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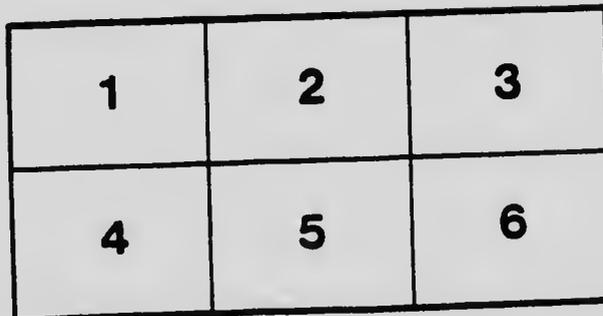
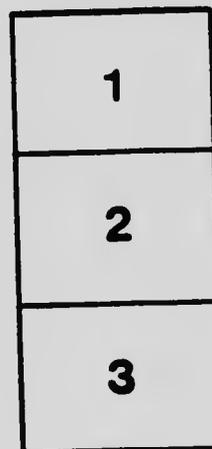
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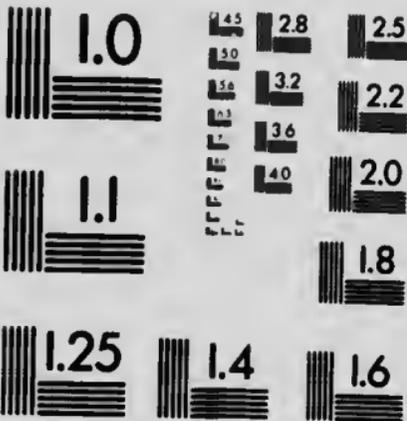
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**ONE ASPECT OF THE CENTURY OF PEACE**

**AN ADDRESS DELIVERED ON FEBRUARY 1st, 1915, BEFORE  
THE ELGIN HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTE  
ST. THOMAS, ONTARIO**

**BY  
CLARANCE M. WARNER  
PRESIDENT OF THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

**PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION**



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**THE BEAVER OFFICE  
NAPANEE, ONT.  
1915**

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## ONE ASPECT OF THE CENTURY OF PEACE.

Why did the English-speaking people on this earth not celebrate the twenty-fifth, fiftieth and seventy-fifth as well as the one hundredth anniversary of peace between the United States and the British Empire? Much has been written about the relations of these two countries during the last hundred years, or since the signing of the Treaty of Ghent; and Dr. William A. Dunning, in his admirable work, "The British Empire and the United States", written at the request of the committees having the Peace Celebration in charge, has covered the history of these relations in a delightful manner. Accordingly it is not my purpose to again attempt to give this history, but rather to show how the United States, Great Britain and Canada and their peoples really felt towards each other on or about December 24th, 1839, December 24th, 1864, and December 24th, 1889. Special attention will be given to the relations between the United States and Canada.

After the War of 1812, the United States found herself torn with dissension. New England and the adjacent states were never very favorable to the war, and the South and West felt harshly because of the lack of support from the north eastern portion of their country. When news of the signing of the Treaty reached America, the various newspapers gave vent to their feelings, but the general opinion prevailed that it was a just peace. One New England paper<sup>1</sup> commented upon it as follows:—"The smiles of Heaven have been manifested on a just cause, and the valor of our countrymen has been gloriously rewarded. The treaty is founded upon the terms of perfect reciprocity. . . . Every object of the war has been fully obtained . . . . Another<sup>2</sup> said:—"On Monday morning last arrived the happy tidings of the conclusion of a peace between the United States and Great Britain. The event produced an enthusiasm of joy such as has seldom, if ever, been witnessed. Every countenance seemed brightened with hope, and every heart to mount in thanks for adoration of that God who in the hour of danger and distress has interfered to save us."

An election proclamation<sup>3</sup> published in New Hampshire at this time will show some of the bitterness that was felt over the war. It reads as follows:—

<sup>1</sup>The Patriot, Concord, N.H., Feb. 28, 1815.

<sup>2</sup>Boston Gazette, Feb. 20, 1815.

<sup>3</sup>The Patriot, Concord, N.H., March 7, 1815.

## "THE TEST.

Those persons—

Who could not rejoice in the success of the American arms—

Who did all in their power to prevent enlistments, to discourage the spirit of our country, to prevent subscriptions to loans—

Who have kept up during the war a shameful, illicit, and treasonable intercourse with the enemy, feeding, aiding and giving him information—

Who told us that Great Britain would never make peace with James Madison—

Who rejoiced when the Vandals of Britain sacked, plundered and burnt the public buildings of the City of Washington—

Who have always denied and palliated the murder of prisoners, and the robbery and rape, committed by the British soldiery, and British Indian allies—

Who have earnestly wished and sought for cause to separate the Union and destroy the Constitution—

Who approved of the objects of the Hartford Convention, taking advantage of the hour of difficulty to erect the standard of insurrection—

Who believe that the capturing of a thousand ships, and impressing ten thousand American seamen, prior to the war, was not an act of hostility on the part of Britain, and that the war was unjust and wicked on the part of America—

Who wished the war might be continued for years, rather than that a peace should be made by James Madison—

Who constantly cried and reiterated 'Peace, peace' while they encouraged Britain to continue the war, and endeavored to excite civil war among ourselves—

Who say that we have gained no honor in the war; and that it is owing to 'British magnanimity', not to the courage and prowess of our naval and military heroes, that we have obtained peace—

Who justified the Governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire, in withholding the militia when called for in a constitutional manner; and who, of course, must severely reprobate the Governors of Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, etc., who sent their garrisons to the glorious defence of New Orleans.

