"THE MANITOBA FREE PRESS as an EXPRESSION of CONTEMPORARY PERCEPTIONS of AMERICA 1901-1909".

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Constantine J. Tsekouras

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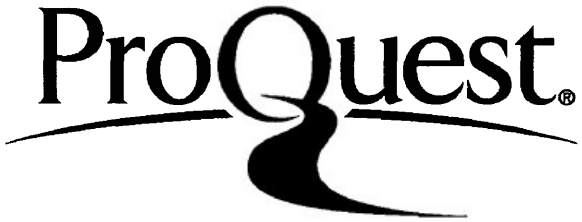

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Constantine J. Tsekouras.

ABSTRACT

On September 7, 1901, President McKinley was assassinated at Buffalo, New York. With the inauguration of Theodore Roosevelt we are presented with a unified eight-year period to gather observations and reflections of America by friends and foes alike.

This study attempts to identify and correlate these perceptions and interpret to what extent the Manitoba Free Press' portrait of America reflects the contemporary perceptions of the United States. In the process it attempts to establish criteria for such a difficult study; examines several unified views of America, that is, continental European, British, Canadian and the Free Press' portraits of contemporary America; indicates the similarities as well as the contradictions between the different composite portraits; and by inference reflects and points out some contemporary perceptions of Canada from within and from without the country. For in interpreting another we lay open ourselves and in contrasting perceptions we perceive, interprete and evaluate ourselves.

Constantine J. Tsekouras

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INTRODUCTION

The dawn of the twentieth century witnessed the rise of many nations in the international arena. Some like Germany, Japan and the United States were flexing their muscles and expanding their imperial possessions in Manchuria, Africa or the South Pacific. Others like Canada were becoming more noticeable internationally as havens for the oppressed, or as a bright hope for an easy land claim. As the millions began to pour into Western Canada from Europe and the United States a new focus was placed on the future of the Dominion. Not only native Canadians but American, British, as well as continental European observers began to foresee one inevitable outcome: Canada was to be the next victim of American imperialism.[1]

It was therefore intellectual curiosity that spurred this investigation of contemporary perceptions of Roosevelt's America. If Canada's future belonged with

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[1] S.E.Moffet, The Americanization of Canada, Toronto: U. of T. Press, 1972. Also H. Münsterberg, The Americans, McClure & Phillips, 1904, and W.T. Stead, The Americanization of the World or the Trend of the Twentieth Century, N.Y.: Horace Markley, 1902.

the United States, how did contemporary Canadians perceive their neighbours?

Questions are easier to raise than to answer. While there has been a lot of research done on Canadian-American political, economic, and diplomatic relations, however, no precise study exists on contemporary Canadian perceptions of Roosevelt's America. Perhaps with the new interest by historians in Canadian social and intellectual studies this inadequasy will be corrected. This study attemps to begin the process by looking at the Manitoba Free Press and its perception of Roosevelt's America.

The Manitoba Free Press was selected with several considerations in mind. First, it was the largest Western Canadian contemporary daily; it had a reputation as an influential, informative and comprehensive newspaper; it was printed in Winnipeg, the metropolis of Western Canada. Winnipeg, was a city bursting with activity, composed of a cosmopolitan population and situated far from the old, established and tradition-bound Canadian provinces of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes. Perhaps in this isolated Canadian daily a more objective portrait of America could be found.

The period 1901-1909 was chosen with several thoughts in mind. The Roosevelt age, as is known, appeared long enough and unified enough through the strong leadership and impact of President Roosevelt. Internationally, through his involvement in Cuba, the Panama canal, the Alaska boundary dispute, the Portsmouth peace treaty, the sailing of the White fleet, or the Root-Takahira agreement Roosevelt with his "Big Stick" was leaving his mark on the international community. At the same time, domestic reforms, legal battles against the American giant corporations like Standard Oil, the attempts to expose and condemn American political corruption, emphasis on conservation, education, and social responsibility indicated a new revival in American civilization. Finally, this was an opportune period marked by Canadian political stability under Laurier's leadership; by Canadian economic optimism resulting from the wheat boom, the increasing development of Canadian natural resources and in the expansion of Canada's transportation systems; finally, it was an opportune period marked by the literary growth in Canada seen in the many periodicals of the period and in the vitality of many Canadian newspapers, such as the Manitoba Free Press.

The closing date, 1909, was also selected with several reasons in mind. It appeared as a watershed in Canadian-American relations. It marked the first concrete steps to repair the damages of war, fear of war, and continental political expansion by establishing a new basis, amity and co-operation, as seen in the establishment of the International Joint Commission. It demonstrated Canadian maturity in external affairs with the establishment of the Department of External Affairs. It marked the end of the Roosevelt era associated with the "Big Stick" and the bitter memories of the Alaska decision. Finally, it marked the reappearance of sensitive Canadian issues, such as Imperial defence and reciprocity, culminating in the 1911 defeat of the Laurier ministry.

Now the act of perception involves the cognition of a single, distinct and unified essence obtained from the sensory processes while confronted by a stimulus.[2] The perception of a complex, synthetic and abstract civilization like the United States during the first decade of the twentieth century involved

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[2]C.L.Barnhart, ed., The American College Dictionary, N.Y.: Random House, 1966, p. 899.

the interpretation of thousands of individual descriptions, opinions, beliefs and comments in a kaleidoscopic mosaic. It involved the examination of on the spot opinions, well thought out judgements and academic reflections. It is freely admitted, however, that many of these opinions were biased, based on incomplete information and in some cases representative of only an individual point of view. Therefore the validating criterion for this study was as follows. A wide scope of contemporary sources were used, approximately 36 periodicals for the whole eight year period, unless otherwise noted in the bibliography; several dozen contemporary and later interpretative books were searched for such opinions; most contemporary official papers on Canadian-American relations at the Public Archives in Ottawa were examined for viewpoints of America; the Manitoba Free Press' editorial page was read for the period along with several other newspapers read at specific dates for correlating and evaluating perceptions; finally, several foreign and American serious interpretative studies were read as a further control for the Free Press' perceptions of Roosevelt's America.

Over the past seventy years several historians have left isolated reflections of Roosevelt's America.

From the 1920's Sir R. Falconer left an interesting perception of Americans as a people and as potential immigrants to Western Canada:

> They are alert and shrewd in business, with an eye to money-making whether by trading in land, booming real estate, pushing the sale of farm implements, developing the lumber industry, or advertising for oil. They show their initiative and common sense by their use of labour-saving devices and practical conveniences on the farm and in the home.[3]

During the next decade another brief perception from Canadian opinions during the dramatic Alaska boundary dispute reads as follows:

> For us the significant fact is that Canadians, under provocation, lost their tempers and that the press gave expression of their annoyance. Once again they accused Americans of allowing domestic politics to play too great a part in their public actions. Once again they denounced bullying and bluff. Once again they felt that their great neighbor was unreliable and unaccountable. There was added a suggestion of sharp practice, of duplicity, of want of

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[3]Sir R.Falconer, The United States as a neighbour from a Canadian point, Cambridge: at U. Press, 1925, p. 33.

sportsmanship.[4]

In the last few years a more generalized description of Roosevelt's America can be found. R.C.Brown and R.Cook summarized the Canadian views in a brief paragraph as follows:

> The U.S. attracted an equal variety of attitudes from Canadians. In one sense, the U.S. was what most Canadians were striving for: wealth, power, and at least approximate equality of opportunity. Yet, in another sense, the United States was everything many Canadians abhorred: imperialism, lack of discipline, and moral relativism. Canadians feared and envied the U.S. But they knew that probably no country, not even Great Britain, was as important to them as their immense, frequently turbulent neighbour. The task for Canadians was some how to obtain the benefits of American society without its faults, while at the same time assuring that Canadian society remained distinct from the nation to the south.[5]

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[4]H.F.Angus, ed. Canada and her Great Neighbor, Sociological surveys of opinions and attitudes in Canada concerning the United States, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938, p. 79.

[5]R.C.Brown, and R.Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1974, p. 6.

These three brief composites reflect the Canadian perceptions of Roosevelt's America. They illustrate the difficulty a historian faces in establishing criteria for a study such as this. Therefore, in attempting to evaluate to what extent the Manitobe Free Press reflected the contemporary views of America the following sequence will be presented. First a brief outline of continental European opinions will be presented; this will be followed by a portrait composed of contemporary British observations; a composite of Canadian perceptions of Roosevelt's America will then be presented; finally, after the general background of contemporary perceptions has been presented the more detailed portrait of America from the editorial page of the Free Press will be presented. It is hoped that by comparing the Free Press' views with those of other contemporaries we can estimate the validity of its portrait. In the process we may well gather a few insights and colourful descriptions of Canada, its people and institutions at the turn of the century.

A NEW GIANT

Emergence of the United States as a major world power meant that continental Europeans, many of them for the first time, focused attention on a possible ally or rival. Some of the views of America were distorted by distance and ignorance of the variety existing in a vast country, and the increased reporting of American events in continental newspapers often illustrated the misinformation and reinforced stereotypes. At the same time continental writers with some experience of the United States and its history provided Europeans with a generally sympathetic but sometimes critical assessment of M Roosevelt's America.

Charles Wagner, the French author of My Impressions of America tried to discover the inmost sources of her extraordinary activity. He perceived American life as homogeneous and believed that homogeneity had resulted from the democratic ideal which was the foundation of her institutions. He saw the American public school as the great organ of assimilation and digestion, "the stomach of America" that imbued the children of every race with the spirit of democracy. This democratic spirit elevated, gave dignity

and inspired a just pride in the whole of which the newcomer had become a part to the extent that he could proudly expound the conviction "I am an American".[1] Wagner eloquently summarized the aim of American education:

> each pupil should be a somebody, be conscious of his dignity, take upon himself the responsibility for his acts, and preside over the republic within him- this is the aim towards which education is directed. It is education for freedom, conducted through a personal discipline, the education of "self-control".[2]

He was amazed by America's preoccupation with industry. He claimed that everybody in America worked not for the money but mainly for the respect and admiration that it brought. America, he insisted, was definitely not the land of "King Dollar" as many had described her because to Americans wealth was a social charge involving a responsibility of the highest degree both to man and to God. "If she had her money-madmen to whom the end justfies the means", he commented, "her selfish hoarders, her corruptionists who try to rule by buying men's consciences with gold,

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[1] C. Wagner, My Impressions of America, N. Y.: McLure Phillips and Co., 1906, p. 164.

[2] Ibid., p. 169.

she has also raised to the height of a principle, an institution, the duty of using one's wealth well".[3] It was because Americans worked and honoured work that they had become very resourceful, inventive and persevering. They had also developed industrial schools and generally speaking renumerated labour well.

Among the many "strongholds" he observed in America, Wagner included, her religious faith, faith in liberty, good faith among citizens in their mutual dealings, respect for women and, most important, the ideal of simplicity.[4]

Certain European Journals had depicted artificiality as the badge of American life[5] but he argued that this artificial and complicated life which prevailed in America to a disquieting degree was only "accidental" and did not belong to the American character. Its presence, however, constituted one of the greatest dangers the nation was facing because it was permitting itself to be drawn into a life of

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[3]Wagner, p. 146.

[4]Ibid., pp. 263-7.

[5]Ibid., p. 280.

superficiality, a life forgetful of the soul and scornful of simplicity. America, in fact, was running the danger of destroying its true ideal "the realization of a beautiful life, inspired by concern for the best things", that is he explained, "of a broadly human life, energetic and benevolent, powerful and pacific, in which conscience never loses its rights".[6]

In his sympathetic view of America Wagner was certain that her normal conservatism, her courage, her ardour for the future and her simplicity were an assurance of victory in the moral crisis of the time.[7] America loved the life that was genuine and substantial, the life in which the things most highly valued were moral qualities, uprightness, energy and kindness as well as those fundamental family sentiments that were the cement of society.[8]

Wagner was by no means the only foreign observer to find in America support for his own preconceived views of what a twentieth century society should be. D'Estournelles de Constant claimed that visits to America in 1902, 1907, and 1911 had removed his earlier

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[6]Wagner, p. 283.

[7]Ibid., p. 286.

[8]Ibid., p. 283.

prejudices. By the time he wrote America and its Problems in the early months of the first World War, any fear he had once felt of an American peril had been altered to a view of the "world's best hope".[9] To him America was like an eagle because of her dominating international influence as well as a star because of the guiding international role which she was destined to perform.[10] As a result he observed that it was America's duty and interest to become Europe's guide and master.[11]

De Constant applauded the "pious and patriotic spirit" in which Americans were keeping the memory of "our French forefathers alive" and warned that France would be guilty of criminal folly if through ignorance she permitted such bonds of friendship existing between the two nations to slacken.[12] Youthful industrial America was committing many errors but she was duly chastised for them.[13]

In a paternalistic fashion he described the American youth as open-minded but innocent and in

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[9]P.H.B.D'Estournelles de Constant, America and her Problems, N.Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1915, p. X.

[10]Ibid., p. 521.

[11]Ibid., p. 313.

[12]Ibid., p. 8.

