

# CANADA

TODAY / D'AUJOURD'HUI

## 1776-1976

### A CANADIAN CHRONICLE OF THE PAST TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

[WITH A SENSIBLE, SERVICEABLE CALENDAR ATTACHED]



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January 29, 1811: "The characteristic evil of [the United States] democratic system is its tendency to foster an uncontrollable spirit of party. . . . we are happily exempt from those overwhelming tides of party passion. . . . Let us, then, not envy our neighbours, but be contented with and improve our own condition, and . . . lead peaceable and quiet lives in all godliness and honesty."

KINGSTON GAZETTE.

**Borderline Sanity**

The past is obscured by myths, and it is most often obscured by the myth that people live happily ever after. People are vessels of emotion; they suffer ambition, nobility, fear, pride, greed and confusion. The people of the United States and Canada have lived with each other for a very long time. They have now and then experienced a mutual tranquility and occasionally a common sense of elation, but they have also at times regarded each other's customs, ambitions and forms of government with grave suspicion. They have shared flashes of hatred and moments of murderous passion.

The long, unguarded border is not the triumph of generations of gentle men and women, smiling sweetly at each other across the fence and borrowing cups of sugar. It is the product of the civilized among us who have built an underpinning of mutual respect — Lord Elgin, General Winfield Scott, William Lyon MacKenzie King, Franklin Roosevelt and scores of others.

This issue of CANADA TODAY/ D'AUJOURD'HUI celebrates the crises as well as the resolutions. The first hun-

dred years were perhaps the hardest — there were wars and threats of wars and three Canadian rebellions in which some citizens of the United States were more than emotionally involved. The triumphs of peace would come later and, in time, with such regularity that they were often noticed only by the bureaucrats involved.

From the beginning, events on one side of the border have often affected people on the other side. The Quebec Act of 1774 allowed Catholics to sit on the council which governed Quebec — though elsewhere in the British Empire they were barred from office — and it allowed the Catholic clergy to collect tithes. It did not, however, grant Quebec an elected assembly.

Some Canadians had small objections, but to New England Protestants the act was intolerable. It was both too democratic — in that it heeded the desires of Quebec's Catholic majority — and not democratic enough. It also gave Quebec control of the land between the St. Lawrence and the Ohio, and the New Englanders regarded those fertile acres as their own frontier. An

act adopted to solve problems in a Canadian colony helped cause the Revolution in the south.

We will also talk about ideas and people who have slipped across the border from the *Fils de la Liberté* (Sons of Liberty) of 1837 to the Alberta immigrants of the early 1900's, from the Loyalists to Lorne Greene, Ferguson Jenkins and Phil Esposito.

Today, in a world of continued crisis, the United States and Canada have found a balanced calm — we share the joys and responsibilities of being North

Americans, and we pursue separate destinies with the understanding that comes with years of friendly adjustments.

We Canadians rejoice in our neighbour's two-hundredth birthday as our neighbour rejoiced in our Centennial nine years ago. We are secure in the conviction that whatever crises the next two hundred years may bring, they will be resolved by persons of goodwill.

Familiarity breeds content.

Public Archives of Canada



MOTHER BRITANNIA.—" See ! Why, the dear child can stand alone !"  
UNCLE SAM.—" Of course he can ! Let go of him Granny ; if he falls I'll catch him !"

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February, 1776: "It is impossible to give you a just idea of the lowness of the Continental credit here, from want of hard money, and the prejudice it is to our affairs. . . . The general apprehension that we shall be driven out of the Province as soon as the King's troops can arrive, concurs with the frequent breaches of promise the inhabitants have experienced, in determining them to trust our people no further. . . ."

CHARLES CARROLL, reporting on his visit to Quebec.

### Colonel Arnold Moves North

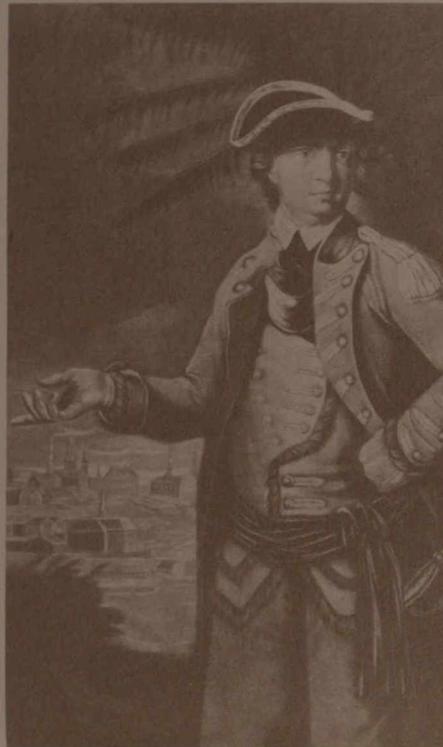
On December 31, 1775, the rebellious American colonies lost a battle and with it half of a continent.

The battle was for Quebec City. Colonel Benedict Arnold, athirst for fame, led the attack. Had it succeeded, he might conceivably have replaced George Washington as Commander in Chief. The Capital of the United States might be Arnold, DC. But he lost.

The adventure began on a fine September day.

Arnold had 1,200 men — fourteen companies — and two hundred flat-bottomed bateaux. He planned to enter Quebec through the back door — up the Kennebec and Dead Rivers in Maine to Lake Mégantic in Quebec, then down the Chaudière River to the St. Lawrence. He had purchased the bateaux from a helpful Kennebec Yankee named Reuben Colburn, at

An English mezzotint, published by Thomas Hart in 1776, showing Colonel Benedict Arnold with Quebec in the background



New York Public Library

forty shillings each. They had been hastily made from green lumber.

On September 11, the troops moved out. Accompanying the troops were six youths, too highborn to be enlisted and too young to be commissioned. One, a comely boy of 19, would grow up to be the young United States' second notorious bad man, Aaron Burr, who would be Vice President under Thomas Jefferson and would kill Alexander Hamilton in a duel.

The army reached the Kennebec and boarded the bateaux on September 18. The leaky bateaux smelled of fish and the soldiers got very sick. As Simon Fobes of Bridgewater put it, ". . . such a sickness, making me feel . . . so indifferent whether I lived or died."

They made their way to Fort Western (Augusta, Maine) and the weather turned cold. They lit fires and some, at least, drank rum. One of them, a simple young man from Yarmouth named James McCormack, got angry at his captain and, shooting at him, killed another youth named Reuben Bishop, of Connecticut. McCormack was court-martialed and sent to General Washington for execution.