All of these will vote for John Taylor Gilman, and the list of lawyers that accompanies his name, on Tuesday next.

But those persons—

Who could feelingly rejoice in the success of American arms—

Who have despised smugglers and traitors—

Who have willingly contributed to aid their country, when threatened with "unconditional submission" by a relentless and barbarous enemy—

Whose breasts have been fired with indignation as well for the bloody massacres of the external enemy, as for the internal traitors who have aided him—

Who have been the real promoters of peace by assisting the government in a vigorous prosecution of the war—

Who have "trownd indignantly" on the plan of separation and rebellion engendered in the hot-heads of faction—

Who believe that the wounded honor of the nation has been retrieved, and our Independence rescued by the late war—

Who can now rejoice in peace, not because it's made with James Madison, but because it has resulted in the honor and glory of America—

Who are disposed to cultivate a happy unanimity and union among the people—

Will, on Tuesday next, give their votes for William Plumer, and the list of independent farmers, mechanics, etc., good men and true."

In this contest, Gilman, the candidate nominated by the Federalists, was re-elected Governor of the State by a majority of 636, the majority the year before having been 853. Plumer was the Republican candidate.

The United States was a growing country, and the one effect of the war was to stimulate interests which go to make a great nation. Many new manufacturing industries were established throughout the eastern part of the country and the pioneers, encouraged by new immigration, pushed rapidly westward.

In Canada, and particularly Canada West, the one big result of the war was to enable the pioneer settler feel his own responsibility. He had, through nearly three years of war, defended his country, and that very creditably, and during all of that time had continued to establish himself in the wilderness. The aid given these settlers by the British troops was taken rather as a matter of course, for the settlers believed that they had won their homes and this belief made them into a new nation with real life.

Thus we have two countries side by side with a long yet undefined boundary between them, each starting a new era and each confident that a great future was to be conquered. Perhaps the United States did look upon the northern country as merely a British colony and not of much importance; while it is probable, judging from the papers, books and records of the time, that most of the northern people thought they had given their southern

neighbors a good beating and they were willing to leave matters as they were.

Fortunately most of the post-hellum differences between these two countries were settled by diplomacy. The Rush-Bagot agreement of April, 1817, decided the question of the number of vessels on the Lakes, and after Munroe's celebrated message the amicable spirit was everywhere in evidence. In fact for some years after 1823 there was a genuine cordiality between Britain and the United States, and this was to a certain degree reflected in Canada.

December 24th, 1839.

Dr. Butler, of Columbia University, has said that "there have been more tempting occasions for misunderstanding and armed conflict between the British Empire and the United States than between the United States and all other nations on the earth combined". The years just preceding the date of what should have been our first celebration of peace, our silver anniversary, were undoubtedly filled with difficulties for the diplomats. Very fortunately, modes of communication were not developed, and it took a long time for news to travel, or there would have been armed conflict at this time.

There were several conditions which brought about this situation. In Canada a proper form of government had never been introduced and great dissatisfaction existed among the French in Lower Canada and the English in Upper Canada. This eventually brought about open rebellion.

The Government of Upper Canada complained bitterly of aid being given to the rebels by citizens of the United States, and feeling, particularly along the Niagara River, ran high. A force of several hundred American sympathizers camped on Navy Island in the Niagara River, and, having taken possession of the island, were a constant trouble to the Canadian Militia. On December 29th, 1837, the small steamer "Caroline," which was used by this band as a supply ship, was cut loose from her moorings at Schlosser, N.Y., set on fire and sent over the falls, presumably by the Canadian militia. After this act the rebel camp was soon broken up, but a fierce state of feeling was aroused,—indignation on the one side because an American was killed when the "Caroline" was taken, and on the other because an American force had occupied Navy Island. This event was only one of those which brought the home government and that of the United States face to face on the question of international rights and obligations.

The north eastern boundary had been the cause of much diplomatic correspondence. The woodmen from Maine and

those of New Brunswick had several clashes, and in the summer of 1838 Canadian lumbermen invaded the Aroostook River. Their operations were noted by American officials, and the Governor of Maine sent a strong detachment of militia to protect American interests. The New Brunswick Governor retaliated by sending British regulars to the scene. There was no blood shed in this so-called "Aroostook War", but a great amount of hard feeling resulted.

Another trouble-breeder was the importation by the United States of arms from London and Liverpool for the use of rebellious Canadians and the establishment of so-called "Hunters Lodges" along the frontiers of Ohio and Michigan, formed for the liberation of Canada and as a basis of supply for the rebels in Canada. Correspondence of the period shows that efforts were being made to influence Americans by meetings in favor of "the cause", as they termed it, the results of which exceeded their "most enthusiastic hopes".