[13]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

need of proper guidance:

> All these young people have no thought of evil; but it will be all the more easy to deceive them and lead them astray, and how necessary it is to put them on their guard, not only against their own mistakes, but against those committed by governments.[14]

He was hopeful, however, that American schools would provide the answer.

> The ideal of the American man and the American woman is to instruct, enlighten and guide the young, and through them the nation, towards good, by all possible means and regardless the cost. Everything is for the young and for the future.[15]

Perhaps the most lasting impression on de Constant was that of the American society woman. In a poetic description he revealed his awe and admiration for what he called "the greatest ornament" and the "highest expression of luxury" in America.[16] She was also carefree, beautiful, self-confident and "glad to be alive". Perplexed he explained,

> O American woman, elective queens, an

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[14] D'Estournelles de Constant, p. 57.

[15] Ibid., p. 316.

[16] Ibid., p. 284.

> aristocracy in a democracy, what sums of money your husbands, your fathers and the whole of your country must make to go on supplying you with dress.[17]

It was this youthful vitality in her men and women that would be the instrument to overcome all her difficulties and dangers and perhaps save western Europe as well.

While these French authors wrote from personal visits to America Ostrogorski, the Polish author well known for his classic critique of American democracy, made an academic analysis of America and her institutions. Unlike de Constant he was not convinced that American virility was the solution to America's problems. He observed that the American nation had demonstrated "the admirable spectacle of a creative force, of an indomitable energy, of a tenacious will that had no parallel". But he argued that this achievement sprang from less admirable roots. He though that Americans believed that "to make money" was the destiny of mankind and they had poured all their strength in

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[17] D'Estournelles de Constant, p. 284.

achieving this goal.[18] In the process they had sacrificed their democratic government to plutocracy and the party "Machine". Perhaps, he admitted, government by bosses was not administratively speaking more destructive than plutocracy but both plutocracy and bosses together had tended to "eat out the heart of the commonwealth".[19] This process was accelerated by the exaggerated generosity of the American which had put a premium on public plundering and had blunted civic sensibility.[20]

Ostrogorski also believed that of "all races" in an advanced stage of civilization the American was the least capable of long views. The American, he declared, was more bent on enjoying the present without wondering about the future because he looked at all difficulties and evils as transitory. To be otherwise meant to be held in contempt by his fellow man as unpractical and as a pessimist.

> Wedded to the present, the American possesses a singular power of forgetfulness, the events

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[18] Ostrogorski, M. Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties, II, Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964, p. 301. (First published in 1902, by Mcmillan Co.,).

[19] Ibid., p. 300.

[20] Ibid., p. 302.

> of the day before are to him ancient history. Confident in the future, he exhibits a remarkable endurance of present evils, a submissive patience which is ready to forego not only the rights of the citizen, but sometimes the rights of man. He does not remember, he does not feel, he lives in a materialistic dream.[21]

Ostrogorski saw a contradiction between the apparently low social barriers and the isolation of individuals. Material civilization, advance of knowledge and the levelling tendency had produced an atomistic society.

> The American lives morally in the vagueness of space; he is, as it were, suspended in the air, he has no fixed groove. The levelled society, without traditions, without a past, in which he lives, does not provide him with one.[22]

It was his opinion that America could overcome her political formalism and mechanism, the "two evils in American democracy", by granting women a vote, and by mounting a vigorous offensive against the destructive "Caucus regime". The task, he explained, was a

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[21] Ostrogorski, p. 303.

[22] Ibid., p. 307.

gigantic one because,

> the citizen must be re-invested with his power over the commonwealth, and the commonwealth must revert to its proper objects; the separation between society and politics must be put an end to, and the divorce between politics and morality annulled; civic indifference must give place to an alert and vigilant public spirit; the conscience of the citizen must be set free from formalism which has enslaved it; electors and supreme depositaries of power must be guided in their political conduct by the reason inherent in things, and not by the conventional meaning attached to words; superiority of character and intelligence, that is to say the real leadership, dethroned by political mechanism, must be reinstated in its right to direct the government of the Republic, authority as well as liberty, now usurped by the men who traffic in the public weal under the party flag and in the name of democracy, must be rehabilitated.[23]

It was evident that Ostrogorski's condemnation of certain tendencies he perceived in the United States was linked with a sincere concern for democratic

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[23]Ostrogorski, p. 314.

institutions and a sympathy for many American aims. He was convinced that the future of American democracy depended on the improvement of America's general culture and political methods.

A.J.Torrielli cites two Italian observers of the Roosevelt era. Sormany, the psychologist turned economist, compared American millionaires to their national bird the "golden eagle". They were pitiless. Their minds were always fixed on the seizure of new prey, with the satisfaction of an insatiable appetite as their only purpose for which they were quite willing to sacrifice every other consideration.[24]

It was the evaluation of America from an Italian viewpoint by Ugo Ojetti that Torrielli considered excellent. In his lecture on "America and the future" at the Collegio Romano on January 26, 1905, Ojetti stated:

> The true American was the real abode of the fabulous risk, the undying faith in the future and the intense life which plunged into work as if into an orgy.[25]

He feared a real disaster if the world should

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[24]A.J.Torrielli, Italian opinion on America as revealed by Italian Travellers 1850-1900, N.Y.: Kraws Reprint Co., 1969, p. 268.

[25]Ibid., p. 294.

accept the American philosophy of life:

> The whole of Europe had become imbued with American ways after the Spanish War. The doctrine of work for the sake of work, of money for the sake of money, was sweeping away the seasoned idealities of centuries. The absence of any moral value was no more of any consequence.[26]

While one Latin nation in Europe was exalted by the American example, another saw America as undermining Western civilization.

In Germany, an industrial rival, the contemporary view of America was hardly sympathetic. It was largely to correct what he considered the mistaken views of his countrymen that Hugo Münsterberg, a German professor of Psychology at Harvard University, attempted to systematically interpret the democratic ideas of America, the nature of the American man and the forces shaping his civilization.

He explained that in the German mind America was the land where gold was lying in the streets, and where the newcomer still found a chance of a free life.[27]

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[26]Torrielli, p. 294.

[27]H. Münsterberg, American Traits from the Point of view of a German, N. Y.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901, p. 9.

As for the adjective "American" in the German language, it was usually associated with three things, American stoves, American duels, and the American humbug which flourished in Berlin just as in Chicago.[28] Then he presented to American readers the well known German stereotype of the American man:

> He is a haggard creature, with vulgar tastes and brutal manners, who drinks whiskey and chews tobacco, spits, fights, puts his feet on the table, and habitually rushes along in wild haste, absorbed by a greedy desire for the dollars of his neighbors. He does not care for education or art, for the public welfare or for justice, except so far as they mean money to him. Corrupt from top to toe, he buys legislation and courts and government; and when he wants fun, he lynches innocent negroes on Madison Square in New York, or in the Boston Public Garden. He has his family usually in a skyscraper of twenty-four stories; his business is founded on misleading advertisements; his newspapers are filled with accounts of murders, and his churches swarm with hypocrites.[29]

A bit far-fetched, he observed, but it illustrated very clearly how Germans perceived America.

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[28]Münsterberg, p. 3.

[29]Ibid., p. 9.

His perspective, however, was entirely different. He saw the American as "an idealist through and through".[30] If the American, he argued, chased after money it was for the pleasure of the chase. He was essentially honest and helpful as illustrated from his charity, hospitality and from his projects in educational improvement.[31] America's idealism hid beneath a mask of selfish-realism and he urged his readers to consider the

> American's gratefulness and generosity, his elasticity and his frankness, his cleanliness and his charity, his humor and his fairness; Consider the vividness of his religious emotion, his inerest in religious and metaphysical speculation, his eagerness always to realize the best results of science... in short, look around everywhere without prejudice, and you cannot doubt that behind the terrifying mask of the selfish realist breathes the idealist, who is controlled by a belief in ethical values.[32]

To Münsterberg idealism shone through the American spirit of self-determination resulting from the war of Independence, the spirit of self-activity in his economic life resulting from the pioneer

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[30] Münsterberg, p. 24.

[31] Ibid., p. 29.

[32] Ibid., p. 29.

experience, and his spirit of self-perfection in his intellectual life resulting from American Puritanism and Utilitarianism.[33] Emphatically he reiterated that the Americans were not "corrupt and materialistic and brutal".[34] As for the American woman, he observed, she was beyond complimentary epithets:

> The American woman is clever and ingenious and witty; she is brilliant and lively and strong; she is charming and beautiful and noble; she is generous and amiable and resolute; she is energetic and practical and yet idealistic and enthusiastic- indeed, what is she not?

American Traits from the Point of view of a German was after all, an attempt to correct the German stereotype of the crude American and perhaps an overstatement. Münsterberg's other book indicates that he was by no means blind to the deficiencies of the American system. "It is no accident", he lamented, "that America has still produced no great world genius".[36]

Like Ostrogorski, he believed that the rule

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[33]Münsterberg, p. 31.

[34]Ibid., p. 41.

[35]Ibid., p. 131.

[36]H.Münsterberg, The Americans, McClure & Phillips, 1904, p. 26.

of parties in America had deprived the individual of his political powers, and feared that the despotism of the individual boss could easily turn into a system of tyranny by capitalists.[37] In the meantime, American democracy was being perceived in Germany as "mob-rule, harangues of the demagogue, and every form of lawlessness and violence".[38] He found it disheartening to ackowledge such misunderstandings because he believed that both nations in the depths of their being were realizing that "in order to give meaning to life man must believe in timeless ideals".[39]

In his analysis of American foreign affairs Münsterberg argued that recent events had divided America. American imperialists, he told his compatriots had welcomed expansion in the Pacific and involvement abroad as part of the "fundamental instinct of the nation".[40] On the other hand, anti-imperialists claimed that America's underlying principle had been a firm faith in the right of people

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[37] Münsterberg, American Traits, p. 201.

[38] Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 7.

[39] Ibid., p. 611.

[40] Ibid., p. 204.

to govern themselves and that the United States "had never exchanged or acquired a foot of land without the consent of those who dwelt there on".[41] He clearly delineated the two main streams of American thought concerning foreign affairs.

Imperialists, he observed, insisted that they were doing their moral duty in educating the Philippinos in self-government as they had done in Cuba; America's honour demanded that they remained in the Islands; and American self-interest demanded the possession of the Islands. The anti-imperialists, however, repudiated these claims and argued that no one in the "world was deceived into supposing that our boasted civil rule in the Philippines was anything more than a name"; that the adventure had disgraced the American army by teaching them to conquer by deception and trickery, to be cruel and revengeful, and to return torture for torture.[42] He concluded,

> Thus the opinions are waged against one another, and so they will continue to be. We must emphasize merely again and again that the majority which today is

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[41] Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 204.

[42] Ibid., p. 207.

> on the side of the imperialists believes at the same time enthusiastically in the international movement for peace, and quite disinterestedly favours, as far as possible, the idea of the peace tribunal. Most of all, the treatment of Cuba certifies to the honourable and peaceful tendencies of the dominant party.[43]

It was very clear to him that with the acquisition of Panama American expansion was inevitable. The methods used might change in the twentieth century but American international influence and expansion could not be stopped nor could they be altered just by mere citations from their Declaration of Independence.[44] In this regard it is interesting to point out that as late as April 25, 1898, Italian scholars were convinced that America, the land of individualism, opportunity and the most "perfect form of government" would not fight Spain under any circumstances because of these noble ideas expressed in their Declaration of Independence.[45]

Unlike contemporary Italian writers Münsterberg was convinced that,

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[43]Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 209.

[44]Ibid., p. 210.

[45]Torrielli, p. 281.

> It requires no special gift of prophesy to point out that the next expansion will be toward the North. Just as the relations in Panama were fairly obvious a half year before the catastrophy came, the suspicion cannot be now put by that at a time not far hence the Stars and Stripes will wave in the northwestern part of Canada, and that there too the United States will be unwilling to lower its flag.[46]

Münsterberg noted that Canada and Canadian opinion were divided on the issue of American annexation. In the development of his argument he presented a clear European perception of contemporary Canada.

Some Canadians, he claimed, were condemning America's municipal politics, her boss rule in political parties, her negro and her Philippine problems, and were proclaiming that their loyalty to the crown could not be questioned. Other Canadians saw annexation to the United States as the only natural course of action.[47] His estimation of the question was twofold: First, it was very unlikely that Eastern Canada with its established traditions would desert

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[46]Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 210.

[47]Ibid., p. 210.

the mother country; Western Canada, however, with its different history, its economic closeness to the United States and its thousands of American immigrants in the not distant future would demand a transfer of allegiance to the United States.[48] He observed that the Northwest's demand for reciprocity with the United States had forced the "remarkably effective and intelligent men" of the Dominion government to attempt to nip the incipient disaffection in the bud by its railroad policy.[49] However, he felt that Westerners realized the enormous economic possibilities in their area, the great strides that were being made across the line and the lack of a spirit of enterprise, industrial energy and independent action in a colony like Canada. In a penetrating and interesting paragraph he gave his caustic perception of contemporary Canada:

> Even when a colony like Canada possesses a certain independence in the administration of its own affairs, it is still only the appearance and not the fact of self-government. One sees clearly how colourless and dull the intellectual life of

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[48] Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 210.