They sailed on. The bateaux leaked and casks of wet peas and bread exploded. The salted fish and beef began to rot. At Skowhegan the Kennebec roared between two ledges only twenty-five feet apart, and the men had to drag the four-hundred-pound bateaux up an almost perpendicular shore around a cascade almost a hundred feet high. "Could we have come within reach of the villains who constructed these

crazy things," wrote George Morison, a young rifleman, "they would fully have experienced the effects of our vengeance."

On October 8, the rains started. Dysentery swept the camp. Captain Henry Dearborn killed and ate his dog. A flash flood destroyed the remaining supplies. Only five hundred exhausted men reached the Chaudière and sailed on to Quebec City.

General Richard Montgomery, who had captured an undefended Montreal, joined them in early December. Most of the enlistments would be up on January 1, so they attacked on December 31 in a blinding snowstorm. Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded, forty men lost, and three hundred eighty-nine captured.

Arnold and the tattered remnant stayed near Quebec for several months in the vain hope of aid from the US or the local inhabitants. But, as Carroll's report indicated, the Americans were not welcome in Quebec. When the British sailed up the St. Lawrence after the first spring thaw, Arnold retreated.

He later would win victories on Lake Champlain and at Danbury, Connecticut, Fort Stanwix and Saratoga, but his great chance was past. He grew cynical and frustrated. He was appointed Commandant of West Point, and one day in September 1780, he decided to seek a new career and had a heart-to-heart talk with a British major named John André. His fame would endure, his name a synonym for traitor.

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March 17, 1783: The city of Boston resolved that no returning Loyalist should be allowed to have "lot or portion with us." It invited other towns to do the same.

### How And Why A Great Many Harvard Men Left Home In 1783

In 1776, a great many men and women residing in the new United States were still loyal to the Crown. At the American Revolution's end, thousands of them gathered behind the British lines in New York City. Many had been people of wealth and position, and some were learned — it is said that their number included half of the living graduates of Harvard College. They were not in physical danger; Sir Guy Carleton, the British Commander in Chief, had twenty loyal regiments

under his command. The Loyalists believed that the British Prime Minister, Lord Shelburne, would insist that the new government of the United States pay them for their lost lands. They underestimated American resentment (George Washington had suggested that all Tories should, in simple decency, commit suicide), and they overestimated the persuasive powers of Shelburne's chief negotiator, Richard Oswald. Peace brought only the hollow promise that the federal

government would recommend that the various states treat the Loyalists liberally. So they went north, five hundred in October 1782 and seven thousand more in April. In all, some forty-five thousand would leave New York.

They went with hope and not too dismal prospects; the Crown would be generous with land. About thirty thousand of them went to Nova Scotia and some began a new town at Port Rosemary in the southwest corner of that province. It was a beautiful place and optimism swept across the shore like a summer breeze.

Governor Parr sailed down and gave the town an incongruous name — Shelburne, after the statesman who had let them down. With a firmer grip on reality, he also gave two grand dinners and

a ball, and announced that he had "no doubt but that in a short time it will become the most flourishing town for trade and district for agriculture of any in this part of the world."

The prediction did not seem fantastic. By the next year there were nine thousand citizens with shops, churches and inns to spare. Each Sunday a military band played pleasant airs on the promenade. A newspaper was founded, and a brisk trade began in fish and lumber. Farms were sown and a shipyard was built. Elections were held. Shelburne gained another thousand citizens and became larger than Halifax and as big as Quebec or Montreal.

Then it fell from grandeur. The beautiful land was almost barren. The crops failed and trade diminished. The shipyard closed down.

Judge Haliburton, the Nova Scotia author, visited Shelburne years later: "Hundreds of cellars with their stone walls and granite partitions were everywhere to be seen, like uncovered monuments of the dead. Time and decay had done their work . . . a generation had passed away forever."

But Shelburne was not the end. The Loyalists were welcomed elsewhere in Nova Scotia, the eastern townships of Quebec and north of Lake Ontario. Two new provinces, New Brunswick and Upper Canada, were created to accommodate them. Their descendants still put UE, for United Empire, after their names, and St. John, New Brunswick, celebrates "Loyalist Days" with the vigour Americans display on the Fourth of July.

Shelburne, Nova Scotia in 1789

Public Archives of Canada



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April 14, 1846: "We believe the disposition to compromise on some fair basis — say that of 49° — is now stronger in the United States than ever."

The MONTREAL GAZETTE, in response to President Polk's Oregon message.

### The Pembina (Like The Border) Has Not Stayed In One Place

The Pembina runs from Swan Lake in Manitoba to the Red River in North Dakota. In 1971, it flooded thirty-five thousand acres and threatened many a farmer's sugar beet crop. Some built dikes to divert the waters and inundated their neighbours. Tempers flared on both sides of the border.

The Canada-United States border is a symbol of fair-mindedness and a triumph of reason. It takes the sun five hours to follow its 5,526 mile length. It is composed entirely of straight lines — the last curves were removed in 1925. The longest line runs straight across the prairies and the Rockies; the shortest, twenty-three inches, separates Quebec from slightly less than two feet of Maine. It begins in the east through a litany of rivers — St. Croix, St. John, St. Lawrence — and it ends in the Arctic on the edge of the Beaufort Sea. Once it was the source of bitter argument and constant confusion; now it is crossed by tens of thousands of Canadians and Americans daily, almost as if it did not exist.

It was created in 1783 at the end of the American Revolution. Canadians thought it should follow the Ohio



Young Yankee Doodle teaching geography to Britannia

River; Benjamin Franklin believed there should be no line at all — that Britain should cede Canada to the United States.

The boundary agreed on was unfortunately vague, and it took decades of quarrels, surveys, arbitrations and negotiations to fix it to everyone's satisfaction.

On the Fourth of July 1827, John

Baker, an American living on the upper St. John, hoisted a homemade American flag in New Brunswick. He was jailed. A dozen years later, Maine and New Brunswick lumbermen clashed one day in the Aroostook War, but General Winfield Scott calmed it down before it amounted to much more than one night of sound and fury. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 finally settled the major points of dispute.

The dispute moved west to the rich lands of the Oregon Territory. American militants put their demands in a slogan — "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight." Had it been realized, all of British Columbia's major population centres would now be in the US. Canada wanted the boundary to follow the Columbia River. If it had, Seattle would be in Canada.

