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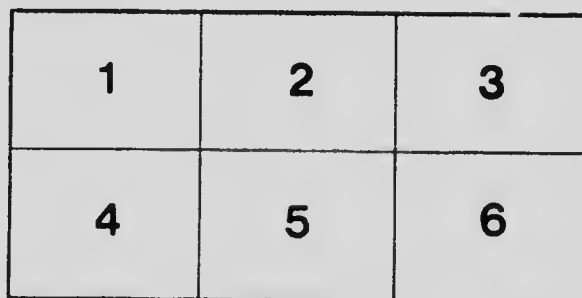
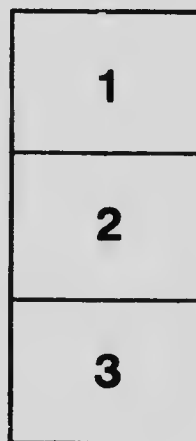
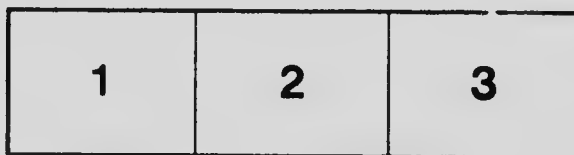
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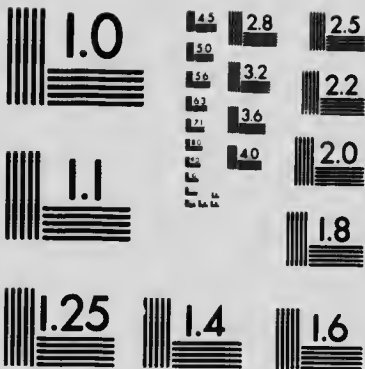
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**CANADIAN SENTIMENT FOR CANADA, THE  
REPUBLIC, AND GREAT BRITAIN.**

**AN ADDRESS**

by

**E. W. THOMSON**

Author and Journalist, Special Correspondent Boston Transcript,  
Ottawa, Ont.

DELIVERED BEFORE

**The Intercolonial Club of Boston**

**MAY 1, 1905,**

And Addresses in Response by Messrs.

- W. J. O'DONNELL,**
- HENRY J. CUNNINGHAM,**
- CHARLES H. McINTYRE,**
- W. BENNETT MUNRO, Ph.D.**



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CANADIAN SENTIMENT FOR CANADA,  
THE REPUBLIC, AND GREAT BRITAIN.

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# Canadian Sentiment for Canada, the Republic, and Great Britain.

ADDRESS BY E. W. THOMSON.

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## **Mr. J. N. A. CAMPBELL,**

President of the Intercolonial Club, in introducing Mr. Thomson, spoke  
in part as follows:

Fellow-members and Guests:

Pursuant to the policy of our Club to invite leaders in the various walks of life to address us at our monthly gatherings, we have for our principal speaker and guest on this occasion a gentleman who holds a high place in the field of international journalism, one who by his contributions to the press of this country has done much to place the social and political conditions of Canada in a proper light before the American public and to create a better understanding between the two countries, and who, by his pre-eminent fairness, continues to give us the best and most trustworthy account of the political developments in Canada to be found in the current press. I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. E. W. Thomson, the Ottawa correspondent of the Boston Transcript, who is to speak upon "Canadian Sentiment for Canada, the Republic, and Great Britain."

## **Mr. THOMSON** then spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

In the note by which Mr. O'Donnell, your treasurer, gave me your kind invitation to appear here this evening, he mentioned that the Intercolonial Club is made up of American citizens who were formerly Canadians. That fact puts me in the situation of the man who carries coal to Newcastle, or leather to Boston. It does so because I mean to discourse of Canadian sentiment toward the Dominion and toward the Republic, though you must all know that sentiment as well as I do. That is not saying that any of us know all about it, for political senti-

ment is a very elusive condition of mind, and a very changeable one. It is not easy for any man to define even his own sentiments in a complicated political affair, such for instance as that of the relations of the Republic to the Filipinos, or that of Great Britain to the Boers, for we feel apparently contradictory sentiments simultaneously in such matters. How much more difficult to diagnose the sentiment of six million people respecting neighbors, and respecting political courses that may be open to themselves. If Canadians were all of one race and creed it would still be difficult to specify their sentiments towards Canada and towards the States, for the English-speaking Protestants are of various minds in this respect, divided among themselves, just as the French and the Scotch and Irish Catholics are. The census of 1901 shows that Canada is a country of 165 religions, and thirty different breeds of men and women. Substantially all the grown-up men have votes, and are in that sense Canadians. They are all on a basis of political equality, for one vote is as good as another. Every elector possesses all the rights of free speech and persuasion that any possesses. The power of each to make his own sentiments prevail is limited only by his ability in persuasion and by his courage in employing that ability. Canadians themselves do not invariably remember this. Some of us are apt to talk and write as if the sentiments of their particular breed, class or creed were somehow peculiarly entitled to paramountcy. For instance, a few days before I left Ottawa a clever daily paper there alleged that the sentiment of Canadians, in respect of a measure proposed by the Government, was correctly evinced by a recent election in the good city of Toronto where the people—mostly of British origin and Protestant persuasion. The paper went on to declare that Canadian sentiment would not be evinced in a pending election in the prairie West, because seventy-two per cent. of the people entitled to vote in that Western election are Scandinavians, Russians, Germans, Austrians, French, or half-breeds, and a very large proportion of them are Roman or Greek Catholics. Yet those constituencies are equally Canadian in the eye of the law, and equally powerful in Parliament. In the Province of Quebec one may be told that the sentiments of the French-Canadians are those of Canada. The constitution of the country provides such a democracy that the political sentiment of the Dominion does as the result of electoral conflicts in which every kind of voter is polled. Still individual Canadians are all apt to credit their fellow-countrymen with their own immediate sentiments. Just so with Americans. At election times you may hear Democrats and Republicans alike propounding their views as those of the Republic at large. The three tailors of Tooley street who issued a manifesto that began with "We men of England," were typical of our whole political tribe. It is the ancient whim of free man to attribute his notions to the mass of his compatriots. Orthodoxy is one's own doxy, and unorthodoxy is the other man's doxy. In fact, the conduct of a nation as a unit alone indicates national sentiment, so far as it can be expressed certainly. I was put to these truisms by necessity of avoiding the appearance of imputing to Canadians certain sentiments which I may express here. My wish is to be understood as one trying to disclose Canadian

sentiment on independence and annexation, is only from consideration of the public course of Canada, and not from inspection of my own inside.

It may be reasonably argued that there is something very significant of Canadian sentiment in the gentlemen present having assembled here this evening. You are American citizens evincing continued interest in the country of your birth, Canada. Because that is clear, I hope Mr. O'Donnell may not think me discourteous in cavilling a little at his application of the term "formerly Canadians," to the Club. Is it possible for men to get their early memories of scenes, playmates, parents, teachers—is it possible to get the atoms of natal soil out of their bones and blood? No, there is a profound truth in the legend that the first man was made of the clay of his native earth, and that is as true for the present men as for the first. You, gentlemen Intercolonials, are doubtless loyal American citizens who were formerly Canadians, but are you not Canadians still? Myself, I have twice changed residence from one country to the other. As I had in my youth the good fortune to bear arms for both, in active service, I feel entitled to regard myself as at home in either. When I lived here I called myself Canadian, and perhaps boasted it. When I returned to Canada I did not forsake perfection for the Republic. To some in the Dominion Union seems an impropriety in such a way of thinking. They imagine something in the nature of an essential, ineradicable unfriendliness or even hostility between the two countries. But surely a better view is that, to use the phrase of Rome's imperial sage, the two countries were made for co-operation, like the rows of teeth. It is permitted to a native of Great Britain to regard with sympathy and even affection every colony and every nation of his kin. Why should the native of Canada more circumscribe his sympathies? Sir, the Canadian has sometimes been called "the man without a country," and sometimes the man with more country than he can manage. It would be more correct to define him as the man of three countries—his motherland, his brotherland, and his own land, but always the man of Canada first. And he is not the only English-speaking man of broad sentiment. Throughout the English-speaking world there are signs of rapid increase in the number of thinkers who hold that the nations whom God bound together by ties of blood and language should not be kept asunder, but should be drawn newly to friendly courses in accordance with the political genius of their race. Such of us as profess devotion to the ideal of co-operation between Canada, and the Republic, and Great Britain and all the countries controlled by men of English speech are, perhaps, more practical than they who dream hopefully of similar union in lesser degree. It is not bigness that makes a scheme impracticable, but it may be killed by leaving out elements that should be in. Is there any political problem that our kin can't solve if they wish to solve it? Mr. Dooley, one of the wisest and wittiest of mankind, grandly conceived Englishmen conscious of a natural right to get off a train at any station in the world, and cast their imperial vote. Why should not all the citizens of countries of English, or United States language, arrange to recognize that imperial right in one another? Of course, large precautions against repeating votes on frontiers would be expedient or necessary,

such would be the fondness of some for exercising the imperial privilege.

