

The Road to Washington.

AND WHY PUBLIC MEN AND
NEWSPAPERS IN THE UNITED
STATES BELIEVE THAT THE
RECIPROCITY AGREEMENT
WILL LEAD TO THE COMMERCIAL
AND POLITICAL UNION
OF CANADA WITH THE
* * * UNITED STATES. * *

*Containing extracts from a pamphlet
Issued by the Canadian National League,
314 McKinnon Building,
TORONTO.*

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL LEAGUE.

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Secretary:

ARTHUR HAWKES, 314 McKinnon Building, Toronto.

OBJECTS: To oppose the adoption of the proposed Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States of America, and to support such measures as will uphold Canadian nationality and British connection; will preserve our fiscal independence and will continue to develop our present national policy of inter-provincial and external trade under which the Dominion has achieved its present prosperity.

The Executive invite all who are in sympathy with its objects to join the League, and to send the Secretary their names and addresses, and the names and addresses of persons to whom the League's literature will be acceptable.

THE ROAD TO WASHINGTON.



IF two firms, one twelve times as big as the other, decide to do business in the same field, and the smaller firm undertakes that its policy shall be agreeable to the larger, how soon will it become a mere subsidiary of its competitor? And, having become subsidiary, how long will it take the larger to absorb the smaller?

The Reciprocity Agreement now before Parliament, arranged at the instigation of the United States, by two members of the Canadian Government, will create an exactly parallel international situation, which is clearly recognized in the United States by public men and periodicals everywhere.

It is intended to attach Canadian trade to United States interests, so that there shall be no difference between them; and to detach Canadian trade interests from Britain, so as to prevent the commercial consolidation of the British Empire. Let these two things be accomplished and the political union of Canada with the United States will be inevitable.

WOULD SAVE U. S. FORESTS.

President Taft wants the natural resources of Canada, commercial union with Canada, and the commercial disunion of the Empire. Sending the agreement to Congress he wrote:—

“Ought we not, then, to arrange a commercial agreement with Canada if we can, by which we shall have direct access to her great supply of natural products? They are coming to the parting of the ways. Should we not now, therefore, before their policy has become too crystallized and fixed for change, * * * greatly increase the natural resources available to our people? * * * By giving our people access to Canadian forests, we shall reduce the consumption of our own, which, in the hands of comparatively few owners, now have a value that requires the enlargement of our available timber resources.

"The reduction in the duties imposed by Canada will give us even a larger share of her market than we now enjoy, great as that is."

Shortly afterwards the President spoke at Columbus, Ohio, and said:—

"The greatest reason for adopting this agreement is the fact that it is going to unite two countries with kindred people, and lying together across a wide continent in a commercial and social union."

Next Mr. Taft went to Atlanta, and further developed his idea of commercial union:—

SHOULD BE LIKE STATES.

"When we entered upon the negotiations I asked the Secretary of State and his Commissioners to offer free trade in everything, but this Canada could not grant us, because she has a protected system and she was afraid of the competition of our better organized industries. Canada is at the parting of the ways. If we now neglect this opportunity to bring about closer business and trade relations, and insist upon the continuance of an artificial wall between the two countries, which differ no more in conditions of labor and production than do Kentucky and Tennessee or Georgia and Alabama, we shall throw away an opportunity for mutual benefit not likely to recur."

Finally, President Taft, at New York, at the end of April, urged the editors of the United States to support the agreement, and used these words as the crowning reason why they should do it:—

PREVENT THE BRITISH BAND.

"I have said that this was a critical time in the solution of the question of reciprocity. It is critical because, unless it is now decided favorably to reciprocity, it is exceedingly probable that no such opportunity will ever again come to the United States. The forces which are at work in England and in Canada to separate her by a Chinese wall from the United States, and to make her part of an Imperial commercial band reaching from England around the world to England again, by a system of preferential tariffs, will derive an impetus from the rejection of this treaty, and if we would have reciprocity, with all the advantages that I have described and that I earnestly and sincerely believe will follow its adoption, we must take it now or give it up forever."