Cooler heads prevailed. One, representing the Hudson's Bay Company's interests, was almost too cool. Captain John Gordon, commanding *The America*, a fifty-five-gun British frigate, came to Puget Sound to show the flag and catch a salmon. He did the first but failed to do the second. Hudson's Bay records describe him as "exceedingly kind but no wise enthusiastic about Oregon. . . . He does not think the country worth five straws."

US President Polk let it be known that he was willing to draw the line at the 49th, not the 54th, parallel. The British Foreign Office agreed, provided all of Vancouver Island be British. Surveyors began to mark the border, working slowly past snow-covered

peaks and glacier-filled gorges, through thick forests of virgin pine. Mosquitoes killed mules and horses, and when Lieutenant Charles W. Wilson of the Royal Engineers sat down to write in his diary, "the bites came through the needle holes in the seams" of his kid gloves.

The surveying took seventy years. Three men, all Canadians, were killed, two in a landslide. The third, an impulsive young man, walked to the very edge of a snow cornice to get a clear view of the beautiful valley two thousand feet below. S w o o s h !

Time cooled old resentments. In 1909, the Boundary Waters Treaty created the International Joint Commission to arbitrate problems.

During American prohibition, the spirit of cooperation peaked. Hundreds of houses, barns, sheds, stores and miscellaneous buildings sat on top of the 49th parallel, and a great many of these "line" houses became barrooms, with the bartender and his bar securely at one end and the inviting front door at the other.

Today, the pollution of the Lakes (which the 1909 Treaty failed to prevent) is a problem of mutual concern. An International Joint Commission Report provided the basis for the Great Lakes Water Quality Agreement in 1972.

Meanwhile, the Pembina still rises in the spring, and judicious men in Winnipeg and Bismarck, Washington and Ottawa are considering solutions to the common problems of dikes and flooded fields.

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May 28, 1812: "British, Scotch, Irish, brave countrymen! who, for mistaken views, have abandoned your happy native soil, a most favourable opportunity is now offered to you, of returning your allegiance to the best of Kings, and to the only remaining Free and happy country in the world. . . . British subjects of unsullied loyalty will alone be received into the . . .

Glengary Light Infantry." QUEBEC GAZETTE.

A Myth Is Good For A Smile

It is customary in Canada, when the name Laura Secord comes up, to think sweet and grateful thoughts, for Canada's most conspicuous chain of candy shops is named after the heroine of Beaver Dam. In the words of Mrs. Secord's granddaughter, she was "modest and unassuming." According to legend, she was one of the two persons primarily responsible for a significant American defeat during the War of 1812. The other, Lieutenant Fitzgibbon, was neither unassuming nor modest.

Mrs. Secord left her Queenston home when "the cannon balls were flying around in every direction." When she returned, she found her husband wounded and the house occupied by American officers. One day in June, she eavesdropped while they were entertaining Colonel Boerstler, who was about to attack Beaver Dam. He was confident that "that position once captured, Upper Canada is ours."

Mrs. Secord left home the next day shortly before dawn, leading a cow. She told the guard that she was going

to visit a sick brother.

She walked all the rainy day, crossing swollen streams by creeping on her hands and knees over fallen logs. She went nineteen hard miles, arriving by moonlight at a Caughnawaga Indian camp, where she persuaded the chief to take her to his British allies.

She informed Lieutenant James Fitzgibbon that Colonel Boerstler could be expected down the main road.

Fitzgibbon waited — Boerstler arrived.

Captain Dominique Ducharme of the Indian Department and three hundred Caughnawagas slipped in behind him. They were joined by one hundred Mohawks. Boerstler and his five hundred troops were in the middle. The Indians opened fire. Boerstler was wounded, and retreated to a hollow.

Fitzgibbon sent a bogus delegation to discuss surrender. One man impersonated the British Commander in Chief, and another, his second in command. The delegation explained to Colonel Boerstler that he was hopelessly outnumbered. To give credence

to the boast, Fitzgibbon took the few troops available and marched them back and forth across the same fields while bugles blared and drums rolled. Boerstler, poor man, wounded and surrounded, was persuaded.

The odd war went on.

On April 27, 1813, eighteen hundred Americans from Sackets Harbor burned part of York, the capital of Upper Canada. The British returned the favour during the summer of 1814, when they burned part of Washington,

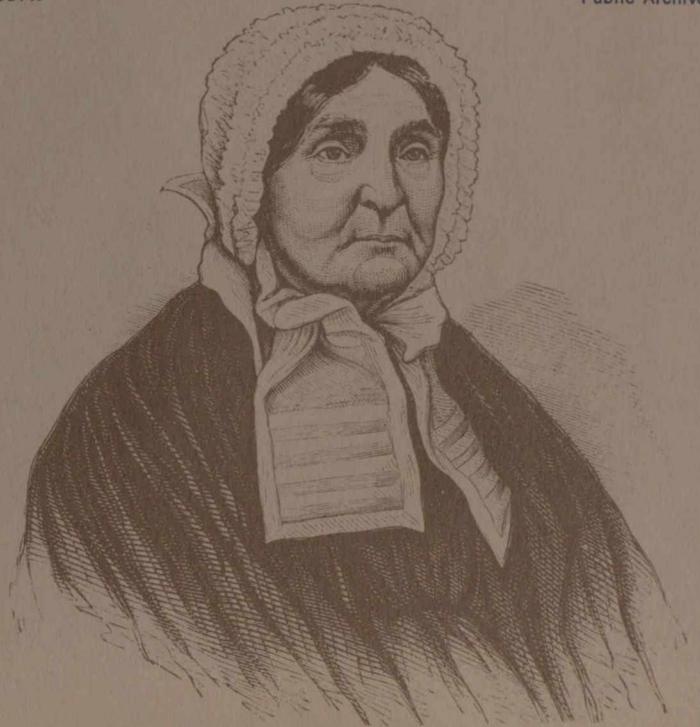
DC. The Americans retreated to Baltimore where one of them wrote a song.

In 1814, Great Britain and the US negotiated the Peace of Ghent — a return to the prewar status quo. The last great battle, New Orleans, was fought after the treaty was signed.

There was a sense of satisfaction on both sides. The United States had fought a great European power, and Britain's North American colonies had stood up to their brash republican neighbours.

Laura Secord

Public Archives of Canada



Calendar grid for May 1976. Days of the week: S, M, T, W, T, F, S. Dates: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23/30, 24/31, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.

