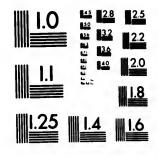


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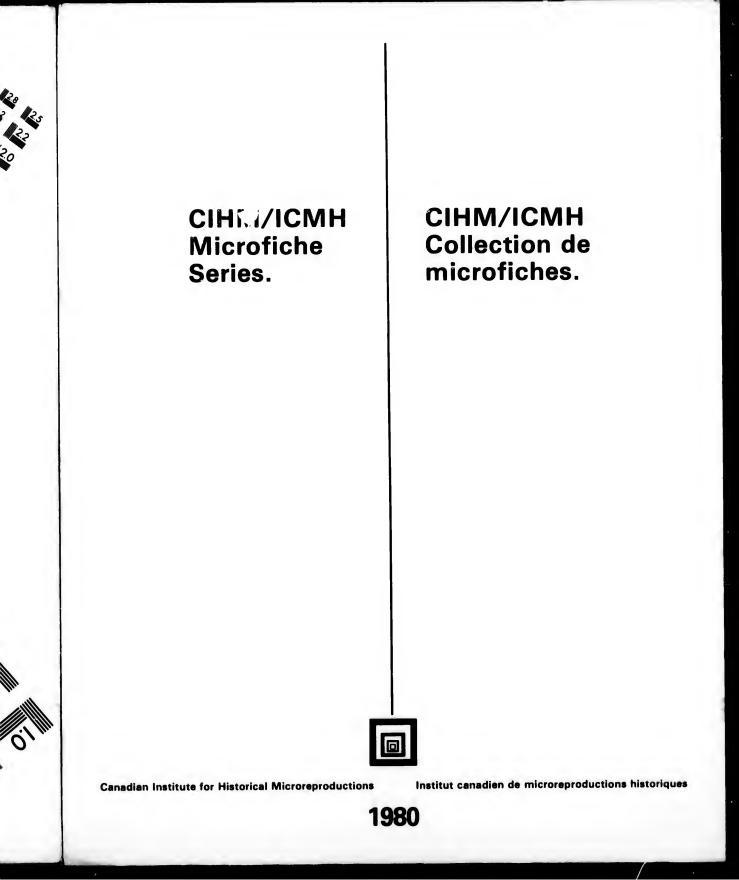




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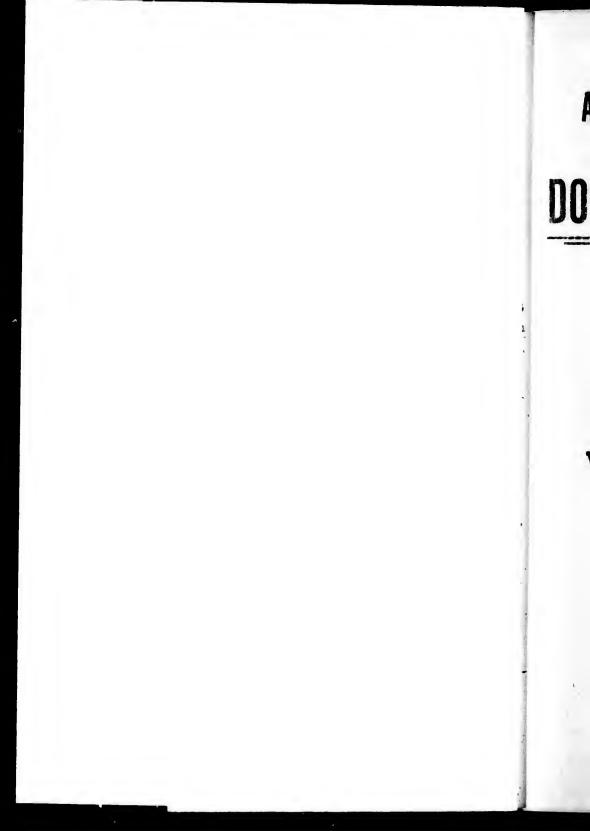
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AN OPEN LETTER ON THE QUESTION

DO YOU WANT ANNEXATION

TO THE

UNITED STATES ?