Mr. Knox, the United States Secretary of State—chief member of President Taft's Cabinet—speaking at a Reciprocity dinner in Chicago, which, to quote the official report of the Chicago Association of Commerce, was representative of "cities

as far north as Duluth and as far south as Nashville; as far east as Cleveland and as far west as Omaha," said:—

"The free admission of grain from Canada thus * * * provides against contingencies when the Canadian surplus becomes greater by placing the control in the hands of our own grain growers."

LIKE ANNEXATION TREATIES.

At President Taft's request, Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture, wrote a letter, giving this as a culminating reason why the farmers should accept the agreement:—

"Adoption of the pending Reciprocity Treaty would, from the National standpoint, be as much an act of wisdom as was the adoption of treaties in the past that have added to our own country more than half its present area."

The statesman of second practical importance in the United States is the present Speaker of the House of Representatives and leader of the Democratic party—Mr. Champ Clark. This is what he said in Congress:—

"Therefore, I am in favor of the reciprocity treaty because I hope to see the day when the American flag will float over every square foot of the British North American possessions clear to the North Pole. They are people of our blood. They speak our language. Their institutions are much like ours. They are trained in the difficult art of self-government. My judgment is that if the treaty of 1854 had never been abrogated, the chances of a consolidation of these two countries would have been much greater than they are now."

BRITAIN WILL GLADLY LET GO.

"I do not doubt that the day is not far distant when Great Britain will joyfully see all of her North American possessions become part of this Republic. That is the way things are tending now. I do not confine my support of reciprocity bills to this one. I am in favor of reciprocity treaties with the Central and South American Republics, including Mexico. The quicker we get them the better off we will be. Of course, as between the two, if we had to have reciprocity with Canada and not with these countries to the south, or with the countries to the south and not with Canada, I would take reciprocity with Canada."

Hon. Samuel McCall, who brought the Reciprocity Bill before the House of Representatives in January, had previously given his view of reciprocity:—

"Add to the tremendous influences that are pulling the two countries together, the entangling web that is woven by reciprocal trade, and the inevitable day will be more quickly reached when the two countries shall be politically one."

Introducing the Bill, Mr. McCall gave his idea of the weapon the agreement furnishes the United States to use against Canadian-British relations:—

“It is scarcely good form for us to regulate in advance, the internal fiscal policy of the British Empire. It will, however, always be within the power of Congress, if it shall appear that any undue advantage is hereafter given to Great Britain, to correct and change these rates, or repeal them all.”

CUMMINS ALWAYS FOR ANNEXATION.

Senator Cummins of Iowa, the leader of the insurgent Republicans in the Senate and a probable candidate for the Presidential nomination next year, said:—

“I am for the annexation of Canada. I have always been, and if it were generally understood that Canadian annexation was the purpose of the pending pact, it doubtless would help the measure in becoming law here.”

Senator McCumber of North Dakota, also:—

“Canadian annexation is the logical conclusion of reciprocity with Canada.”

Mr. Prince of Illinois, in the House of Representatives, on April 28th, took strong ground, and was not interrupted:—

CERTAINLY, THE FIRST STEP.

“What is the history of the American people? We might as well be frank and honest. Americans went into Texas, Americanized it, and it was annexed as part of this great Union. Americans went into Hawaii, Americanized it, and annexed it. And if these bright young men that the President speaks of in his speech—these clever, active, virile, vigorous young men from the farms of Illinois and Northern States, the thousands and hundreds of thousands of them—go up into that Northland, 92 or 100 and more on this side, as against seven on the other, what do you think will be the effect of it?