These three difficulties had to be settled, but in the settling much time was taken and during that time only the spark was required to start a conflict. The records of the Colonial Office show that even in official circles the tension was high. Among the correspondence of Lord Glenelg, Colonial Secretary at the time, are many letters to Sir John Colborne, the Governor of the Colony, dealing with the difficulties of the situation. His letters warn the Governor that great caution should be used not to give any just grounds for complaint to the people or Government of the United States, but also urge that a firm stand must be taken to maintain the rights of British subjects. Outside of officialdom, by means of pamphlets and the press, the bitterness of the border peoples was displayed in all its ferocity.

One Canadian paper<sup>4</sup> has this to say on the subject in its issue of January 2, 1839:—"The greater part of the hundred and sixty American prisoners at Fort Henry have acknowledged that they belong to no denomination of Christians . . . . These are the 'free and enlightened' who come to give civil and religious liberty to Canada. If so many unbaptized heathens can be collected from a county or two, as these were, how many can there be in the 'Empire State' altogether? By the way, are there any churches in Salina at all?"

Another article in the same paper, after relating a number of American outrages, continues:—"The United States will be forced to provide for the giving up of vagabonds

<sup>4</sup>Quebec Gazette, Jan. 2, 1839

from their territory, engaged in such villanous work. In the meantime, those and similar outrages are preparing the whole people of the British Provinces to enter heartily into war with the United States, should it be determined upon by the lawful authority of the Empire."

A prominent New York paper<sup>5</sup> referring editorially to the conditions in Maine and the arrest and detention of E. S. Greeley by the Canadian authorities, tells of the fact that the Governors of Maine and New Brunswick had ordered out the militia, and finishes its article with a statement that they "do not approve of any swaggering in this business."

In Rochester, N.Y., a paper called Maekenzie's Gazette was published, which caused great irritation among the Canadian editors, and as each issue, its columns filled with articles favorable to the so-called patriots, was received in Canada a new outburst of hatred ran through the Canadian press.

Added to these articles were many which appeared in the United States openly advocating Canadian Independence and the New York Express published in an editorial a list of six reasons why the Americans could not afford to shut their eyes to what they would gain by the Independence of the Canadas. This was quite naturally quoted in other papers and caused more trouble for the Governments of the two countries.

By the end of the summer of 1839 every one was ready to fight. The American minister at London, Mr. Stevenson, was thoroughly alarmed over the situation. In a long communication to Lord Palmerston<sup>6</sup> under date of September 26, 1839, he reviews the subject very carefully and brings up every possible argument in favor of settlement by peaceful means of all the questions under dispute, but concludes his letter with this most alarming sentence:—" . . . if, unhappily, the occasion shall arise (which God forbid it ever should) in which H. M. Gov't may deem it fit to pursue the measures now indicated in Lord Palmerston's note, in such event the Gov't and People of the U-States will be prepared by all constitutional means, and at whatever hazard, to defend and maintain their rights and Independence."

Thus we approach what should have been our peace celebration with the people of the two countries and especially those along the international border ready to fight each

<sup>5</sup>The New Yorker. Published by H. Greeley & Co. Issue of July 22, 1837.

<sup>6</sup>Letter, A. Stevenson to Lord Palmerston, Sept. 26, 1839. Canadian Archives.

other should the word be given. The feeling of bitterness was everywhere apparent. The authorities of Canada had carried it even to the literature they published urging emigration to the country. Many pamphlets were circulated invariably against the United States. One in particular<sup>7</sup> was especially severe. The following clauses will give some idea of the complete text :—

“But a British subject going there (to the United States) goes to a land of foreigners, who are inimical to all the institutions that he has been bred to revere; he loses at once his political privileges; and from the state of public feeling in that country, it is plain to everybody who looks at it with an unprejudiced eye, that it must soon become the scene of much confusion and bloodshed.”

“In the United States of America, the whim of the multitude is the rule of right and justice; there is no protection for the weak against the strong, or the few against the many.”

“To the west of the Hudson, all Americans go armed. The bowie-knife, a species of dagger, and pistols are the constant companions of every man: they are carried by the professor and the student in college, by the legislator in the senate, by the merchant on the exchange, and by the mechanic in his workshop.”

Even the school books breathed forth hatred for the United States. I will not attempt to mention the histories of this period, they are impossible, but one would expect to find an Arithmetic at least neutral. However, Erastus Root's Arithmetic, one of the most popular books of the day and one used in many schools in Upper Canada, has this to say in its preface. Commending the use of English as opposed to American money it continues :—“Their mode is suited to the genius of the government, for it seems to be the policy of tyrants to keep their accounts in as intricate and perplexing a method as possible that the smaller number of their subjects may be able to estimate their enormous impositions and exactions.”

Therefore the twenty-fifth anniversary of peace between English-speaking people on the earth was not celebrated.