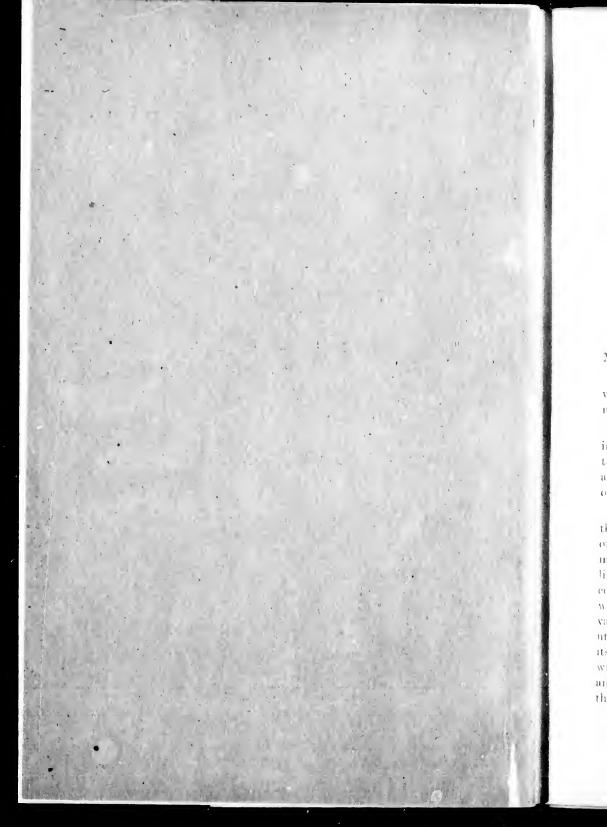
WRITTEN TO AN AMERICAN FRIEND,

By "BASTION OLD."



TORONTO: J. G. FERGUSON, Printer, 67 Adelaide St. West.

1890.



UNITED STATES?

HAMILTON, ONT.,

February 9, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR,

I was placed in receipt of your favor of the 29th ultimo in which you desire me to express my opinion upon "the annexation movement" in Canada.

I would say in reply that the so called "movement" has no existence in the minds of loyal British Canadians or outside of what is known as the "Garr" (called *par excellence* the "Reform") party and only among an insignificant faction of them, which faction is loyal only to their own side of party polities.

There are in Canada as in the United States two great political parties, these are subdivided upon minor questions; one is *called* the "Reform" or "Grit" party; the other is the Liberal Conservative party. The first named are out of power and office, the second is in office and power and tikely to remain so, because they are the party who have carried the country through all its perils and successes in the past and have made it what it is, in point of prosperity, and manufacturing and commercial advancement, and in opening up its broad plains to traffic by railroads, utilizing its ports for steamships, and settling cultivators of the soil upon its vast wilderness. The other party call themselves "Reformers," without anything to reform except themselves and their own methods and usages, who would fain stop the progress of the country, or do anything to get the ruling party out, provided, that they themselves could get into power, and they do not mind ruining the country to attain that object, in fact they stick at nothing ! If you take the map of our North-West Territory and notice the numerous lakes, rivers and streams which lie between Ontario and the Rocky Monntains, you will see the illustration of the wide difference in enterprise between these two parties, and be able to determine which are the "Reformers."

The "Grit" party when in power made it one of the conditions of confederation with British Columbia which was then outside of the old Province of Canada (now constituting the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec) that certain Great Roads should be constructed so as to facilitate communication between the Provinces from east to west and *cice versa*.

It was their idea of putting down railroads between the water stretches of the great lakes and rivers in the North West so as to connect Ontario with British Columbia and avail themselves of the navigation of the water stretches by steambouts and other means of inter-communication, and put down railroads across the plains, and complete a through line from Vancouver to the railroad system of Ontario, so that all this would be closed up in winter, because in their simplicity they thought the plains would only be traversable in summer, on account of the depth of snow in winter, and that system was to be completed in ten years.

That government went out of office as the resulting cause of a general election which took place in 1878, at which the two great parties contended upon the general National policy, upon the want of enterprise of the so called "Reform" party, and upon their desire to cuitivate commercial amity and amenities with the United States to the sacrifice of our own Commercial, Agricultural and Manufacturing interests. The country sustained the aims of the Liberal Conservatives and their proposed National Policy, so that the so called "Reformers" or "Grits" were outnumbered at the polls; the "Grit" ministry resigned and Sir John Macdonald was called to form a Government, which he did. His Ministry has been sustained by the country for eleven years, and has stood before the Electors and their policy endorsed at three different general elections. They are as firmly fixed in power as they were when first called to power in 1878.