The change from one honorable citizenship to another is surely as proper as it is convenient for men who change from one to another of our English-speaking nations. Indeed, conscientious men might well feel disinclined to live long without citizenship in any highly-organized modern state. To do so is to take the benefit of local and national institutions for maintaining justice and order and liberty, without aiding in their preservation and improvement. The alien in the Republic or in the Dominion cannot pay his whole debt through the collectors of taxes—unless they levy on him excessively, in a pious opinion that it is sweet and decorous, as well as safe, to stick it hard to those who have no vote. Every intelligent resident owes to his neighbors his participation in their politics. Surely we Canadians, in particular, bred as we are to good institutions, ought to help native Americans to govern this country. That is a duty to seldom neglect long after resolving to stay here. Irishmen have the same considerate sense. Between us and them—so natives used to say when I lived here—we rule Boston. If so, we do the business well. Where can be found a sweeter, cleaner, saner, modester, better-governed American city? Are not the kindness and moderation of the joint rule plain in the fact that we permit the natives to own most of the place—and many of the rulers?

Americans in Canada are not backward in aiding to rule the Dominion. There we have, as all here must know, many estimable citizens who began life as Americans, and changed allegiance, after reaching years of discretion. Many more might be named than Sir William Vanhorne and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, General Manager Hays of the Grand Trunk, John Charlton, lifelong champion of reciprocity, and the late Senator Plumb, Tory and protectionist. There are now in Canada two very conspicuous Americans who earnestly desire to stay there, but the Republic longs more than the Dominion for the company of Messrs. Gaynor and Greene. Other Americans became loyal Canadians, and some of them even acquired knighthood without ceasing to evince a decent affection for the United States. Sir, this double regard for the countries is not confined to Americans and Canadians who change residence from one to the other. It is evinced, in a degree, by many Canadians who, like our great Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, ever think and speak kindly of the United States. It is similarly evinced by the many home-staying Americans who look with friendly eyes on the new life and vim that Canada displays. They wish well to the Dominion. They are not eager to see it break up, or fall down, or come to any sort of grief. That generous sentiment has been often voiced of late by the more lofty spirits of the American platform and the American press. It comes of their perception that Canada is doing large and useful things well. Now, you all know that the like regard for the United States has always animated many Canadians. Fifty-three thousand of us served the North in the Civil War. It is true that some relics still linger in the Dominion, or rather linger in some few of its inhabitants, of the hatred that was naturally bred in the United Empire Loyalists, by their harsh, and perhaps ill-judged exclusion, as Tories, from the Republic after the Revo-

lution. Similarly, some relics of the old hatred for Great Britain linger here. Yet it is true that Canadians in general feel that they can come to the United States and be more at home than in any other country except their own. One of the finest old crusted Tories and good fellows in the Dominion admitted as much the other day in traveling with me from Montreal to Boston. On the other hand, I have been told by Southerners that they feel more at home in Canada than in New England. I have been told by New Englanders that they feel more at home in Canada than in the South. Does this imply an American sentiment in favor of annexing either New England or Dixie to the Dominion? Or, put it the other way round. Does it imply Canadian sentiment for annexation? No, sir, it means nothing more, and nothing less, than a considerable degree of fraternal sentiment on both sides. Kindness between independent mature brothers does not mean that they wish to keep joint house.

The sense of affiliation to the people of the States is as strong in French as in British Canadians. In all our race and creed disputes, as in the present one over separate schools in the new Western Provinces, some extremists of both the main Canadian races threaten. "We will go in for annexation if you do not yield to us." They thus scare one another into compromise. They always compromise angrily. They are always glad later that they did compromise. This is curiously instructive of Canadian sentiment to the States. It clearly means that British and French Canadians, Protestant and Catholic Canadians, are alike averse from annexation, and yet not so much averse but that they alike think it might be a tolerable way of escape from the recurrent difficulties of pulling together. It means, too, that they share some common notion, or dream, which holds them apart from the Republic, quarrelling and making up, a dream which is dear to them and which forbids them to give up the Canadian experiment. What is the common dream? It resembles that of a married couple who squabble much and yet keep out of the divorce court, sticking together on account of the children, and foreseeing a time when they shall cease to differ and have a quiet domicile. Their sentiment is for the household. They have endured so much from one another for its sake that they can't find it in their hearts to abandon the life together. That life is not wholly happy, but any other looks blank and shameful. In their hearts they forgive one another's vexatious ways, and know that no other life would suit them so well as just doing the best they can for the joint concern. Each trusts that the other's temperament will be subdued in time, and so they mutually, tacitly agree that the stronger mind, or the survivor, shall ultimately control the establishment. Couples who go on so, often come to great peace and prosperity. They reap a reward for not giving up the household which they created.

The two races of Canada have done a great deal of honest work together, in spite of their squabbles. This has just begun to be evident to the world. You remember the Scotchman who had to drink claret instead of his favorite tippie. He lamented that he wasn't getting any forrarder. That was what seemed, to Americans, the matter with Canadians until just the other day, or three or four years ago. Why were our Canadian fathers and grandfathers looked on as a lot of sen-

timentalists who weren't making good? People on this side of the line wondered at them remaining dependent, and poor, and apparently of no account, when it seemed they might be comfortable and rich and sovereign and share the American bigness and importance. Why couldn't they give up their beaverlike existence and come in? The notion that they stayed out through terror of the British garrisons remained until the garrisons vanished, or were reduced to the tiny forces that are about to relinquish Halifax and Esquimaux to the Dominion authorities. That notion still survives in an American impression that Canadians are somehow not free, but prevented by king and aristocracy from joining the Republic. The idea that people so addicted to coming in individually can be collectively disposed to endure much rather than come in en masse—that idea can hardly be got into the American mind today. Sir, Americans show their English very notably in this, for nothing can be more English than inability to understand how any people can be foolish enough to wish to keep or get from under English rule.

How was it that our Canadian fathers and grandfathers, and even the generation nearing Heaven—to which I belong—seemed so long to be backward, and to be foredoomed to political failure? It was because they began almost without means, because they had to encounter great and peculiar difficulties. They had to struggle with a hard climate, against great forests, with little more than the axe, and, at the start, not much knowledge of using the axe. The United Empire Loyalists—those American enthusiasts for monarchy who resorted to the north wilderness after the Revolution—went there stripped almost bare. A considerable proportion of them were gentry who had never worked with their hands. All classes came from more southerly regions, and few knew just how to tackle the job of clearing and cropping the forest in so northerly a clime. They had, as it were, to invent the agriculture. We hear today of how those Americans and Canadians who are practiced in northern prairie farming get along much faster in the Canadian West than do those of like derivation who are green to the work, to say nothing of English tenderfeet. Well, Sir, the earlier American monarchists who went to Canada were all tenderfeet there, and they were unassisted by the example of any who knew how. They were plucky and laborious, but they had to make a bluff at clearing and farming, rather than set about it well prepared. To them came gradually, slowly, from across the seas, squads and companies of the disinherited classes of England, Scotland and Ireland, a fine, industrious people, but tenderfeet to a degree beyond the greenness of the American monarchists already on the ground. A considerable proportion of gentry, half-pay officers, younger sons, and so on, came, too, from the old countries, people of manners, refinement, and often of pretensions incompatible with struggle in the New World. These people were, in the first, and often in the less educated second generation, frequently somewhat useless, but they were of good strain, and transmitted some ideas of value to their descendants and the country. With these sorts of people, mostly without money, no matter what their social status, there were politically associated the habitants and voyageurs, descendants of habitants and voyageurs who had been plundered to the bone under the French regime, and who were, for a

long time afterward, held down to poverty and ignorance by the inept, well-meaning official blundering of the English conquerors.

These various sort of Canadlans, the founders of the present Dominion, generally lacked cash, lacked credit, lacked experience in business, and lacked aptitude for industrial organization, except as this is common to people of European derivation. They had to hew from the timber, and burn from the potash kettle, and plough from the stumpy clearing, and haul out of the thronged water, and excavate from the quarry and the gypsum bed, every means to enlarged enterprise. They had to show that they could pay interest before they could borrow abroad. They had to contend against the enormous disadvantage of commercial separation from their natural customers on this side of the boundary. Their industrial progress was hampered by the need of many of their men of light and leading to devote much time and thought and energy to the extremely difficult political task of devising slowly, tentatively, experimentally, institutions that would secure equal liberty and justice to the two main diverse elements of race and creed. They had to vindicate and establish their common cause, their self-governing power, against Great Britain, whose authorities often acted in the spirit of George Lanigan's affectionate elephant that sat on a deserted brood of fledgling birds in order to make them feel that they still had a mother. They had a wholesome rebellion, and some civil war, before they got into a fair way of ridding themselves of the amiable, injurious meddling of Downing street politicians, who have not quite done meddling yet, it being so hard for them to get it completely through their collective skull that people can be properly governed by themselves or by any concern except a Downing street. They had to endure a great deal of heckling and hindrance by the meaner elements that occasionally give the great Republic the appearance of intending unfriendliness to Canada. Gentlemen, it was a long, hard struggle for our Canadian fathers and grandsires, first for bare existence, then for comfort, and credit, and capital and industrial organization, and ways and means to develop the resources of their country. But they were not defeated. And that is what gives their children the right to continue the policy of their fathers.

