrison of all three arms and to make it a rendezvous for an expeditionary column. In case of war, to destroy either of the two canals now projected. This would be doing for them what the enlargement of Plattsburg barracks and the new post in Vermont are intended to do for the easterly canals. As expressly stated by General Schofield, these northern forts are to be made points of concentration for attacks upon those artificial waterways that might be used in bringing hostile gunboats into the lakes. Let Canada go ahead with her project, if she finds it will pay, and whenever it is well started, Congress will look after its bearing on the strategic side."

Congress Warned of the Possibilities. And this is the matter of fact way that the New York Times speaks of future possibilities, and points out to Congress what preparations should be made to meet them:

"The first great object of both sides in a Canadian campaign would be to obtain control of the main arteries of trade and transportation—the St. Lawrence and Welland Canals, and the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways. Should the Canadians hold these, reinforcements and supplies could be transported to any point. Should these lines of communication be cut by the American, the Dominion would be cut in two and its parts enveloped

by flanking movements and separately conquered. On the declaration of war a dash would be made by both forces for two points—Morrisonburg, northeast of Ogdensburg, where the canals and Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific Railways are close together—and the Welland Canal, west of Niagara. Congress should provide, not only for sea-coast forts, but for lake forts. The Government has recognized this fact by abandoning some of the western posts, moving troops eastward and building Fort Ethan Allen, in Vermont. England is the power with whom we must have one more reckoning before we are supreme on this continent and, unless we wish to see ourselves placed in a position similar to China in the late war, it is time we paid some attention to the defence of our Canadian frontier."

A Coast Defense Scheme.

The Buffalo Express goes a little further and indicates that the preparations demanded by the New York Times have occupied the serious attention of the United States authorities. It says:—

"Government has about completed the details of a scheme of coast defence which is of vast importance to Buffalo and other lake cities, as it has been arranged that special reference to their protection. It has been outlined in private to several members of the naval committee, but, thus far, has been talked over only informally. The Secretary has about decided to place authority to build a fleet of light draught torpedo boats, about 25 in number, and under 100 feet in length. This is done with special reference to the possibility of sending them through the Erie Canal, so as to reach the lakes at once in case of trouble. The theory is that if forced through the Erie Canal they would operate on Lake Ontario and control the Welland Canal, so as to prevent the passage of British ships in case of war."

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ter the strategic conditions, but chiefest of them is Halifax, at least as a base of operations at sea, with its great and strongly fortified harbor and dockyards. But the value as a base of operations inland is not great to the Canadians, as Maine sends its bastioned wedge of territory up to within a few miles of the Intercolonial Railway, which a handful of troops could at any moment render unserviceable in a night, thus cutting off retreat upon Halifax or succor from thence to the upper province. Then comes Quebec, which is the Gibraltar of America, the gateway of the St. Lawrence and the most important strategic point of the Dominion. Its fall lost a continent to France; its defence saved to England the foundation of a mighty empire; and its fall now, would lose to her the gate of Canada, close the door by which a fleet or other succor could enter, and seal the fate of the Dominion. It is the one possible stronghold upon which the Canadian forces, if rolled up by overwhelming force from the west, could retreat and await the help from England which would never be denied. It is manifest that it would be of the utmost importance to us to prevent the enemy's gunboats gaining access to Lake Erie; hence the Welland, and the system of canals between it and Montreal would be objectives of the gravest importance, and would be destroyed, if possible, at any hazard. Of those on the north bank it is possible to destroy the locks of some, if not all of them, from batteries of heavy guns on the south bank.