In these circumstances and in this time they have fostered a National Policy which has opened up vast manufactures throughout the older settled parts of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, 'and Fisheries and Industries of various kinds; water power which was in various places comparatively idle, unopened and unemployed, are now being utilized for e ta at C

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manufacturing and industrial purposes. Our Farmers are now prosperous, and our country has grown in strength, wealth and population. I do not speak or refer to the present depressed state of trade because that is not peculiar to Canada but common to the whole commercial world. In a word the country has awakened from a condition of comparative torpor to that of living activity. The Ministry in power dropped the idea of the water stretches and short railroads between them and the expense of locomotives on every little railroad between the water stretches and keeping everything asleep and idle during the winter, and awoke to the necessity of a through rail route from hence to Vancouver in British Columbia, which should be kept open in winter as well as in summer. Instead of completing this undertaking in Ten years they did it all in FOUR YEARS! They have since opened up communications between Japan and China with Canada, and it is part of their scheme to establish direct mail Steamship service, and passenger and trading lines and routes with Australia and New Zealand, so as to make the Canadian Railway the highway between these countries and colonies and Great Britain, and still this party of progress is called the "Tory Party" by way of reproach! whilst the standstill, platformless "Grits" without a policy, are called "Reformers" and the "Party of Progress" by way of distinction.

Now you will ask, what this has to do with your question? I will ex-This "Reform" party are the "sore heads," they want to get inplain. to power, they fostered the Rebellion in the North West for the sake of embarrassing the Government. After the traitorous Louis Riel was taken prisoner they clamored for his trial and conviction as a murderer and malefactor. After his conviction they and their newspapers clamored for his execution as a slaver of Roman Priests, and a Rebel. At every step they knew the Roman Catholics and French of the Province of Quebee, led on by Jesuit conspirators, would sympathise with Riel, and raise an ignorant race and revenge and cabalistic outery that Riel was only persecuted because he was a "Catholic" and a "Frenchman," and they made a martyr of him. The Government of Sir John Macdonald refused to recommend the Governor General to exercise the royal clemency, and so let the law take its course; the sentence of death was sustained and the traitor was executed, as he ought to have been. Immedi-. ning, the daily "Grit" papers from one end of ately, the very next Canada to the other, execrated the Government as Monsters of Cruelty. and called them "Murderers," "Hangmen," and "Assassing," --- and what not? It has since transpired that the so called "martyr" Riel was not a Roman Catholic at all, but a calumniator of that religion and of its priests and bishops.

That is the party to which the annexation morement belongs, so far as it has had motion. The fire-eaters of that party are those who, if they were patriotic, would do well "by leaving their country for their country's good" and emigrate and leave this Canada of ours to reside whereever in the United States or elsewhere — anywhere that either business, or health, or convenience might seem to recommend them to go. We should be glad and the country would do well to get rid of them, and as they would answer well to stir up the anarchistic element in your cities which has been so largely imported from Europe, and is of such acknowledged power, that we would prefer their enjoying, to the full, all the sweets of American liberty, as it is called, which is so much appreciated by demagogues of their stamp, for they are more needed in your country than they are in ours.

The rank and file of these people prate and sympathise and sympathise and prate about "Home Rule for Ireland," and with Home Rulers —Fenians, and "Plan of Campaigners" with their dynamitards and secret plotters and assassins, because they are themselves disloyal.

I am quite aware that the "Grit" party do not *all* belong to this category. There are a great many honest, loyal, peace-loving citizens in the so called "Reform party" but the rank and file are disloyal to the comtry, and would do anything that might oust or overturn the party in power. It is amongst them and by some of them and *some of them only*, that all agitation, (if I may call it so) has been brought about, which you are pleased to term "the proposed Amexation of Canada" to your own country and Government, but they are a very small minority of our people.