June 9, 1834: "America in 1776 . . . does indeed furnish an excellent and salutary lesson to the statesman . . . that freedom from life legislators, military domination, land jobbing, established priesthoods and irresponsible government must be the result of the continued misconduct of the authorities. . . ."

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE, in a letter to *The Advocate*.

**The British Connexion**

[OR THE RISE AND FALL AND RISE OF THE REBELS OF '37]

There is a difference between rebellion and civil war. Canada has known only rebellions. In 1837 it had two.

LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU AND THE PATRIOTES OF QUEBEC

Louis Joseph Papineau was the Speaker of the Assembly of Lower Canada (Quebec). The Governor's Council — men of commerce, inclined to be rich and usually English-speaking — could overrule the Assembly, which was composed of farmers, notaries, lawyers and doctors. Most Assembly members were French-speaking.

In 1834, the Assembly sent Ninety-two Resolutions to Great Britain demanding reform. The reply was "no."

In June 1837, Papineau and his allies staged a peaceful protest. As the Te Deums honouring the ascension of Queen Victoria sounded across the Province, they stood up, as one man, and walked out of the churches.

That summer they met, took the name *Fils de la Liberté*, and talked of revolution. Sympathetic tavern owners began replacing their old signboards

with American eagles.

On November 6, the *Fils* clashed with members of the Doric Club. The Doric Clubmen sacked a newspaper, the *Vindicator*, and beat the *patriote* military leader, T. S. Brown, almost to death.

On November 16, the government issued warrants. Colonel Gore, with four companies of British regulars, unsuccessfully attacked a rebel stronghold at St. Denis, and lost sixteen men. Colonel Wetherall attacked another at St. Charles, killing one hundred and fifty of its defenders. Papineau and Brown fled through the woods to the US in the vain hope of returning to establish a Republic.

In time, Papineau made his way to France and, after tempers cooled, back home. He was elected to the Parliament, where he remained an unreconciled critic of all things British.

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE AND THE BURNING OF THE CAROLINE

William Lyon Mackenzie's rebellion first had an air of farce. He was a

radical publisher, a member of the Assembly of Upper Canada (Ontario) and the bitterest critic of the Tories. He listed the names of Tory officeholders, pointed out how closely they were related and christened them "the Family Compact."

The Family Compact was not charmed. In 1831, he was expelled from the Assembly. (He had called it "a sycophantic office for registering the decrees of [a] mean and mercenary . . . Executive.") He was reelected and expelled four times. The game ended when the town of York became the city of Toronto and he was elected mayor.

In December 1837, Mackenzie and his followers advanced from Gallows Hill with the riflemen in front, followed by pikemen and farmers with pitchforks, beechroot clubs and thick green willow spears. Mackenzie, a tiny figure bundled in several greatcoats (a precaution against bullets), led on a little white mare. Sheriff Jarvis' advance picket saw them, fired a volley and fled. The riflemen fired in return and then, in keeping with proper military tactics, threw themselves to the ground to reload. The men behind assumed that they had all been shot and, appalled at this sudden slaughter, fled too.

Mackenzie went south and farce became melodrama. The citizens of Buffalo promised him an army, and a young American, Rensselaer Van Rensselaer, became its Commander in Chief. Headquarters were established on Navy Island on the Canadian side of the Niagara River. Mr. Wells, of

Buffalo, provided the *Caroline*, a forty-six-ton supply ship.

On the night of December 29, five boatloads of British soldiers slipped up to the American village of Schlosser, swarmed aboard the *Caroline*, killed a man, captured the ship and, with no one aboard, cut her loose, towed her out, set her afire and let her drift toward the Falls. The invasion of Navy Island and the burning of the *Caroline* engendered years of bitterness.

In 1850, a milder Mackenzie went home under the general amnesty and was elected once more to the Assembly. Now he hoped for the day when Canada would live by the Golden Rule and "her hills, her valleys, her hospitable homesteads, towns and hamlets, [would be] filled with tolerant, kindly citizens."

Burning of the Caroline



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Instructions  
to  
Commissioners  
going to Canada

March 20, 1776:

Instructions to  
Commissioners  
Going to Canada

[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, CHARLES CARROLL,  
AND SAMUEL CHASE]

Gentlemen, you are with all convenient dispatch to repair to Canada & make known to the people of that country the wishes & intentions of the Congress with respect to them.

Represent to them that the arms of the united colonies having been carried into that province for the purpose of frustrating the designs of the British court against our common liberties, we expect not only to defeat the hostile machinations of governor Carlton against us, but that we shall put it into the power of our Canadian brethren to pursue such measures for serving their own freedom & happiness as a generous love of liberty and sound policy shall dictate to them.

Inform them that in our judgement, their interests and ours are inseparably united — that it is impossible we can be reduced to a servile submission to great Britain without their sharing our fate and on the other hand, if we shall obtain, as we doubt not we shall, a full establishment of our rights, it depends wholly on their choice, whether they will participate with us in those blessings, or shall remain subject to every act of tyranny, which british ministers shall please to exercise over them. Urge all such arguments as your prudence shall suggest to enforce our opinion concerning the mutual interest of the two countries and to convince them of the impossibilities of the war being concluded to the disadvantage of these colonies, if we wisely & vigorously co-operate with each other.

To convince them of the uprightness of our intentions towards them you are to declare that it is our inclination that the people of Canada may set up such a form of government as will be most likely in their judgement to produce their happiness.

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July 1858: "The House ought to assume the responsibility of occupying that great empire . . . that region ten times as large as the settled heart of Canada, a thousand miles long by seven hundred abroad and capable of sustaining thirty millions of souls . . . otherwise the Americans would certainly go there first. . ."

ALEXANDER TILLOCH GALT, arguing the potential benefits of Confederation before Parliament.

### Immigration (North American Style)

The line between Canada and the United States is not a natural barrier. Migrating people and migrating birds have always moved up and down the continent with ease. The original residents were restrained only by mountains, their inclinations and the movements of the buffalo. More recent arrivals have traveled north and south as the spirit or necessity moved them. Some — the Acadians, United Empire Loyalists, Sitting Bull and the draft resisters — were refugees, but most were not. Farmers went looking for land, prospectors for gold, college professors for status, workers for wages, entertainers for audiences and occasionally a great man, like John Kenneth Galbraith, for a place in history.