[49] Ibid., p. 115.

> Canada is, and how in comparison with the very different life of England on the one hand, and of the United States on the other, the colonial spirit saps and undermines the spirit of initiative. The people do not suffer under such a rule; they do not feel the political lack of fresh air, but they take on a subdued and listless way of life, trying to adapt themselves to an alien political scheme, and not having the courage to speak out boldly. This depression is evinced in all their doings; and this is not the spirit which will develop the resources of Western Canada.[50]

Münsterberg's firm conviction was that just as the Philippine agitation had extended American influence in the tropics, "the climatic equilibrium will be restored by another extension in the Canadian Northwest".[51]

What an interesting opinion on such a sensitive Canadian-American issue from a continental European scholar! It was an opinion shared by many other contemporary writers both British and Canadian but a view clearly denounced by the Manitoba Free Press.

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[50] Münsterberg, The Americans, p. 215.

[51] Ibid., p. 216.

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING

Across the channel by 1900 Great Britain was clearly conscious of the rising aspirations of Imperial Germany's "World Policy", her industrial growth and the rapid growth of her navy. She watched with great anxiety Germany's invasion of the former British spheres of influence in the Near East, the Far East, and on the high seas. As a result Britain repudiated her policy of isolation for new ententes and alliances with France, Russia and Japan.

Besides Germany's great emergence as a competitive world power Great Britain had to deal with the rise of Imperial United States. Like Britain the United States had also repudiated her isolationist policy in favour of international involvement, expansion, and recognition. As a result the two nations were facing each other diplomatically more frequently, gradually laying the foundation for the "Anglo-American understanding".

This official diplomatic understanding, however, between the two nations did not eliminate the fact that by 1900 the United States was seriously challenging Great Britain's commercial world superiority. In fact it seemed to many Britons that not

only their own domestic market but their civilization as well was being Americanized. American customs had been the subject of much often unfavourable attention by British travellers throughout the nineteenth century; with the new conditions of the twentieth century British writers undertook the task of re-assessing and interpreting America and her civilization to their fellow countrymen.

It seems very clear from their comments that Britons, like the continental Europeans, perceived America as an imperialistic nation. For some writers early apprehension changed to an acceptance of the inevitability of American dominance. Richard de Barry, echoing de Constant's account of how once he talked of the American "peril" observed in 1908 "only a few years ago all the world dreaded America as a nightmare threatening to Americanize society, culture, commerce, railways, shipping, trade".[1] Other writers, as well, seem to have noted the expansionist tendencies of the United States and argued that accommodation was the only course to follow.

The eccentric journalist W. T. Stead stated an

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[1]R. De Barry, The Land of Promise, An Account of the material and spiritual unity of America, London: Longman's Green & Co., 1908, p. 20.

extreme view but one that received a good deal of publicity in the early years of the twentieth century. He claimed that a process was already visible, the United States was Americanizing the world.[2] This process, he felt, had needlessly excited some resentment in Great Britain since the Americanization of the world was only its Anglicizing.[3] He advised his fellow countrymen that instead of "chafing against the inevitable supersession",[4] they should cheerfully acquiesce to this American conquest, this means of unifying the English-speaking race.[5]

This process of Americanization, he perceived, was encircling the world. England, for example, was "more American than Anglican".[6] Using a vivid description of a Briton's daily life he reinforced this view of the extensiveness of American infiltration of Great Britain:

> The average man rises in the morning from his New England sheets, he shaves with

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[2]W. T. Stead, The Americanization of the World or The Trend of the Twentieth Century, N. Y.: Horace Markley, 1902, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 4.

[4]Ibid., p. 5.

[5]Ibid., p. 13.

[6]Ibid., p. 161.

> "Williams" soap and a Yankee safety razor, pulls on his Boston boots over his socks from North Carolina, fastens his Connecticut braces, slips his Waltham or Waterbury watch in his pocket, and sits down to breakfast... [7]

On the continent, according to Stead, there were no more Americanized cities than Hamburg and Berlin. They were Americanized in "their rapidity of growth, their nervous energy, and their quick appropriation of the facilities for rapid transportation".[8]

In Asia, the annexation of the Philippines had created in America a feverish imperialistic spirit.[9] It was very clear to him that no power on earth would be able to arrest the advance of the American ships, nor indeed, "is there any power in Europe that would even attempt to do so".[10]

Like Münsterberg, he also observed that Canadians were Americanized in their tastes and goods through American imports which were readily consumed in Canada.[11] American settlers were steadily colonizing

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[7] Stead, pp. 354-5.

[8] Ibid., p. 164.

[9] Ibid., p. 202.

[10] Ibid., p. 196.

[11] Ibid., p. 98.

and Americanizing the Canadian Northwest. American capital was pouring into Canada resulting in the "industrial annexation" of the country.[12] It appeared to him that industrially Americans were "setting the pace" in Canada.[13] He conceded, however, without any elaboration that the one great obstacle to this Americanization process and to Canadian annexation seemed to be the French Canadians.[14]

According to Stead, the instruments of Americanization throughout the world were many and varied but their end result was everywhere the same. Missionaries carried with them not only religious concepts but ideas of social reform from America, such as the temperance movement.[15] American authors like Hawthorne, Cooper, Parkman, Mark Twain and Henry James were widely read throughout the world.[16] On a practical level, the world was Americanized through a multitude of ingenious inventions, such as, the typewriter, the sewing machine, the linotype, and the elevator.[17]

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[12]Stead, p. 101.

[13]Ibid., p. 102.

[14]Ibid., p. 106.

[15]Ibid., pp. 169-71.

[16]Ibid., p. 276.

[17]Ibid., p. 350.

This process Stead perceived as beneficial to the world. It was the result of many causes co-operating to convert the modern American "into a dynamo of energy" and to make him the supreme "type of a strenuous life".[18] America, he concluded, triumphantly,

> as a great amalgam of heterogeneous energies constitutes a new composite race, which found itself free to face all the problems of the universe without any of the restraints of prejudices, traditions or old-established institutions which encumber the nations of the Old World.[19]

Stead was not alone in such adulation. A. M. Low was impressed by American unity in language, political loyalty and social institutions.[20] Richard De Barry agreed, calling America a "civic theocracy":

> It is a great democratic union of half a hundred races, made one not in any ties of blood relationship, but in the common civic principles, like civic freedom, equality and brotherhood are as immutable as the Eternal One, and that if these are acted upon they covenant a people with its safety,

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[18]Stead, p. 381.

[19]Ibid., p. 382.

[20]A.M.Low, The American People: A Study in National Psychology, II, N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1909, p. 314.

security, unity, prosperity, endurance.[21]

De Barry was the most explicit of all in his prediction for the future. Greater America would become a "mightier, holier, brotherlier, comradeship" in the world.[22] Before this Greater America the choice for Great Britain was crystal clear: either to merge with America as a part of a dominant world power, or to stay free from the United States and to become an English-speaking Belgium.[23]

Other Britons were more likely to see the dangers in American expansion and counselled resistance to a process that need not be inevitable. In his work, American Invasion, Sir Christopher Furnes expressed confidence in the future of British industry. British industrial resourcefulness was illustrated by the spirited competition organized by the Imperial Tobacco Company against the American attempt to capture the British retail tobacco trade in 1902.[24] Other writers sounded an alarm bell. MacMillan's Magazine

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[21]De Barry, p. 89.

[22]Ibid., p. 297.

[23]Stead, p. 396.

[24]R.H.Heindell, The American Impact on Great Britain 1898-1914. A Study of the United States in World History, N. Y.: Octagon Books Inc., 1968, p. 170.

warned Britons in 1903 that if the great American speculators continued to embark on English enterprises "it will behoove this community to watch very carefully lest they import not only their capital and their energy but also their familiar methods".[25] The danger was clearly spelled out. "If these vast commercial successes of America", cautioned MacMillan's, "are inextricably bound up with municipal and political corruption... then we may perhaps be content with an inferior degree of this development".[26]

The recognition of corruption, especially in New York, the provision of details for the British public, and even illustrations of the way Tammany Hall techniques were being exported as far as Japan were common features of British writing at this time. In the midst of condemnation S. Brooks did praise the efficiency of the New York administration, while noting that the London administration was, generally speaking, honest but incapable. Perhaps some American know-how should be welcomed, he advised, if it could

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[25]"Tammany and the Puritans", MacMillan's Magazine, 88, 1903, p. 308.

[26]Ibid., p. 308.

be extracted from its vices.[27]

Interest in political corruption was only one example of the attention Britons were paying to the domestic development of the United States. There seems to have been a market for reminiscences of life in the U.S. and analyses of the American civilization. A. M. Low, like Münsterberg, had lived in the United States for over twenty years, had observed its political and social institutions, then announced to the British public his intention to examine "the origin, growth, and development of the American people".[28] This people he perceived as "a new race"[29] greatly influenced by the Puritan emphasis on thrift, order, and commerce. Their greatest quality, as he saw it, was their commercial instinct.

R. De Barry saw America as the land of promise, an idealistic nation believing in the dogma of perfectability, a faith that was the moving power behind all her activities. He was sure that,

There would be no such political and social

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[27]S. Brooks, "Tammany Hall", The Monthly Review, V, 1901, p. 103.

[28]Low, p. 12.

[29]Ibid., p. 41.

> self-scrutiny, without that profound American belief that there are ideal American standards of life from which, as by a true criterion, the nation should choose constantly to judge itself.[30]

The essence of this stirring invincible force of the American national ideal was the "absolute fraternization" of the white races of mankind, both Indo-Germanic and Semitic and European Mongols into one common institutional citizenship.[31] America, for De Barry, had undertaken a revolutionary social experiment aiming at the abolition of that "one-racial ideal of the modern nation".[32] Thus ineradicable New England idealism had stamped America as pre-eminently "the land of vision" and its people were imbued with the sincere belief in the infinite perfectability of all institutions, persons and peoples in the country. Enthusiastically he proclaimed,

> This visionary idealism causes all Americans, as it were, to "live in the future", and to struggle incessantly for advancement along

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[30] R. De Barry, p. vii.

[31] Ibid., p. 82.

[32] Ibid., p. 79.

> every line of human activity, not forgetting, religion, ethics and culture.[33]

A. Francis observed that there were little Russias, little Italys, little Syrias and great Jerusalems in America[34] but that the United States "was and acted as a nation rapidly eliminating sectional lines and differences". This process of assimilation was creating an American character established on the ideal of moral order and based on respect for oneself and for others, that is, on "personal dignity and worth".[35] As a whole, Americans displayed a faith in humanity, a passion for justice, and a devotion to freedom.[36] They were impressionable, volatile and essentially conservative. He was convinced that the American was "a new man" just as he was sure that the master-force behind America's civilization was "the Anglo-Saxon spirit".[37]

Such glowing accounts of the American character went hand in hand with the Stead position, the acceptability of Americanization. But by no means all writers

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[33] R. De Barry, p. 213.

[34] A. Francis, Americans, an Impression, London: Andrew Melrose, 1909, p. 37.

[35] Ibid., p. 47.

[36] Ibid., p. 9.

[37] Ibid., p. 24.

shared this view. Certain aspects of life in America were regarded as appalling. The stereotype American remained a "particularly tricky, dodgy sort of person always on the lookout to take somebody in".[38] Sidney Smith described the United States as a "criminal's refuge",[39] a superficial, corrupt and lawless nation and rhetorically asked,

> Can anyone point to anything in the world that America is accomplishing which is purely and simply calculated to serve the highest interests of the human race?[40]

Other contemporary British writers had harsh words for America and her civilization. The socialist author H. G. Wells in The Future in America (1906) described America as a trading nation completely given over to profit-mongering. The basic materialistic and commercial ideal of their civilization was to "buy from the needy, sell to the urgent need, and get all that can possibly be got out of every transaction. To do anything else isn't business".[41] He also abhorred

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[38] R.H.Heidell, p. 216, quotes S. Low, Industrial Efficiency, (1906).

[39] Ibid., p. 416, quotes S. Smith, Abounding America, (1907).

[40] Ibid., p. 50.

[41] J.G. Brooks, As Others See Us. A study of progress in the U.S., N. Y.: The Macmillan Co., 1909, p. 287.

the Americanizing influence on the immigrants to the United States:

> It seems to me that the immigrant arrives an artless, rather uncivilized, pious, good-hearted peasant, with a disposition towards submissive industry and rude effectual moral habits. America, it is alleged, makes a man of him. It seems to me that all too often she makes an infuriated toiler of him, tempts him with dollars and speeds him up with competition, hardens him, coarsens his manners, and worst crime of all lures and forces him to sell his children into toil.[42]

It was this child labour, he observed, that permitted "the lavish spending of Fifth Avenue, the joyous wanton giving of Mr. Andrew Carnegie".[43] It was an unhealthy condition which clearly illustrated America's inadequate theory of freedom and its undisciplined way of living.

British authors also denounced American lawlessness and corruption. A. M. Low claimed that American contempt of law, which threatened the welfare of

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[42] J. G. Brooks, p. 280.