“Have I not a right to say that is the first step toward annexation? Have they not a right to believe it? Why have they not? The present Speaker of this House, in the last session of Congress, said that he was in favor of taking Canada as a part of the United States. And this was the first step toward annexation. He is a plain, blunt, honest man, whom I admire for his frankness. He has never denied that statement.

“I say to my neighbors of the North: Be not deceived. When we go into a country and get control of it, we take it. It is our history and it is right that we should take it if we want it, and you might as well understand it. The Speaker has

so said; the party back of him has so said. You are in control. You have never denied it on the floor of this House, and you cannot deny it."

SHOULD BE IN UNITED STATES.

Mr. Madden of Illinois, said in the House of Representatives:—

"My hope is that if we can have closer relations with the people of Canada, some day this relationship may blend the two peoples into one harmonious whole; and that the territory lying north of us may become a part of the United States, as it should be. I have always believed we should be one people, under one flag, and under one form of government; and it will be better for us all when such a thing happens, if it ever does."

Ex-Governor N. J. Bachelor, New Hampshire, says:—

"The only fair way for free trade to be established would be to let the Stars and Stripes float over Canada."

Representative Fiske proposed a resolution to the Michigan Legislature:—

"And whereas, there seems to be in this state at this time considerable sentiment in favor of a closer relationship with Canada, Therefore, be it resolved by the House, the Senate concurring, that it is the sense of this Legislature that annexation is the true and only equitable solution of the problem."

HILL SAYS STOP BRITISH UNION.

The greatest individual commercial power in the United States whose interests are adjacent to, and extend into Canada, is Mr. J. J. Hill, who controls the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and Burlington Railways, and who, speaking at a Reciprocity banquet in Chicago, said:—

"The future union of all parts of the British Empire in a commercial federation is almost certain. When that shall have been concluded, under a system of preferential advantages securing the English market to a colonial producer of raw materials and food products, and the colonial market to the English manufacturer, it will strike the United States a double blow. Our best customer, Great Britain, and our third best, Canada, will trade less and less with us and more and more with each other. And it will then be permanently impossible to repair our error?"

"What does a temporary hardship to some interest here or there amount to as compared with the possible loss or severe contraction of the combined markets of Canada and Great

Britain, drawn into a close commercial compact, which last year took from us nearly \$800,000,000 worth of all our products?

"From the Mexican boundary to the frozen wastes within the Arctic circle, from the straits of Belle Isle to the straits of Fuca, one activity, one ambition, one merging of fear in fraternity, one commingling of interest and of effort equal to the conquest of the earth."

WILL GREATLY SERVE BOSTON.

Mr. Hill is not alone in predicting the diversion of Canada's trade to the south. His utterances in Chicago are complemented by eminent railway authorities in the East. Thus, President Mellen of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railway, justified a costly development in connection with another road in this way:—

"This transaction also assigns the Boston & Maine more permanently a participation in the export grain business of Canada by way of Boston. The proposed treaty of Reciprocity between Canada and the United States has largely influenced those in control of the properties to make this investment, because of their hope to secure a larger participation in the revenue from this business through a longer haul, and especially, also, because of their desire to promote the interests of the trade of the port of Boston."

There has been abundant support of these unionist sentiments in the press, which shows how nearly the leading men, quoted above, represent the people generally of the United States.

CLARK NEEDS NO APOLOGY.

It was said by certain Canadian newspapers that Mr. Champ Clark was joking about annexation. Here are some American comments on his speech. Dr. Albert Shaw, an intimate personal and political friend of Ex-President Roosevelt, wrote in the "American Review of Reviews":—

"The thing most to be desired is full freedom of trade between Canada and the United States. But there is at this moment no need of a reciprocity trade agreement merely to promote good feeling. There is ample good feeling already. Mr. Champ Clark's allusion to an ultimate political union required no apologies.

The "Union Sun," of Lockport, New York, is candid:—

"Mr. Clark spoke from conviction of long standing. He used, too, the terms which fit all the conditions of the case, namely, 'the consolidation' of the two great countries. He was speaking in good faith.