The shuffling began with the first settlers. New England families moved to Nova Scotia, and the Halifax colonists sailed down to Boston. The American Revolution gave Canada the members of the UEL, but it is easy to overemphasize their importance. Most immigrants were more concerned with cabbages than with kings.

Between 1784 and 1814, about

60,000 farmers left western New York and Pennsylvania and took their wives, children and livestock to Upper Canada.

By mid-nineteenth century, the frontier had moved south; Ontario's good land had been claimed and to the north and west was the inhospitable rock of the Laurentian Shield. On November 12, 1849, forty citizens of Prince Edward Island set sail for San Francisco, arriving on May 28, 1850. Two wagon trains of Métis went over the mountains from the Red River Valley to Oregon in 1841 and 1854.

The southern economy was more inviting; tens of thousands of Quebecers went to the mills of New England. They were not entirely welcome in what was essentially a Protestant country. An 1881 *New York Times* editorial warned that the French Canadians were dangerous, reproducing at an astonishing rate and, instead of becoming loyal citizens, transplanting their own customs and institutions. Time has smoothed things over. Today, signs welcoming travelers to New Hampshire are in French, *Bienvenue*, as well as in English.

**40,000**  
American Citizens Needed  
TO HARVEST THE  
**400,000,000**  
BUSHEL CROP  
IN  
WESTERN CANADA  
WAGES \$2.00 per day with board  
\$2.00 per month and board

Fare \$12.00 **FOOD DINE** Fare \$12.00

ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS, DULUTH, SUPERIOR  
ESTEVAN, WEYBURN, MOOSE JAW

GOING ON  
AUGUST 10, 12, 15, 17, 19,  
22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 1911

One Cent a Mile to any Point to and Including Calgary and Edmonton

**40,000 MEN NEEDED**  
IN  
WESTERN CANADA  
To Harvest 400,000,000 Bushels of Wheat



ST. PAUL, MINNEAPOLIS, DULUTH, SUPERIOR  
ESTEVAN, WEYBURN, MOOSE JAW  
TUESDAY, THURSDAY and SATURDAY  
Good Going Only August 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31, 1911

Other immigrants did not stay. The Métis leader, Louis Riel, went south to Montana between the rebellions of 1869 and 1885, became a US citizen and taught in a Jesuit school for Métis children before returning to Canada.

While some 287,000 Canadians came south between 1871 and 1891, Americans continued to go north, including 1,900 Mormons who took their families, their farm equipment and their religion to the prairies in 1891. By 1900, the flow was beginning to reverse — the western frontier had been pushed past the great Shield, and the fertile soil of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta was beckoning both Americans and Canadians.

Beyond the Rockies, the flow was north and south, and the traffic be-

tween San Francisco, Seattle, Victoria and the goldfields was free, if not always easy. The west coast Canadian or the west coast American was usually a very new arrival from someplace else. As one observer noted, there were among Victoria's 5,000 inhabitants "Greek fishermen, Kanaka sailors, Jewish and Scotch merchants, Chinese washermen, French, German and Yankee restaurant keepers, English and Canadian officeholders and butchers, Negro waiters and sweeps, Australian farmers and other varieties of the race, rubbing against each other, apparently in the most friendly way."

Today the flow is still substantial. In 1974, some 26,541 immigrants moved north while 5,637 went south.

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August 31, 1854: "Not the liberty (falsely so called) of . . . mobocracy! . . . but the all comprehending liberty that has made the little rocky island of Albion far above all Roman fame! . . .

Annexation Never!"

The HAMILTON GAZETTE, reacting to suggestions of annexation to the US.

### Loyalties Bloom In The Spring

Financial insecurity is especially disconcerting in a cold country. But in the early nineteenth century, Canada depended on the exportation of grain, fish and lumber to Britain. It felt secure within the Imperial Tariff System, but in the 1830's Britain rewrote the rules. Canada looked south, but the United States had rules of its own.

When Lord Elgin later arrived as Governor General, he said, "Depend on it, if free navigation and reciprocal trade with the Union be not secure for us, the worst, I fear, will come and that at no distant day."

The worst was annexation. Some Americans wanted to annex Canada and a few Canadians wanted to be annexed. As a poet in the St. John, New Brunswick *Morning News* put it:

On Loyalty we cannot live,  
One ounce of Bread it will not give,  
Clear the way for Annexation,  
Or we shall meet with Starvation.

Lord Elgin was a man of action. He went to Washington in 1854 and smooth-talked a reciprocity treaty through Congress, and trade flowed freely for ten years.

In 1866, the United States, smarting

over British behaviour during the Civil War, abrogated the treaty. Canada survived, but for many Canadians reciprocity became the will-o'-the-wisp of true prosperity.

Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier sent a delegation to Washington in 1897 and was rebuffed. He was rebuffed again in 1898. "There will be no more pilgrimages," he said. "We are turning our hopes to the old motherland."

A decade passed. In the US, the Republican Payne-Aldrich tariff incensed farmers. President Taft decided that Canadian-United States reciprocity would help calm them down. A treaty was negotiated with Canada and the US Congress gave its approval.

Laurier and the Liberals, it seemed, had scored a coup, but not all Canadians were pleased. The Conservative Party, having little choice, decided to fight.

It fought shrewdly. The spectre of annexation was raised once more, and some prominent Americans inadvertently helped.

The Conservatives got a copy of a letter from Taft to his old mentor, Teddy Roosevelt: "The amount of

Canadian products we would take would produce a current of business between western Canada and the United States that would make Canada only an adjunct of the United States. It would transfer all their important business to Chicago and New York with their bank credits and everything else and it would greatly increase the demand of Canada for our manufactures."