[43] Ibid., p. 277.

society, was the result of a "mistaken political philosophy and the pressure of national expansion implanted in the American".[44] To most Americans, he claimed, the law did not excite veneration because there was little mystery about its creation. Furthermore, the illconsidered and hasty action of lawmakers in the enactment of laws had resulted in the multiplicity of American laws which tended to confusion and, more important, to corruption. This tendency was accentuated by a naive belief that every evil real or imaginary could be corrected by the passage of a law.[45] Sidney Brooks concurred and called Americans incorrigible sentimentalists who believed with all their might that laws could cure everything.[46]

Others offered a different explanation for American corruption. Fortune-building Americans, said R. De Barry, were absolute liberals with regards to religion, culture, tastes and interests.[47] He defined the sociable American as the materially resourceful man who used money as "the scientific equipment of

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[44] A. M. Low, p. 349.

[45] Ibid., p. 349.

[46] S. Brooks, "American Imperialism", The Fortnightly Review, 70, 1901, p. 235.

[47] R. De Barry, p. 249.

social beneficence, of social activity in the social leadership.[48] He explained that so called "corrupt" Americans were mostly believers in a "God" who was lax in his sanctions and was too easy in condoning evil conspirings.[49] He perceived that most evils in American life were the results of inadequate assimilation of masses to the true American ideal.

A. Francis denounced America's social discontent, poverty and corruption that was camouflaged by the American dream of "plenty" which had mesmerized thousands of Europeans into flooding North America. Even in fairly prosperous years, he claimed, there were 10 to 20 million people in America who were always underfed and poorly housed; that there were close to 4 million public paupers in the United States. This poverty had forced about 1,700,000 school age children and about 5 million women to become wage-earners.[50] Furthermore, he stated, that one in ten who died in New York had a pauper's burial, and that in 1903 in the borough of Manhattan N.Y. 60,463

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[48] R. De Barry, p. 248.

[49] Ibid., p. 243.

[50] A.Francis, pp. 203-4.

families were evicted from their homes.[51] He was sure that "the poverty in America that seeks to hide itself beneath fine apparel may be bitter and more dangerous".[52] This condition, he explained, had resulted from the concentration of wealth into few hands creating a powerful, selfish and largely unsocial plutocratic class which was disintegrating America's national life.[53] This plutocratic, corrupt minority was prevailing not because Americans lacked honesty but because they had lost their courage and their splendid pioneer virility. He declared that

> the majority weakly shrinks from the strain, the stress, the toil and turmoil, the opprobrium and slander, and the prolonged endurance of these which is the price that must be paid for the reform which is desired.[54]

A number of British authors viewed the American educational system as a major cause of many of America's evils and attempted to illustrate the connection. While education was seen as "immensely practical"[55] in

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[51] A.Francis, p. 205.

[52] Ibid., p. 205.

[53] Ibid., p. 213.

[54] Ibid., p. 147.

[55] P.A.Vaile, Y. America's Peril, London: F. Griffiths, 1909, p. 265.

America, it was also treated with all seriousness and vast sums of money were spent in the process. Some, like A. Francis, raised questions concerning the great predominance of women teachers in America. Their effect on American youth was seen as detrimental to American manhood. H.B.Watson, for example, felt that the fundamental laws of progress of the ascendancy of man and the maternity of women were being seriously undermined in America.[56] She explained that the American college girl was probably the most independent and the most confident creature on earth and had managed to perfect the "cult of pleasure" as no living being in all of human history.[57] The American woman, she claimed, was determined to get the best she could for her money, or her father's money, or perhaps her husband's money. In this endeavour like a "handsome clothshorse" she rode "over man rough-shod".[58] Watson's ambivalent reaction to the liberated American woman becomes clear in a passage reminishent of De Constant in which she is pictured as the "most striking" development of modern society, as an interesting and

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[56] H.B.Watson, "The American Woman- An Analysis", The Nineteenth Century and After, 56, 1904, 441.

[57] Ibid., p. 438.

[58] Ibid., p. 439.

fascinating figure on the horizon of the twentieth century:

> But it is hardly so much her superiority of physical charm that has attracted so many Europeans to the American woman, as her nimble intellectual equipment and her enlarged sense of companionship. She is above all adaptable and fits into her place deftly, gracefully, and with no diffidence. She knows not shamefacedness; she has regal claims and believes in herself and her destiny. If her fidelity is derived from the coldness of her nature, she owes her advancement largely to her zest for living... she is flawless superficially, and catches the wandering eye, as a butterfly, a bright patch of colour, something assertive and arresting in the sunshine. Her curiosity is insatiable, and her interest in life is that of a gourmet in his food. She has an inordinate capacity for enjoyment, and does not excuse it.[59]

The American co-educational system by producing such self-reliant women was, according to another British writer, undermining the American society:

> There seems, in fact, some show of danger that if the American woman continues to

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[59]H.B. Watson, p. 442.

> enjoy this preferential treatment, she may, by virtue of her intellectual and artistic superiority, and by substituting for the existing ideals in American life which are preponderably masculine those to which her sex attach the greater importance... converting the U.S. to a feminine nation.[60]

The detrimental effects of the feminization of American schools went hand in hand with their secularization. This lack of religious instruction in American schools, claimed A. Francis, was a distinct educational weakness because Americans had divided the historical content of their culture into secular and religious parts and had assumed that each could be taught separately. They had divided the student into parts and had assumed that each part could be developed independently. They had divided the teacher into parts and had assumed that certain parts of his or her own culture could be left out of the classroom. These mistaken assumptions, he observed, meant that only a part of the child, a part of the teacher and a part of the culture was legally admitted in the school and the overall result was that the American

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[60] C. Brereton, "America, A Bird's eye view of education", The Monthly Review, 3, 1901, p. 62.

educational system was "a thing of shreds and patches" and that the American boy was only partially educated.[61] This practice had resulted in a contradiction between American pronounced ideals and reality. Whereas, Americans claimed that their nation was based on a religious idea, they in fact had separated this ideal "from the state and the school".[62]

Yet the situation was not hopeless. The state had realized that democracy could not rest on an ignorant demos and had emphasized a secular education for their children to ensure a general enlightenment and a great increase in material wealth. The American churches had realized that democracy could not rest on an unspiritual demos and had therefore emphasized religious education for their children in Sunday schools.[63]

Furthermore, he observed, that while the children were the masters in nearly every home he had visited in America, whether rich or poor, and while the child believed as a general principle that at home everything turned around him and considered any rare

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[61] A. Francis, p. 150.

[62] Ibid., p. 151.

[63] Ibid., p. 155.

order to limit his encroachments as "an abuse of power and an arbitrary act",[64] in school the children learned "obedience, order, integrity in work, steadfastness in spite of moods and submission to the rightful demand upon each individual".[65] In school they were called on to think, to observe, to form their own judgements even at the risk of error and crudity, and to speak better than they wrote.[66] In his eyes the American educational system had vindicated itself and he was convinced that "many of the worst evils of American municipal and political life spring from the remnant of American citizens whom the national system of education has left untouched".[67]

Sydney Brooks was critical of America's education because the average citizen was elevated to the point where he was not quite able to think rightly for himself, and yet resented being told how to do so by better informed.[68]

Every American believes that his next door

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[64] A. Francis, p. 130.

[65] Ibid., p. 131.

[66] Ibid., pp. 133-4.

[67] Ibid., p. 121.

[68] S. Brooks, "American Imperialism", The Fortnightly Review, 70, 1901, 231.

> neighbour is only a little less qualified than himself to run the U.S., and, as one of the first consequences of this belief, he warmly resents any appearance of being dictated to, of being told how he ought to think on such or such a question.[69]

This destructive tendency, claimed Brooks, had rendered the average American the dominant factor in American politics and had rendered them as a "middle-class opinion" politics.

> American politics is middle-class opinion, left to its own devices. And middle-class opinion, especially when left to its own devices, is a fearsome thing. It marks out the nation over which it has gained control as a willing slave of words a prey to caprice and unreasoning sentiment and stamps broadly across its face the hall-mark of an honestly unconscious parochialism. Such at least has been its effects on America.[70]

Americans as a people were viewed as frank, resourceful and above all as practical. "It is also undeniable", claimed A. Francis, "that, as a people, Americans are not as highly developed as in their

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[69] S. Brooks, "Some Aspects of the Monroe Doctrine", The Fortnightly Review, 70, 1901, p.1014.

[70] Ibid., p. 1015.

rational and artistic capabilities as in their practical powers".[71] Low felt that Americans in their attempt to conquer the material had underdeveloped their "aesthetic sense" and their mind had neither depth, nor breath, nor grasp.[72] They excelled in organization but did not bother with higher thinking, in fact, the American was satisfied to pay someone to do it for him and to make it as easy as possible to be readily assimilated. As a result the American mind just like the American body was feeding on extracts and concentrated foods, whether "canned foods, milk, music, pork or philosophy, honey or humour, lard or literature", because they were time-savers and because they represented the perfection of machinery and business organization over hard labor and individual effort.[73] Even American politics were essentially practical and the man who sat at his desk, whether as a writer, economist, scientist, or professor, and laboriously turned out a few words at a time, instead of turning the torrents of his words at a stenographer showed that he

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[71] A. Francis, p. 8.

[72] A.M.Low, pp. 565-7.

[73] Ibid., p. 270.

was unpractical and therefore unfit for the intensely practical world of politics.[74]

Even writers like S.G. Hobson who praised the Americans as a nation of inventors were apt to decry and also defend their "gospel of the cultivation of the scrap-heap".[75] He explained this point thus:

> Bridges ought not to fail from faulty design... but the working of a machine tool to early destruction is an entirely different matter. Ere its short life is spent new developments will have been made and more economical methods discovered. The policy of throwing out a tool and installing a newer one, even if the old one is as good as ever for its purpose, is a right one. It pays.[76]

J. Blount expressed another interesting perception of America and her civilization. He claimed that Americans were so resourceful industrially because of their method of starting a job:

> The Yankee's first care is to find out what are the vital and important parts and measurements and what are unimportant, and, by

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[74] A.M. Low, p. 572.

[75] S.G. Hobson, "Machine Tool Progress in Great Britain: Have we improved upon America?", The World's Work, 8, 1906, 26.

[76] Ibid., p. 26.

> being accurate and careful and wasting as little labour as possible he saves an immense amount of labour.[77]

This tendency, he explained, reflected a basic difference between England and America and their economic realities. He elaborated,

> The Yankee takes a certain pride in the quantity of his output and every day tries to beat his own record... In England... the longer he takes over his job the longer it will give him employment.[78]

While some British writers rejoiced in the perceived rise of America, others reluctantly praised her, and others still expressed their concern over the exploitative system from which Great Britain was by no means free. Others pondered over America's egalitarianism and the impact of her schools. In perspective, however, it was evident that they viewed the United States in optimistic terms admiring her rise to power, believing that they could work together as friends in the troubled years ahead.

THE CHARTERED LIBERTINE

Continental European and British observers revealed a profound sense of admiration for Roosevelt's America. There were many allusions to the "New World", with the "new" race, and the "new" man. Perhaps the geographic distance from America led to this feeling of awe and admiration. By contrast Canadians were not so mesmerized by Americans as a "new", unique, and superior breed but on the contrary they felt that they themselves were purer, fairer, and more civilized than their neighbors to the South.

Some contemporary Canadians viewed the American civilization as a "chameleon", everchanging and heterogeneous.[1] They observed that the race fusion of which Americans spoke with great confidence and pride and which many Europeans had accepted as a fact was not taking place. In fact, they argued, the American type was undergoing a steady modification by the fresh elements. How else, they wondered, could one explain the "heterogeneous" nature of American society, the dissimilarity visible between State and State,

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[1] A.R.Colquhoon, Greater America, N. Y.: Harper & Brothers, 1904, p. 17.

or even city and city.[2]

J.S.Woodsworth on the other hand, claimed that America, in Israel Zangwill's phrase, was "God's melting pot" fusing all the different people of the world into a higher and better people.[3] R.F. Sutherland, (M.P. for Essex North), expressed this view when he said,

> Whatever their little differences with each other may be they have in commercial matters and in national feeling shown a united front to the rest of the world. They have fused into one people the various elements of which their population is composed and have shown a kindly spirit to each other.[4]

With respect to foreign affairs and foreign entanglements Canadians seemed to view the United States, politically speaking, as a "sort of chartered libertine", a nation which was prepared to accept arbitration, but was "equally determined to dispute payment in case the arbiter not give a verdict in her

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[2]A.R.Colquhoon, p. 16.

[3]J.S.Woodsworth, "Canadians of To-morrow", Canadian Club Speaches, Toronto, (March 14, 1910), p. 141.

[4]Canada, Parliament, House of Commons, Official Report of Debates, 1902, p. 1815.

favour".[5] Canadians had been warned about this American tendency:

> It is the unwavering policy of the U.S. to claim, and if possible secure, by hook or by crook, every additional inch of territory in North America which may be obtained by chance, by the indulgent meekness of the rightful owners, or, where feasible, by a little gentle buccaneering. The aim is never lost sight of.[6]

It was during the Alaska boundary dispute that the Prime Minister and the country had the clearest illustration of this attitude. So much research has been done on this spectacular event in Canadian-American relations that little new information can be added. Besides, the emotional outburst in Canada deflates the value of such comments on America as far as this study was concerned. One example will clearly illustrate what Canadians felt about America especially when it comes from the lips of their Prime Minister. Sir Wilfred Laurier had been deeply wounded by the American selection of partisans rather than "jurists

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[5]E.Dicey, "The American Armada", Empire Review, 15, 1908, p. 256.

