

AN
ANGLO-AMERICAN
ALLIANCE

BY
SILAS ALWARD, D. C. L., K. C.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST

SAINT JOHN, N. B.
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“Nations are in bondage to army and navy expenditure. May the time come when they shall realize that the law is a better remedy than force.”

—SIB EDWARD GREY.

“Nations by preparing for war spend millions and millions for the purpose that man shall kill his fellow-man, who was created in the image of God. It isn't war, but the possibility of war, that we must fear. I can only hope that this fund will have the co-operation of every one in bringing men to know the real meaning of war. War is a crime of nations against their God.”—CARNEGIE

(On donating the princely gift of ten millions of dollars to be devoted to the establishment of universal peace)

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

A LECTURE DELIVERED BEFORE THE NATURAL
HISTORY SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 28TH, 1911.

Those were the palmy days of Spain, when Ferdinand and Isabella, uniting the crowns of Castile and Aragon, swayed the destinies of a brave and chivalrous people. The Moors, driven from the sunny vales of Andalusia and the vine-clad slopes of Granada; the Cross raised over the glittering domes of fair cities, where long had waved the Crescent; and a new world given to the old, through their enlightened enterprise, were some of the triumphs that graced the career of these remarkable sovereigns. Never is a nation so great as when, oppressed for ages and bound down by the merciless pressure of an unrelenting foe, it has risen in its might, and its swelling energies have burst the fetters that bound it. For eight centuries had the Moslems battered on the fairest portions of Spain, while sheltered by the great bulwarks of nature, the Asturian hills and the fastnesses of the Pyrenees, the conquered people cherished a love of country as pure as the flame of vestal altar, and as unshaken as the granite of their mountain home. Here, in their hardy struggle with nature for sustenance, an energetic race was formed, brave, chivalrous and embodying every manly virtue. While thus amidst the sternest difficulties and fiercest trials, the native Spaniards were gradually disciplined for the supreme effort for liberty, their conquerors were fast becoming enervated on the generous soil and under the sunny skies of Southern Spain. The day of reckoning finally came, and the Christians avenged the wrongs of centuries. Their independence secured, an unwonted energy was imparted to the nation. A spirit of enterprise, discovery and conquest bore it on to the accomplishment of the grandest achievements. Her arms were borne triumphantly into foreign countries, and soon Sicily, Naples and the Lowlands of the North acknowledged her supremacy,

while Cortes and Pizarro conquered for her countries in the New World. Such was Spain, shortly after the discovery of America, the leading power in Europe.

What a marked contrast is presented in the status of England, at this period, compared with that of Spain. The cruel Wars of the Roses, which had paralyzed the energies of the people, wasted their wealth, prostrated their infant manufactures, almost suspended agricultural pursuits, and driven commerce from the sea, had but recently been brought to a close. To draw off the minds of his people from so cheerless a prospect at home, Henry VII. entered upon a senseless Continental War, which neither added to his reputation nor contributed to the advantage of the kingdom. Although the traces of the Feudal system were fast disappearing, the great body of the people were little better than slaves. It was the age of the infamous Court of the Star Chamber, one of the most arbitrary engines of oppression that ever disgraced a country. It was a time when men believed in the doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance and the divine rights of kings. Such was Spain, and such England, two nations destined to play the greatest parts in the New World, when America was discovered. It may be pertinently asked, "which nation will take the lead in colonization, which will secure the most permanent foothold in this land of promise, and which will the most indelibly stamp the impress of its national characteristics and civilization upon a virgin soil?" You would readily respond, the former. She will pre-empt its choicest portions, monopolize its wealth and infuse into the natives something of her own energetic, chivalric nature. History discloses results quite the contrary. It is well to pause and inquire the causes that rendered the career of the one a career of shame, and that of the other, a glorious mission, whose history chronicles the records of the grandest achievements won for civilization.

How intense the excitement when the Old World awoke to the fact that beyond the Western Main was an immense Continent, rich beyond description in wealth of forest, mine and soil, inviting the sons of toil to its shores. This truly was the veritable El Dorado, which many had long pictured in fancy, and do we wonder they right joyfully turned their faces towards the setting sun and embarked for the land of promise? This grand discovery opened up to the nations of Europe a new world of policy. Now, it may be said, com-

menced the colonial system of the Old World. Spain inaugurated hers in carnage and spoilation. The cavalier was lured by the prospect of achieving more glorious victories on the tablelands of Mexico and Peru than those won in the vales of Andalusia and Granada. Caravel after caravel bore from Spain to the New World nobles, soldiers and adventurers, intent upon plunder and conquest. The industrial classes, either from want of means to secure a passage, or because of actual restraint on the part of the government, entered not into the spirit of colonization. Industry was checked and ordinary toil despised by the newcomers in these prolific regions. The natives made heroic resistance, but valor was finally compelled to yield to superior discipline, and upon the ruins of kingdoms, probably as ancient as those of Europe, Spain erected a colonial system, the most extensive, the most restrictive and the most impolitic the world ever saw, stretching on the shores of the Pacific ninety-five parallels of latitude, more than half the distance from pole to pole, and sweeping on the eastern coast round the Gulf of Mexico and the coast of South America, almost to Cape Horn. It embraced an extent of territory nearly five thousand miles in length and in places three thousand in width — a country rich beyond the dreams of avarice. What a theatre for the achievement of the grandest triumphs! Spain was unfaithful to her solemn trust. The occasion was lost, and with it her prestige. Her system of colonization was one of restriction and monopoly. She hedged in her possessions with more than Chinese exclusiveness. For many years no ship could clear from a port in Spain except Seville, and could only touch at a few points in the New World. The trade was carried on by a fixed number of vessels, which sailed at stated periods. No one was permitted to emigrate without a special permit from the Cortes. No foreigner could enter the Spanish American colonies, for many years, except on pain of death. The colonies were not permitted to trade with each other, and so far were these absurd restrictions carried, that no colonist could even enter the territory of another without subjecting himself to the severest penalties. It does not require the sagacity of the political economist to predict the results of such a system. Commerce being under ban, all useful industry was checked. Agricultural pursuits were despised. Sterility, the most blighting, soon brooded over the fairest portions of the new world. The precious metals were wrung from the wretched