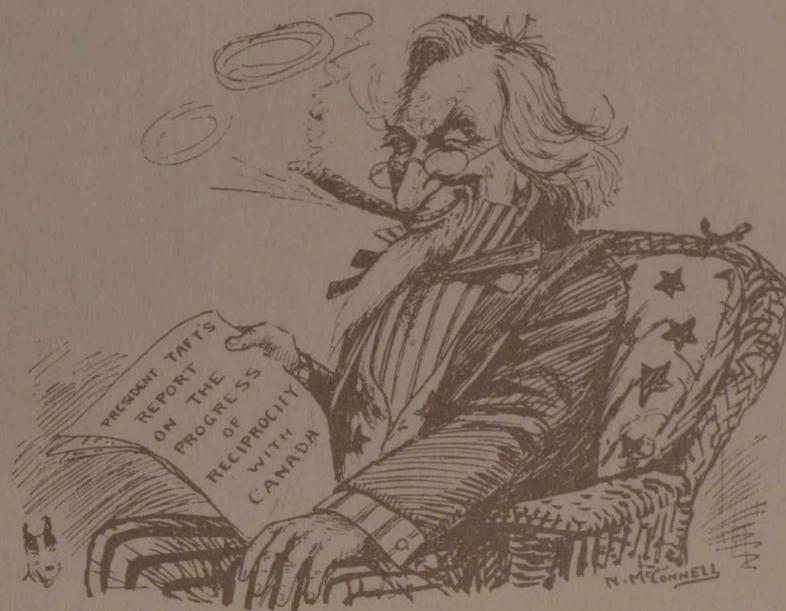
House Speaker Champ Clark rose on the House floor to say: "I hope to see the day when the American flag will

float over every square foot of the British North American possessions, clear to the North Pole."

Laurier was undone. The prize he had won begat his own defeat, reciprocity died, and the Conservatives swept into office.

Today, the world's greatest exchange of goods is across the common border. Each country ships over \$21 billion in merchandise to the other annually, and the complexities of the trade are staggering.

*More grist for the Canadian opponents of reciprocity*



UNCLE SAM—"I CAN ALMOST HEAR THEM SINGING THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER' IN OTTAWA, BE GOSH."

Manitoba Archives

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September 22, 1864: "[The United States] will emerge . . . chafed, angry and entertaining feelings of mortal hatred and revenge towards the Provinces. . . . Let these Provinces, however, be organized into one vast Confederation . . . we should soon possess all the prestige and command all the respect to which our numbers and our position would entitle us."

The Halifax MORNING CHRONICLE, considering the probable results of the United States Civil War.

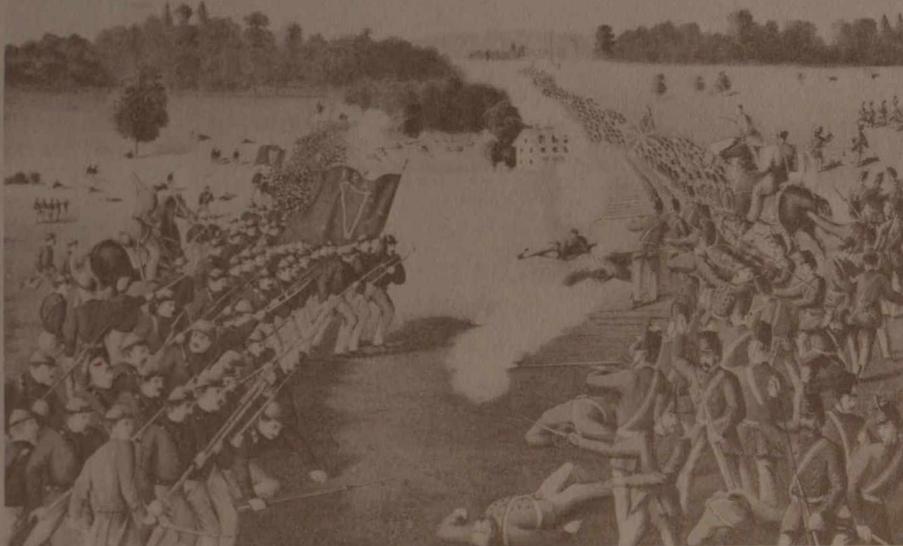
### All About The US Civil War & Two Invasions

[ONE TO THE SOUTH AND ONE TO THE NORTH]

In the Civil War, British aristocrats favoured the South. The South supplied cotton for the mills of Man-

chester, and General Robert E. Lee was obviously a gentleman by Southern or British standards. The *Times* of London

Charge of the Fenians under Colonel O'Neill, June 2, 1866



Public Archives of Canada

enjoyed referring to the "fleet-footed veterans of Bull Run."

Canadians at first supported the North, but when Lincoln failed to free the slaves promptly, they began to doubt that the war was purely an abolitionist crusade. Their points of contact and friction had been, historically, with the North, and they were worried. After Gettysburg the Union Army seemed invincible, and Canadians feared that the North might try to annex them when the war was over.

On October 19, 1864, twenty Confederates disguised as hunters and fishermen slipped into St. Albans, Vermont, robbed three banks, tried to burn the town and fled to Canada where six were arrested. There were cries of outrage from Washington when a Canadian magistrate freed the raiders, saying he had no jurisdiction. Henry Adams, at the American Legation in London, wrote that "this Canadian business is suddenly found to be serious, and the prospect of Sherman marching down the St. Lawrence and Farragut sailing up it, doesn't seem just agreeable."

Canada was not ready for an invasion. The British garrisons were small and getting smaller — down from 14,500 to 11,700 in a year — and Whitehall was preoccupied with Napoleon III. Lieutenant Colonel Jervis announced that Canada could be properly defended by building enormously expensive fortifications at Quebec, Montreal and Kingston. The point was moot. Britain was clearly indicating that what it wanted from Canada was

more independence and fewer expenses.

While Irish sympathizers of the Fenian Brotherhood were demonstrating in Toronto, the fathers of Canadian Confederation were meeting in Quebec. It is customary now to treat the Fenian Brotherhood as less than a threat to Canada. In spite of its ineffectiveness, it was a serious organization. Founded in the US in 1859, with branches throughout the world, its purpose was to establish an Irish Republic, and its strategy in the US was to invade Canada. An extraordinary number of Irish immigrants had served in the Union Army. Eighty won Congressional Medals of Honor.

In 1866, the Fenians, under a general on leave from the US Army, assembled in upstate New York. President Andrew Johnson was inclined not to interfere with their plans. Memories of St. Albans were vivid and the Irish vote was large. Some eight hundred men under John O'Neill crossed the Niagara on June 1, 1866 and captured Fort Erie. A second larger force encamped at Pigeon Hill and plundered two towns in Quebec. Then President Johnson announced that the neutrality laws would be enforced and O'Neill went home and surrendered.

When he tried again in 1870, he was arrested by President Grant.

It has been suggested that the whole unpleasantness did have one fortunate result — it hastened the Confederation of Canada which was proclaimed on July 1, 1867, a year after the first Fenian Invasion and three years before the second.

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October 16 and 23, 1813: "Not forgetting . . . the total exclusion of American shipping from the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coast of Labrador."

THE COMMITTEES OF TRADE AT MONTREAL AND QUEBEC, on goals to be pursued when negotiating with the US.