#### The Intervening Years.

The “roaring forties” did not produce much greater harmony between Great Britain and the United States. There were so many questions continually arising to cause friction that it is almost a miracle a war was averted. The recognition of the Independence of Texas in 1842, the problems arising over the troubles in Nicaragua in connection

<sup>7</sup>Emigration to Upper Canada.

with the canal and the new controversy in relation to the settlement of the various interests in the far west seemed enough to keep them at swords points. "Fifty-four-forty or fight" was the American slogan of the time. In addition to these was the arrest in New York State of a British subject, named Alex. McLeod, in connection with the burning of the "Caroline". After much diplomatic correspondence he was acquitted and sent out of the state.

The eastern boundary was finally settled by the Webster-Ashburton treaty signed on August 9th, 1842. This did not meet with the immediate approval of any of the parties concerned. The papers in Great Britain severely criticised the award, the United States thought that their country had not been fairly treated and Canada said she had been robbed. Historians of the present day agree that the award was a fair and just one.

An interesting letter<sup>8</sup> from a prominent ex-Canadian in New York to a friend at his old home, written on August 6th, 1846, tells of the feeling of relief when the Oregon question was finally settled by the treaty signed June 15th, 1846. One paragraph is as follows:—

"I congratulate you on the final and happy settlement of the Oregon difficulty. A war for such an object between these two great countries having a common origin, language, laws, sentiments and manners, would have been a reproach to the age in which we live, a disgrace, as well as an affliction to humanity, and an incalculable evil—moral, social and political—to both nations. It would have been absolute ruin to every quiet, well-disposed man in the country. Now I hope that better and more auspicious times for you are at hand, notwithstanding any temporary embarrassment resulting from the unfortunate speculations in flour and wheat and the alteration of the English Corn Laws. If we can get our Mexican difficulty settled, the tide of prosperity will set in upon this country of which you in Canada must partake from the commercial relations between the two countries. That the war with Mexico will not continue long is believed by men whose opinions are entitled to great respect. Peace is the interest and duty of their country and is an event desired and prayed for by multitudes in our land."

The fifties were more peaceable. One factor in bringing about this great change was the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which was concluded by Secretary of State Marcy and Lord Elgin. Its immediate result was, as Dr. Dunning expresses it, "a multiplication of the social and financial ties across

<sup>8</sup>Letter from Marshall Spring Bidwell of New York to Mr. John Stevenson at Napanee, Ontario.

the frontier that are sure to be created by increasing trade." For the first time in about twenty-five years there was a certain amount of cordiality manifested between Americans and Canadians and the harmony was destined to last for nearly seven years or up until the advent of those years immediately preceding the date of what might have been the celebration of fifty years of peace.

December 24th, 1864.

Properly to study our subject at this date we must look at some of the social and economic conditions that existed in the United States and Canada.

The population of the United States in 1860 was nearly thirty-one and a half millions. There had been during the previous fifteen years an influx of about three and a half millions of immigrants from the United Kingdom, most of whom were Irish. The country was in a condition of upheaval caused by the slavery question and, in fact, on the verge of the greatest civil war the world has ever known.

Canada had at that time a little over three millions of people. The Act of Union in 1841 had worked fairly well for a few years, but there was a growing feeling that some better plan could be arranged that would include a union of the British Provinces in the northern part of North America. A feeling of unrest prevailed. The question of possible annexation with the United States was openly discussed, although never seriously considered by the men who controlled public opinion in the country. The following resolution<sup>9</sup> passed by one of the associations formed with the object of discussing the possibilities of bettering conditions in Canada will give an idea of the feeling of the people:—

"That it be resolved. That the condition of this province calls loudly upon all lovers of peace and good government, speedily to adopt measures whereby the present excitement may be allayed, public tranquillity restored, and existing political differences merged in one paramount sentiment—the good of our common country. For some time past, disturbance has followed disturbance, and riot has succeeded riot in quick succession; on several occasions human blood has been shed, the law violated with impunity, while the government by their ineffectual attempts to repress these disorders, have been brought into contempt; exciting and irritating political questions, involving the dismemberment of this colony from the empire, are only advocated; rancorous feelings are separating neighbor from neighbor, to the hindrance and neglect of business, the

<sup>9</sup>Second Convention, British American League held at Toronto, 1849.

interruption of industry, the loss of confidence, and the destruction of credit. The public mind is becoming vitiated with these excesses, a spirit of insubordination to laws is manifested, which, if allowed to prevail, threatens to burst asunder the bonds of society, and lead to the most deplorable consequences—anarchy, confusion and civil strife; and that for these and other causes, it is the opinion of this convention that these colonies cannot continue in their present political or commercial state."

At the same meeting this resolution was also, after much discussion, carried:—

"That it be resolved. That it is a matter of regret to this convention, that the subject of a separation of this Colony from the Mother Country, and of Annexation to the United States of America, has been openly advocated by a portion of the press and inhabitants of this Province; and this Convention unhesitatingly records its entire disapprobation of this course, and calls upon all well-wishers of their country to discountenance it by every means in their power."

Some of the members wished to have a special reference made to the Montreal manifesto in favor of annexation in this last motion, but it was decided best not to mention that celebrated document. This Association included among its members some of the most prominent men in Canada, the Hon. John A. Macdonald, (afterwards our great statesman, Sir John), being one of the active participants in the proceedings, although he was not present when the two resolutions, quoted above, were discussed and passed.