natives and sent to the mother country to pamper the dissolute retainers of the Court, fast becoming corrupted through affluence and the exercise of almost unbounded power. Soon the avenging Nemesis was upon the track of the devoted nation. The unhallowed thirst for gold led to effeminacy, which in turn hastened the decay of national virtue and the consequent downfall of her power. As her power declined her hold upon her colonies relaxed, till in the early part of the past century all her vast possessions in South America rose in rebellion and finally succeeded in asserting their independence. One by one has she been stripped of the others till the close of the past century witnessed the utter demolition of that gigantic colonial system that once evoked universal admiration. Such was the career of Spain in the New World; one characterized by the grossest outrages, the most impolitic restrictions, and finally the most humiliating results. She left no abiding monuments which attest enlightened sway, no institutions worthy of imitation, no form of government presenting a model fit for adoption, and no lasting trace of thought impressed upon the national sentiment of those she so long ruled. Had Spain been faithful to the sacred trust assumed by her, today, enthroned in splendor and power, she might rule the destinies of enlightened millions on this Continent. Was there no one to point out her true policy? No enlightened statesman to unfold a wiser system? No philanthropist to wage a crusade against oppression? No patriot to

“ Ring out the narrowing lust of gold ? ”

Alas, there was none, or his voice was unheeded in the din of conflicting interests and the wild tumult of contending factions.

The career of France, on this Continent, has been a checkered, as well as a disastrous one. During the reign of Henry IV., one of the most enlightened and powerful Sovereigns that ever bore sway in that country, an expedition was fitted out under the command of DeMonts, who, in 1604, took formal possession of all North America comprised between the 40th and 54th degrees of north latitude, from Virginia to Hudson Bay. A fierce struggle for supremacy ensued between England and France. It was waged with unabated fury and varying success for over one hundred and fifty years. In 1763 England emerged from the contest

victorious, having extended her sway over the greater part of North America.

The gifted McGee thus eloquently sketches the career of this chivalrous people in America:—"Canada was theirs. Likewise Newfoundland, the uttermost, and one large section of its coast is still known as the French shore; Cape Breton was theirs till the final fall of Louisbourg. Prince Edward Island was their Island of St. Jean, and Charlottetown was their port Joli. In the heart of Nova Scotia was that fair Acadian land, where the roll of Longfellow's noble hexameters may any day be heard in every wave that breaks upon the base of Cape Blomedon. In the northern counties of New Brunswick, from the Miramichi to the Metapedia, they had their forts and their farms, their churches and their festivals, before the English speech had ever once been heard between those rivers. Nor is that tenacious Norman and Breton race extinct in their old haunts and homes."

Although the attempts of France to maintain her foothold on the Continent ended in disaster, yet many brilliant feats in arms partially redeemed the reverses of a failing cause.

As far back as 1497, five years after the discovery of America, in the reign of Henry VII., an English expedition was fitted out, under the command of John Cabot, to make explorations in the New World. Nothing, however, was effected in the way of colonization for nearly a century afterwards. The first to discover the mainland of the Continent, England was the last to plant colonies on it. In the reign of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh and a few adventurous spirits established plantations in Virginia. Yet it was not till 1620 the first grand impulse was given to English colonization. Bigotry and oppression drove from its shores some of England's noblest and best, who for principle severed every tie that bound them to the land of their nativity and perilled all in quest of a home across the estranging sea, secure beyond the reach of persecution. King James regarded these fanatical zealots as "too insignificant to be looked after." Could this narrow-minded monarch have seen in vision the unfolding of this humble attempt at colonization; could he have seen the America of today, stretching for thousands of miles beyond the spot where these fugitives of fate landed, thirty-fold larger than his kingdom, and with a population fifteen times greater than those whom he ruled, this hasty exclamation would never have escaped his lips.

In a century and a half the population has grown to over three millions. Mr. Burke, in his great speech on Conciliation With America, delivered in 1775, in which he sought to arrest the insane policy that finally resulted in wrenching the thirteen colonies from their allegiance to the British throne, thus graphically sketched the rapid progress of this infant commonwealth:

“ If that angel should have drawn up the curtain and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and whilst he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him: ‘Young man, there is America, which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage man and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of 1700 years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life.’ ”

A century and a half has not elapsed since this great philosophical statesman gave expression to his unbounded admiration at the rapid progress of Anglo-American civilization. Could he have lifted the veil of the future and seen the America of 1911, his gigantic powers of mind could scarcely have grasped the astounding reality. From 3,000,000 its population has grown to 93,000,000; its expanding commerce embraces every shore; its spreading prairies and smiling valleys stretch thousands of miles beyond what were the outposts of civilization 190 years ago. History fails to show its parallel. A few adventurers land on a far distant shore, with the cheerless prospect of starvation or immediate destruction by relentless savages; yet in less than three centuries they have grown into a nation with a population nearly treble that of France, which required over two thousand years to attain its present growth.