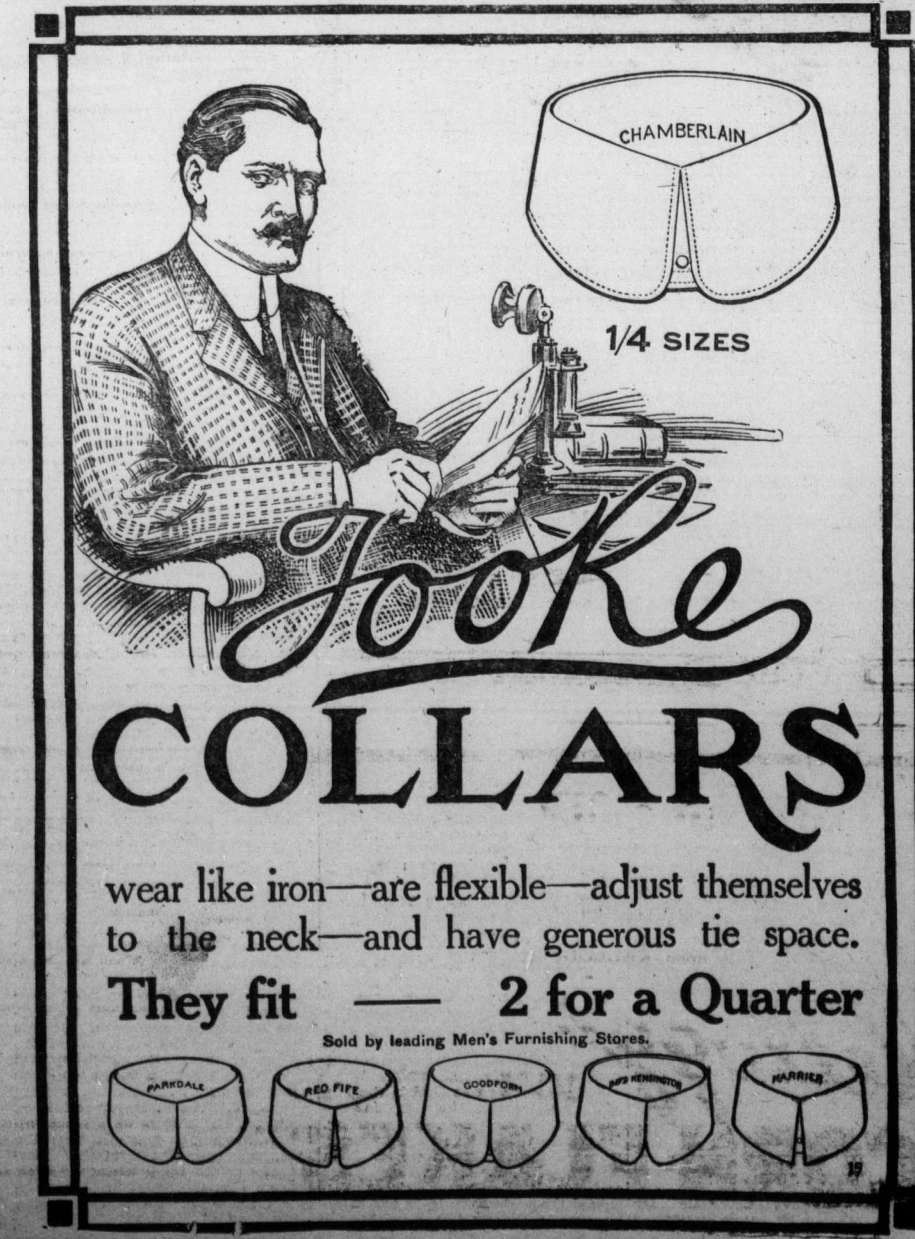
"Respecting Lake Ontario, there remains a second and secure inland navigable route by means of which that lake can be reached by the Ottawa River and the Rideau Canal. (Note. The Canadian Pacific Railway wish to destroy this safe route by filling up the end of the Rideau Canal and converting it to their own uses.) Kingston is the point of the greatest strategic importance upon this lake, as from it the mouth of the Rideau Canal will be protected, as well as Brockville and Prescott, in guarding the railway to Montreal, thus protecting the capital, Ottawa, and the communications to the east."

Our principal base of operations would be Albany, the central point from which natural lines of operation lead to Montreal, northwest to Quebec, and westerly to Niagara and Sackett's Harbor with Kingston as a second objective in view. The warpath of the Iroquois and the Mohawk has ever been followed by the white man, and the tide of war has ever been swept along the channels that nature and art have made it share with commerce and travel. Rouses' Point, less than 50 miles from Montreal, would be our final point of concentration for an attack upon that important city. Once in possession of Montreal, Canada would be cut in two, at the head of the St. Lawrence for the St. Lawrence, the focus of all the communications by land and water; the defence of our country would be severed, and a base furnished for operations against Quebec, with the St. Lawrence for a line of operations and supply."

When the question of Confederation was before the provinces and Mr. W. S. Fielding, the author of the present pact, was on the staff of the Halifax Morning Chronicle, thanking Heaven that he was not a Canadian and using every possible effort to prevent the scheme from being carried into effect, the Right Rev. Archbishop Connolly of Halifax, one of the wisest prelates of the Roman Catholic Church, threw all the weight of his exalted position into the scale in favor of the movement and addressed a letter to the press setting forth his views. In referring to our neighbors, he said:

"With all their apparent indifference about annexing the country and all their friendly feelings that may be talked, they will have the power to strike when they please, and this is precisely the kernel and only touch-point of the whole question. No nation ever had the power of conquest that did not use it, or abuse it, at the very first favorable opportunity. All that is said of the magnanimity and forbearance of mighty nations can be explained on the principle of sheer expediency as the world knows. The whole face of Europe has changed, and the dynasties of many hundred years have been swept away within our time on the principle of might alone. The thirteen original states of America, with all their professions of self-denial, have been all the time, by money power, by war, and by negotiation, extending their frontier until they have more than quadrupled their territory within sixty years; and, believe it who may, they are now, of their own accord, to come to a full stop? No! As long as they have the power they must go forward, for it is the very nature of power to grip whatever is within its reach. I now state it as my solemn conviction that it becomes the duty of every British subject in these provinces to consider that power by strengthening ourselves—rising with the whole might of Britain at our back, to their level—and so be prepared for any emergency. There is no sensible or unprejudiced man in the community who does not see the vigorous and timely preparation is the only possible means of saving us from

(Continued on page 5.)



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