If you consult the map of Canada, with particular reference to its railways and canals, you shall see a most distinct, practical expression of Canadian sentiment. Those works, whether completed, in course of construction, or seriously projected, constitute a great system of transportation obviously based on the idea that Canadians must be enabled to conduct their commerce with complete independence of the United States. If my memory does not err, these works imply an expenditure of more than \$400,000,000 by Canada, to say nothing of the private capital involved. It is sometimes said, and not altogether without reason, that Canada was forced to that outlay by the unfriendliness of Washington, or by fear of such unfriendliness—by a sense that it would not be politically safe for Canada to develop on her natural lines of communication through the territory of the Republic. It is certainly true that the Canadlan system would not have been developed so rapidly had Uncle Sam always evinced an amiable spirit to the struggling neighbor. Still, the mere tendency to independence would doubt-

less have caused the Canadian system to be furthered far. You don't like to depend on your neighbor for a right of way, even if you feel sure he will never go back on you.

The immense public works of Canada constitute a sort of monument to the spirit of the fathers, who planned and started the system, or dreamed of it, even including the Canadian Pacific Transcontinental Railway, more than fifty years ago, when the old Provinces, whose spirit now pervades the whole Dominion, contained less than 3,000,000 people. Americans may well recognize in the design, in the achievement, in the new projects of Canadians, a people of kindred energy, a people exemplifying greatly that high practical disposition which Americans are so well entitled to boast. What if it has been peculiarly evinced in works designed to secure the Dominion in political separation from the Republic? It is a poor sort of person who cannot witness with admiration the strenuousness of a neighbor in trying to establish himself and his posterity in an independent existence.

The children for whom the household was kept together have abundance today—I believe they are as well off, city for city, town for town, farm for farm, man for man, and family for family, as the people on this side of the line. There are few great fortunes, but many little ones in Canada, wealth is fairly distributed, and the country corresponds fairly well to that ideal one of the poet, William Morris, where if the franklin had no great store the workers had enough. And there is in the Canadian people a bold, hardy, enterprising, enduring and yet compromising temper, their natural heritage from the diverse fathers whom Fate compelled to work together in obscure association during the long time of petty things, while their "hoard was little, though their hearts were great." I say their hearts were great because they were ever animated by the spirit that rejects material temptation for the ideal. They persistently put aside such profit as annexation would have given them at any time; they refused it for the sake of sentiment, they refused it for the sake of their proper dream. American, French, English, Scotch, Irish, German, whatever their derivation, they did collectively work, and pinch, and contrive, and endure toward the vision of a great North for their children and their children's children forever. Of course, the idea did not spring out full size, like Minerva; it was gradually developed; it came of working together, and of the need of human beings to have a theory of why they work together, to what purpose and to what end. They did not, and do not now agree about the details of the future and imaginary edifice toward which they work and aspire. The French dreamed, and dream now of a great North, all Catholic and French; their poets declare the vision quite clearly, and their statesmen with politic obscurity. Their statisticians, seeing that the 65,000 forsaken habitants and voyageurs of 1759 have become by mere breeding and staying power 3,000,000 French Canadians (nearly one-third of them in the States), in less than 150 years, are not unwarranted in reckoning that their people, if they can be kept continually free of the vice and the murder called race suicide, will number 20,000,000 before this century ends. The British and exiled American Tories dreamed of a great North all British, a North disposed to back Great Britain to the end of time—and many of their children dream



that dream to this day. These different visions occupied one great tract of imagination in common. They were alike dreams of Canada for Canadians forever—Canadians of some kind—and let the best breed win. These different visions alike shunned another great tract of imagination. They did not willingly dream of union with the Republic. If that dream ever intervened it was treated, and largely regarded, as a nightmare. To avoid that nightmare coming true both the main elements have made up their quarrels over and over again, just as they are now on the point of composing the fiercest dispute, that over the school system of the new prairie provinces, which they have had since Sir Wilfrid Laurier took office. That dispute, to my mind, essentially resembles the Kansas free soil controversy before the war. The question is whether all elements shall continue free to support by their taxes such schools as they can send their children to, or whether the elements that desire separate schools shall be compelled to pay double taxation for exercising that natural right. That dispute will be settled, as the Kansas one was, in favor of free soil. It will be settled in accordance with the great body of Canadian opinion, which is Liberal, even when it calls itself Tory or Conservative—by Liberal I mean essentially Tolerationist—and which is more and more disposed to say to the extremist of the factions, "A plague on both your houses. Young Canada desires to secure the British and the French alike in every peculiar privilege dear to either of these elements. Young Canada is determined that neither shall unjustly rob the other of anything that is a natural right, or anything whose possession tends to make the other element contented and devoted Canadians." Thus the prosperous children, the rising generation, have modified and blended and adhered to both the seemingly contrary dreams of the enduring sires. Young Canada is all for Canada, or as Sir Wilfrid Laurier put it during the recent election campaign, from every platform on which he stood, for Canada first, last, and all the time. That policy is according to the essential spirit of Canadianism—Canada alike for all the children of the diverse fathers. Gentlemen, that is a reply to the query—"Is there any marked Canadian sentiment for annexation?"

It is still true that Young Canada—a group to which I have had the happiness to belong ever since Young Canada was young, and started in 1875, or thereabouts, with what was then called the Canada First movement—it is still true that Young Canada, now really the main, though not the most obtrusive, political force in the Dominion, is not undisturbed by some fear, and by a good deal of opinion, that the extremists of the opposing schools may yet make such a rough house of the Dominion that annexation may come of the bedevilling and weariness which they create. Much fear is in Young Canada, I said—but the fear is not of a very dreadful kind. All Canadians know well that life in union with the Republic would be far from intolerable even to those who desire it least. It would not be subjugation for Canadians of either race or any creed, but it would be full equality, as individual electors of sovereign States, in a nation that includes many kinsmen of every sort of Canadians—a nation very great, free, mighty, honorable, and clearly predestined to transcend in power and influence any nation that has ever yet existed. It is reasonable to estimate that there will be

350,000,000 United Statesers, within the present limits of the Republic proper, 100 years from this evening. Unless my memory errs, Mr. Gladstone, one of the shrewdest of actuaries, calculated that the Republic can maintain 600,000,000 people in comfort, and is likely to be doing it before the twenty-first century ends. That implies the mightiest of nations, no matter how others may increase in power. A confederated Europe might match it in influence and potency, but no one or two or three European countries can hope to do so. Now it would be insensate to allege that reflection on what the Republic is, and on what it seems predestined to become, has no influence on Canadian sentiment. It has influence on even the most inveterate Tory Britishers. During the present session of Canada's Parliament, Col. Sam Hughes, M. P., in advocating imperial federation, stated that he and his kind would prefer annexation to Canadian independence. There are some, including, I believe, large numbers of both French and English-speaking Canadians, who would prefer annexation to imperial federation. Why? Solely from consideration for Canada first. Imperial federation, so far, at least, as its fineaments have been disclosed by those who dream that great and noble dream, would imply retrogression in Canada's political status, and peculiar hazards for Canada. It would imply retiring from a large degree of independency to a considerable degree of subordination, and that subordination would be not to Great Britain only, but to all the other countries comprising the federation. In that there would be, I say, peculiar dangers for Canada. Can you who know the American people conceive the United States watching with perfect equanimity the development of a great, populous, powerful Canada, not inclining toward independence, as in the past, not to the position of an American power, but associated intimately and as if forever, with European, Asiatic and African interests—a Canada avowedly armed on behalf of those interests, and suppositiously capable of calling on these non-American Powers, all of them to be alike developed to their utmost strength, for military and naval aid? It is true that Canada, no matter how populous, in such a situation, would not be dangerous to the Republic. It is true that the imperial federation would, we may be sure, take friendship with the Republic for a cardinal point of its foreign policy. Right there comes in the peculiar danger for Canada. The United States feeling a limb of that projected enormous armed world organization stretching with growing strength across 3500 miles of the Republic's Northern frontier, could not be but sensitively determined to hold its own against that branch. Now, what people of our kin mean by holding their own is usually getting some of the other party's. We all know how strong has been the American disposition to buck up to Great Britain, and how weak the Washington disposition to back down. The buck-up disposition has again and again, as in the matters of the Maine boundary, the Oregon boundary, the Fisheries dispute, the Venezuela and the Alaska affairs, put Washington to a strong attitude. Now, would the American disposition to demand everything in sight be increased, and the disposition to yield a bit be decreased, by a new American sensitiveness arising from a new American sense of having an ever-strengthening arm of the world force along the North frontier. What do you Canadian-Americans

think on that point? Would not the American tendency to claim as many points as possible from Canada, and the American dislike to yield any points to Canada, be both increased? Would disputes between the neighbors be more or less likely to arise?