Wherein lies the secret of this marvellous progress? It springs largely from the fact the country was peopled by the Anglo-Saxon race, the most daring, energetic and the greatest colonizing race the world has yet seen. When Rome was overshadowing the nations of Southern and Central

Europe with its greatness, in the cheerless, uninviting north, a people was undergoing hardy discipline, on land and sea, in constant strife and endless foray, which produced a nobler type of manhood than Rome, even in the days of the Scipios or the Gracchi, could boast of — a race whose brilliant deeds on "flood and field" have extorted the unwilling admiration of the world; whose invincible navy has made their island home "the mistress of the world;" in fine, a race that "has carried freedom and civilization round the world from the rising to the setting sun." Whence the source of its strength? Whence the origin of that forceful will that has stamped itself on all races with which it came in contact? And how formed those "wrestling thews that throw the world?" To answer these questions we must travel far back in history, to those gloomy times of the first conquest of Albion by the Celts, when the native race, rather than yield to the yoke of foreigners, sought refuge in the mountain fastnesses and dreary fen lands of the interior. Here they learned self-reliance, and here was formed that sturdy spirit of independence which constitutes the basic principles of a truly national character. After the Celts came the world-conquerors, the Romans. For four hundred years native and Celt submitted to the stern rule of this masterful race, and through severe training learned the value of settled and uniform law; strong government, as well as thorough military training. Thus was the subject race moulded to the will of its conquerors, at the formative period of national existence, and thus was a bias of character imparted which has made itself felt through subsequent centuries, even unto these times.

The next conquest, that of the Angles and Saxons, occurred in the fifth century. This Gothic people, bold and hardy pirates of the German Ocean, planted themselves, uninvited, in the heart of Britain, from which they could not be dislodged. Flocking into the country, on the departure of the Roman legions, and mingling with the Britons, they eventually merged into the Anglo-Saxon race, and gave to the land of their adoption the name of England. Their love of freedom, in their native homes along the shores of the German Ocean, was proverbial. It had been their boast, they were a free-necked people, who had never bent the knee to a lord. The Romans had found it impossible to conquer this intractable people. It is from these fearless freemen of North Germany, England is indebted in a large measure for

her political liberties. During four hundred years Saxon-England, in spite of internecine wars, made rapid advance in commerce, learning and literature.

In the ninth century the Danes, or the Heathen, as they were called, worshipping strange and uncouth gods, a fierce and cruel people living in a dreary country along the shores of the Baltic and Norway, intent upon plunder and destruction, swept down upon the shores of England, carrying ruin and destruction in their path. The Iliad of woes England underwent, at the hands of these unfeeling marauders, has never been, nor ever can be told. Their pastime was killing priests and monks, destroying churches and burning monasteries. No race ever so impressed itself upon another people as did the Danes upon the English.

Then in the eleventh century occurred the fifth and last invasion and conquest of England, that of the Normans.

Thus through terrible ordeals of foreign invasion and conquest; through untold internecine wars; through unspeakable suffering and privation; through infinite disaster and bitter travail, patiently borne through many centuries, blow following blow, misfortune succeeding misfortune, which would have forever crushed the spirit of a less resolute and determined people, was slowly evolved the most self-reliant and masterful race the world ever produced — that grand old Anglo-Saxon race, which has made liberty and justice the birthright of all lands wherever its flag floats or the roll of its drum is heard. Still further, the neighboring Republic owes much of her success to the readiness with which she adopted the principles of Anglo-Saxon self-government, in the management of her municipal, state and national affairs. Spanish and French principles transplanted in American soil were exotics that soon drooped and withered, yielding but scant fruitage. English principles of government, on the contrary, from the first seemed to flourish in a congenial soil, and the result surpassed all expectancy. Whatever success she has achieved is owing largely to England. It is true, Providence cast the lot of its people in a highly favored land; yet the principles upon which her government and her institutions are based were fought out and secured by our common ancestors in countless struggles between freedom and oppression long years ago. Her system of jurisprudence is based upon the grand English models. Her literature draws its nourishment from the language which Burke and Chatham spoke and Milton

and Shakespeare wrote. Notwithstanding the ill-feelings engendered by the collisions of the past, America would not, on this account, discard English institutions, nor shut her eyes to the light of English civilization. As evidencing the hostility that once obtained on her part, a Bill, many years ago, was introduced in the State Legislature of Kentucky, prohibiting the reading of any British elementary work or law, or the citation of any precedent of a British court. The withering rebuke administered by Henry Clay, however, silenced the fanatic zeal of the mover, and defeated the Bill. Providence never designed that the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent, fostering the same ideals, sharing an ever-increasing community of interests in trade, and possessing like principles of liberty and justice, should live divided in sentiment, hating each other. It is gratifying to see a spirit of good-will, of generous kindly feeling rapidly developing between them. Much of the ill-will engendered by the attitude of England, during the late civil war, was removed by the fearless advocacy of John Bright for the cause of the North. In the darkest days of America's bitter trial, when other tongues were silent or busy in the work of detraction, when misrepresentation was rife, and a large part of the English press was burdened with uncharitable expressions, the voice of Bright, in clarion tones, was raised in the British House of Commons, in behalf of that policy, to use his own expressive words—"which gave hope to the bondsmen of the South, and which tended to generous thoughts and generous deeds, between the two great nations, who speak the English language, and from their origin are alike entitled to the English name." Within the past few years, the change in this direction has been most marked. Less than a quarter of a century ago the relations between the United States and Canada were so strained as to give cause for serious apprehension, in both England and America, growing out of the friction caused by the strict enforcement, on the part of Canada, of the Articles of the Fisheries Convention of 1818. Congress threatened retaliation by the adoption of a measure of non-intercourse with Canada. Skilful statesmanship alone averted so dire a calamity as the passage of such an Act would entail. In May, 1887, Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, wrote as follows to a leading Canadian statesman—Sir Charles Tupper:—