The conditions described above, but slightly improved after the passing of the U. S. Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, were fairly accurate. Perhaps this august body was a bit pessimistic and there were probably many people living at that time who would not agree with the sentiments expressed. However, the fact that such meetings were held shows that all was not a peaceful calm in the Canadas in the early sixties.

We can now look with clearer vision upon the international feeling. At the outbreak of the United States Civil War public opinion in Britain was divided. There was a strong element which favored each side in the conflict and when Britain declared her neutrality she gained no friends. The North was bitter because they were fighting for freedom and had reason to believe that Britain would side with them, and the South viewed the action with distrust. When the two ministers appointed by the Confederates, one for Great Britain and one for France, were forcibly taken from the British mail steamer "Trent" by a United States Man-of-war, a controversy was started.

This agitation was soon followed by the trouble over the "Alabama" and the attitude of the people of England toward the right of English firms to build ships of war and sell them where they pleased.

Feeling was growing more intense and it was not modified by the attitude of the press of the two countries. The London Times was very bitter in some of its comments. The following is quoted from an issue of December, 1862:—"The United States has been a vast burlesque on the function of national existence; and it was Mr. Russell's fate to behold the transformation scene, and to see the first tumbles of their clowns." And the American papers were equally severe. One prominent paper<sup>10</sup>, speaking of the British Aristocracy, says in part:—"Begotten in corruption, fattened in plunder, and subsisting solely through the unconceivable devotion of the British people to the principles of toadyism . . . ." A later issue of the same paper<sup>11</sup> in an editorial on "Our Relations with Great Britain", after speaking of the piratical vessels and other causes of ill feeling, says:—"These events have naturally aroused a general and intense hostility to England among all classes in this country. There has never been a time when hatred of the English has been so deep and wide-spread as it is at the present time. There never has been a period at which war with England could have been more generally welcomed than at the present—if we were free to engage in a foreign war."

Examples of like tenor could be multiplied into the thousands. In fact almost every paper of the time, English and American alike, had something to say on the subject. Perhaps an editorial which appeared on September 5th, 1863,<sup>12</sup> referring to the building of Ironclads for the South should be quoted, because of the threat it carried to Britain. It says:—"Meantime we owe them something which we shall most likely be able to pay in due time. The 'common barrator' of nations will be untrue to all her historical antecedents if she remains long without a European war on her hands. And then we will remember some things she would like us to forget."

With Britain and the United States holding such opinions of each other it is not surprising that Canada followed suit. With her long southern border adjacent to the United States, with communication between the two countries in many places a matter of a few minutes, and with continuous trade passing back and forth, there were bound

<sup>10</sup>Harper's Weekly, March 7, 1863.

<sup>11</sup>Harper's Weekly, April 25, 1863.

<sup>12</sup>Harper's Weekly, Sept. 5, 1863.

to be clashes. However, we must not think that Canada was by any means sympathetic with the South. She was loyal to England, but by this time there were many Canadians living in the New England and Middle States and they had many relatives in their old home districts who knew the truth. Besides this there were thousands of Canadians enlisted in the northern armies and they also formed a bond of fellowship between the two sections.

There were causes for friction cropping up all the time. Several reasons may be assigned for these disagreeable experiences. That vast army of Irish immigrants in the United States, many of whom had left their native country, as one American paper expressed it, "cheering loudly for America and groaning for the British Government," that portion of the American people, numbering as we have noted above, about the same as the entire population of Canada, was ready to do anything to injure Britain. One way to do this was to attack Canada.

The fear of these attacks gradually attained serious proportions and the result was another bitter exchange of newspaper comments. The arrest and final discharge by Judge Coursal of the St. Alban's raiders did not help to quiet these outbursts of hatred. The New York Times in referring to the action of the court in this case comes out openly for war with Great Britain. After stating that Canada had been "turned into a regular base of rebel operations", it said, "If there is one thing more than another that would light up the eyes of the dying rebellion with a gleam of satisfaction, it would be tidings that England was writhing in the same grasp that had crushed its own life." And the Leader<sup>13</sup>, the Government paper in Toronto, commenting upon the above article in the Times, says, "That it will not come (war with the Federal States), it would be the extreme of rashness to assert. We have dangerous neighbors to deal with." In the same issue of the Leader is an article on the Fenian excitement and the Fenian drilling in Middlesex County, and orders issued by the Governor General calling for active service thirty companies of volunteers of the full strength, 65 men.

Yankee spies were believed to be at different places throughout Canada. These were supposed to be in the pay of the Federal Government and were to report everything that occurred. Rumors of this kind gave local editors the looked-for opportunity for abusive argument. Three short quotations will illustrate the point. One of the leading Toronto papers<sup>14</sup> has this to say in its issue of March

<sup>13</sup>The Daily Leader, Toronto, Dec. 19, 1864.

<sup>14</sup>The Daily Leader, Toronto, March 14, 1864.

14th, 1864:—"But that the Southerners ever will be conquered we have no fear. . . . Such people may be exterminated but can never be conquered."