Some observers hold that Canadian disposition to buck up to the Republic has been, perhaps, not less obvious than an American disposition to buck up to Great Britain. Would that imputed Canadian disposition be increased or diminished if Canadians were contributing notably to the armaments of an imperial federation, and deriving from their sense of making such contributions a new expectation, a new sense of being entitled to expect backing from the federation? It seems to me that a new animus to disputes would arise on both sides of the line. How would Canada fare in them? Would not every other part of the imperial federation be as properly desirous as Great Britain has long been to keep out of loggerheads with the Republic? Would not their pressure on Canada to yield, and to grin and bear it for the federation's sake, be stronger than ever the analogous pressure of Great Britain has been? Canadians in general, animated (to use Edmund Burke's words) by that salutary prejudice called patriotism, are much of the opinion that the Lion has repeatedly held the Beaver for the Eagle, saying, "Dear child, pray for my sake, lie still and be skinned." The dear child didn't lie still, but what about the skinning? Would not the amiable Beaver's liability to lose patches of valuable peltry to the acute Bird of Freedom be increased by the eagle's perception that the kangaroo, and the moa, and the ibis, the emu, and the crocodile, and all the other healthy creatures of the federated British menagerie would be directly interested in holding the industrious one down, lest he might involve them all in a fracas with the hooked beak and curved talons? It seems to me that the new confidence which the always prominent bluff element in Canada would get from imperial federation might be wholly delusive, and injurious to Canadian interests. The Asiatic, Australian, African and Oceanic countries of the federation, being more closely associated than ever before with Great Britain, and being even less disposed than Great Britain to back Canada against the Republic, would surely tend to make Great Britain less disposed to give such backing. For, in imperial federation, the responsibility of leaving Canada in the lurch would be divided among all the other members, and not attributable, as hitherto, to Great Britain alone. Indeed, such federation would be a fine plan for getting John Bull out of the imputed onus of deserting Canada at a pinch. Now, I am not going to appear to agree wholly with the usual Canadian impression that John Bull has always so deserted Canada. It seems to me he has occasionally sacrificed the Canadian case to his own interests, but never deserted Canada except in the larger interest of Canada, which is peace. I think that the bluff element of Canada has occasionally put Canada to a bold game in delusive reliance on British backing, when a game quite free of bluff would have saved more of the Canadian peltry. Sir Thomas Lipton understands Americans. Come to Yankees saying, "I want a fair shake, and no favor, I rely on you to give it," and you will receive it every time. Bluff them, and if you get away with your boots, it will be because you hold the paramount documents. It is be-

cause Canada might be newly disposed to rely on external backing, and because she would really be less secure of such backing, that I think she would, through Imperial federation, more and more have to pay the piper for the tune to which all the other federated ones would dance amply with Uncle Sam. Now it is quite likely Canada, which can endure a good deal from Father John Bull, might fling out of the federation, if she felt sacrificed to its Asiatic, African, Australian, and Oceanic members. Far better she should never go in, than enter only to break loose again.

But that is far from being the only reason Canadians might urge for aversion from Imperial federation. Canada's complication with such a federation might limit her future power to enter into such a perfect peace league with the Republic as Canada's peculiar situation requires. Thus both the Dominion and the Republic would have to forego realization of the vision which was pictured by John Bright in these words:

"There cannot be a meaner motive than" some which then impelled to hope "that the North American continent should be as the continent of Europe is—in many States, and subject to all the contentions and disasters which have accompanied the history of the States of Europe. I should say that if a man had a great heart within him, he would rather look forward to the day when, from the point of land nearest the pole, to the shores of the great gulf, the whole of that vast continent might become one great confederation of States—without a great army, and without a great navy—not mixing itself up with the entanglements of European politics—without a customs house inside, through the whole length and breadth of its territory—and with freedom everywhere, with equality everywhere, law everywhere, peace everywhere—such a confederation would afford at least some hope that Man is not forsaken of Heaven, and that the future of our race may be better than the past."

How, it may be asked, can one entertain that noble vision and yet be opposed to political union of the Dominion and the Republic? Because political union is not necessary to its realization. Nothing more is necessary than a fair degree of commercial union, with an agreement for arbitrating all disputes. Complete commercial union is not necessary, but only a large measure of reciprocity, and that permanently assured. The essential thing that John Bright had in mind was an arrangement for securing peace from the pole to the gulf. That is the paramount interest of Canada. It is the paramount interest of the Republic. It is the paramount interest of Mexico, as President Diaz emphasized the other day in declaring that all American countries should support the Monroe doctrine, and be ready to back it up against outsiders. The Monroe doctrine's main purpose is to secure peace in America, and prevent the rise of such militarism as curses Europe. That doctrine should be as dear to Canada as to either of the American republics. Perfect freedom to support it, freedom to aid in securing such peace to all America as John Bright's noble spirit desired, could be attained by Canada independent, and in a permanent league of trade with the States. It is conceivable that it might be attainable by Canada in Imperial Federation of a more limited sort than is commonly sketched. But would it not be very unwise for Canada, whose para-

mount interest is peace with the Republic, to enter into an Imperial Federation before the United States should have clearly indicated a mind to enter into a sort of outside partnership with the whole congeries of other countries controlled by English-speaking men?

In all this vague talk the vague sentiments of the bulk of Canadians, both French and English, have been shadowed, I believe. Gentlemen, the sentiments of Canadians are complicated, because their situation in the world is complicated. They desire all the amity with the Republic that can be consistent with their retention of the invaluable system of responsible government, and that retention implies political separation from Washington. There are good reasons for thinking that political union between the Dominion and the Republic might be a misfortune for both. Canada's entrance to the Union could come about voluntarily only as the result of Canadian failure in the extremely interesting experiment of devising institutions suitable to two main diverse elements. People who have persisted in that work for several generations could not but feel a certain shame in having proved unequal to the task their fathers set them to accomplish. Did English and French Canadians come in to escape from close association with one another they would enter under a sort of discredit and contumely, as people who have embraced unwillingly the dernier resort. The Republic would scarcely welcome and regard with delight and honor new partners who were conspicuous for having bungled their own business. Two more elements of mutual cantankerousness could promise the Union few blessings. Again, it might be a misfortune to the Republic that the system of responsible government should not be successfully illustrated next door, for the Republic may yet profit much by studying that system at close range. But, above all, Canadian failure would be a misfortune if, as some think, Canadian success will lead to an independence of harmonious relations with the British and American Powers at once, and, under the providence of God, bring to pass a virtual and effective, if loose and novel, union between all the countries of both branches of the English-speaking world.

How could Canadian independence serve the realization of that noble dream? Canada Independent of London, Canada Independent of Washington—how could the wholly separated little brother draw the big ones together? Well, that is not the variety of independence I am thinking of. Canada could become independent of London, and of the electors of Great Britain, and of their Parliament, without forsaking allegiance to the ancient crown, a political emblem to which Canadians inherit as much right as Englishmen have in it. Let the Crown be advised in Canadian matters solely by Canadian ministers subjected to the sole will of the electors of Canada, and then Canada would be as independent of Great Britain as Great Britain would be of Canada. This proposition has been treated as fantastic. Sir Charles Tupper, past leader of a Canadian Government, is said to have spoken of it as pertaining to the politics of the moon. But who devised it? Not the eminent Canadian king's counsel, Mr. John Ewart, who has argued the matter with great care and lucidity, and much less the humble scribe, but not pharisee, who is now here on his feet. The scheme was broached by the premier of the great colony of Victoria, or rather by a

Victorian Royal Commission, of which he, Sir Gavan Duffy, the premier, was chairman. That commission was charged with the duty of reporting on plans for the Australian federation which has since been constructed, and the report dealt incidentally with the relations of the colonies to the crown. The report said:

"The British Colonies, from which imperial troops have been wholly withdrawn, present the unprecedented phenomena of responsibility without either corresponding authority or adequate protection. They are liable to all the hazards of war as the United Kingdom, but they can influence the commencement or continuance of war no more than they can control the movements of the solar system, and they have no certain assurance of that aid against an enemy upon which integral portions of the United Kingdom can confidently reckon. This is a relation so wanting in mutuality that it cannot be safely regarded as a lasting one, and it becomes necessary to consider how it may be modified so as to afford a great security for permanence."

(You may find what I am quoting set out more fully on page 161 of the *Contemporary Review* for 1890.) The report proceeds:

"It has been proposed to establish a council of the Empire, whose advice must be taken before war was declared. But the measure is so foreign to the genius and tradition of the British constitution, and presupposes so large an abandonment of its functions by the House of Commons, that we dismiss it from consideration. There remains, however, we think, more than one method by which the anomaly of the present system may be cured.

"It is a maxim of international law that a sovereign State cannot be involved in war without its own consent, and that, when two or more States are subject to the same crown, and are allies in peace, they are not, therefore, necessarily associated in war, if one is not dependent on the other." Here the report cites Vattel, Wheaton, and others, on international law. It goes on:

"If the Queen were authorized by the Imperial Parliament to concede to the greater colonies the right to make treaties, it is contended that they would fulfil the conditions constituting a sovereign State in as full and perfect a sense as any of the smaller States cited by public jurists to illustrate the rule of limited responsibility." The report then argues that other States would recognize neutrality of such independencies. Then it says:

"Nor would the recognition of the neutrality of the self-governing colonies deprive them of the power of aiding the mother country in any just and necessary war. On the contrary, it would enable them to aid her with more dignity and effect: as a sovereign State could, of its own free will, and at whatever period it thought proper, elect to become a party to the war."