### Our Mackerel-Crowded Past

The sea came first, then the land, forming the shores, bays and shallows of New England, the Maritimes, Quebec and Newfoundland.

The bays and shallows sheltered and fed the fish, and the Grand Banks and Georges Bank became the greatest fishing grounds in the world — millions and millions of cod, flounder, halibut and mackerel in a dark, cold sea.

Then the fishermen came — French, Irish, Scottish, English and Portuguese.

When the Thirteen Colonies revolted successfully, a delicate question arose — could the fishermen from New England still fish in the bays of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland? Benjamin Franklin said that the fact that fish swarmed into the bays in April was "an advantage which God and nature had put into our hands." The fish, of course, were indifferent (they came into the bays to get warm not to pledge allegiance) and Great Britain was too.

Nova Scotians were not. "The world market is open to American fish directly or indirectly," the Nova Scotia General Assembly noted later. "Also they ruin the fishing grounds by throwing fish debris and other garbage from their boats into the sea."

The Convention of 1818 barred

Americans from fishing in Nova Scotia's coastal waters, but since the sea was broad and foggy, the New Englanders did not always stay away.

In 1854, a Treaty of Reciprocity between Britain and the US opened Nova Scotia's waters once more, but it lasted only ten years. In 1867, the United States doubled the duty on Canadian fish. Canada first increased the license fee for Americans and then tried to bar them altogether. When the New Englanders kept on fishing, Canada sent out six cruisers which seized four hundred ships. President Grant shook his beard and said, "this semi-independent but irresponsible agent has exercised its delegated power in an unfriendly way."

In 1871, Sir John A. Macdonald tried his hand. In return for US fishing privileges, his Conservative Party wanted a return to reciprocity and compensation for the damage done by the Fenians. He lost the fisheries and got nothing in return.

The Liberal Toronto *Globe* was outraged. "The surrender is complete; the terms are abominable. What has the Prime Minister to say in reply?"

He said nothing until the next spring when Parliament convened. He then



Eric Mill's conception of the Newfoundland cod fishery, published 1712-1714

announced that as an inducement to grant the US the privileges, Great Britain had promised to guarantee a loan for Canada to build a transcontinental railway. The *Globe* remained furious, but Sir John A. prevailed.

These provisions expired in 1885, and by 1900, fishermen in both Nova Scotia and New England were becoming as indifferent as the fish. The inshore waters were no longer teeming. Newfoundland (then a separate colony) tried to bar the American fishermen from her waters, but both sides agreed to turn the matter over to the Hague Permanent Court of Arbitration.

Today, the fisheries are once more of concern. Modern distant-water factory fleets from far lands fish with such concentrated fury that they can deplete a fishing ground in a single season. At the United Nations Law of the Sea Conference, Canada is seeking jurisdiction for coastal states to manage and conserve the marine living resources within a two-hundred-mile zone. Each coastal nation would have a preferential right of exploitation. Canada has also proposed that all interested nations agree on international regulations to preserve wide-ranging species, such as tuna and whales.

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November 7, 1903: "In Canadian eyes, the surrender of Canada's rights has been absolute: it is not even a pretence at a compromise."

"The Consequences of the Alaskan Boundary Award From a Canadian Point of View," by FRANCIS H. TURNOCK.

The Alaska Line

[ON THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING A TRULY IMPARTIAL TRIBUNAL]

In 1867, the United States bought Alaska, but the previous owners, the Russians, were vague about its eastern boundary. They had agreed with Great Britain that Alaska was separated from the Yukon by the summits of "the mountains parallel to the coast." Unfortunately there was no such convenient range.

When gold was discovered on the Stikine River in 1872, Canada asked the US to join in drawing a more precise boundary. Since a survey would cost \$1,500,000, Congress said no.

In 1877, Canada sent out a surveyor to draw the fall-back line "ten leagues" from the coast. The coast was full of bays and inlets and the Canadians suggested that the practical thing would be to ignore them and follow the general sweep of the ocean's edge. The US said no; it wanted to have a line which dipped in and out. No one was in a great rush.

Then in 1896, GOLD WAS DISCOVERED IN THE YUKON!

Skagway and the goldfields were up the Lynn Canal, a long, wide inlet running north. If bays and inlets were ignored, Skagway was in the Yukon; if not, it was in Alaska. Great Britain suggested outside arbitration. The US said

yes to arbitration but no to outsiders. Everyone went home frustrated.

In 1903, Great Britain suggested that the matter be settled by three Americans and three Britons — "six impartial jurists." Canada reluctantly agreed. Theodore Roosevelt appointed Elihu Root, Senator Turner and Henry Cabot Lodge. Turner was not a jurist, and all three had been making speeches in support of the Americans' claims.

The British Home Office appointed Lord Alverstone, Lord Chief Justice of Great Britain, and two Canadians — Louis Jetté, Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, and A. B. Aylesworth, Minister of Justice. The United States came to the tribunal with the happy knowledge that even if she did not win, she could not lose.

Alverstone agreed with the Americans that the boundary would follow the inlets, leaving Skagway in Alaska. The Canadians were not pleased.

Then Alverstone agreed with the US claim to two of four insignificant islands at the mouth of the Portland Canal. The Canadians, indignant, refused to sign the Award.

The Award spurred Canada to seek control of her own foreign affairs. One satisfactory result was the creation of

an International Joint Commission to decide future Canadian-United States disputes. It would have six permanent members — three Canadians, three Americans and no Englishmen.

Whitehorse became a proper rival of Skagway, and the White Pass and

Toronto Globe and Mail



MR. BULL (the land agent): "Is there any hother section of Canader as seems to take your heagle eye, Sammy? Don't let your natural modesty prevent your saying so if there is, y' know."

-The Toronto World.

Yukon Railroad was built to carry gold and other minerals from them thar hills. It still does today — over \$100 million worth a year — and it now has diesel engines, radiophone communications and auxiliary trucks and buses.

Toronto Sun



JOHN BULL: "Your H'uncle Sammy and I are going to talk over that little dispute of yours and—er—you might just turn that picture to the wall and keep yourself in the background as much as possible."

-The Toronto Telegram.

Calendar grid for November 1903, showing days of the week (S, M, T, W, T, F, S) and dates from 1 to 30.