“ The gravity of the present condition of affairs between our two countries demands entire frankness. I feel that we stand at the parting of the ways; in one direction I can see a well-assured, steady, healthful relationship, devoid of petty jealousies and filled with the fruits of a prosperity, arising out of a friendship cemented by mutual interests, and enduring because based upon justice; on the other a career of embittered rivalries, staining our long frontier with the hues of hostility, in which victory means the destruction of an adjacent prosperity without gain to the prevalent party — a mutual, physical and moral deterioration which ought to be abhorrent to patriots on both sides, and which, I am sure, no two men will exert themselves more to prevent than the parties to this unofficial correspondence.”

This unofficial correspondence led up to what is generally spoken of as the Washington Treaty of 1888. Notwithstanding its rejection by the Senate of the United States, the friction between the two countries was largely, if not entirely, removed by establishing the *modus vivendi* arrangement, under which licenses were issued from year to year to American fishermen, upon the payment of certain fees, and giving them permission to enter the bays and harbours of Canada to purchase supplies.

In 1898, an Anglo-American High Commission sat, both at Quebec and Washington, charged with the settlement and amicable adjustment of all possible grounds of controversy between Canada and the United States of America. The following list of topics, as officially stated, in the protocol, shows the latitude of the enquiry and the extent of the powers of the Commissioners. It embraced the following subjects: —

1st. The questions in respect to the fur seals in Behring Sea and the waters of the North Pacific Ocean.

2nd. Provision in respect to the fisheries off the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and in the waters of their common frontier.

3rd. Provisions for the delimitation and establishment of the Alaska-Canadian boundary, by legal and scientific experts, if the Commission shall so decide, or otherwise.

4th. Provision for the transit of merchandise in transportation to or from either country, across intermediate territory of the other, whether by land or water, including natural and artificial waterways and intermediate transit by sea.

5th. Provisions relating to the transit of merchandise from one country to be delivered at points in the other beyond the frontier.

6th. The question of the alien labour laws applicable to the subjects or citizens of the United States and of Canada.

7th. Mining rights of the citizens or subjects of each country within the territory of the other.

8th. Such readjustment and concessions as may be deemed mutually advantageous of customs duties applicable in each country to the products of the soil or industry of the other, upon the basis of reciprocal equivalents.

9th. A revision of the agreement of 1817, respecting naval vessels on the great lakes.

10th. Arrangements for the more complete definition and marking of any part of the frontier line, by land or water, where the same is now so insufficiently defined or marked as to be liable to dispute.

11th. Provisions for the conveyance for trial or punishment of persons in the lawful custody of the officers of one country through the territory of the other.

12th. Reciprocity in wrecking and salvage rights.

Happily, the most of these questions, which once threatened to become sources of constant irritation, have been amicably adjusted, and a relationship of fair dealing and good-will established between the United States and Canada. Also good fellowship likewise obtains in a marked degree between England and the United States of America. The question, above all others, which most nearly affects us as Canadians is, whether this is a mere passing emotion, soon to be forgotten or a feeling destined to grow into a settled conviction, that there should be formed an alliance, both offensive and defensive, between the British Empire and the Republic of the United States in the interests of universal peace.

Its desirability had been frequently referred to at representative functions; but these sentimental effusions, however, merely excited passing comment. Yet when the Right Honorable Joseph Chamberlain, in May, 1898, delivered his great speech before the Birmingham Liberal Unionist Association, he sounded a note which awakened a response in two continents, the like of which had not occurred for a generation. This imperially-minded statesman had been referring, in this speech, to the isolation of England among the great powers of Europe; how she in turn had been envied by all and suspected by all, and might become the victim of a conspiracy it would be difficult to withstand; that it became their duty to draw all parts of the Empire more closely together, and to infuse into them a spirit of united and imperial patriotism. Then passing on, he inquired — “What is our next duty?”

“It is to establish and maintain bonds of permanent amity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. They are a powerful and a generous nation. They speak our language, they are bred of our race. Their laws, their literature, their standpoint upon every question are the same as ours; their feeling, their interest in the cause of humanity and the peaceful development of the world are identical with ours. I do not know what the future has in store for us. I do not know what arrangements may be possible with us, but this I know and feel — that the closer, the more cordial, the fuller and the more definite these arrangements are, with the consent of both peoples, the better it will be for both and for the world. And I even go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance. Now, it is one of the most satisfactory results of Lord Salisbury’s policy that at the present time these two great nations understand each other better than they have ever done since more than a century ago. They were separated by the blunder of the British Government.”

The sentiments of the Colonial Secretary met with general approval on the part of the leading statesmen and the most influential journals of both countries. This proposed

alliance between the two great branches of the English-speaking race tended to throw into stronger relief the undisguised hostility and envy of the European powers.

On the 13th of July, 1898, an Anglo-American League was formed in London, under the Presidency of the Right Hon. James Bryce, with the Duke of Sutherland as Treasurer. The Executive Committee embraced such names as Earl Gray, Lord Coleridge, Earl of Jersey, Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Walter Besant. The first resolution of the League read as follows:—

“ Considering that the peoples of the British Empire and of the United States of America are closely allied in blood, inherit the same literature and laws, hold the same principles of self-government, recognize the same ideals of freedom and humanity in the guidance of their national policy, and are drawn together by strong common interests in many parts of the world, this meeting is of opinion that every effort should be made in the interests of civilization and peace to secure the most cordial and constant co-operation between the two nations.”