It might be wrong to leave an impression that Sir Gavan Duffy advocated that scheme quite unmodified to his life's end. When the idea of Imperial Federation came up, he grew to rather like it, because it seemed to imply a federation of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and as much independence for Ireland as for the others. But imperial federation is one pair of sleeves for the Australian Commonwealth, which has no powerful kindred nation alongside, and quite another

pair for Canada, whose paramount interest is and ever must be to remain on good terms with the Republic. It is because the Dominion, if independent of the Westminster Houses, but still in the realms of the ancient Crown, could enter into any sort of relations with the States that would be possible to any other sovereign State, that Canadian independence of that sort seems peculiarly desirable.

Canadian independence under the Crown would mean a perpetual league of peace with Great Britain. A convention of perpetual commerce and amity with the Republic would mean a peace league of North America. Canada could not go to war with either relation, but would be free to join either in war. Independent politically of both, she would yet be firmly united with both, and surely a link between them. It is worth noting now clearly this was perceived by great American mercantile interests, at the time Sir Gavan Duffy's commission reported. His scheme was then generally discussed in the British and American countries, and as Canada then seemed likely to become soon independent—that was in 1870—the New York Chamber of Commerce proposed that Washington should give certain assurances to Canada and Great Britain. The resolution stated: "It may be intimated, in an entirely kind spirit, that if the Confederation to the north of us could obtain from the Imperial Government a guarantee that it might preserve a strict neutrality on the breaking out of all future foreign wars in which it has no interest, it might count on perpetual peace and tranquillity, and uninterrupted commercial relations with the United States."

That was a recognition that the Republic could and should enter into a peculiar compact at once with Great Britain and with an independent Canada under the crown. And if with Canada why not with any and every other country similarly independent? Such a continuance under the common crown, and such agreements with the Republic, would amount to that general union of British and American countries which would be so beneficial. That union would be a loose peace league of independencies, and all in such separate relations with the Republic and with one another that none could be embarrassed by such cumbersome jolting, vast and generally paralyzing machinery as seems contemplated by every scheme for imperial federation. We might better trust to the peculiar political aptitude of English-speaking men for free action to truly common purposes.

In that resolution of the New York Chamber of Commerce a principle was obscurely declared, a principle which if the United States would declare it distinctly, might have the happiest effects. It is the principle that geographical propinquity is a reason for preferential commercial relations. The Republic may be said to be founded on that principle, as between its sovereign States. Why should it not be applied more widely? Why should not Washington recognize, what all reasonable beings recognize in their individual concerns, that neighbors ought to be treated as people with whom pleasant relations are peculiarly profitable, both morally and financially. Mr. Blaine entertained the principle, unless I mistake the meaning of his moves in favor of reciprocity among all American countries. Were it announced by Washington, were it acted on in the large spirit which desires to give generously, not

merely because that is a fit course for the greatest and wealthiest, but because the policy of give implies the reward of getting much from the voluntary good will of the preferred countries, then we should soon see all America united by commerce, and far more firmly than ever it can be by mere political bonds.

As to Imperial Federation it appears to me that the greater statesmen believe in some positions that may be thus stated.

1. There can be no useful or safe union of the majority of English-speaking countries unless that union virtually, however tacitly, includes the United States. Clearly evinced United States good will to such union is necessary to its initiation and its permanence.

2. That such union, if arranged in any spirit of jealousy or of guarding against the predestined paramount influence of the Republic, would probably soon bring our fellow countries, all over the world, to the brink of a conflict resembling that between Rome and Carthage, a conflict in which the branches of the race might so seriously weaken one another that the paramount influence of the whole race might be long postponed, if not forever.

3. That, as all the great empires of the past have gone down by centralization, and as the English-speaking power has thrived by decentralization, we should boldly follow the course that has paid so well, and which is the proper and natural expression of the political genius of that best England—the England of Hampden, and Pym, and Chatham, and Burke, and Washington, and Lincoln, and Gladstone, and Bright—which we all revere.

We English-speaking men, whatever our origin, be it English, Scotch, Irish, German, French, Yankee, Australian—we cannot agree freely and pleasantly and usefully unless as Independences, individual, or of local communities or nations. We are so made that we cannot relinquish to any distant superior power, even if we ourselves create it in some hasty moment, the control of any important part of our individual, local, or national affairs. Upon our liberty to act together as the spirit moves us may depend the continuance of our disposition to act together. Imperial Federation appears a scheme for checking the innate tendency of our people to local and national independence, which limitation would be unreasonable, since the common action that it proposes to secure would surely be hindered by the argle-bargle, the particularism, the jealousy for local and national independency, which would ever be evinced in critical situations.

Imperial Federation, a vision of great splendor, was set usefully before the English-speaking world at a critical time. The picturing of it by enthusiasts, served nobly. It impressed the concerned people more strongly with the sentiment for standing heartily together under the ancient Crown. It promoted the feeling which is itself union. Thus it effected its essential purpose, and rendered superfluous the formal bonds which it proposed. Those bonds might but embarrass, and so tend to disunite, the various committees which are more likely to act together cheerfully, when common action may seem expedient, in proportion to their independency. Indeed, the very assumption of certain Imperial Federationists appears to some who desire effective English-speaking union, a sort of undersigned insult to the many Englands rising and arising in the world. That assumption is that they need and ever shall



need to be under bonds to help the old mother at a pinch. Gentlemen, the old land, the cradle of all the Englands and Irelands and Scotlands, the cradle of the gigantic Republic of British and Teutonic origin, is, no matter how we sometimes differ from those who occupy that sacred soil, dear to our universal heart. Let its present occupants not try to embarrass brethren by any subordination, by any bonds. Let them be glad to see us as free as themselves. Then we shall be able to prove truly whether our hearts are mere muscles, whether our souls have died or lived, whether the memory of our great history is only as a half-forgotten tale, and whether, that old land once seriously endangered, we are not the stronger and the readier, in our freedom, our independence, our birthright—stronger and readier to add navies to the great navy, and armies to the army of kinsmen, and illustrious deeds to all done on behalf of the three little countries that gave the principle of free Parliaments to mankind. Does any man here believe that the United States would stand by tamely and see Great Britain overwhelmed? What! London sacked, Cossacks ravishing in Dublin, Wexford, Limerick, Belfast; the Canongate of Edinburg rumbling with continental artillery, and Castle Hill garrisoned by War Lord William's men in spiked helmets! And New York, Boston, Chicago, idly, placidly wondering what will happen to their trade and their securities and the women of their own kin! Never! Never, unless Great Britain should fall permanently under the sway of that insensate element which seems sometimes to desire that for them there shall be enormous domination, and no freedom unendangered by their power in any part of the earth.

Of course, nobody here has understood me to signify that Canada meditates any large early change of political status. The subject is little discussed there, except in private. It is not likely to be put under general discussion unless the Imperial Federationists attempt to bring Canada into some new sort of subordination to Downing street. That would bring right on the carpet the question of independence, and also that of Union with the States. Probably the outcome would be nothing except a slight acceleration of that slow movement to complete autonomy, or independence, which has been the normal Canadian condition ever since 1837. But there is no gambling like politics, said Disraeli. Either the Imperial Federation program, if pushed, or Orange and Green, if their dispute became incurable, might create a deadlock in the Dominion and a public despair that would make for union with the Republic. When the factions permit Canada to sleep o' nights, nothing can be more absent than annexation from Canadian intention. When they raise Cain, then the Canadian mind's eye looks reluctantly to Washington. It ceases to gaze that way as soon as the family row ends. That seems to me truly significant of Canadian sentiment to the Dominion and the Republic. Into the Republic, where individual Canadians feel so much at home, Canadians will come collectively only when their country gets into such a state by faction fights or possibly by some now unforeseen crisis through jingoism, that political life in it will be very difficult. I do not believe that faction fights will ever bring Canada to that pass. I think the destiny of Canada is to continue loyal to the Ancient Crown, linked through it alone with Great Britain, linked with the Republic, and through independent agreements, linked similarly to all the other independencies of our race. Canada, God bless our na-

tive land, may yet be glorious in history as a prime motor to that general union of English-speaking men, which might well control the distracted world to a millennium of Peace, bring to pass at last the Christian dream, and incline all human beings to follow sincerely that best impulse of the universal heart, which is to do unto others as you would they should do unto you.