I am aware that Mr. Erastus Wiman, a Canadian, residing in New York, outside of the Congress at Washington and some of your Legislators inside the Congress have made a considerable *splutter*, (it does not amount to an agitation) in favor of Commercial Union between the two countries, and that two of the Toronto daily papers and other Grit papers in the Dominion have written and published a good deal in sympathy with, and in the interest of Mr. Wiman and those who favor his views. I am also aware that many, honestly enough, only wish for Commercial Union, whilst some would willingly go in for annexation with the great North American Republic, and others for Colonial Independence; but rest assured, it is only the *talk* of the few, and almost, if not altogether confined to the "sore heads" I have referred to, and the few who would sell their country, (as many of your American eitizens would do if they had the chance) for a money consideration. There are some Caundians, 1 am ashamed to say, who, like many American eitizens, have *pr de* of country, but no greater *love* for their country than would suit their own moneyed interests or convenience, or avarice— Such men are to be found in every country, as was the case, long ago, with a certain despised Scotchman, who "sold his King for a Great ! ! "

My dear Sir, we do not wish to join ourselves to a country where the virtuous and true American citizer and *patriot* of the past has few representatives, and no political influence at the present time; where the scum of Europe has such political sway as it has in the United States, especially in your cities; where President and public men, candidates for office, steep down to obey the behests of an ignorant anarchist mob, or to propitiate a nurderons political Irish faction, and ignore the fact that there is a better element in their midst (I mean the Angle-American) who have as much right to be pleased and satisfied and that the body politic have as much right to be *raised up*, as the mob has to be pandered to.

We do not envy your political condition in the least, for reasons which will hereafter be shown, and as our patriotism is ingrained, we have nothing to hope for from political union with your country. There certainly are none held ont to us from any social advantages you may offer a people loyal to their own principles and instincts. We have had Kings and Queens many, and tyrants many, and mobs and political riots many, and civil wars and revolutions many; but the outcome of all these is that without the repressive force of a soldiery to keep us in order, we would from free choice, far rather submit to what American citizens are innocently in the habit of calling the "tyranny" of a constitutional ruler centered and emphasized by the Crown and power and dignity of our own Imperial Great Britain, and Her Majesty's Representative sent out as Governer-General of Canada under a limited Monarchy, such as we onjoy at present, than all the ever-varying and senseless changes which your system begets-with an occasional outburst of mob-rule or touch of over-powering demagogery thrown in-which your more uncertain rule of the sovereign people secures, and which is ignorantly and vulgarly miscalled " Liberty."

The English speaking and French speaking loyalists of Canada are like Max O'Rell's typical Englishman, whom he describes as "the staunchest "monarchist, and at the same time, the freest; * * * which proves that "freedom is compatible with a monarchical government. There is no "French legitimist more loyal than he, there is no * * * * Republican "more passionately fond of liberty: nay, I will go so far as to say, that

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" in France, people would be treated as dangerous demagogues who "demanded zertain liberties, which the English have long possessed "under a monarchy; to defend which the most conservative of them "would allow himself to be rent in pieces." And as O'Rell has said in another place "we refuse to submit to despotism in any shape or form, certainly we do not crave for that of your mob democracy, "our nation keeps in order and respects power,"--we bow to the decision of a majority--we "discipline all our guides and ministers and rulers,"-our Queen, our princes, our generals, our judges and magistrates--because it is essential to o "national prosperity and to the maintenance of our old monarchy and free institutions." In a word, of us it may be said, "Celum non animum mutant gai trans mare current."

Your historians and writers of geography for schools, class your country among the first-class, civilized and enlightened nations, and Span, Portugal and Italy as of the civilized or second-class nations. I do not care to correct any seeming error on this point, but let use ask you or any other citizen candidly! do you believe that in any civilized country on earth, in proportion to population, there are more private assassinations, or one in which there are more people who. *Spaniard like*, use the bowie-knife and the revolver instead of the dagger and the stiletto, than in the United States ?

Your politicians high up in office have always given conntenance to the Fenian Brotherhood for the sake of securing their votes at elections, and encouraged their aim of subduing Canada and annoying our people. Fillibusters would have long ago invaded and tried to conquer our country and upset the British power and annex Canada to the United States (as was done with Texas), but they were stopped by the old British pluck which exists here like that which existed in the time of the Revolution of the American Colonies, but which Fillibusters and cowards do not care to encounter, for it says to them "Come on if you dare!"