December 22, 1941: "In a few minutes, I heard the President's voice saying: 'Hello Mackenzie' and then I replied: 'Hello Mr. President. I am glad to hear your voice again.' He said: 'I am glad indeed to hear yours.' "

An extract from the diary of WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE KING.

### The Twentieth Century: Canada & The United States

For the first four decades of its history Canada had no external affairs, though it did have interesting relations with two great powers.

In 1897, Lord Salisbury suggested over port that Canada was a "coquetish girl with two suitors." United States Ambassador John Hay demurred. Canada, he said, was "a married flirt, ready to betray John Bull but holding him responsible for all her follies."

It was, from a Canadian point of view, clearly time for women's suffrage, if not yet for women's lib.

The Alaska Award of 1903 bruised Canadian feelings, and Canada began edging toward diplomatic independence. In 1909, it established a modest Department of External Affairs over a barber shop on Bank Street in Ottawa, with an Under Secretary, two chief clerks, a messenger, two typists and an annual budget of \$13,350. In 1914, it moved its staff of fourteen to a proper suite in the East Block of Parliament.

At the close of World War I Canada, having contributed greatly to victory, was given a separate place at the Peace Conference. Sir Robert Borden signed

During World War II, the relations between the two countries became increasingly complex. In 1940, while the US was still neutral, Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and President Franklin Delano Roosevelt met at Ogdensburg, New York, and established the Permanent Joint Board on Defence by simply issuing a press release.

The next year, Canada was short of dollars for wartime purchases. King and Roosevelt drafted a declaration of economic cooperation across which the President scrawled, "Done by Mackenzie and F. D. R. at Hyde Park on a grand Sunday, April 20, 1941." The countries were moving into an economic embrace. Mackenzie King felt the crush but resisted the marriage. "I personally would be strongly opposed to anything like political union," he wrote in his diary.

When he, Churchill and Roosevelt met at the Citadel in Quebec in 1943, the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, the jailed and exiled rebel, had a sense of fulfillment: "There comes to my mind the changes which are wrought by the whirligig of time."

The cooperation survived in peace. Both countries became committed members of the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But they were coming down to earth. The St. Lawrence Seaway, planned in the thirties, was authorized by the US Senate in 1952, but only after President Truman told Congress that Canada would build it alone if necessary.

In 1957, Canada and the United States signed the North American Air Defence Agreement (NORAD). Under it Canada acquired Bomarc missiles, weapons designed to be equipped with nuclear warheads. The Canadian government accepted the weapons but John Diefenbaker, the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party which had campaigned against the "undue influence" of the United States, refused the warheads. After much discussion, the opposition leader, Lester Pearson, called for a fulfillment of the NORAD agreement. The Conservatives split, an election was held, and Pearson became Prime Minister of a minority government.

The question of the nuclear warheads faded away, but it was not the end of debate. It is natural that there is always some area of friction between Canada and the United States. Nations that rub elbows must also rub sensibilities. The foreign and domestic policies of one country can never be precisely the policies of the other, and when one believes strongly in the wisdom — or the futility — of a particular course, someone is sure to disagree.

Today the environment, trade and energy resources are under vigorous discussion. The remarkable thing about debates between the countries is not the variety of issues, but the ability to resolve them through consultation and discussion. That is what living distinct from but in harmony with each other is all about.

Toronto Star



The Siamese twins?

the Treaty of Versailles, and Canada joined the League of Nations.

It was time for Canada to go abroad unchaperoned. In 1920, Sir Robert got British and US approval for a separate Canadian diplomatic mission in Washington, but Canada did not get around to appointing a Minister Plenipotentiary until 1927. That February Vincent Massey (brother of the actor Raymond Massey) presented his credentials to President Coolidge.

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## Canadian Consulates and Consulates General in the United States

There are now fifteen Canadian consulates and consulates general in the United States. Information officers at each will be glad to answer any questions you may have about Canadian trade, culture or government policies. If your inquiries concern immigration, all consulates except those in Cleveland, Philadelphia and San Juan have immigration officers to help you.

Atlanta, Georgia, H. J. Horne. 260 Peachtree Street, N.E., P.O. Box 56169 Peachtree Center Station, 30343. (404) 577-6810.

Boston, Massachusetts, J. L. Delisle. 500 Boylston Street, 02116. (617) 262-3760.

Buffalo, New York, A. E. Johnston. One Marine Midland Center, Suite 3550, 14203. (716) 852-1247.

Chicago, Illinois, W. J. Collett. 310 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 2000, 60604. (312) 427-1031.

Cleveland, Ohio, Robert G. Woolham. Illuminating Building, 55 Public Square, 44113. (216) 861-1660.

Dallas, Texas, H. Stewart Hay. 2001 Bryan Tower, Suite 1600, 75201. (214) 742-8031.

Detroit, Michigan, Morley B. Bursey. 1920 First Federal Building, 1001 Woodward Avenue, 48226. (313) 965-2811.

Los Angeles, California, D. H. Gilchrist. Associated Realty Building, 510 West Sixth Street, 90014. (213) 627-9511.

Minneapolis, Minnesota, John H. Bailey. 15 South Fifth Street, 55402. (612) 336-4641.

New Orleans, Louisiana, J. C. Cantin. International Trade Mart, Suite 2110, 2 Canal Street, 70130. (504) 525-2136.

New York, New York, Bruce Rankin. 1251 Avenue of the Americas, 10020. (212) 586-2400.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Howard Campbell. 3 Parkway Building, Suite 1310, 19102. (215) 561-1750.

San Francisco, California, R. M. Adams. One Maritime Plaza, Golden Gateway Center, 94111. (415) 981-2670.

San Juan, Puerto Rico, Paul D. Donohue. 16th Floor, Pan Am Building, Hato Rey, 00917. (809) 764-2011.

Seattle, Washington, R. C. Anderson. 412 Plaza 600, Sixth and Stewart Streets, 98101. (206) 447-3804.

We would like to thank the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources for providing the base art used to prepare the map for the November issue.

*This newsletter is published monthly except July and August. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the Canadian Government. Unless specifically noted, articles are not copyrighted and may be reproduced. If you have questions or comments on these or other Canadian subjects or wish to be added to our mailing list, please be in touch. Address and telephone number below. Written by Tom Kelly, designed by James True.*

## CANADA

*Today/D' Aujourd'hui*

*The Canadian Embassy  
Public Affairs Division  
1771 N Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
202: 784-1400*

*Address Correction  
Requested*



*This symbol is designed to identify Canadian participation  
in the US Bicentennial celebrations.*

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