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**W. J. O'DONNELL, Esq.,**

Treasurer of The Intero'onal Club, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

In rising to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Thomson for his instructive address, I cannot allow the opportunity to pass without making a few comments upon that interesting topic of the probable political evolution of Canada. It is a question which ought to arouse the deepest interest of the English-speaking world. Yet until very lately it has scarce ever been taken from the background of statesmen's calculations. Until almost the beginning of the present decade, it never seemed to have occurred to England's rulers that Canada was aught else but the fanciful creation portrayed under the misnomer, "Our Lady of the Snows." British statesmen, while squandering millions in money and tens of thousands of lives to bring Africa into political and commercial relations satisfactory to their ambitions, have ignored the incalculably superior resources of her queenly colony in North America. But the truth is now being forced upon them, that Canada's potential wealth of mine and forest, of land and sea, is capable of supporting millions in comfort and prosperity. Yet it is not alone because of her vast undeveloped resources that she is now attracting attention. She has given proof of a vitality in the development of her great Northwest that has never been surpassed, if, indeed, ever equalled elsewhere. What a quarter of a century ago was a great, lone land, a silent, uninhabited plain, the haunt of elk and deer and buffalo, is now fast becoming the granary of the world. When the Canadian Pacific Railroad was planned, there was not a town from Lake Superior to the Pacific slope—today towns and cities and expansive zones of cultivated territory all along that vast thoroughfare bear unmistakable testimony to the resources of the country and to the ingenuity and endurance of her hardy and thrifty population. Should not the future of such a land of promise be of the deepest interest to us all? But what is that future likely to be? Is Canada ever likely to seek political unity with the United States? Or is that peculiar construction within the Empire known as Imperial Federation, ever to materialize? Or will Canada willingly remain indefinitely an integral colonial unit in the vast Empire? Or is she at some time not too remote for our present company to see realized, to take her place,

"Broad-based upon her people's will,"  
as a bright particular star in the family of nations?

It is true that such questions may be purely academic; yet, though a discussion of them may lead to no practical results, it cannot but arouse interest, stimulate thought and inspire patriotism. I believe with Mr. Thomson, that the almost unanimous public sentiment of Canada is today averse from annexation with the United States. If that question were to be submitted to the Canadian electorate at this time, there is no reason to believe that it would not be peremptorily eliminated as a possibility in Canada's future. And I cannot but believe that such would be the better choice for the people on both sides of the line. Each country has its own domestic problems arising out of its own peculiar social and industrial conditions, and it is difficult to understand how a better solution of those difficulties could be secured under the proposed change than at present. This country has quite enough on its hands in its negro problem, its industrial situation ever growing in intensity and in the spectre of Socialism that is unmistakably looming in the distance, without inviting the complications that would inevitably accompany a political union with Canada. On the other hand, Canada has no ambition to have some phases of our modern American industrialism and some features of our social sores introduced to disturb her equanimity. She is satisfied rather to bear the ills she has than fly to others she knows not of. Canadians are, I believe, well satisfied with their present conditions. For

"Contented toil and hospitable care,  
And kind conjugal tenderness, are there."

And they are not disposed to exchange their simple virtues for the highly wrought, complex conditions and somewhat artificial prosperity that would be given them in return.

I am not forgetful, however, that there has occasionally broken out what seemed to be a widespread demand for annexation, and it may be said, as history is likely to repeat itself, a similar demand may come again. But the sentiment for annexation was never based upon unselfish conviction, and it never had more than a fleeting hold upon the public mind. It was but a temporary wave and left behind it small results. When Sir Richard Cartwright, in an address delivered in this city some years ago, pictured the magnificent tier of new States which Canada would make along the Northern border of the Republic, he merely exhibited a symptom of that mental unrest that is apt to affect the political wayfarer in his uncertain journey to power and prosperity. Since Sir Richard has again come to what he even then regarded as his own, such sentiments would doubtless be characterized by the worthy Knight as treasonable. The question is now of little interest to Canadians. There is now practically no sentiment in favor of it, and though it once had many advocates worthy of their foemen's steel, they are now a hopeless and insignificant minority.

But, Gentlemen, there are other prospects held out for the future of Canada and one of them is that peculiar figment of the brain known as Imperial Federation. It has received at Mr. Thomson's hands such a keen dissection that I do not care to ask you to linger over the departed to reflect upon its virtues, or to recall its withered beauty, if, indeed, it ever had any beauty. I have never been able to learn what relationship the Colonies are to bear towards each other or to

the mother country in this readjustment, how much of the legislative functions was to be reserved to the Colonies; how much to be thrown into the hotch-potch at Westminster; whether the Colonies are to advance one step or to recede two steps in the plan of readjustment. The plan was, I believe, an expedient of an adroit imperial statesman who has never been regarded as strong either in his knowledge of the past or in his consistency in relation to the present, to distract attention from his shuffling in another quarter of the globe. It did have some enthusiastic advocates in the past but there are now none so poor as to do it reverence.

But is Canada likely to remain indefinitely a Colonial dependency? Even though her sons may be pretty well content with their present measure of Independence, are they likely to continue satisfied with it? I trust not. And gentlemen, if I may be permitted to indulge the expression of a fond hope, it is to see Canada take her place as one at the council board of the family of nations. The commercial supremacy of the old world is rapidly yielding to the new and the highway of the world's future traffic is quickly shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If Canada is to have her share in the development of the trade of the Continent, she must be in a position to treat for herself untrammelled by the tortuous diplomacy of Downing Street.

Moreover, she must be in a position to hold out something better than colonialism if she is to attract the best and brightest that are leaving the older countries to seek better opportunities in the newer. But more than all that, her own children will never reach their best development, will never display their transcendent abilities till the obligations and responsibilities of nationality rest upon their own shoulders. Now in all this, I do not intimate that there is any substantial cause of complaint at Britain's present treatment of her colony. But even with that concession, there are gentlemen, and perhaps some about this board, whose pro-British proclivities are so acute that they protest against any intimation of Canada's assuming the obligations of nationality, since that step would involve, as they believe, a lessening of Britain's imperial power. They are willing to deny themselves greater opportunities that others may thrive upon their dependence. Their sensitiveness upon this point is but a symptom of a pronounced provincialism which our taste of what Burns calls

"The glorious privilege of being independent"

would promptly cure.

I do not know how others may have felt when they assumed the obligations of American citizenship; but for myself, I can truthfully say that when I repudiated the allegiance to the Sovereign of Great Britain which that act involved, I did so without bitterness or ill-will towards aught I left behind, with no spirit of resentment towards the old land, or of vaing'ory in the new. Yet, as I reflected upon the significance of what the change meant, I could not but be conscious of occupying an entirely different status in the body politic. It was an exchange of the allegiance of a colonist to his sovereign for citizenship in a Republic. That may appear an over-retinement and all this pure egotism. Yet I cannot refrain from adding that in the change I felt that I had turned about to face a phase of the world's civilization more in harmony with the equality of man than the one I had just abandoned, that

I had now become a citizen of a Republic, that I had thereby experienced a new civic birth, that I was no longer the subject of a Sovereign King; indeed, that I had myself now become a veritable sovereign,—one of the sovereign people. And I believe that every Canadian, upon finding himself a citizen of an Independent Canada, would at once realize that he had thereby acquired a new and greater dignity. He would feel himself lifted to a higher plane, his outlook would be broadened, his sympathies extended and deepened, his character strengthened and exalted would be added to his moral and intellectual stature. And as the individual citizen would thus raise to grander heights, so would the commonwealth grow in strength and splendor. Canada Independent would quickly take a foremost place among the nations of the earth. From that vantage ground she would challenge the attention of the older nations and a new and rich page of human activity and moral and material development would be recorded. And she would speed along the pathway of art, science, literature and commerce to a national greatness commensurate with the resources of her domain, the stability of her institutions and the integrity and capacity of her people.

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**Mr. HENRY J. CUNNINGHAM,**

of the Intercolonial Club, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

It affords me much pleasure to second the motion made by Mr. O'Donnell. One of the chief objects of this club is to advance the interests of those of our fellow citizens who share with us the distinctive attribute of a common birthplace. Among the methods which we have adopted for the advancements of these interests is the enlightenment of our members and the public generally on the relative attractions which the land of our adoption, as well as the land of our birth, possesses for us and our families. This we have endeavored to do by inviting from time to time such men as Mr. Thomson to address us on topics which have a direct bearing on our organic existence. In other words, we feel that we have a case to present to both the people of Massachusetts and of Canada, and we are seeking the services of the very best attorneys and witnesses to present our case.

The speaker this evening has appeared in the capacity of an expert witness, and I say it without fear of successful contradiction that he is the most competent we have yet summoned to our aid. An expert witness to be competent, must possess three qualifications: First, he must be a specialist in his line; secondly, he must possess a full knowledge of the facts in the case, and thirdly, he must be sufficiently impartial to submit these facts whether they are prejudicial or otherwise to the side which has enlisted his services. That Mr. Thomson possesses these qualifications is, I think, amply proven by the exhaustive address which he has given this evening.