In what civilized country in the world but your own, is there the difficulty of agreeing upon the terms of an Extradition Treaty with the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland? where in all the wide world (where Monarchial Institutions are in force) would you find a man in the position of the ruler of a nation stooping to take an advantage for himself seeking office or aggrandisement out of the treacherous revealing of the contents of a private letter, written in the confidence of one gentleman towards another supposed gentleman? (who proved himself a low blackguard and trickster) except Grover Cleveland? and then following it up seeking a further advantage to conciliate the Irish vote, by ordering Lord Sackville ignominiously to quit his Ambassadorial position? Where is there to be found in all the British Dominions, a statesman who would stoop so low as that? There is no such statesman in Camida, unless he is a clear Grit, who yearns for annexation to the United States, because he is in the cold shades of opposition to the Government.

Again do you suppose that there is any strong feeling towards annexation with a country where the right of trial by jury is invaded, or travesticd or degraded? we enjoy too well the freedom from oppression and cruelty which that Institution amongst us insures, to wish to change it for your methods of avenging the commission of crime. Did you ever hear of a man in Canada who was a lunatic or an irresponsible crank being taken out of goal and hanged by the neck until he was dead, as was Guiteau? or, of a woman being put to death as was Mrs. Surratt, without the sanction of a legal sentence by a constitutional fribunal? all done to gratify the sensational cravings of the sovereign people? Do you suppose that these things could take place anywhere under the British Crown? and especially in Canada? or that lynch-law, as it is called, could be put in force without the law taking hold of, and dealing with the perpetrators of such crime as murderers. How many barbarous atrocities of that kind do you read of taking place in the course of a venr in the United States? I read of scores of them being perpetrated in your country. The peculiarity attending them is, that no one is punished for taking the law into their own hands by a mob, and putting supposed criminals to death without the intervention of a legal tribunal. That assassinations take place, because every man and woman, may carry a weapon as he or she lists, wherewith to slay, a neighbor, for any offence however trivial, and because the people represented by a mob may do anything with impunity, is something we cannot join in approving. The rule is for all such, in your country, and under your democracy, to go unpunished and unwhipped of justice, in fact, every mob and everyone may, and do, set the law at defiance, and act as whim or passion dictates in the United States. Do you imagine that there would be any advantage accruing to us, to be annexed to a country where Judges are elected? and Legislators and Judges and Juries are notoriously corrupted by bribes? and in which there are more murders committed for the lesser population, than there are in any of the countries of Europe with their larger populations? Statistics of course tell us that there are more murders committed in one year in the city of New York alone, than there are in the whole of Great Britain, including the city of London.

What advantage let me ask, has your country or system of Government to offer us to counterbalance all these weighty considerations and objections?

It is well known, that in the cities of the United States, full fifty per cent. are refugees from Europe or their descendants, who immigrated there because it was necessary for them to leave the countries whence they came, and they had nowhere else to go. In searching for a country where they might have "Liberty" they reached a country where they found *License*, where the best people are not politicians, but in which the politicians are the worst, the most mendacions, unscrupulous and jacobinical demagogues, who are always hunting for trouble, and making it sure.

Your population, once wise, law abiding, God fearing, patriotic and has got beyond the control of your own laws-so that ..., laces, the very preaching of the Gospel has become an offence of men are not only so much beyond the restraints of law, merality and digion that the desceration of the Lord's Day, once hallowed and las a day of rest, has, under the sanction of use and abuse, become the rule and not the exception, in your "Atlens of America," with all its hallowed memories of the past, and its boasted learning and refinement of manners, and the law imprisons those who protest against it. A case occurred not long ago where, in Boston, for the public preaching of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus, in an open park, a minister of that Gospel. was fined and imprisoned because he did not first obtain a so-called " permit" from the Chairman of the Park Committee, and that same Chairman was "an alien" and a liquor seller.