In the issue of July 13, 1864, speaking of the South and its leaders, the same paper says they "manifested true Anglo-Saxon foresight, wisdom and power; while those who opposed them were the unthinking, impulsive, heady Yankee race, a people indigenous to the Federal States. 'Many a time and oft' we have pointed out this difference. . . ."

Finally, in its issue of December 8, 1864, sixteen days before the peace anniversary, the editor, in speaking of the arrest of one E. C. Sheley, of Windsor, has this to say:—" . . . . We have stood indignities enough from the bullying Government across the lakes to demand that some regard should now be paid to the rights of our people."

The fact that party politics entered into the press reports in Canada, and influenced many of the writers with the result that one could not tell what to believe, should be remembered when considering the situation. But even this consideration cannot account for the animosity for the United States and it was particularly bitter as the time approached when the two countries should have been celebrating the fifty years of peace.

On the very day that such a celebration should have been held, Viscount Monck, the Governor of Canada, wrote to Edward Cardwell, the English Secretary of State, two letters. In one he told of a general order issued calling "for special service on the frontier a portion of the volunteer militia of the Province," and in the other he asks for further "statutory powers to enable me to meet the case of persons who make the soil of Canada the scene of their hostile preparations against the territory of the United States." And on the same day Harper's Weekly published this editorial on "Chivalry". Referring to an article from a Southern paper, which ran down the Yankees, it says:—"In the same 'chivalric' spirit, evidently characterized as the preceding extract is, 'neither by rage or nausea', the sympathetic Tory journal, the London Herald, a chief organ of the 'English gentleman', calls the President of the United States 'a vulgar brutal boor, wholly ignorant of political science, of military affairs, of everything else a statesman should know . . . . a vacillating, helpless imbecile'."

"Considering that American slave-drivers and the British aristocracy claim to be particularly and exclusively gentlemen, the word gentleman is in danger of falling into bad odor. Or, is the horrible suspicion perhaps true . . ." I will not quote the rest of the editorial, it is, to put it very mildly, not diplomatic.

Could one imagine a peace celebration at that particular period of our history ?

After the American Civil War.

The years immediately following the Civil War in the United States were exciting ones along the international border. Fear of the United States was universal. The American papers were even more bitter than before, and Anglophobia was taught in its worst form. That country had nearly a million soldiers and about five hundred ships, and many feared that this victorious army might be turned toward Canada. The Fenians were well organized and were represented by a strong element in Congress besides having thousands of their numbers in the army.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was terminated by Act of Congress of January 18, 1865, one year's notice being given. The Rush-Bagot understanding was in danger, Secretary Seward giving notice that it would cease after six months, but, changing his mind, he withdrew the notice in March, 1865.

In fact every act showed a feeling toward Great Britain and Canada that was anything but peaceful.

The tragic death of Mr. Lincoln, the President, and the genuine wave of sympathy for the people of his country had a quieting effect for a time. In May, 1865, all the members of the British Parliament signed the following address, which was immediately presented to Mr. Adams :—"We, the undersigned members of the House of Commons, have learned with deepest regret and horror, that the President of the United States has been deprived of his life by an act of violence, and we desire to express our sympathy at the sad event to the American Minister now in London, as well to declare our hope and confidence in the future of that great country, which we trust will continue to be associated with enlightened freedom and peaceful relations with this and every other country."

The temporary lull was soon over and we again hear the cry of the big Irish population against anything British. Reviewing the situation in an editorial headed "Our Account With England", a prominent paper concludes<sup>15</sup> :—"British neutrality in the war was not an honest neutrality . . . . But if Great Britain will neither pay, nor submit to arbitration, nor explain, we certainly cannot be held responsible for the consequences, however disagreeable they may be."

In Canada a strong feeling had arisen over the question of federation of the Provinces. This subject brought forth

<sup>15</sup>Harper's Weekly, Nov. 4, 1865.

many heated discussions and internal feeling was not in a happy state of mind. Some were for annexation with the United States, some were against Confederation and agreed that it was a vile American plan to get all of Canada united and then take it forcibly, while the great majority of the people saw a strength in a united Canada which would be its protection. The Fenian Raids of 1866, when a number of Irish soldiers invaded the country at Ridgeway, on the Niagara frontier, and were driven back without bloodshed, did much to unite the country. This fear of being swallowed up by the United States unquestionably brought Lower Canada to the feeling that in union with their fellow-Canadians was safety. An interesting pamphlet<sup>16</sup> of this period says of Confederation:—"It is essentially of Yankee origin, and I am not sure that it is not pressed more by Yankee influence than British, with a view of annexation to the United States."

The troubles between the two countries were gradually adjusted and a better feeling manifested itself. Confederation worked well in Canada, and the reconstruction period in the United States gave that country enough to attend to without bothering about its neighbor. The Treaty of Washington, concluded on May 8th, 1871, settled in an amicable manner the question of the inshore fisheries on the Atlantic seaboard, and other minor questions, and brought about a more peaceable feeling than had existed for many years.

December 24th, 1889.

We now approach a period in the history of the neighboring countries which is more interesting to us in many ways than those already dealt with, one reason being that the events which took place at that time are still fresh in our memories.