[6]N.Patterson, "Alaskan Boundary", The Canadian Magazine, 20, 1902-3, p. 59.

of repute" to represent the United States. He told the Governor General, Lord Grey, that

> the United States would never have ventured to submit such a claim for compensation if Canada had had 60 or 70 million population instead of only 6 or 7 million.[7]

But it was not only in the heat of this most important controversy that the United States was perceived as a libertine. More important in examining Canadian perceptions were the myriad incidents in which public opinion was not so violently inflamed, when more rational expressions of concern might be expected. For example, on July 22, 1907, a sentry, Private Gillette, at Fort Brandy, Sault Ste. Marie, U. S. while firing at an escaping prisoner shot and killed a Miss Elizabeth Cadenhead, a Canadian lady who was visiting at Sault Ste. Marie. The Canadian Government in behalf of Miss Cadenhead's family sued the American government for compensation. When no satisfaction was forthcoming the Governor General, Lord Grey, informed Bryce, the British Ambassador

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[7]Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, H.E. to Mr. Bryce, Dec. 26, 1907, Grey of Howick Papers, M. G. 27 II B. 2 Vol. 8, File K.

at Washington, that Canadians

> do not understand your delicacy in hesitating to press for compensation. They are accustomed to the refusal of the U.S. to pay Canadian claims but they (Government of Canada) do not think this want of international courtesy should save them from being pressed.[8]

Although a minor incident in Canadian-American relations nevertheless Grey's generalization that Canadians were "accustomed to the refusal of the U.S. to pay Canadian claims" clearly illustrates that this was not an isolated incident.

This lack of international courtesy was detected by Canadians in America's expression of the New Monroe Doctrine with its Olney Corollary. Even though, David Mills, Minister of Justice, dismissed it as "an expression of a fond dream and nothing more" he went on to express Canadian unhappiness over American assumptions:

> The self-complacency of men, often, leads them to think that Providence is on their side- that they have a great mission from

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[8]P.A.C., H. E. to Mr. Bryce, Dec. 14, 1908, Grey of Howick Papers, 1907-8, 8, File Y.

> heaven, in the accomplishment of some scheme of self-aggrandisement, and that the aspirations of every other state that stands in way of its realization must be brushed aside.[9]

According to J.A. Ewan in the Canadian Magazine Canadians did not even recognize the Monroe doctrine as applying to them. They did not need nor had they ever asked for it. Furthermore, Canada was a British country before there was a Monroe Doctrine or a United States to announce it.[10] Most Canadian papers, claimed the Canadian Annual Review, had "rejected any kind of U.S. overlordship or protection so far as the Dominion was concerned".[11] It was clear, claimed the Review, that Americans had claimed sovereignity over the western continent without calling any conference to discover the views of the sovereign states of North and South America.[12] David Mills declared that Americans were the "greatest menace" known to the Spanish-American states because they had set themselves "above the law"

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[9]D. Mills, "The Foreign Policy of the U.S. The Monroe Doctrine and International Law", The Empire Review, 1, 1901, p. 143.

[10]J.A.Ewan, "Current Events Abroad", The Canadian Magazine, 25, 1904-5, p. 468.

[11]H.J.Castell, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, Toronto: Annual Review Pub. Co., 1905, p. 527.

[12]Ibid, p. 527.

and were framing the laws to which all other states must render obedience.[13] However, Sir Frederic W. Borden, Minister of Militia and defence, accepted the Monroe Doctrine as a simple realistic position for the United States, because the doctrine was backed by her guns, warships, and the whole power of her eighty million population. In his mind, it meant that for better or worse Canada was safe "from foreign aggression". Apparently he felt that the United States of America did not qualify as a foreign nation. This American doctrine might not correspond to the law of the nations but it was reflecting the law of power and there was no disguising the fact that the U.S. had told the world that that was their policy.[14]

The extent to which Canadians would protest against the "chartered libertine" concept would depend in part on the motives they perceived- in a good cause highhandedness might be tolerated. But the actions of the Roosevelt government often left Canadians with the

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[13]D. Mills, "The Foreign Policy of the U.S.", p. 147.

[14]C.A.R., 1906, p. 630.

impression that American motives were aggressive and selfish. For example, on January 14, 1905, Lord Grey summarized Laurier's comments about Americans in a crisp and colourful way:

> For Americans individually he has a high regard but for them in their collective capacity he has the worst opinion. They are aggressive, grasping, ungenerous and horse-traders in the worst sense.[15]

Most Canadians would have echoed Laurier's words over the negotiations concerning the North Atlantic fisheries dispute. In March 25, 1906, when Lord Grey reported to Ambassador Bryce at Washington on the Canadian proposal concerning the North Atlantic fisheries he contended that Canadians were prepared to meet the Americans "more than half way". It was, however, necessary to remember that Canadian national sentiment would cause an outcry in Canada against any proposal which might be considered as another surrender to the United States.[16] This opinion was reinforced in September when Laurier wrote

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[15]P.A.C., Grey of Howick Papers, M. G. 27, II, B. 2, Vol. 1, Drawer 5, File 1.

[16]P.A.C., Grey of Howick Papers, M. G. 27, II, B. 2, Vol. 7, 1906-7, Drawer 6, Files A-J, nos. 1757-2070.

to Lord Grey outlining Canada's position with regard to Secretary Root's proposal on the Atlantic fisheries:

> The Americans were asking that we should give up everything that was acknowledged to be ours by the convention of 1817 for the mere sake of being "good fellows".[17]

Lord Grey claimed that the United States was not showing the same generosity to Canada that His Majesty's Government had shown when acting on behalf of Canada. He continued,

> The decision of the people is solid on the point that no further surrender to the U.S. should be made from a neighbourly feeling of good fellowship, until the U.S. furnish evidence of a desire to show a little reciprocity in this matter.[18]

In a series of letters to Bryce in Washington Lord Grey further amplified and vividly illustrated the Canadian position. "I am confident", he wrote, that Canada will never acquiesce in Root's contention that American fishermen have rights in our territorial

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[17]P.A.C., Grey of Howick Papers, M. G. 27, II, B. 2, Vol. 7, Drawer 6, 1906-8, File C.

[18]P.A.C., Lord Grey to E. Grey, Oct. 25, 1906, Grey of Howick Papers, 1906-7, File C.

waters superior to those enjoyed by Canadian fishermen".[19] At a later date, when Canadians were asked to select their commissioners to the Freshwater Fisheries Commission the Hon. L. P. Brodeur, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, requested information concerning the "class of men" the United States government proposed to appoint as commissioners. Brodeur's letter clearly indicates that the memory of "international jurists of repute" appointed to examine the Alaska boundary was fresh in the minds of both politicians and public. He informed Bryce that if Americans were motivated by a "real honest single minded desire" to protect the fisheries and to maintain them at the highest possible point of continuous production that they should follow the Canadian proposal and select as commissioners men who were "practical experts". But,

> if on the other hand this Fresh Water Fisheries Treaty is to be used by foxy American Diplomats for the purpose of filling their baskets at the expense of our own [you will notice the distrust felt at Ottawa for Washington diplomacy]

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[19]P.A.C., Lord Grey to Bryce, Dec. 29, 1906, Grey of Howick Papers, 1906, File E.

> to have regard to other qualities than expert knowledge, in selecting their commissioners.[20]

This mood of distrust was clearly shared by the Prime Minister as well. In a revealing note dated February 6, 1909, Lord Grey wrote to Bryce after a discussion with Laurier concerning the Behring Sea Sealing:

> He [Laurier] became quite warm yesterday in his description of American methods and instanced this as an illustration of their "hoggish" desire to get all they could without paying a fair price.[21]

Not only were Americans viewed as selfish and ungenerous in diplomatic encounters but also as intrusive in domestic affairs. In the industrialized areas of Canada, a number perceived the detrimental imperialistic influence of American unions on Canadian labour organizations. For example, in October 1906 Lord Grey wrote to the Prime Minister that

> at present B.C. is being tyrannized over by American Trade Unions! and nobody that

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[20]P.A.C., H.E. to Mr. Bryce, May 16, 1908, Grey of Howick Papers, 1907-8, No. 168, File V.

[21]P.A.C., H.E. to Mr. Bryce, Feb. 6, 1909, Grey of Howick Papers, 1909, No. 227, File F.

> I have met, with the exception of Dunsmuir and Mrs. Ralph Smith has the Courage to say Boo to them.[22]

On an earlier occasion during the longshoremen's strike in Montreal, the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers Association charged that the strike was largely brought about by the intervention of foreign professional agitators whose interests and aims were antagonistic to the best interests of the port of Montreal and of Canada.[23] Cyrus A. Birge also regretted that Canadian labour unions were so completely controlled by the "central organizations" having their headquarters in the United States.[24]

When the machine workers went on strike against the C.P.R. company in 1908 the editor of Industrial Canada charged American agitators as the cause:

> So long as this international unionism continues there will be needless trouble in this country. The Canadian union men,

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[22]P.A.C., Governor General to Laurier, Oct. 4, 1906, Grey of Howick Papers, M.G. 27, B 2, 2, Sect. 9, #118.

[23]Industrial Canada, 1903, p. 482.

[24]Ibid., Oct. 1903, p. 111.

> without knowing it, allowed themselves to be used... In this instance it would not surprise us to learn... that the real cause of the strike on C.P.R. can be traced back on Wall street. It would not be the first time that American labour leaders had feathered their own nests by such methods.[25]

While the remarks by the editor of Industrial Canada and the Canadian Manufacturer's Association may contain an element of bias it is important to remember that R.H.Babcock in his study, The A.F.of L. in Canada 1894-1908. A study in American Labor Imperialism, has shown that Americans greatly influenced, powerfully shaped and controlled the Canadian labour movement in Canada:

> The A.F.of L. and its affiliates dictated the structure and direction of the Canadian labour movement and the Congress was confined to the status of an American state federation of labour.[26]

Lord Grey seemed to have sensed this unhealthy American influence because he wrote to Laurier in

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[25] Industrial Canada, Sept., 1908, p. 90.

[26] R.H.Babcock, The A.F.of L. in Canada 1896-1908. A study in American Labor Imperialism, Ph. D. Thesis, Duke University, 1969, p. 4.

November 1906:

> I congratulate you on the good news of the surrender of the Fernis men- a surrender to their monstrous pretensions would have been disastrous. The attempted rule of Canada by American bosses and Capitalists ought to make the blood of every Canadian Nationalist boil.[27]

The perception of American diplomacy as inconsistent, riddled with duplicity, and impervious to reason was apparently a very general one in Canada. The Canada Law Journal warned Canadians to be on guard against American questionable tactics, using as evidence "an unsavory episode" during the Behring sea arbitration "when there was produced as evidence a document which turned out to contain interpolated forgeries".[28] The Varsity, the University of Toronto's paper, commented that the United States "as a great country is never suspected of being magnanimous" and warned Canadians that there was very little to be gained "from negotiating with them".[29] The President of the Canadian Manufacturers

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[27]P.A.C., Grey to Laurier, Nov. 14, 1906, Grey of Howick Papers, M.G. 27, II B Vol. 1, # 123.

[28]"The Alaskan Boundary", Canada Law Journal, XL, Jan. 1904, p. 17.

[29]P.A.C., Wade Papers, M.G. 30, E. 13, Vol. 1.

Association, W.K.George, claimed that he did not believe Americans would enter into any treaty with Canada which "did not give them the long end of the stick".[30] The Hamilton Spectator in January 1907 had expressed the same opinion that they "never go in for a bargain with another country unless the United States gets the better of that bargain".[31]

Such suspicions had been expressed even before the Alaska boundary fiasco, and later events confirmed them. As early as 1901, the Canadian Magazine asked how civilized nations were going to maintain fruitful diplomatic relations with the United States when "for all practical purposes the U.S. attitude will remain as impervious to reason as that of the Chinese".[32]

Both political parties and their supporters in the press seem to have shared this mounting suspicion. The Conservative M.P., W.F.Maclean (East York), had warned the House in February 18, 1901, that the way the Americans were going to settle the Alaskan dis-

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[30] W.K.George, "Canadian industries, Preferences and Reciprocity", Empire Club, 1904-5, p. 50.

[31] C.A.R., 1907, p. 399.

[32] N. Patterson, "Alaskan Boundary", The Canadian Magazine, 1902-3, 20, pp. 59-60.

pute was going to be the same way the American Senate attempted to settle the Nicaraguan canal question unless the "Hon. Gentlemen opposite have stiffer backs".[33] R.L.Borden, Leader of the Conservative opposition, while speaking in the House of Commons in February 1902 charged that "the longer the United States remained ... in possession of any portion of Canadian territory, which we think we can rightfully claim, the greater will be our difficulty in the future in asserting our rights".[34]

The Liberal newspaper, The Toronto Globe also concentrated on examples of American inconsistency and duplicity. American tariff policy in the Philippines, declared an editorial writer in 1901, was a reminder "of the development of colonization in the Republic" and it illustrated their utter disregard for the principle of no taxation without representation.[35]

In the following year the Globe expressed

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[33] House of Commons Debates, 1901, p. 134.