It might interest you, my friends, to know something of the remote

and immediate preparation which the speaker has made to qualify him for the eminent position which he occupies today among the public writers of both Canada and the New England States. In the first place, he has inherited a good constitution, a fertile brain, a sturdy, industrious nature, and a character which is distinctively broad and courageous. Born in Canada, of a mixture of Scotch and Irish stock, he was, at the age of less than sixteen, a soldier in the army of the North in that pathetic conflict which resulted in preserving the integrity of this great Republic, and banishing from this hemisphere the entire system of slavery as a legalized institution. After an extended residence among us as one of our honored citizens, he returned to the country of his birth to pursue the occupation of journalism, in which profession he had already gained prominence here. His natural independence of character and experience among the public men of this country made it easy for him to assume a point of view on the question of moment at the Canadian capital which won for him the admiration and interest, not only of Canadians, but of Americans of various political, social and economic tendencies. As a result of a set of qualifications which have made him of such value to us this evening, he has earned the reputation, through the columns of the Boston Transcript, as its Ottawa correspondent, of being one of the keenest and most impartial observers of Canadian public questions who is today contributing to the press of either country. In the words of Lord Macaulay, "He is tenacious of his own views and tolerant towards those of others."

I have little to say regarding the sentiments which Mr. Thomson has expressed this evening, except it be to endorse them practically in toto. I was particularly impressed with his views regarding the future of Canada. I think his objections to an Imperial Federation are both logical and timely. Canada is today in a stage of development which demands that she cultivate a system of commercial intercourse with the outside world which will draw her closer to the mother country and through the mother country to the other colonies of the British Empire, or one which will afford her an opportunity to develop her own individuality, thus laying the foundation of that almost absolute independence which is so fervently desired by so many of her best citizens today.

As for myself, I see nothing for Canada in an Imperial Federation. On the contrary, I see much in Mr. Thomson's theory that Canada, because of her geographical situation, can, by developing a co-operative system of commerce with her neighbor, the United States, increase in influence and population without incurring the displeasure of any one. This is in accordance with the spirit of the times. The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man has so permeated modern society that we find all classes of men ready to rise above the petty differences of sect and creed and social, as well as political affiliations, in order to unite with their fellow man in the attainment of a common good.

There is, therefore, no reason why Canadians and Americans should not live together as brothers, making the successes of one the joy of the other and the misfortunes of either the sorrow of both great families. The closer trade relations which are bound to come about be-

tween these two countries, the financial interests which capitalists are assuming simultaneously on both sides of the line, the constant migration from one country to the other of the most cherished sons and daughters of both, are circumstances which cannot fail to bind Canada and the United States together in the bonds of eternal friendship and mutual good will.

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### CHAS. H. McINTYRE, Esq.,

Vice-President of the Canadian Club of Boston, spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

Although no harm can come from a discussion of this topic, I am inclined to think that "The Future of Canada" needs a rest. Too many dilettante writers and thinkers are forever dabbling into a subject which in the main is settled. American writers and the American press are prone to arrange Canada's affairs in a manner satisfactory to their own ideas, without much regard to the views of Canadians or those of the British people. So far as Canadians in this country are concerned, the matter must necessarily be an academic one, as in the nature of things our attention must be mainly given to the land of our adoption.

Stripped of all literary verbiage, the gist of Mr. Thomson's argument is for an independent Canada under the Crown of Great Britain acting upon the sole advice of a Canadian ministry. To quote his words, "Canada would be as independent of Great Britain as Great Britain would be of Canada." "Canadian independence under the Crown, would," he thinks, "mean a perpetual league of peace with Britain. A convention of perpetual commerce and amity with the Republic would mean a peace league of North America. Canada could not go to war with either relation, but would be free to join either in war. Independent politically of both, she would yet be firmly united with both, and surely a link between them." "The destiny of Canada," says Mr. Thomson, "is to continue loyal to the ancient Crown, linked through it alone with Great Britain, linked with the Republic through independent agreements, linked similarly to all the other independencies of our race." Such is the sense proposed for our consideration.

Is it feasible? I am sure it simply means in the last analysis that the so-called independent Canada would not be independent, but a mere annex to the United States. Having thrown off her connection with Great Britain, she would become at once a second Cuba with a string to her. She would be under the domination of the Republic from first to last, and the moment she attempted to show her independence, it would be gone.

The Monroe Doctrine would be no defence to Canada, except when it suited the foreign policy of the United States. When that policy ran counter to the wishes of Canada her supposed protection would instantly disappear.

"Today in Cuba," says Warden Allan Curtis, the well-informed correspondent of the Boston Transcript, "the American Peril is the one most

important thought in the public mind." The Spanish families have been rooted out and "Americans have taken their place, Americans who walk about, talking of the hastening time when the American big stick will deal the little republic a coup de grace, Americans who look curiously, when not contemptuously on the native. To the Spaniard, with his air of ownership and being of the ruling race, has succeeded the American. Not only his speech, but his very walk, indicates a belief that Cuba is a subject land. The Cuban sees American pioneers raising American towns in the wilderness, he sees American capitalists buying the cultivated lands and the natives mere helots on their estates. He sees the seat of government itself made an American winter resort, with the imminent relegation of native society to that humble, below-stairs position which resident society occupies in any winter or summer resort."

However pleasing it may be to enumerate the benefits which the United States has conferred on Cuba, there is no question that the little republic exists by sufferance of its giant neighbor. So it would be exactly with an independent Canada under the Crown. Let those Canadians who think that they are now hampered under the British rule, try the new experiment and see.

Suppose that she undertook to negotiate a commercial treaty with a foreign nation, the terms of which discriminated against the Republic. How long do you think the Americans would permit such a condition of affairs to last? No matter how good the reasons might appear to Canadians for such a treaty, it could not be successfully carried out.

Or, let us suppose that Canada had a boundary or fisheries dispute with Uncle Sam. If the latter declined to arbitrate it—as he would be very apt to do—what would Canada do then? How much better would she fare than is associated with Great Britain? Or, suppose again, that Canadians resented the paternal influence of the Monroe doctrine over their affairs, and started to build a navy for their own defence. How long do you think it would be allowed to grow? To what extent could Canada deal independently with Newfoundland? In short, conceive of any Canadian policy which did not run parallel with American wishes, and you at once create a situation which means collision, sharp and fundamental. To conceive it is to condemn it, for Canada would no longer have the prestige and the power to back up her demands. Her boasted independence would be but a name. These suppositions are not imaginary, but are liable to become real conditions any day. Mr. Thomson is no doubt sincere, but his proposal is simply a half-way house to annexation. It has not been thought out to its logical consequences. It is a dangerous and impossible scheme. The link of an independent Canada to the Crown is a figment of the imagination. If Canadians went thus far, they would undoubtedly go farther and cut the painter entirely. There is no middle ground between genuine allegiance and absolute independence.

Again, the experience of other nations who have tried this plan is not satisfactory. The best examples of dual-monarchies are those of Sweden and Norway and Austro-Hungary. In the former we have two sovereign countries united under one Crown with separate legislatures. For ninety years there has been constant friction between them, and at the present moment they are quarreling over the consular service and other features of national life. Notwithstanding the indus-



trious and law-abiding qualities of the Scandinavian people, their experiment has not been a success. The experience of Austro-Hungary has been even less satisfactory. One emperor over two independent countries has not reconciled their troubles. Friction and misunderstanding bordering to civil war has been the normal accompaniments of their union under one Crown. Their animosities have become chronic. It is all very pretty to picture out Canada as the beautiful and independent young country of North America. But her position beside a great and powerful rival forever forbids it. She is not like Belgium or Switzerland, protected by the mutual jealousy of the great powers. She must recognize her circumstances and the decrees of fate. If we believe in annexation to the Republic, let us say so, instead of approaching it by a process of induction.

Is the proposal of Mr. Thomson desirable? I likewise answer No. Where is the practical grievance today under which the Canadian people live? It may be said that appeals to the Privy Council have caused a bungling of Canadian laws, or that Canada should frame her own treaties. But these appeals can be limited without any such scheme of independence, and as for the negotiation of treaties, Canada has always been represented, and during recent years she has had a predominant voice. There is no question but what her wishes are the decisive factor in any treaty which primarily affects her dominion. On this point I do not overlook the Alaska boundary affair. In all commercial and political matters she is practically independent today. But the negotiation of treaties is an act of sovereignty which requires the power to enforce them. Does she possess it today? This alone she derives from her association with Great Britain as the sovereign power over British Dominions. She could, of course, negotiate treaties, just as Belgium and Holland do. But in her peculiar circumstances I hold that she needs the power of Great Britain and the British Navy to strengthen and dignify her diplomatic arm. While tact and conciliation must always be employed, the reserve force behind them speaks with convincing power. I do not share the view that British diplomacy has always neglected Canada. In some instances this may have been true. But Canadians must not expect too much. They must not expect a poor or weak case to be prosecuted, even by Great Britain, to success. Believing, as I do, that they are a reasonable people, I am confident that this bugaboo as to the treaty-making power cannot be manufactured into a real grievance. Turn it as we may, there is no "casus belli" against the mother country. Everything that Canada desires today by the substantial voice of her Parliament and people, she can obtain, if it is in the power of Great Britain to confer. Independence under the Crown, would in no conceivable circumstances give her more, and in dealing with powerful nations, she would probably get much less consideration. If all nations and individuals were pleasant and generous, doubtless a little independent Canada might get on comfortably and well. But as long as selfishness dominates the policy of men and nations, the only thing that commands respect for a nation's wishes is the ability and power to make them effective.