That great African Imperialist, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, thus expressed his views of such an alliance:—

“ The two countries have need of each other. It is not for either of us to run after the other. But race will tell. Our interests are the same. To work for the unity of the English-speaking race is the duty of every English speaker who aspires to be a statesman.”

The chorus of approbation on this side of the Atlantic was no less decided and emphatic. It met the hearty approval of Whitelaw Reid; Mr. Olney, Secretary of State under President McKinley; Captain Mahan, Senator Depew, and a host of American representatives and senators.

Nor have Canadian statesmen, of both shades of politics, been behind others in assurances of approval of such an alliance. In September last, Sir Charles Tupper, in the course of an interview, at his residence, at Bexley Heath, England, is reported to have said:—

“ Speaking of the German war scare, Sir Charles was asked what position he thought Canada would take in the event of a European war. He declined to give an

opinion. When it was suggested that a defensive alliance between the United States and Great Britain would be a happy solution and would dispel any fear of England being overwhelmed in an European conflict he was warmly sympathetic. If Great Britain and the United States would stand together, he said, no combination of powers could affect their position. They could keep the peace of the world. I do not mean that they could prevent the antagonisms of European countries among themselves, but they could maintain the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, at Weyburn, Saskatchewan, on the 4th of August, 1910, in the presence of a large number of American settlers, who had recently made their homes there, said:—

"We welcome you, and we offer you all of our privileges, and I hope that your presence here may lead to an alliance, defensive and offensive, between Great Britain and the United States. If so, the result, in my humble judgment, and I think I know something about it, the result would be that no gun in any part of the world could be shot without the permission of these two nations."

Mr. Robert L. Borden, leader of the opposition, in a speech delivered in the Canadian House of Commons, on the 21st of November last, in referring to the Centennial of Peace, to be celebrated in 1912, said:—

"In that way this Empire and the great adjoining Republic would give to the world an object lesson which is very much needed in these days of great armaments and great preparations for war; and then I am sure we might look forward to a day, which may come, and which I hope will come, when the great Republic and this great Empire, acting together in the interests of humanity and of justice, can command and will command the peace of the world."

So it is seen that veteran statesman, Sir Charles Tupper, to whom Canada is so much indebted for the proud position she occupies today, as well as the leader of the government, and the leader of the opposition, have all given expression to the desirability of such an alliance for the object indicated.

A scheme of an alliance and league of all English-speaking peoples was the dream of that great Canadian statesman, the Hon. Joseph Howe. At the time his utterances were generally regarded as Utopian; but now, after the lapse of several years, they seem within the range of possible achievement. "We look forward, said he, to a day when, in a great federation of peace and unity, the English-speaking lands will be united—when there will be two ruling Christian nations to secure and guard the peaceful progress of the world. This is the consummation most devoutly to be wished for, and those who believe in it and long for it and work for it are not mere dreamers. They dream of that which is to come."

On the 25th of February, 1911, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, Secretary of State in President Taft's Cabinet, in a speech delivered in Chicago, on the proposed Reciprocity Agreement, after remarking upon the improbability that the contemplated change in trade relations would involve any political change or annexation or absorption, made the following significant statement:—

"In the higher atmosphere and broader aspects of the situation it is certain that if there should be any great world movement, involving this Continent, Canada and the United States would, as a matter of course, act in the most perfect concert in defence of the common rights of a common blood and civilization."

The present state of unrest among the leading powers of the world; the construction of enormous engines of destruction in the shape of Dreadnoughts, torpedoes and cruisers; the equipment of great standing armies, and the formation of eccentric alliances, have a significance which bodes ill for national tranquility. While rulers cry "Peace! peace!" the feverish haste of preparation for war goes on apace, among great as well as small nations. Among so much inflammable material a spark might kindle a flame that would envelop the world.

The unexpected alliance recently formed between Russia and Japan, nations so recently engaged in deadly conflict, and possessing so little in common, is a strong argument in favor of an alliance between the Empire of Great Britain and the Republic to our South, having so much in common, in language, race and representative institutions, and whose

interests are so intimately interwoven; in order, if for no higher reason, to guard and protect their mutual interests.

The British Empire's colossal lead, in merchant shipping on the high seas, accentuates the necessity of the preservation of peace. Nearly sixty per cent. of the trade of the world is carried under the British flag. Her enormous commerce, still increasing, shows she is justly entitled to the proud distinction of "the Mistress of the Seas." Her supremacy is largely the outcome of her expanding commerce. In the language of one of her most eminent statesmen:—"Her Empire was created by Commerce, it is founded on Commerce, and it would not exist a day without Commerce." To retain this supremacy, her great commercial highways, which compass the world, must be guarded against, the possibility of hostile incursion, and her "open door" maintained at all hazard. This great asset of wealth can only be preserved by an invincible navy. The wall of steel, by which she defends the arteries of her Commerce and protects her ventures on every sea, imposed for the current year the enormous expenditure of over £40,000,000. This burden, increasing with passing years, is the price she pays, and must continue to pay, to sustain the proud distinction already won. To falter in the race spells disaster, and notes the commencement of her "decline and fall." The keen competition of other nations, particularly Germany, to share more fully in the carrying trade of the world demands increasing effort, and still greater sacrifices on her part.