[34] Ibid., Feb. 14, 1902, p. 24.

[35] The Toronto Globe, Oct. 9, 1901, p. 6.

similar views in its comments concerning the slow progress in the Alaska boundary dispute:

> The reason why we are not eager to discuss reciprocity or fisheries, or any other question with the U.S., is not that we are trying to force a settlement of the boundary question in our favour, but simply because we are tired of negotiating with people who want to take everything and concede nothing.[36]

Predictably the press reaction became even harsher when the Alaska boundary decision became known. The Conservative Toronto World urged Canada to put a stop to American encroachments on its frontiers. "We have been", claimed the World, "slowly but systematically plundered by the American republic ably assisted by the British government".[37]

Speeches before the Empire Club and the Canadian Club reflected the national mood. The President of the Canadian Military Institute summarized American history as one of expansion with "a pretty good record of land-grabbing, a ten fold increase of

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[36]"The Alaska Boundary", The Globe, Oct. 8, 1902, p. 6.

[37]Fort William, The Daily Times Journal, Oct. 30, 1903.

the original 13 states".[38] One speaker even detected an American plot to snatch the Hudson Bay area- "the finest summer resort in North America"[39] and warned that if "Uncle Sam got his foot in he would soon have the whole body".[40] More significant was another address delivered to the Canadian Club in 1904 by J. I.Tarte, Laurier's Minister of Public Works, concerning the American threat:

> A good many U.S. people in high positions, in politics, in commerce, in manufactures, have in their minds the idea that some day or other the stars and stripes will wave over Canada. I say never but we must make up our minds that they shall not, because they have it in their minds.[41]

He felt that if Canada were independent from Britain before long the United States would be repeating the Panama incident. Americans, he felt, would not take part in a revolution directly but "they would find means of sending troops or arms into this

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[38]W.H.Merritt, "A weak link in the Imperial Chain", Empire Club, 1909-10, p. 44.

[39]W.F.Maclean, "Hudson Bay the Front Door", The Canadian Club, 1, 1904, p. 87.

[40]Ibid., p. 88.

[41]J.I.Tarte, "Some Canadian and Imperial Questions", The Canadian Club, Jan. 6, 1904, 1, p. 40.

country and Toronto would be one of the first cities invaded".[42]

Holding such views of America's diplomatic record, Canadians might have been expected to view with some trepidation the influx of American immigrants and American capital into the Dominion. But such was not always the case. The Toronto Globe saw this influx in simple investment terms. Americans, it felt, were "shrewd moneyed men"[43] looking out for Canadian investments and knowing a good thing when they saw it. It was their land hunger, their "master passion", it continued, that was responsible for the formation of syndicates of American capitalists to buy Canadian land cheaply and to sell it to American settlers for a "Quick turn".[44] There was no reason to be excited about these events. It was "futile and foolish" to try to check either American immigration[45] or American capital because political influence did

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[42]J.I.Tarte, "Some Canadian and Imperial Questions", p. 40.

[43]"Our Growing Pains", The Toronto Globe, Feb. 2, 1902, p. 4.

[44]"All eyes to the South", The Toronto Globe, April 8, 1902, p. 8.

[45]"Our Growing Pains", The Toronto Globe, Feb. 2, 1902, p. 4.

not necessarily follow capital investments. Besides, it argued, in time Canadians would "buy them out".[46] The Globe's advice was simple:

> Let the country grow because Canada could absorb all the American capital and immigration they could get.[47]

H.C.Osborne, speaking before the Empire Club in Toronto, concurred with this view and argued that American capital was one of those things Canadians could "not avoid", and why should they, he asked rhetorically, since it helped develop the country?[48]

The Conservative Mail and Empire, also, welcomed the coming of Americans and of American capital. There was no reason for apprehension. Americans had realized Canada's vast undeveloped wealth and investment possibilities and had stepped in where others had been afraid to tread with the end result that Canadians were "reaping the largest benefits".[49] Its

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[46]"Our Growing Pains", The Toronto Globe, Feb. 2, 1902, p. 4.

[47]"Who is excited?", The Toronto Globe, Feb. 21, 1902, p. 6.

[48]H.C.Osborne, "Three Imperial Topics", Empire Club, April 21, 1904, p. 181.

[49]"Canada's destiny", The Mail and Empire, Feb. 11, 1902, p. 4.

optimism was evident:

> We refuse to believe that in getting Americans to take so large a share in the development of this country we are merely paving the way for a generation to come that will parcell out our provinces as states of the Union.[50]

Other Canadians as well defended the coming of Americans to Canada. One writer observed that the coming of American capitalists was motivated by the urge to make money in building elevators, buying grain, manufacturing it and doing anything else to make money.[51] Another ridiculed as "unfounded" the dread that the yearly arrival of 50,000 Americans into one region "might in time raise an 'outlander' question, because most of them were repatriated Canadians.[52]

A. Macphail in his Essays in Politics (1909) observed that Americans were "simple people like ourselves" and that they were making "our best

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[50]"Canada's destiny", The Mail and Empire, Feb. 11, 1902, p. 4.

[51]S.W.Evans, "U.S. and the Canadian West", Industrial Canada, Aug. 1902, Vol. III, pp. 21-2.

[52]J.F.Fraser, Canada as it is, N.Y.: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1904, p. 250.

citizens". American children, he pointed out, were going to the same schools as other Canadian children, which he interpreted to imply that they were Canadianized. As a result, he concluded, the "continual lamentations over the 'Americanization' of Canadian life was more imaginary than real".[53]

Laurier, also, while speaking to the House in February 1902 claimed that he was not disturbed by this invasion of American capital and settlers. It was true, he said, that American immigrants were raised from youth to believe that the American Constitution was "the cream of perfection- the most perfect institution devised by man". However, he was confident that once they settled in Canada and experienced the superior form of Canadian democracy and the better administration of justice without hesitation they were taking the oath of allegiance and becoming Canadian citizens.[54] But in the midst of his optimism, Laurier conceded that there were Canadians who saw danger in political, economic, and social infiltration and

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[53] A. Macphail, Essays in Politics, London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1909, pp. 235-7.

[54] House of Commons Debates, Feb. 14, 1902, pp. 42-3.

eventual domination. Even Laurier's Minister of Finance, William Fielding, expressed some doubts. He discussed with the Governor General the plans of Westinghouse and Deering to open branch plants in Canada to avoid Canadian import duties. Lord Minto quoted him as saying that "the enormous entry into Canada of population and capital from the United States may very possibly influence social conditions in the Dominion".[55]

On this fundamental issue, Henri Bourassa was as far from his former leader as he was on questions of British imperialism. Bourassa declared that he was a protectionist on principle because protection was Canada's "only safeguard"[56] against the trade invasion from the United States. Canadians were urged to be on their guard against any threat to their national sovereignity, British or American.[57]

Bourassa was not the only French Canadian to adopt this view. From within the Cabinet J.I.Tarte

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[55] P.A.C., Minto Papers, M.G. 27 II, B 1, Vol. 4, p. 56.

[56] House of Commons Debates, 1902, p. 75.

[57] Ibid., p. 90.

offered a vivid assessment:

> Our American friends, are making tremendous efforts to crush this country. We who are in office, know that they are leaving no stone unturned to crush this Dominion to both industrially and commercially... There is a crisis at hand. Our American friends are endeavouring to make a slaughter market of this country.[58]

Other critics warned the House that if American corporations gained control of Canada's railways they would soon "control our political future":

> In view of the competition in the U.S. in view of the acquisitive character of the people of that country, in view of the way in which the railway corporations of the U.S. are grabbing our railways... there is no solution of the problem, there is no hope for a Canadian nationality, unless the people of Canada control the railways as well as the canals.[59]

Outside the House warnings appeared in letters to politicians, in speeches to the clubs, and in articles

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[58]Hon. J.I.Tarte, as quoted by R.L.Borden, House of Commons Debates, 1902, p. 55.

[59]Ibid., p. 2

in the Empire Review. For example E.C.Nelson criticized the government's immigration policy. American land companies, he felt, were permitted to acquire millions of acres of "desirable land" in the Canadian Northwest directly from the Dominion government for only a few cents an acre to be settled by people from the United States "who need not become citizens of Canada, and are hostile undisguisedly so to the British connection".[60]

G.T.Denison in his book The Struggle for Imperial Unity viewed the United States as the "gravest danger to the consolidation of the Empire.[61] Another observer claimed that if Americans were permitted to aquire the Canadian wheat-fields through this American invasion "it will have a decided tendency to weaken the ties that bind the colony to the mother country".[62]

A near unanimity on the dangerous character of American diplomacy contrasted with a division of

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[60] E.C.Nelson, "A Canadian's criticism of the Dominion immigration policy", The Empire Review, X, 1906, p. 51.

[61] G.T.Denison, The Struggle for Imperial Unity, Recollections and experiences, Toronto: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1909, p. 344.

[62] A. Smith, "The American invasion of Canada and how to meet it", Canadian Magazine, 20, 1903, p. 429.

opinion within Canada on the effect of American investment and immigration. Canadians saw infiltration and peaceful annexation as a danger if their assessment of the American civilization and its domestic concerns was as critical as their assessment of its foreign policy.

II

Most Canadians viewed the United States as a democratic nation, as an ambitious neighbour[63] and as one of "the greatest nations in the world".[64] They felt that America was destined to play a great part in the direction of world events in the future. Yet in all this grandeur they also expressed perceptions of criticism, of peril, of weakness in her institutions, character, way of life and achievements.

Bourassa expressed the traditional French Canadian picture of the United States as a materialistic

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[63] D.Mills, "The foreign policy of the U.S.: The Modern Monroe Docrtine and International Law", The Empire Review, III, 1902, p. 142.

[64] A.B.Morine, "Relations of the U.S. and Canada", Empire Club, 1904, p. 134.

society which had achieved enormous success through a constant emphasis on one creed- "the possession of wealth, the accumulation of wealth, the combination of wealth, is the one great ideal to which humanity should look forward".[65] This emphasis, he believed, had debased American moral values and had prepared the fertile ground of anarchism. He chastised Americans for their excessive emphasis on technical education and recommended that,

> at the same time a child is taught the elements of science he should also be taught the elements of the moral law and be guided throughout life by the fear of God and by strict adherence to moral and religious principles.[66]

Such criticisms came from devout Protestants as well. The Rev. T.B.Kilpatrick, observed that Americans were " earthy minded, selfish men"[67] and according to some American writers as a people who had almost achieved "virtuous materialism", that is to

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[65] House of Commons Debates, Feb. 17, 1902, p. 69.

[66] Ibid., p. 69.

[67] T.B. Kilpatrick, "Things that make a nation", Canadian Club, Dec. 11, 1905, p. 55.

say, he explained,

> that you may have multitudes of men who are decent men, men who are not violating any of the laws of the land, men who are eating meals that no doubt they paid for, and who are wearing clothes that they will pay for soon, and are behaving themselves with a fair amount of discretion, and yet within the whole four corners of their being there is no room for passion, no room for enthusiasm, and there is no room or possibility of selfdenial.[68]

A.R.Colquhoun saw America as a great industrial nation, a nation composed of "pushers", a society in which stagnation had become impossible.[69] This materialistic tendency, he observed, was reinforced by the premium placed on efficiency rather than in depth or thorcughness as emphasized in their educational system. Education in America, he felt, was supposed to provide the average American with all the actual equipment he would need in the battle of life. More precisely, its aim was to teach him what he will want to know, to

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[68]T.B.Kilpatrick, p. 55.

[69]A.R.Colquhoun, Greater America, N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1904, p. 17.

make him bright, ready of expression, quick in decision, self-possessed, practical... and of late years patriotic.[70] As a result, he concluded, America had become the home of mediocrity producing "talent but not genius".[71]

W.S.Milner, Professor of Ancient History at the University of Toronto, described the underlying ideal of American education as child-centered and democratic in an amusing way:

> The child must have an unfettered development. He must expand like a flower and put forth his leaves like a sapling, an ideal sapling, no twig of which is ever bent. He must never be coerced in any material way.[72]

This materialistic tendency was seen as greatly influencing America's institutions as well. B.K.Daniels, described the American government in the Canadian Magazine as a "soulless corporation" whose boasted declaration that all men were born equal before the law and were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit

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[71] A.R.Colquhoun, Greater America, p. 8.

[72] W.S.Milner, "Roman, Greek, English and American conceptions of liberty", The Canadian Magazine, 21, 1903, p. 518.

of happiness had been evaded winning "for itself the unenviable reputation of a juggernaut which ruthlessly sacrifices the individual to the business interests of the moneyed majority.[73]

W.F.Maclean saw weakness within the American society which reinforced his view of American foreign policy. He reminded the House of the huge and dangerous strength trusts had achieved in America. They controlled transportation and industry.[74] They had grabbed all the power, wealth and freedoms of the people by controlling their legislative bodies and the American press. In fact, he continued, they had "imposed slavery worst than any existing before" [75] and were also threatening Canada's political future as well.