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“We may as well begin calling our Northern neighbors ‘Americans,’ because, as the second greatest political unit on the American continent, they are entitled to it in exactness, if not in usage. A few of the Tories in both Canada and Great Britain may resent this concession as an uninvited impertinence, yet common interests and a common goal, which both must seek together, are drawing them together, in spite of the customs wall and the little more than imaginary line.”

So is the Troy (New York) Press:—

“We favor it for the same reasons. Much surprise has been shown that the prospective Speaker Clark should refer to annexation, but we think it was eminently proper and prophetic. Canadian consolidation would be as wise as Hawaiian and Philippine annexation has been foolish.”

SPLENDID FOR MASSACHUSETTS.

Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, who has very large business interests, is a strong advocate of Reciprocity, because it will draw all kinds of trade away from Canadian ports:—

“Our coastwise shipping will double. * * * Boston Harbor will be improved with new docks and piers. * * * Railroads will extend their lines, and the great transcontinental lines of Canada will come to Boston, the natural port of Eastern Canada. * * *. Reciprocity will command a greater Boston, for our increased industrial and commercial interests will compel it. * * * Real estate values will increase. * * * New factories in all lines will be established here, for with these conditions our capital will no longer seek Canada for the purpose of building up those factories which it is now forced to build in Canada. * * *

“To every man, woman and child in Massachusetts reciprocity will mean a greater opportunity for a livelihood. * * * Reciprocity will enable the wealth of New England to safely invest its capital in the development of the natural resources of Canada.”

U. S. MILLING WILL FLOURISH.

At the wide end of the funnel of United States export business, “The Northwestern Miller,” of Minneapolis, watches events. It speaks with vast knowledge and unquestioned veracity when it voices a desire to prevent the further growth of the milling and exporting industry in Canada:

“The disposition of Canada’s surplus is a question upon the answer to which depends the future, not only of the milling interests of the (American) Northwest, but indeed of the United States. Should this surplus be shipped abroad, it must

inevitably mean the destruction of the American export trade, the shifting of the American milling centre, the gradual decline of the American milling interest to a comparatively unimportant place.

"The miller who is able to grind this enormous (Canadian) crop will be the miller of the future; and where he is, there will be the great mills of the world.

"The future of American milling with free Canadian wheat secured is a grand one. With this enormous crop flowing into the mills and elevators of the States, * * * new mills would be built, and capacities enlarged; new markets abroad would be conquered; new railways would be extended into the wheat-growing territory.

INCREASED BUSINESS EVERYWHERE.

"American railroads carrying the flour from the mills would secure additional freights; American banks would obtain increased deposits, and greatly enlarged exchange accounts; American mill operatives would be in demand, and pay rolls would be increased. Mill machinery, bags, barrels and other mill supplies would be required in larger quantities; more money would be in circulation, and the benefit would be felt in every artery of industrial life touched by milling. There would be an increase in grain firms, in elevators, and in every branch of the grain-handling and flour-making interests. This would be felt in the added value of real estate, and in the solid and substantial development of every undertaking and enterprise that makes a community prosperous."

OPENS NORTH AND SOUTH CHANNELS.

The "New York Times" discerns great potentialities in the abandonment of the Canadian policy of building trans-continental railroads:—

"The agreement opens the channels of commerce northward and southward, and practically puts an end to the policy of the British Tories, which aims at blocking these channels and directing the currents of trade eastward across the ocean to the special gain of England. Incidentally, our acceptance of the agreement would also destroy the hope of the British Tories to establish a tariff wall about the markets of England, with the avowed purpose of reducing American trade."