How important is peace to preserve her status is shown in her enormous investments in foreign countries. The New York Journal of Commerce is authority for the statement that British income from invested capital abroad, actually remitted, is now not less than \$500,000,000 a year, and is probably a good deal more.

To guard against the dread alternative of so terrible a scourge as war, we are compelled, however reluctantly, to accept the maxim:—"Si vis pacem, para bellum." Weakness invites aggression. Such is the lesson history teaches. As long as human nature remains as it is, such will continue to be the case.

Of all the leading nations of the world, Germany stands easily first from a military point of view. Her standing army, for numbers, efficiency and completeness of preparation to the minutest detail, is the equal of any two in the first rank of powers. Never was there such an engine of human

destruction forged by the skill of a people as that wielded by the almost absolute will of one man. Did the occasion demand, at the touch of a button, over half a million soldiers, completely equipped and provisioned, and with ready money on actual deposit to meet a sudden emergency, could be instantly set in motion and transported, with the utmost despatch, to any point bordering on her territory. Such a state of preparedness should not be allowed to pass unheeded. In that great country the military spirit is never allowed for a moment to smoulder. It is fanned into life by almost perpetual drill, spectacular reviews and manoeuvres on the grandest scale.

It cannot be supposed Germany, with the set purpose of fleching the territory of a neighboring power or working for its overthrow, is subjecting herself to the almost crushing burden which such preparation involves. So far from this, we will accept the theory put forward, that she is merely placing herself in such a position as would, in the event of a conflict in arms, enable her to gain some substantial advantage over her enemy.

Such was her position, in 1864, when Denmark lost, in unequal contest with her, two of her fairest provinces. So, in 1866, when loss of territory was the price Austria paid for the stricken field of Sadowa. And so again, in 1871, when at Sedan, France paid the price of unpreparedness by the loss of the fertile Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The policy of Bismack, inaugurated nearly fifty years ago, is the dominating policy of Germany's present ruler. It is in great financial crises the man of ready means wins through the misfortune of others. So in great national crises the nation which is in a position to take advantage of the exigencies of other nations, makes history and acquires territorial expansion.

The rise of the German navy to the front rank, within a period of less than a quarter of a century, is one of the marvellous events of recent times. But yesterday it ranked only fifth in Europe. At the present rate of progress it may before long draw ahead of the navy of the United States, which, at the moment, comes next to the British. Since the Kaiser uttered his famous watchword:—"Our future lies upon the water," he has not for a moment faltered in his purpose to raise his navy to the proud position held by the army. Within twenty years the expenditure on the navy increased nine-fold; the number of battleships six-fold, and

the number of men has quadrupled. This indicates the herculean efforts put forth to place the German navy on a par with the army. The navy is kept in close touch with the army, and, it is said, is constantly practicing the embarkation and disembarkation of troops. There seems to be a note of menace in all this hot haste to construct and equip such formidable engines of destruction on the part of a seemingly friendly power. The Germans claim they have as good a right to build Dreadnoughts as Englishmen. So they have, if their purpose is the protection of their commerce, and not to filch the territory of a weaker power. The terrible strain of this rivalry among the nations may, however, result in disastrous consequence. Such danger is graphically expressed in the following words of Professor Horning, of Victoria College:— "When two lusty opponents stand over against one another, both armed cap-a-pie, there is very grave danger that some comparatively irresponsible person may drop a spark into some tinder and then the "fun" will "begin."

This then leads us back, as already stated, to the only ground of safety, under existing circumstances, for the Empire of which we form a part — to secure peace we must prepare for war. This insane career of rivalry among the nations in preparation for war will continue so long and until two powerful nationalities, such as Great Britain and the American Republic, shall have formed an alliance (both offensive and defensive) to preserve national integrity and the status quo among the nations; then the peace of the world will be assured beyond peradventure, for any combination formed against them would end in certain and speedy disaster.

The question now presents itself, are there any reasons which might induce the neighboring Republic to look with favor upon such an alliance? It would seem there are many. Our neighbors have adopted an imperial policy. They have extended their borders and brought themselves within the sphere, it may be the storm centre, of international complications. They may need more than the moral support of the British Empire. Their commercial interests are great and world-wide, and to safeguard them has imposed an onerous burden. Sydney Brooks, in an article, in a recent number of Harper's Weekly, after commenting upon the warning of Germany's naval increase, and the prodigious preparations for war, or for warding off war, by both

Germany and England, on both sides of the North Sea, propounds the following questions:—“ In the scale of American material interests which weighs the heavier, Germany or Great Britain? Are Americans now in sympathy with the British or German form of civilization and of government; with British or German ideals and ethical principles; with the British or the German language, spirit and genius?” After pressing home these queries he imparts the following salutary advice — “ To stand by the nation that would fight for the status quo, and not for the nation that fights for dominion and world upheaval.”

The Eastern question has been transferred from the Bosphorus to the far distant East. In other words, the Orient is fast approaching the Occident. The battle arena of the future may be in and around the shores of the Pacific. The prophecy of the late Secretary Seward, made over half a century ago, seems on the eve of fulfilment. “ The Pacific its shores, its islands and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world’s great hereafter ”—was the prediction of this sagacious statesman. The sudden rise of Japan to the full stature of a world power, the crushing defeat dealt by her upon Russia, and the no less unexpected alliance recently formed between them, give color to Mr. Seward’s political forecast. More than half of the world’s population is within the sweep of the Pacific’s territorial surroundings. It is estimated that two-thirds of the undeveloped resources of the earth are in the lands upon whose shores the waters of the Pacific Ocean break. The Republic, in possession of the Philippines, and having an extensive coast line along the shores of the Pacific, is drawn within the range of influence of the great and populous nationalities, whose interests centre here, and she must be prepared to defend and uphold her rights and position against all comers. This may impose a burden which would tax her resources to such an extreme as would imperil her national integrity.