A similar concern was expressed by Rev. F.A. Wightman in his book Canadian Heritage: Its Resources and Possibilities. Americans, he said, had been unable to control the monopolist who like an octapus had gained control of almost every industry until the people

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[73]B.K.Daniels, "The Problem in the Philippines", The Canadian Magazine, 26, 1906, p. 211.

[74]House of Commons Debates, Feb. 14, 1902, pp. 52-3.

[75]Ibid., pp. 54-5.

were "virtually at the mercy of the trusts".[76] He warned Canadians to beware and not be enslaved like the Americans by exposing themselves to the same danger.[77]

The Hon. David Mills observed in the Empire Review that the purpose of government was to protect life and property and to promote the common concerns of all the people. However, he pointed out, in the United States the crime rate was 1 per 7700 as compared with 1 per 500,000 in Canada. This fact alone, he claimed, clearly illustrated that the American system was "ineffective" and that people under it had made less satisfactory moral progress.[78]

Canadians somehow believed that their country was holier and purer because it did not spring from violent revolution. For example, A. Macphail observed that Americans had no social organization because they had an incorrect theory about society:

> The world is governed by conventions which it creates. The idea and relation of God and the

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[76] F.A.Wightman, Canadian Heritage: Its Resources and Possibilities, Toronto: W. Briggs, 1905, pp. 252-3.

[77] Ibid., p. 254.

[78] D.Mills, "The Foreign Policy of the U.S.", Empire Review, p. 143.

> king is embedded in human society. Without it all falls into disorder.[79]

America, he continued, was born with an act of lawlessness and their conduct ever since had "been marked by that spirit".[80] He believed that the American public was powerless and had lost interest in public affairs. The proof he offered for this opinion was the passage of the Dingley tariff by Congress in 1897 after only three days of general debate under the five-minute rule. Only 15 out of 163 pages were read and considered by that House and there was "practically no opportunity for amendments by the members".[81] As a result of these conditions, he concluded, the politics of America had moved away from democracy into the "boss" system,[82] and into lawlessness.[83]

Even all the "best Americans", claimed A.R. Colquhoun, admitted that their government left much to be desired but very few would sacrifice the time or have the inclination to put things right.[84] W.S.Milner,

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[79] A.Macphail, Essays in Politics, p. 109.

[80] Ibid., p. 110.

[81] Ibid., p. 115.

[82] Ibid., p. 101.

[83] Ibid., p. 104.

[84] A.R.Colquhoun, Greater America, p. 10.

also, observed that although the mass of Americans fervidly and passionately believed in democracy as an "ideal, a veritable religion", however, they portrayed a naive and pathetic faith in government. They had forgotten, he continued, that the tyrant did not need to wear a crown. They had permitted the "boss", the party machine, the transformation of Congress from an organ of the whole nation to come under control of financial interests. This blind naivete, he felt, had resulted in political corruption that surpassed anything the world had seen before. Caustically like Ostrogorski, he chastised them,

> When we read that in North Springfield, Rhode Island the "floating voters" were sold at auction en block [sic] near the town-hall steps-that in St. Louis "Col." Butler has been known, while standing by a polling booth, to call over the heads of the police, "are there any more repeaters who wish to vote?" we feel that the old stories of the auction of the Roman Empire from the Praetorian ramparts and the election of a horse to the consulship, have seen their best days. But when we read again that, some weeks ago, a state senator in Delaware rose in his place to defend the Addick's system thus "The voter's assistant system comes in and commends itself for fairness. It ensures delivery of the goods. When a Republican

> buys a vote he wants his vote. I contend that there is no politics in the matter, for when a Republican or a Democrat wants to buy a vote he has an opportunity of thus securing it, instead of being cheated out of it, as has been the case so many times in this state".[85]

Thousands of Americans, observed The Canadian Magazine, in their mad pursuit after riches did not bother to get involved in the affairs of the state because they could see no profitable relationship between government and their intents or designs.[86]

Not only the American institutions but also the American people came under Canadian scrutiny.

According to their Declaration of Independence, observed H.C.Osborne, Americans were supposed to be born free and equal. By that, however, they seemed to imply equal only in"justice" In fact, he commented, every American was not only as good as his neighbour but a little better and this had resulted in an irreverence for age and a contempt for authority.[87]

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[85] W.S.Milner, p. 516.

[86] "Danger in Neglect", The Canadian Magazine, 26, 1906, p. 303.

[87] H.C.Osborne, "Three Imperial Topics", Empire Club, 1904, p. 182.

Dr. W.T.Herridge felt that Americans were alert, enthusiastic, and patriotic. However, they suffered from yellow journalism, grasping trusts, political wiles, and boastful superficialities.[88] The editor of The Canadian Magazine was even more caustic in his remarks:

> The egotism and carping boastfulness of Americans as a people is notorious and has become so marked a national characteristic that it is doubtful whether anything less than extreme national humiliation will serve to check it.[89]

As in France, Germany and Britain so in contemporary Canada not only the American man but also the American woman was closely assessed. The Canadian perceptions, however, tended to be more critical and less complimentary, betraying a sense of Canadian superiority almost to the point of snobbery.

While women in Canada and the United States, claimed the editor of Woman's Sphere in The Canadian Magazine had come to regard themselves as "enlightened

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[88]W.T.Herridge, "Our National Outlook", Empire Club, 1904, p. 71.

[89]The Canadian Magazine, 28, 1906, p. 618.

and emancipated" above others of their sex[90] and while most Canadians were willing to concede cheerfully that the American woman was "independent, resourceful, vivacious and admirably gowned"[91] Canadian women were not prepared to admit that she was,

> as dainty as the French woman, as fair-shinned as the girl with Devon cheeks, as lovably witty as the Irish maiden, as desirably reserved as the Scotch lassie, or as graceful as the Spaniard.[92]

Jean Graham, of Woman's Sphere in The Canadian Magazine offered another harsh opinion of the place of the American woman in American society. She elaborated:

> Whether the American woman who combines the duties of wife, mother, nurse, cook, housemaid, club-woman, washer-woman, student of Greek, musician and what-not, becomes a queen or a mere drudge is a question of dispute. Personally, I am inclined to the opinion that she is .

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[90]"Woman's Sphere", The Canadian Magazine, 25, 1905, p. 367.

[91]"The American Woman", The Canadian Magazine, 27, 1906, p. 176.

[92]Ibid., p. 176.

more a drudge than a queen.[93]

On another occasion, while comparing Canadian and American nurses she noted that the Canadian nurse was preferred in the United States for her steadyness and obedience. Her explanation was simple:

> The Canadian girl does not get the "spoiling" which the average American mother considers the only proper policy. Hence, she grows up less nervous than the early-matured American, and she does not expect from her boy friend the constant supply of American beauty roses and Huyler's candy by which the girl in the Republic measures masculine devotion. The foolish confusion of liberty and licence has not yet affected Canada to any great degree.[94]

Whether man or woman, weak or strong, Americans were definitely perceived as neighbours, who spoke the same language, shared a common literature and to a large extent similar institutions.[95] In both countries there was an uncompromising loyalty to righteousness, education and liberty.[96] Both countries shared the

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[93] J. Graham, "When Mary American disappears", The Canadian Magazine, 28, 1906, p. 81.

[94] J.Graham, "The Canadian Nurse", The Canadian Magazine, 25, 1905, p. 578.

[95] D.Mills, p. 142.

[96] J.H.Vincent, "U.S. and Canada", C. C.,1907, p. 38.

same continent and there was a continual effort to live in peace and friendship with each other.

This geographic proximity and the many similarities between the two countries led to much speculation about their future relations. The Globe welcomed a closer commercial and financial intercourse between the two neighbours because it inspired a higher regard for each other.[97] Others, however, expressed fears of annexation and commercial destruction.

Lieut.-Colonel, G.T.Denison, for example, told the Canadian Club of Toronto that annexation would mean the destruction of all "our national aspirations, the loss of all our cherished ideals, would be an outrage to the memory of those of our people who had fought so hard for our preservation.[98]

Like Münsterberg and Stead, R.E.Vernède in his book The Fair Dominion, A record of Canadian impressions, perceived the spread-eagle view of American manifest destiny expanding into Canada. Like Stead

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[97]"Canada and the U.S.", Globe, Jan. 8, 1900, p. 4.

[98]G.T.Denison, "Canada and Imperial Defence", Canadian Club, Nov. 16, 1903, p. 6.

he singled out a "chief obstacle" to the Americanization of the Dominion. Unlike Stead, however, whose obstacle was the French Canadians, Vernède felt that the real obstacle was the climate and the effect it had on the people of the two nations. The climate, he commented, had turned the Americans into southernized people "lively, energetic, logical and apt to be materialistic, yet sentimental and compassionate too". Canadians, however, were a northern people, "a hardy and somewhat dour race, slow-moving in the whole, but industrious and virtuous, suspicious of talkers and hustlers".[99] Therefore, he concluded, Canada was safe.

Yet the geographic fact remained. Canada was in North America and as Stephen Leackock had stated Canada was Americanized. Not all Canadians agreed. Their nearness to the United States made them aware of the chamaleon character of an ever-changing society; their comparative weakness made them sensitive to American slights; their need for development aroused different reactions to American immigrants and investment in Canada. For the most part, however, in a period of

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[99]R.E.Vernède, The Fair Dominion, A record of Canadian impressions, Toronto: William Brings, 1911, pp. 158-9.

prosperity and optimism, they envisaged a bright national future, a future based on neighbourly terms with the United States but independent of it.

THE SULKY GIANT AS A FRIENDLY NEIGHBOR

In November 2, 1903, the Manitoba Free Press informed its readers that it printed the "largest daily in the Dominion", 16 pages on weekdays and 28-32 pages on Saturdays. It enjoyed a wide circulation of 20,057 copies daily and was covering the entire west with a considerable clientele in the American west. In fact, it pointed out that the Rowell Newspaper Directory had credited the Free Press with enjoying "the largest circulation than the combined circulations of all other dailies in the Canadian West".[1] Furthermore, when one turned to this Western Canadian liberal daily one was impressed by its comprehensiveness and its international awareness. Its editorial page was a bright canvas of contemporary Canadian, American and international reflections.

During the Alaska boundary negotiations the Free Press described the United States as a "sulky giant, disregarding justice and refusing to arbitrate".[2]

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[1]The Manitoba Free Press (hereafter cited as F.P, or Free Press), Nov. 2, 1903, p. 4.

[2]"The Alaskan-Yukon Boundary", Free Press, Dec. 29, 1902, p. 4.

This description seemed to capture the Free Press' perception of the United States prior to 1904 and seemed identical to the general contemporary Canadian view of America as a libertine nation, selfish, aggressive, and diplomatically inconsistent.

The treatment of the Alaska boundary dispute by the Free Press provides an insight as to its editorial policy. The Free Press appears as a realistic daily because it provided its readers with many editorials before the final decision was reached. Then it quickly dropped the issue after October 1903 and moved on with the times and the concerns of the Canadian West, namely, the promotion of American capital and people to develop the Canadian prairies. The evolution and presentation of its arguments during the Alaska debate clearly indicate that the Free Press was maturing and developing a cosmopolitan perspective.

The Free Press observed that Canadians were abiding by the terms of the treaty for the adjudication of the dispute.[3] It had previously denounced the

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[3]"Canada names Commissioners", Free Press, Mar. 17, 1903, p. 1.

American commissioners as neither "impartial" nor "jurists of repute".[4] However it was convinced that the three-three representation on the commission had placed the United States in a diplomatic quandary. It was sure that the commission was bound to lead to a deadlock and the case must then proceed to arbitration.[5] This mood of confidence reflected the Free Press' view that the United States would abide by the diplomatic convention of arbitration. As a result it expressed disappointment and frustration when American papers claimed that there was nothing to arbitrate since the facts were on their side.[6] This feeling of frustration was augmented when American papers made no bones about the appointees being political rather than judicial experts whose task was to "stand-pat" and persuade the British commissioners to accept their point.[7] If that was true, argued the Free Press, the deciding factor in the dispute would be the "exigencies of imperial politics".[8] It feared lest imperial diplomacy in dealing

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[4]"The Alaska Boundary Commission", Free Press, Mar. 18, 1903, p. 4.

[5]Ibid., p. 4.

[6]"The Alaska Boundary", F.P., June 23, 1902, p. 4.

[7]"They will Stand Pat", F.P., Sept. 5, 1903, p. 4.

[8]"The Alaska Boundary", F.P., Feb. 13, 1903, p. 4.

with the United States was going to resolve itself "into a mere mush of concessions".[9] When the decision was reached in October it wryly commented that the decision "will not cause much surprise in Canada".[10] It was convinced that the United States was practising double standards for its benefit.