The St. Paul "Despatch" is equally explicit:—

"The effectuation of that agreement would practically destroy Great Britain's scheme for Imperial federation, which not only implies closer bonds politically between Great Britain and her dependencies, but closer relations commercially, and

undoubtedly preference for the products of the dependencies in the great markets of the world located in Great Britain. If our Government rejects the proffers of reciprocity now under consideration, Canada will certainly turn the current of her trade as far as possible toward Great Britain. In that direction will pass her entire agricultural output through her own water channels to the Liverpool markets, and from Great Britain will be bought an increasing proportion of supplies of manufactured goods of all kinds. Our food products will have to compete in the world's markets of Liverpool and London at a disadvantage with the products of Canada."

ASCENDENCY OF REPUBLIC.

The Milwaukee "Free Press" is very anxious for the United States to enjoy an ascendancy over us:—

"We have absolutely no doubt that if the present agreement is approved it will be amended from time to time until we have positively free commercial intercourse with our Northern neighbor. It is a splendid beginning towards a great all-American trade policy which will redound to the untold benefits of both people.

"Well do England's Imperialists appreciate the sequel of such a pact; a growing union of North American interests redounding to the common advancement of both Canada and the United States, and especially to the latter's ascendancy at the expense of Great Britain.

"We can do no more than indicate the great significance of the Canadian pact to the all-American ideal, to the future prosperity and ascendancy of this Republic."

HEAD OFF EUROPEAN TRADE.

To head off Canada from direct trade with Europe is the ambition which moves the Philadelphia "Ledger":—

"The question is whether we shall shut ourselves off from this new domain by artificial walls and force its trade across the Atlantic, or shall establish such relations with it now that its growing wealth shall contribute with ours to the common development of the country. The details of the agreement are trivial, compared with the continental sentiment that underlies it."

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" anticipates the political alienation of Canada from Britain:—

"The fears of the British as to the political results of reciprocity with the United States are soundly based, for, with the closer commercial relations which will result there will come a unity of political sentiment between the people of Can-

ada and those of our own country. The people of Canada have ever been friends with us, and as the years go by that friendship will become stronger, until it produces, first, alliance, and then possibly union."

Destruction of the Imperial ideal is foretold by the St. Paul "Pioneer Press":—

"The dream of a federated British Colonial Empire closed against us by preferential duties and trade agreements is vanished forever if this reciprocity agreement is consummated."

BRITISH IMPERIALISM WILL WANE.

And St. Paul business men, writing to Senator Clapp of Minnesota, have a similar belief:—

"Time is of paramount importance. England favors an Imperial federation, as opposed to Canadian reciprocity, and if Imperial federation is accomplished we believe the opportunity of Canadian reciprocity will be forever lost."

The "New York American" looks for cutting loose from European politics:—

"In ratifying this trade agreement, we should understand, therefore, that we are settling a world problem, and settling it right. British Imperialism will wane in consequence. But American trade routes will run along lines that were ordained by nature. And the prosperity of the Western Continent will receive an immense impetus through a definite, a final disentanglement from the intrigues of European politics."

The United States and Canada are stupidly separated, according to the "Detroit Free Press":—

SUBSTANTIALLY ONE PEOPLE.

"The principal merit of the agreement is political and social. It will, it is hoped—and confidently hoped—be the beginning of the end of the stupid separation of two halves of a continent which is inhabited by substantially one people."

How glad people in the United States are at what they regard as Canada's willingness to weaken British connection, is shown by the "Minneapolis Journal":—

"If the proposed Canadian reciprocity agreement failed to be appreciated by our own Senators, its meaning and consequences are fully recognized in England, and from that recognition Americans may draw some hint of the vast importance of the Taft policy, which spells not only North American commercial union, but also the doom of British Imperialistic commercial unity.

"Too late, provided Congress acts, the British are awakening to the value of the prize they so fatuously rejected. Too

late, if Congress rises to the level of this, perhaps the greatest piece of statesmanship effected by an American President since Thomas Jefferson annexed the West."

Down in the Middle West, beyond the Mississippi, there is a like feeling expressed with some restraint by the "Des Moines Register and Leader":—

BEST SINCE CUBAN TREATY.