The population of the United States had grown to be more than sixty millions, while that of Canada was approximately four and a half millions. The United States made wonderful strides in every way. Her vast railroad systems multiplied, her manufacturing industries developed, her educational institutions were ranked with the best and her wealth had grown greater than that of any other country in the world. In fact the growth had been so rapid that even her own citizens knew comparatively little about their country. One result of this wonderful development, at the time of which we are speaking—the years from 1886 to 1889—was a lack of interest in Canada and things Canadian. Very few, except those who lived within a short distance of the border and who were coming into contact with Cana-

<sup>16</sup>Pamphlet, "The Future of British America", Toronto, 1865

dians, knew or cared to know anything of Canada except from an occasional reference to some international question in the daily paper.

In Canada the situation was entirely different. Our country, stretching for nearly four thousand miles along the American border, was not thickly settled and fully ninety per cent. of the people lived within a hundred miles of the border. Naturally they frequently crossed the line, and, with intercourse so easy, a keen interest was always manifested in American affairs. Accordingly, when any cause for friction arose, the feeling in Canada, partly inspired by jealousy and partly by the deliberate plans of a partisan press, was very bitter. Every time an opportunity occurred one element in the country did its best to stir up a feeling of hatred for all things American.

The greatest bugbear was the question of trade. The United States had early adopted a system of protection and Canada soon followed the example. After the Treaty of 1854 was cancelled, trade between the two countries gradually declined, but the natural course of the natural products of Canada being South, there soon developed an increasing trade which surmounted the barriers of a high tariff. Constant agitation over this question gave the party organs in Canada ample opportunity to vent their feelings, and Canadians read these outbursts, many of which contained open gibes, with a growing feeling that the United States was not any too friendly to their country.

In 1888 Sir L. S. Sackville West, the British Ambassador at Washington, wrote his celebrated letter favoring the Democrats in their free trade campaign, which caused President Cleveland to demand his recall. This Lord Salisbury refused and West was handed his passports, the post being vacant for months. This episode was not looked upon with favor by the Canadian press, the result being an increased amount of unfriendly literature which was not at all necessary to keep up the ill feeling.

The fisheries question was a constant source of trouble during these years. The ten years of the agreement on the question had expired and the New England interests, being opposed to the free admission of Canadian fish into the United States, demanded that notice of the abrogation of the articles be given. This was accordingly done with the result that the whole controversy over the Atlantic fisheries was re-opened, and the season of 1886 found all the old troubles revived. Diplomacy was called in to settle the question, and a treaty was concluded on February 15, 1888, but this treaty was unfortunately thrown out by the United States Senate. The friction this caused had far-reaching results and lasted for many years.

Then came still another cause for misunderstanding, this time the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. When six British sealers were seized by American revenue cutters in the summer of 1880 the Canadian press thought the climax had been reached and many openly demanded that action be taken against the United States.

Internal conditions meanwhile did not improve. The election of 1887 was won by Macdonald for the Conservatives on the celebrated National Policy. The Liberals had advocated Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States, and the bitterness of feeling developed in that campaign was intense. Quite naturally the Conservatives brought up all the old arguments to show the danger of having any "truck or trade with the Yankees." The friendly feeling was not increased when the Canadian Government attempted to make a tariff with the United States in 1889 and failed.

These events bring us up to our seventy-fifth anniversary of peace with many questions unsettled and with the spirit of Anglophobia lingering in the jingo press of the United States, and the spirit of jealousy for, and antagonism to, American institutions prevalent in Canada. Goldwin Smith gave expression to an opinion at about this time that may well be quoted. He said:—"American Anglophobia is a thing the existence of which some may be ashamed to admit, but no one who knows the American press can seriously deny." And Henry Cabot Lodge, in his "Life of Washington," published at the same period, said:—"Rude contempt for other people is a warming and satisfactory feeling, no doubt, and the English have had unquestionably great satisfaction from its free indulgence." While an editorial in one of the leading Toronto papers<sup>17</sup> of December 24th, 1889—note the date—remarks:—"A special despatch to The Mail from Washington says should the Dominion Government, as reported, revert to the Treaty of 1818 and make seizure of American fishing vessels next season, the United States Government will undoubtedly retaliate in such a manner as to destroy all hope of freer trade relations between the two countries."

There is no mention of celebrating the seventy-fifth anniversary of peace between English speaking people on this earth in any paper, either English, American or Canadian, that I, after diligent search, have been able to discover.

#### Conclusion.

This part of my paper might properly be called "The Development of a Friendship". But before the development began there were several points to settle. The McKinley

<sup>17</sup>The Mail, Toronto, Dec. 24, 1889.

tariff of 1890 was a hard blow to the farmers in Canada who had been trading extensively with their neighbors. By it the duties on agricultural products entering the United States were made almost prohibitive. In 1897 came the Dingley Act, which was the final word in agricultural protective legislation. Canadian farmers now decided that they must find other markets for their products.

The various difficulties which caused friction in the late eighties were gradually cleared from the slate. The trouble over the seizure of the sealers was settled by plans arranged in the Treaty of Arbitration of February 29th, 1892. The Hay-Pannecote Treaty of October 20th, 1903 finally settled the Alaskan boundary and this shelved the question of boundary disputes between Canada and the United States. The last foot of international boundary was marked and controversy over this question, which had been causing continuous friction for over one hundred years, ceased.