Homer Lea, a retired American officer of distinction, in a remarkable book recently published, entitled “ The Valor of Ignorance,” has sounded a note of alarm as to the menace confronting the Republic, especially since the Occident entered into close contact with the Orient. According to Mr. Lea, the overshadowing power in the Pacific is Japan. He says:—“ Fifteen years ago Japan eliminated China from the Pacific; four years ago she crushed for all time the power

of Russia in this same ocean. Her present strategic position on the North Asian coast gives her complete control of it and all the trade routes that diverge from its shores." * * * "As the supremacy of the Mediterranean was necessary to whatever nation was to be supreme upon its shores, so to Japan is the control of the Pacific, not alone vital to her mastery among nations, but to her existence." * * * "It is this singular and undue power that naval and military supremacy gives to a nation possessing it that has confirmed Japan's determination to become the Shogun of the Pacific." * * * "Japan, militarily supreme in the Pacific, becomes industrially the controlling factor in Asia. And in due time, with the mastery of the major portion of the undeveloped wealth of the earth, Asiatic militancy and industrialism shall reign supreme and the Mikado shall become the Mikado of kings."

It may be that Mr. Lea is unduly alarmed at what has been familiarly called the "Yellow Peril." Yet the enormous expenditure for naval purposes recently incurred by Japan must necessarily excite a certain degree of anxiety in the United States of America, whose possessions in the Pacific they are bound to hold at all hazard.

The burden of taxation imposed by the great leading powers in the construction of huge battleships, which after a few years seem better fitted for the scrap heap than for naval purposes, and also in increasing and perfecting their military systems, is causing widespread discontent and will soon become insufferable. And at the same time alliances are constantly being formed, changed and renounced — alliances triple and dual, alliances reasonable and unreasonable; alliances natural and unnatural. To what end and for what purposes are these alliances formulated, changed or renounced? These are questions that press for solution.

In January, 1902, Great Britain and Japan entered into an alliance to maintain their territorial rights in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India and in defence of their special interest in these regions. Three years afterwards, during the war between Japan and Russia, in 1905, by fresh stipulations a second Anglo-Japanese alliance was enacted, by which Great Britain agreed to maintain strict neutrality, unless some other power or powers should join in hostility against Japan — in which case Great Britain stipulated to come to the assistance of Japan and conduct war in common and make peace in mutual agreement with her. This alli-

ance will cease by expiry of time, in 1915. It may, however, be renounced on twelve months' notice by either of the high contracting parties. Strange to say, only the other day an alliance was formed between Japan and Russia. Such an alliance, seemingly strange and unnatural, having no great apparent objective, may yet mean more than is indicated upon a mere superficial view.

The struggle for supremacy in the future may lie between races, rather than individual states. On this Continent we have seen how the Latin was overborne by the Anglo-Saxon race. In fact Latin nations are among the decaying ones. The question may hereafter present itself as to which will be the dominating world power — Saxon or Slav. Its solution may be determined upon purely Darwinian principles, the survival of the fittest. The Slav is developing into a conquering as well as a colonizing race. Where Russia once plants her foot there she remains. "Vestigia nulla retrorsum." What she over-runs she assimilates. She possesses a territory nearly three-fold that of the United States, with a population fast approaching one hundred and fifty millions. During the past century she has, in violation of treaty rights, filched from neighboring states vast stretches of territory, which have become thoroughly Russianized. She long fixed her eye on Constantinople as the seat of her Empire, and to this end bent all her energies with a purpose as settled as it was unpausing. Unshaken by reverses, defeat following defeat, disaster crowning disaster, she would renew the contest elsewhere with like determined zeal. Her over-mastering ambition is to seek an ice-free seaboard, and gain an outlet for sharing the world's commerce. Checked in one direction she renews her ultimate aim elsewhere, and along the lines of least resistance. Effectually blocked by the great European powers in her effort to reach the sea by the way of Constantinople, she pressed down upon China with a momentum that threatened to sweep before it every opposing barrier, her last objective being to secure an outlet to the markets on the shores of the Western Ocean, and thus become a great sea power. Here she met an unexpected reverse at the hands of the nationality of the Rising Sun. Not in the least discouraged by defeat in arms and the destruction of her navy, she may yet achieve, by the subtle wiles of diplomacy, what arms failed to accomplish. Russia allied with Japan may prove a combination of such strength, on the shores of the Pacific, as will in the near future prove

a menace to the peace of the world. Both Russia and Japan have recently appropriated enormous sums for the construction and equipment of Dreadnoughts. For what object? Is it to act in concert for a common purpose, and if so, what purpose?

In view of these alliances, the feeling of unrest abroad, and the anxious haste with which all nations are arming, as if in anticipation of an impending Armageddon, the time has surely come when an alliance should be formed by and between the greatest and most powerful nationalities for the sole purpose of preserving the peace of the world. The nations whose united mandate would be so imperial and power so potential, as to secure such a desideratum, would be the British Empire and the Republic of the United States. The elements of strength which such a combination would command would enable them to defend themselves against a world in arms. The territory comprised within the limits of such an alliance would cover more than one-half of the cultivable land of the earth, containing a population over one-third that of the world.