There are "Americans" and Americans and it requires two entirely different kinds of men to represent them both. As we find them in the United States, one of them are to the manor born and are like ourselves wherever we meet them: their traditions, their aspirations, their instincts and proclivities are Anglo Saxon, and—if you please. Anglo American—but the others are aliens, in blood, in instincts, in *everything*? They are "Bohemians," "Dogans," "Anarchists," "Polacks," "Milesiańs" and "Hungarians," made Americans as some men are made gentlemen, by act of Parliament! which no law can reach and no law of naturalization or oath of eitizenship will ever bind in fealty to the sovereignty that "our national sceptre had once over your people. They have no traditions of their own to care about, and they and theirs will

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never care for those which belonged to the American people of the past, you cannot absorb them and still they are, forsooth. American citizens !

There are questions booming up above the horizon in your near political future, which it would become Canadians to be very shy of encountering, and which, believing in ourselves and our own destiny, we would do well not to hazard chances upon — There is the Negro question in the South; that will make trouble for your country, if it has not commenced already. The lynching of colored people, whom slavery has brutalized, and a proclamation has enfranchised without a proper course of instruction or probation, will not propitiate a class who outnumber the whites.

We have civilized negroes who were refugees from slavery, and their descendants; with them the right to the franchise and hospitality are not elements of danger to us but of confidence in us, and the Indians who were treated so cruelly in Dakota by your peculating and rascally United States and Government Indian Agents, are, with us, pence-loving citizens, not vet possessing the franchise, but so appreciative of the benignity of our Government and our good will manifested towards them, that they refused to join in Riel's rebellion in the North West, but on the contrary offered to aid our troops and to take up arms in defence of our white settlers. They came to us as "Sioux" from Minnesota and Dakota, where they were ill-treated by your people, and degradingly and inhumanly spoken of as "bucks" and 'does," because by wrong they had been driven to desperate deeds-rapine and murder. Here, kind treatment and our paternal government, and trust in their honor and honesty, has made it unnecessary for the white settler to lock up his barn or stable, or to turn the key in his door lock.

We have the greatest and most healthy and complete democracy in the world; our Governors and officials do not purchase their way into office as do your officials, from the President down to the Sheriff. Such a thing was never heard of as a British statesman sending money to any one to secure the office of Governor General of Canada, as Grover Cleveland was said to have sent \$10,000 to Chicago, in order the better to secure the Democratic vote; nor do they ever stoop to do mean and contemptible things, or resort to low electioncering expedients in order to propitiate political rings such as that of Tammany Hall.

The Premier of Canada who represents the democracy of the elective element in our system of Government wisely and really exercises more power and commands more, patronage (for which he is directly responsible to the people in their Parliament) than does the Governor General, who represents Her Majesty the Queen only, and unless he could command a majority in the democratic branch of the Legislature he could not hold his place for a day. Had such a vote on a general election in this country have manifested the want of farther confidence of our people in him and his Governmental Cabinet, as was done to Grover Cleveland in November, 1888, Sir John Macdonald would not have held the seals of office for a single week, and still under your system Grover Cleveland and his irresponsible Cabinet, notwithstanding that verdict of the whole nation against them, held on to office for four months. Why did they do so? It was not because they still represented the confidence of the people, but because their time to serve in the office, like that of a footman who has received a month's warning from his master, which month was not expired, and they staid in *anyway* until the office belonged to others by effluxion of time without reference to public confidence.

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The primary instincts of a British subject are that he is willing to be governed by those who bear rule, and he knows and feels, under our better system of Democracy, that he has a full voice in the choice of his rulers through his Parliamentary Representative. He goes through the process of being ruled from the cradle to the school house, and from the school house to the grave. Each man has a voice; and the only difference between your system and what I have represented as ours, is, that you admit men to share in the Government who have never learned to either govern themselves or to submit to authority or to that which shall. be for the common weal; the very youth of your country are not taught to obey or even respect their parents, much less are they taught to obey or respect rulers of the Nation, or superiors in any rank. Look at some of your cities, In San Francisco only six per cent. are native Americans, all the rest are foreigners. In Chicago only from eleven to twelve per cent. are Americans, the rest are foreigners. Boston used to be governed by natives, or men with American instincts; now it is almost entirely under the rule of Irish of the lowest classes.