Many reasons may be given for the gradual growth of good feeling which was so marked in the years leading up to the hundredth anniversary of peace.

Canada began to make rapid strides in her national development, the years following the opening of her great west bringing increased prosperity. Her great railroad systems running east and west expanded with the country's requirement and made communication with the remote parts of the Dominion comparatively easy. The completion of the Canadian Pacific in 1885 and the subsequent construction of a number of feeders for that system, the double tracking of the Grand Trunk in the early nineties and the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern have given to our country a railroad service that is unsurpassed. This development has encouraged Canadian manufacturing industries, which, protected by a high tariff, have been able to compete with outsiders for the domestic trade. These advances have caused Canadians to give more attention to their opportunities and look less enviously at their neighbors.

A tremendous exodus to the United States in the nineties, among whom were some of the country's brightest and best young men, created an international brotherhood which was bound to develop friendly relations. By the last census of the United States there was reported to be about one million two hundred thousand Canadians in that country—approximately one-sixth as many people as there were then in the whole of Canada. These ex-Canadians, although loyal to their adopted country, have a warm feeling for the motherland. They visit their old homes, in many cases bring their American wives and children with them and not infrequently have in their party

American friends who find our country an ideal place to spend the summer holidays. As a result thousands of Americans have come to know and admire Canada as they otherwise might never have done. A return visit by Canadians during the winter months acts in a reciprocal manner. One of the greatest elements in bringing about the present friendly relations between the two countries has been the acquirement of a better knowledge of each other, attained by continuous over-the-border visiting.

Another reason for the present happy relations is the development of enormous trade between the two countries. Despite the high tariffs on both sides of the line the amount of that trade for the last fiscal year was reported to be in excess of six hundred and twenty-six millions of dollars. This means merchandise to the amount of two million dollars crossing the border every business day in the year. To carry on that trade thousands of American business men must visit Canada yearly and thousands of Canadian business men must visit the United States. This exchange has had a wonderful effect, and appreciation of the honorable business methods in vogue in each country has been the cause of establishing business friendships that will last for years to come.

Finally the mutual increase in respect resulting from social and economic causes has had its effect on the press of the two countries. Anglophobia has almost entirely disappeared in the United States, and flaunting the eagle, except in rare cases where the editor has some petty personal grudge, has also ceased.

Examples of the cordial feeling as reflected in the press could be given by the thousands. I will quote but four short extracts. A prominent Montreal daily<sup>18</sup> has this to say in an editorial published early in 1914:—"The Canadian people are big enough, and the people of the United States are big enough, judging by recent experiences, to forget past differences and to go forward in the enjoyment of a mutual exchange of beneficent reform. Just as long as Canadians choose wisely the kind of American experience they wish to enjoy, there will be reason only for satisfaction that Canada's nearest neighbor is such a country as the United States." In May, 1914, the same paper<sup>19</sup> said:—"Canada would be making a grievous and expensive mistake, at this time, not to pay attention to the United States, not to learn from the greater experience of a larger country how to avoid certain mistakes." An American editor<sup>20</sup> speaking of

<sup>18</sup>The Montreal Daily Mail, March 16, 1914.

<sup>19</sup>The Montreal Daily Mail, May 14, 1914.

<sup>20</sup>Editor of Collier's Weekly, October, 1914.

the present terrible war, says :—"As the war rages on and we find ourselves pinched by it, we can and do thank God for good neighbors. The most wonderful thing in North American life is the fact that for four or five thousand miles our frontier is Canada's frontier, and not only is there no fort upon it, but there is no place where anyone in either nation wants a fort. They are people one is glad to have next door, the Canadians." A Canadian editor<sup>21</sup> in commenting upon this last article, says :—"That assertion (the one about the four thousand miles of frontier with neither a gun-boat or a fort) always makes us sit up and look friendly at the Star Spangled Banner—and long may it wave."

These two countries have grown to be great friends. In each is a certain flag-waving element, but in each a vast majority which believes that the flag does not need to be shaken, that it stands for too much, and that all attempts to compel respect by flaunting it are sure to cause bad feeling. It is hard to understand the tempers of men who use their flag boastfully.

The last century was filled with difficult problems which had to be settled. It started wrong and unfortunately these two countries were not particularly anxious to meet each other's views and discuss differences in an amicable manner. A national and united spirit in each country was really necessary before much in the form of a permanent international good feeling could be developed. If there are those superior beings who feel that the century should have run its course without differences, without petty quarrels and without occasional infringements of each other's rights, it might be well to call their attention to a metaphor Dr. Dunning uses in his book, which runs as follows :—"Despite repeated and notorious demonstrations of their error, idealists will doubtless continue in the future to maintain as in the past that an omelette can be made without breaking any eggs."

As the years go by may we all strive to maintain that harmony which exists at the present time, and may those who follow us have no cause for not celebrating all peace anniversaries.

<sup>21</sup>Toronto Saturday Night, October 24, 1914.