The future of Canada does not worry me. From all the evidence

available, it appears to me that her settled course is to grow along present lines within the Empire and not out of it. She will gradually assume greater influence. She has been the pioneer in the Preferential Policy which is spreading to other self-governing colonies. They will eventually compel the mother country to follow suit, and thus a voluntary basis for commercial union will be established. Out of the Colonial conferences will grow more frequent meetings and gradually some form of Imperial Council for Imperial purposes will develop. We need not be in a hurry. Mr. Thomson believes that "we are so made that we cannot relinquish to any distant superior power, even if we ourselves create it in some mad moment, the center of any important part of our individual, local or national affairs." This I altogether deny. On the contrary, I affirm that the history of the American Union is a complete refutation of this doctrine. The Continental Congress proved to be a failure, and so was the Confederation prior to the adoption of the Constitution. In the early stages of their development, the colonies leaned hard on State rights and refused to surrender their privileges. They quarreled with each other over their public lands, and even in face of hostile forces were slow to submit to the Federal Union. But it finally came, and the Civil War cemented it as one and inseparable. Each State, of necessity, had to give up certain aspirations for the common good. So it has been with the Canadian Confederation. No State or Province is free to do as it likes. There is and must be an organic Union which is supreme over all local and provincial affairs.

So it is with Imperial Union or Federation. Properly understood it need not infringe in the slightest degree upon the local autonomy of Canada. But while I believe in the principle of local freedom, I believe also in the desirability—nay, the necessity, of some form of Imperial Union for great and supreme purposes. There is a sane, as well as an insane, Imperialism, and I decline to accept a cooked-up set of objections which have no application to the case. I say that there is a feasible and sensible union of the various parts of the British Empire that in the course of time can be effected. The people inhabiting those great regions of the earth have everything to work with, and if they throw away those immense resources and opportunities by allowing them to dissolve into a set of little, separatist and clashing states, they will prove a race of intellectual and moral pooh-bahs unfit for Dominion or the government of the finest patrimony which God has conferred upon men.

With regard to Mr. Thomson's main argument that Imperial Federation would bring Canada more quickly into collision with the United States, I am still unconvinced. Of course, if you start with the assumption that Uncle Sam must be gratified in any event, there is little use in discussing the question. I do not see how Canada united with the Empire need create more trouble than if she were independent—that is, supposing she were allowed to have any views of her own at all. Great Britain and her colonies, if they expect to become a real empire, must make up their minds to organize primarily for their own good, and not for that of outside nations. Obviously it should be done with no spirit of hostility to the Republic. There is every reason why the Empire

should be on friendly terms to the United States and that friendship should be cherished.

Running all through Mr. Thomson's address, I regret to see a lack of constructive ideas. The whole tendency of his proposal is towards disintegration. "The very assumption of the Imperial Federationist," he says, "is a sort of insult to the many Englands rising and arisen in the world." Why so? Where is their genuine freedom and happiness to be curtailed? In what respect will their civic and intellectual life be impaired? "In union there is strength," is an old maxim, and it is just as true of the British Empire as of any other collection of States. Its free and unhampered Union is not an impossibility. If its statesmen are possessed with great and expansive ideas, the progress of time will bring us nearer to it every year. Steam and electricity have annihilated space. The various parts of the Empire are visibly growing up with a common interest in their destiny. Who can say what the womb of the future will bring forth? Let us not be too hasty or unduly discouraged. I believe there is something good as well as mighty in the combination of British possessions over the globe. I believe that their union can be wrought out along lines of freedom, mutual respect and good will. I believe that their intimate combination is no menace to the United States. The best interests of the American Union will be dear to all their English-speaking brethren throughout the world, and some day the citizens of the Republic will recognize that fact. It is entirely possible for the people living beneath the two different flags to maintain their separate organic unions, and yet cordially co-operate for the great ends of humanity. The schism of the Anglo-Saxon race is there, and so far as I can see will so remain. It is useless to ignore it. But just as two brothers who have sprung from the same family generally manage their domestic affairs much better apart, so will the United States and the British Empire manage their national affairs. Each is developing free institutions in a different mould. It is not best for the Republic to have everything her own way, neither is it well for British rule to enjoy a monopoly. There is no necessity for an alliance between them. Each confederation must preserve its independent freedom of action, each must be the final judge of its own policy. In the harmony and friendship of equals I see no peril, but a guarantee of peace and tranquility over the finest regions of the earth. For these reasons I am no iconoclast of British Dominions. I am likewise no detractor of the American Union, in whose glorious mission I firmly believe. But just as that Union has arisen over the ashes of State Rights and a Southern Confederacy, so I am confident an Imperial Union of British States can be gradually accomplished, if statesmen are equal to their opportunities. In my vision, I would cherish for England's Dominions, what Webster did for the Republic—"When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in the heavens, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor these other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards,' but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, 'Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.'"

### **W. BENNETT MUNROE, Ph. D.,**

Instructor in Government at Harvard University, and President of The Harvard Canadian Club, spoke in part as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

The logical and dispassionate analysis of Canadian sentiment towards the United States which has been presented to us in Mr. Thomson's paper must assuredly give satisfaction to those of us who combine a loyal interest in the land of our domicile with a natural affection for the land of our birth. The cordiality of contemporary Canadian sentiment towards the Republic is especially satisfactory in that it arises largely from a recognition by the people of Canada that their best political, social and economic interests can be served only through the maintenance of the "amitié cordiale" with the United States. It is in mutuality of interests that the best basis of permanent friendship are laid; other bases are apt to be transitory only.

That Canada should have passed the greater period of her history with a strong undercurrent of unfriendly feeling towards her ponderous neighbor may now be deplored; her doing so was, however, not without explanation or reason. It must be borne in mind that the two countries spent their early years in the bitterest of hostilities; the hereditary enmity of Gaul and Saxon was reproduced on this side of the Atlantic in the border struggles of New France and New England. The French Canadian of the old régime learned to hate the New Englander as the instigator of all the difficulties encountered by his race in its endeavor to create a Bourbon and Catholic empire beyond the seas. For the expulsion of France from North America his resentment was directed not so much against England herself as against the American offspring of England for whose direct benefit the conquest of New France had been undertaken and accomplished. It is no marvel, therefore, that the Habitant, during the Revolutionary War, showed little desire to link his fortunes with traditional enemies.

The migration of the Loyalists, moreover, added to the population of Canada a large and influential body of men who had little reason to entertain friendly feelings towards the people of the land which they had just left. Many of these transmitted to their sons and grandsons a legacy of bitterness and supplied a leaven of animosity which served very distinctly to mould public opinion more particularly in Upper Canada during the earlier years of the nineteenth century.

Then the War of 1812-1815 served to unite the various provinces in a defensive and, to Canadians, an unjust war. The war served to crystallize and to intensify the traditional antipathy of both sections of the Canadian people towards the Americans. Students of history have not always sufficiently recognized that one of the chief bonds between the French and English populations of Canada during the first quarter of the nineteenth century was their common animosity towards the United States. A little later when the two races came into political broils, each raised against the other the bogey of American intervention as a means of enforcing its demands.

But the last three or four generations have seen a marked departure from the old sentiment; the historical grounds of estrangement are becoming forgotten. There has been a recasting of Canadian feeling towards the mother country during this period as well. The bonds of sentimental attachment to England have been supplanted by the much stronger ties of common political, social and economic interests. These latter, too, have served to bridge the old gulf between Canada and her nearest neighbor.

From an economic standpoint, the present political position of the Dominion is a very desirable one; she receives the maximum of protection, security and freedom of action at the minimum of cost. So long as the economic motive is dominant in the minds of men, those who would convince Canadians of the advisability of any change in the political status of the Dominion may reasonably hope for success only in so far as they can present therewith some economic arrangement more favorable than that which Canada now enjoys. To do this will not be easy; and until it is done, schemes looking towards altered political relations either with England or the United States will come in for little serious consideration.



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# The Intercolonial Club of Boston

was organized under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.  
August 22, A. D. 1903.



Its membership is made up of persons born in the Maritime Provinces, and their sons, irrespective of birthplace, residing in Massachusetts, and who are citizens of the United States, or who have declared their *bona fide* intention of becoming citizens.

The objects of the Club are social and educational work among its members, and the inculcation of a spirit of broad and disinterested civic duty in the community.

The Club owns the property situate at 214-216 Dudley Street, Boston, on which a commodious hall and finely equipped club house is to be erected.

The Officers and Board of Directors are as follows: John A. Campbell, President; A. C. Chisholm, 1st Vice-President; Joseph Fortune, 2d Vice-President; W. J. O'Donnell, Treasurer; D. J. Chisholm, Secretary; W. D. MacDonald, Financial Secretary; Neil McNeil, Henry J. Cunningham, Thomas E. Johns, R. J. McCormack, M. D., D. A. McDonald, and H. Judson Smith.

All communications should be addressed to D. J. Chisholm, Secretary, Stoughton, Mass.