In addition to the elements of power it would command, such an alliance would be a natural one. They are people of the same or similar origin. They cultivate largely the same ideals and hold in a marked degree the same political faith. They are the inheritors of the same glorious traditions. Their laws and institutions closely resemble each other. On all the great questions which are likely to arise in the economy, policy and management of national affairs, they, in the main, would see, think and act alike. Their interests, commercial and otherwise, in all parts of the world, have much in common. The drawing together then of these two peoples, one in blood, language and aspiration, by such an alliance would render signal service to humanity, because the spirit, principles of freedom and love of law and order they represent would make for the elevation of mankind. It, too, would afford such a guarantee for the peace of the world as would materially promote general prosperity. The safety of these nations, the foremost in civilization and freedom, depends largely upon such an alliance. Great Britain, by her wonderful success in colonization, has excited the jealousy of the continental powers. Some day a combination might be formed bent on her dismemberment. The American Republic now shares with her, to a certain extent, the same danger. In the struggle between representative institutions

and all they imply on the one hand. and despotism and all it implies on the other hand, these two nations should stand side by side. Severed, they might be crushed in detail; united, they would present a tower of strength that would stand "four square to all the winds that blow."

In all matters of commercial interest such an alliance would likewise make for the common good. The country that hereafter will control the commerce of the world will be the dominating power. The trade of the British Empire now almost staggers belief, being two-thirds that of the entire world. To safeguard its channels, to keep the "open door," and to preserve the "bread route" for her own people might, in the teeth of a formidable combination, prove a task beyond even her power; yet all fear of such a contingency would cease to exist if backed by the moral and material support of the ninety-three millions to the south of us. Let the aspirations of these two great nations be one, to make liberty the heritage of the nations, and the peace of the world their loftiest ideal. Let us listen to the voice borne across the sea:—

We severed have been too long;
 Now let us have done with a wornout tale,
 The tale of an ancient wrong.
 And our friendship last long as love doth
 Last, and be stronger than death is strong.
 A message to bond and thrall to wake,
 For wherever we come, we twain,
 The throne of the tyrant shall rock and quake
 And his menace be void and vain,
 For you are lords, of a strong young land
 And we are lords of the main.

And further, in support of such an alliance, it is worthy of mention that English is fast becoming the dominant speech of the world. The tongue of Shakespeare, Milton and Burke is adding conquest to conquest and seems destined, in the not distant future, to be the language of diplomacy as well as of commerce. The French is losing its hold, its declension being most marked in recent years. The spread of the English language, during the past century, was phenomenal. It is admitted to be the best for all purposes of commerce, as well as of diplomacy. By the end of the century, it is predicted, it will be the language of over three hundred millions. Grant Allen predicts that the French, German and

Italian languages will eventually become insignificant and dwindling European dialects, as numerically unimportant as Flemish or Danish in our own day. Grimm, the great German scholar and grammarian, pays the English the following significant tribute:—“The English tongue, which by no mere accident has produced and upborne the greatest and most predominant poet of modern times, may be with all right called a world-wide language, and like the English people, seems destined to prevail with a sway more extensive even than at present over all regions of the Globe; for in wealth, good sense, closeness of structure, no other language now spoken deserves to be compared with it.”

An alliance of Great Britain and the American Republic, making for liberty and peace, making for the spread of civilization and representative institutions, making for law, order and righteousness, would prove an auspicious opening to the century we have so recently entered upon, and afford a sure and certain guarantee for the peace, happiness and prosperity of the race in coming years.

A century and a quarter ago an off-shoot of the all-conquering Anglo-Saxon race established itself on the northern part of this Continent and rendered possible the Dominion of Canada. All we are today we owe largely to the forty thousand United Empire Loyalists, by and through whose indomitable pluck and energy were laid deep and broad, and as we trust, the firm and lasting foundations of a great state. From a few straggling colonies with no bond of union we have been welded into a compact nationality, stretching from ocean to ocean, with a population of eight millions. We possess a country of limitless possibilities, whose virgin soil and vast resources are attracting immigrants from all parts of the world. I feel assured we are all one in our hopes and aspirations to make British institutions a grand success on Canadian soil. Love of country, I believe, is the dominating factor of our Canadian people. It should be the distinguishing characteristic of every true man. It was love of country that built up the commercial supremacy of Holland. It was love of country that fired the hearts of the people of the low countries, who, rather than submit to foreign dictation, broke their dykes and welcomed the invasion of the sea. We possess in these stern latitudes the material out of which heroes are made. Who can tell what lies in our immediate future? There doubtless will come a time, amid its changes and uncertainties, when some sacrifice

greater and dearer than houses or lands, or anything material, will be demanded. The legend of Manlius Curtius, as depicted in the pages of Livy, is one of the most attractive in Roman story. Some fearful convulsion had opened a chasm in the very centre of the Forum. All human efforts failed to fill or bridge it over. The people consulted the Oracles; but they were dumb. They then appealed to the Soothsayers, and there came the doubtful response: — “To it must be devoted that which Rome holds the most sacred.” Manlius Curtius, hearing the reply, all armed and mounted urged forward his steed, and leaped into the yawning chasm, shouting as he did: — “What more sacred than arms and life?” The chasm immediately closed and Rome was saved. I feel assured should the emergency arise in our country, demanding not only a material, but a higher, even a sacred sacrifice, with the hour will be found the man. Let us then, emulating the patriotic of other times, work cheerfully together for the consummation of this glorious object — the building up along the lines of these northern latitudes a powerful nationality which in the onward march of civilization will keep step with the great English-speaking countries of the world, and towards which will be turned the eyes of all, looking for the better time to come.