In the earlier days of colonization the strong, the healthy, the enterprising, the thrifty and the good were the immigrants who peopled your country. From them sprang a progeny which did honor and worked benefit to your nation, but the spirit of land speculation and the rage for making money out of manufactures, by importing cheap labor for handicrafts, and building up manufacturing and other monopolies requiring operatives, was the means of importing the very dregs of society and the offscourings of Europe. Until these came the Anglo Saxon race held the mastery which it is now losing, and in some localities has lost. This is a problem which we would rather your people should solve for themselves without our taking part or lot with them in it. It will in time prove a kind of "rod jor the jool's back" which you have prepared for yourselves, and as you have prepared it, we are willing that your masters should lay it on, and that we should not be mixed up with it. All the ill-gotten millions of the Vanderbilts and the Goulds and others I could name, will not save your country from ruin. We have the English, Scotch, Irish, French, Germans, Scandinavians and others as settlers they are coming in every year—they are frugal, sober, industrious; their success does not lie in their numbers, nor does the benefit that their coming brings with it, depend so much upon their muscles and sinews as on their moral worh; that will bring wealth and weal with it to the Nation at large, and we would be unwilling to dilute these benefits by abandoning our advantage to join hands with you in national ties.

The great hope which Canada has as regards the future is by remaining under the ægis of the British flag, with British modes and British rule and British liberty and in federal union with the Mother land. We know what it is to share in her traditions and the glorg of the grandest *Empire on earth*! We are therefore not disposed to be suicidal and to exchange the advantages and liberty and protection we possess and know of for the more than uncertain or ideal advantages of belonging to a country which is truly great in its area and capabilities, in its commercial position and rich productions, but which has proved, and is yearly proving a great social and governmental failure. Besides it would involve a depth of degradation that we as Canadians are not capable of, to hand over our allegiance to foreigners. In short, Canada and Canadians are neither to be sold or given away.

Look at Great Britain and France! which have been pointed at as "the happiest the richest, the most industrious—pioneers of civilization, * * passionately fond of liberty, in every shape—and each possessing the glorious goddess, (a strange irony of fate) the one in REALITY under a monarchy, the other in DREAMS under a republic !"—Such is your dream of liberty! Look at our respective conditions, Canada under that same monarchy, a confederation of Provinces with a government directly responsible to, and controlled by the electorate of a free people and the United States under a President, elected (as was your General Harrison) by a possible minority of your people, under the guise of a so-called "universal suffrage" and a myth, (and not by any means a fit representation of the intelligence or respectability of the whole nation) with a Cabinet responsible to no one but the President, and a Congress, not controlled by statesmen, but by ignorant braggart, low demagogues, rapacious memopolists and rings, unscrupulous wirepullers, vampires, financial schemers and parricides ?!! Which system, let me ask, holds out the more hopeful promises of liberty ?

1 will draw this long epistle to a close by saving that there are a thousand of my way of thinking, who use the arguments 1 employ, and better ones too on this subject, in Canada, for every one who can be found on the side of what you term "proposed amexation" of Canada to the United States; and to say, in conclusion, that the arguments are If on one side; there are no *arguments* that I have ever met with on the other. The natter has been fully discussed and disposed of to the entire satisfaction of the loyal people of Canada (the vast majority of the people) on two recent occasions, viz : a few weeks ago, by a loval address to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, from the House of Commons of Canada, assuring her of our continued affection for, and devoted attachment to, her person and throne, and our determined lovalty to our connection with the motherland, which was unanimously assented to, (It is the three of the members slunk away from giving their votes, but you will admit there are skulkers in every camp,) and in a speech made by Dr. Beers, of Montreal, one of our eloquent and representative men, at Syracuse, N. Y., at a dinner of the members of his profession some two years ago; the sentiments of which have found an echo all over the Dommion, and if what he said on that oceasion will be of any value. I send it for you to peruse and utilize in the way you wish; but as I have no other copy of it, I must beg you to return the cutting at convenience. The speech has been since published in pamphlet form, but I have not yet been able to supply myself with it. in that form. All that may be said on the other side of the question you can easily obtain by addressing a letter to Erastus Wiman, Esq., New York, who will be sure to send you a courteous reply.

I shall be very happy to receive a letter from you at any time, following up our pleasant acquaintance formed at——or to see you at my house, any time that you may be passing this way.

With kindest regards,

1 remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely, Bastiox Ol.b.

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