"The compact is probably the most important step towards annexing markets since the Cuban treaty. Every opening for reciprocal good will on the American continent means something more than the immediate gain in dollars and cents."

The "Minneapolis Journal" has written many times on the agreement, always in this strain:—

"The next step will be the removal of duties on manufactured products. Why should that barrier exist any more than one between Minnesota and Dakota? To-day England is our best customer, and Canada is our third best customer. But our foreign trade wanes, and that of Canada grows. If we push Canada into England's arms, the trade arrangements between the two will tend more and more to shut us out.

"How long will our trade with these two customers last if reciprocity fails? Our Canadian trade must fall off, as the East and West channels of her commerce are scoured by use. And Canada will more and more supply English needs in our stead."

TO SACRIFICE HALIFAX.

The "Wall Street Journal," recognizing the damage to Canada's winter ports already assured, and the possibility of reverting to the pre-confederation dependence on United States transportation, said:—

"The Canadian roads are not likely to sacrifice themselves to preserve a port so indifferent as Halifax if they can secure better access to tidewater from elsewhere. Mr. Hill's Great Northern has been developing with a view to getting more Canadian business. Its branches into Alberta and British Columbia promise to gather a rich tonnage with the possible removal of the tariff on Canadian wheat, and further branches crossing the border will undoubtedly be built."

The export of Canadian wheat from New York is also clearly foreseen by the New York "Sun":—

"The scheme will give the United States greater control of the wheat market than it ever had before. It will enable its milling plants to turn Canadian wheat into flour and send

the finished product abroad, and it will stimulate the sale of manufactures and other things that we have to sell to Canada. Canadian grain will pour into Minneapolis, to the benefit of American millers, handlers and exporters of grain. For every bushel that comes across the border a bushel will be exported at New York."

The following from the Washington "Star" would be amusing if it were not so solemnly worded. It is only a different way of saying "From the Pole to Panama," which is now called "the Washington phrase":—

TURN TOWARDS ANNEXATION.

"But the Dominion may be and is being Americanized, though it is not being annexed. The English provinces are assimilating themselves to the Republic. The tone of the press and the tendency of public thought and action is American rather than European.

"The native Canadian is by birth an American, but that name and all the modern history of his continent, and an intense nationality and national pride belong to the people of the great Republic to the south of him, with whom he may unite politically without reproach. He feels that he is alienated from the tendencies and aspiration of the continent of his birth; that he is merely a despised colonist, a species of political outcast, like the man without a country, or a citizen of the District of Columbia.

"In time the thoughts of the Canadians may turn towards annexation as the most-to-be-desired of all political boons. The isolation and humiliation of the colonial position will not be forever enduring. Meanwhile, full reciprocity in exchange of citizens and products and steady Americanization."

COMPETITION IS GOVERNING FACTOR.

Our American friends are not blameworthy for entertaining these views and intentions. They are encouraged and justified by the very fact of the Canadian Government sending two emissaries to Washington and accepting, without reference to the Canadian people, an agreement which, it is believed in the United States, practically guarantees the ascendancy of the Republic over the Dominion and the Empire.

The Canadian people are invited to receive gratefully this kind of thing, because commercial advantages are said to attend it. But the market of ninety million people is no such thing. The undeniable fact that Liverpool fixes the price of wheat on this continent proves that in the main export of Canada, to the one sure and certain market of the world, the

United States is our greatest competitor. It is this which causes the demand for pulling Canadian grain southward so that the whole situation may be controlled. That is what President Taft means when he says "commercial union."

Commercial union is another name for commercial control. Commercial control means the reduction of the Canadian ports to mere subsidiaries of New York and Boston. Permit that, and Canadian nationality is hopelessly emasculated; and the partnership in the Empire becomes a subsidiary affair also. When that point is reached there is no need to talk of annexation. It will take care of itself.