The Free Press wholeheartedly agreed with the Glasgow Herald that the action of the American government in the Alaskan boundary dispute suggested "an amount of duplicity which was not pleasant to impute either to nations or individuals".[11] Its editorial page over the previous two years had vividly illustrated American duplicity on many occasions. Americans, said the Free Press, had proclaimed themselves the champions of arbitration as the most effective method for the "pacific settlement od disputes", however, these were "fine sentiments but she declines to abide by them herself".[12] The United States had reproached Great Britain for her practices and prison camps in

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[9]"Mr. Mills on the Canal Treaty", F.P., Nov. 8, 1901, p. 4.

[10]"The Decision of the Alaska Boundary", F.P., Oct. 19, 1903, p. 4.

[11]"American Duplicity now seen", F.P., Feb. 4, 1904, p. 7.

[12]"The Alaska-Yukon Boundary", F.P., Dec. 29, 1902, p. 4.

South Africa[13] but had itself practiced worse standards in the Philippine Island insurection.[14] They had expounded the New Monroe Doctrine forbidding any European nation from acquiring any territory in America by purchase, cession, or otherwise, a Doctrine repudiated by Latin American states, but had themselves expanded in the Philippine Islands and had taken Dyea and Skagway from Canada and had refused to arbitrate.[15]

During 1902 and 1903 further examples of American high-handedness and duplicity were described by the Free Press with brief comments revealing its displeasure for such methods. The United States, it stated, had helped Cuba achieve independence but then Senator Elkins had led the insurgent Republicans in the Senate to refuse a 20% rebate on the duties of imported Cuban raw sugar in order to starve the island into annexation. The Free Press said that Canadians knew well this American policy and they also

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[13]"American methods in the Philippines", Free Press, Nov. 9, 1901, p. 4.

[14]Ibid., p. 4.

[15]"The New Monroe Doctrine", Free Press, Mar. 22, 1902, p. 4.

knew that "it will not work". It concluded that,

> Instead of bringing annexation nearer the senator is making the thought of union odious to every Cuban.[16]

The United States had also agreed in the Treaty of Paris, after the Spanish-American war, to protect and respect "the property and civil rights of ecclesiastical and civil bodies" especially the Philippino Catholic friar's property. However, the insurrectionary government of Aquinaldo wanted to expel the friars and take their property. The Free Press supported the friars claim to the property but was convinced that the United States would not honour that claim and warned its readers that Canada was facing a "similar problem in Alaska".[17]

In the midst of its denunciations, the Free Press was quick to acknowledge the existence of critical opinion in the United States and to quote liberally from American sources. While Americans, it commented, had pledged an open door policy in the Philip-

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[16]"Starving Cuba into the Union", Free Press, July 12, 1902, p. 4.

[17]"U.S, Diplomacy", F.P., July 23, 1902, p. 4.

pines later Congress had reversed this position and had imposed a discriminatory duty of $7.50 per ton on Manila hemp exported to the United Kingdom and to Germany.[18] Even the New York Evening Post chastised this American policy as a "flagrant violation" of the Open Door policy which as a matter of good faith and common decency as well as national expediency Americans were bound to abolish.[19]

In Eastern Canada the long-drawn out negotiations for fisheries agreements in 1906-07, the concern with American unions involvement in strikes in 1908 maintained the high degree of suspicion that the Alaska boundary dispute had aroused. But rather surprisingly, the catalogue of offences did not continue in the Free Press after 1904. Instead, a new perception of the United States emerges, that of a responsible, honest and idealistic world power. The Santo Domingo incident in 1905 sets the stage for a transition in the Free Press' editorial page.

In March 1905 the Free Press printed an article

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[18]"The U.S. violates a pledge", Free Press, Jan. 8, 1903, p. 4.

[19]"The Philippine export duty on hemp", Free Press, Jan. 16, 1903, p. 4.

from the Springfield Republican without comment. The presentation of this article in its editorial page appears as an introductory statement for the comments it offered at a later date. The Republican contended that it could be better for the United States to abrogate the Monroe doctrine as a general policy while still preserving "the right to carry out the original intent of the original". It argued that there had been no intent in the nineteenth century to make the United States a "debt collector on this continent".[20]

The Free Press waited two weeks until the Santo Domingo Treaty was final. Then it commented and at the same time formulated a new perception of America. The terms of the Treaty, claimed the Free Press, would make Santo Domingo an appanage of the United States. They were also establishing a general policy principle for all American republics which might prove themselves disorderly and irresponsible. However, the exigencies of circumstances had forced this international duty of "policeman and guardian" of America on "Uncle Sam... that for the past two centuries had been trust upon John Bull". Furthermore, President Roosevelt had reassured the world of America's

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[20]"Santo Domingo and the Monroe Doctrine", Free Press, Mar. 14, 1905, p. 4.

noble objectives regarding this case by spelling them out as,

> to restore credit, preserve order, increase efficiency, advance the material progress and prosperity... and to respect the territorial integrity of the Dominican Republic.[21]

By implication the Free Press accepted Roosevelt's noble objectives even after the "jurists of repute" debacle. American intervention in Santo Domingo was welcomed.

The following year the Free Press welcomed and praised the American intervention in Central America producing "immediate peace" in the region and illustrating the new American image of international honesty and responsibility by stating that in the past South American Republics "seemed to doubt Uncle Sam's assurance that he has no South American land hunger".[22]

These noble objectives and peaceful approaches to settling hemispheric disputes were temporarily blurred as the situation in Cuba regressed in 1906.

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[21] "The Santo Domingo Treaty", Free Press, Mar. 30, 1905, p. 4.

[22] "The Pan-American Congress", Free Press, July 28, 1906, p. 4.

While in 1905 the Free Press had defended President Roosevelt from some of his compatriots who were accusing him of "jingoism" or "the policy of the big stick" by stating that the accusation had little justice in it. The Free Press quoted Roosevelt's views on foreign affairs and appeared sympathetic to his aims:

> If there is one thing that ought to be more offensive to every good American than anything else, it is the habit of speaking with a loose tongue offensively about foreign nations, or of adopting an ill-considered and irritating attitude towards any one of them.
>
> I hope to see our foreign policy conducted always in a spirit, not merely of scrupulous regard for the rights of others, but of scrupulous courtesy towards others; and, at the same time, to see us keep prepared so that there is no position that we take in either hemisphere that once taken we cannot stand on.[23]

On occasion, the memory of an intractable Roosevelt and particular events in Cuba, caused a shift in the Free Press' attitude. In September, 1906, it declared that the resignation of the Palma government "will precipitate the inevitable in Cuba,

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[23] Free Press, May 17, 1905, p. 4.

namely, the Roosevelt Big Stick".[24] For the next few weeks the Free Press' perception of America became temporarily blurred between the selfish, sulky giant and the honest responsible world power.

On September 24, it printed without comment an article from the Chicago Tribune which claimed that according to the "best information at Washington" the annexation of Cuba was the most desirable solution. The Tribune presented five reasons justifying its stand: annexation would protect the United States from yellow fever imported during revolutionary times in Cuba; it would protect American lives, about 15,000 to 20,000; it would protect American property in Cuba valued at $200 million; it would protect American trade with Cuba estimated at $133 million per annum; and finally, it would protect European interests from revolution and relieve the United States from any foreign embarrassment of having to enforce the Monroe Doctrine.[25]

The Free Press waited three days before

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[24]"The resignation of the Palma Government", Free Press, Sept. 27, 1906, p. 4.

[25]"The situation in Cuba", Free Press, Sept. 24, 1906, p. 4.

commenting on the article or the Cuban situation. In its editorial it answered the question as to why the revolt had taken place as well as pointing out the dilemma the United States was in:

> The resignation of the Palma Government will precipitate the inevitable in Cuba, namely, the Roosevelt "big stick", making the island a U.S. protectorate. What drove the Liberals to revolt was the fact that in the last elections the Palma Government had a sweeping victory being supported by twenty-five per cent more votes than there were voters on the island all told. At the same time Cuba never enjoyed such peace and consequent prosperity and progress as during the era of Palma. The alternatives now are anarchy or military intervention by the U.S. for the policing of the island, which being mostly jungle- only about three per cent being under cultivation- is an ideal country for guerilla fighting.[26]

As if to confuse the situation, the Free Press reprinted on the same day a New York Post article under the heading: "It is a made-to-order Revolution?". In the article American fruit land speculators in Cuba were charged with financing the revolt to force American intervention and ultimately annexation resulting in

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[26]"The resignation of the Palma Government", Free Press, Sept. 27, 1906, p. 4.

higher prices for their landholdings.[27]

For a brief period, it seemed, the Free Press wavered in its view of America. By October, however, its clarity of perception was back. In several editorials it clearly, and emphatically portrayed the United States as an honest, responsible, world power. The United States, it claimed, had acted "in justice", had "no alternative", and had illustrated in her intervention in Cuba "no desire except to aid... in the restoring of Cuba's shattered government".[28] Roosevelt deserved a "high commendation" for his course with the events in Cuba. The Platt Amendment had given the United States the right to intervene but that right was exercised with "due deliberation, discretion and moderation".[29] The United States did not want Cuba's annexation, except as a last resort, especially after her unfortunate experience with the Philippines.[30] When Secretary Taft returned from Cuba, it printed without comment, an article from the New

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[27]"The resignation of the Palma Government", Free Press, Sept. 27, 1906, p. 4.

[28]"Intervention in Cuba", Free Press, Oct. 2, 1906, p. 4.

[29]"The U.S. and Cuba", Free Press, Oct. 10, 1906, p. 4.

[30]Ibid., p. 4.

York Sun which seemed to capture America's sense of honesty and responsibility:

> The Secretary has reduced the chaos in the island to order and demonstrated in addition that for the second time we preferred to keep our pledges rather than keep Cuba.[31]

For the next two years the same perception prevails. In March 1907 it praised the peaceful and responsible settlement of Canadian-American "causes of irritation"[32] by the International Commission and the settlement of the Newfoundland-American fisheries sore-spot through the Hague Tribunal in 1908.[33]

II

The Free Press perceived a sense of international diplomatic maturity in the actions of the United States. By 1908 it was also evident that its editorial priorities were different from the rest of Canada especially Eastern Canada. Eastern Canadians seemed to concentrate on the American impact on Canadian Unions, on the fisheries question , on the American

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[31]"The return of Secretary Taft", Free Press, Oct. 20, 1906, p. 4.

[32]"Outstanding questions between Canada and the U.S.", Free Press, March 27, 1907, p. 4.

[33]"The Modus Vivendi", Free Press, Sept. 1, 1908, p. 4.

impact with regards to the Imperial connection or even on the destructive influence of the importation of American culture into Canada. These topics, however, received less attention by the influential daily of the great prairie metropolis. Its emphasis was definitely on the economic impact of the United States and its immigrants in the Canadian Northwest. It vigorously supported and welcomed this peaceful invasion by the neighbors to the South. It vigorously and continuously advocated a change in America's economic policy.

The Free Press viewed the United States as perhaps the most aggressive commercial nation in the world. However, their commercial aggressiveness and success, it commented, was limited by their failure to seek a reciprocity treaty with Canada. A newspapers whose editorial masthead was "Freedom in trade...", the Free Press agreed with the New York Journal of Commerce which condemned the Washington administration for America's "persistent and selfish blindness" in not seeking reciprocity with Canada.[34] The Free Press felt that a nation which burdened itself with protective

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[34]"Our Neighbours and Ourselves", Free Press, Aug. 6, 1903, p. 4.

tariffs was handicapping itself in its race for the business of the world.[35] It was blindness, it claimed, when John Smith of North Dakota was prevented from selling surplus produce to, or buying it from John Smith jun., of Manitoba.[36]

The Free Press continued to hope for reciprocity with the United States and ridiculed the Republican proposals which advocated the protection of what America produced and the admission of the necessities of life that America did not produce.[37] It welcomed, however, the tariff revision by the Canadian Minister of Finance, William Fielding, as "sensible, well-made, and carefully planned",[38] and wished that the United States would take a hint. When the hint was not taken and when Mr. Gurney of the Canadian Manufacturer's association advocated a high tariff "as high as Hamman's gallows" it responded that Hamman had build it to hang Mordecai and ended by hanging himself on it.[39] Obviously there was a moral to its

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[35] Free Press, Jan. 23, 1903, p. 4.

[36] "The American Canadians", Free Press, June 12, 1902, p. 4.

[37] "Reciprocity at Chicago", Free Press, June 23, 1904, p. 4.

[38] "The New Tariff", F.P., Nov. 30, 1907, p. 4.

[39] "The U.S. Tariff", F.P., Jan. 2, 1908, p. 4.

comment.

On the same day the Free Press reprinted an article from The Oregonian, an Independent Republican newspaper of "great influence" which pointed to another benefit of tariff reform. The Oregonian argued that tariff barons had been the "notorious corrupters of the suffrage" with their large campaign fund contributions and advocated,

> The revision of the tariff is the greatest moral and economic issue before the nation today. The people demand it. Morality demands it. The obvious principles of justice demand it.[40]

Notwithstanding this blind spot, Americans were seen as shrewd entrepreneurs. The Free Press printed a quotation from the Detroit Journal which, it said, represented "a tribute to Canada" but which by inference represented American economic shrewdness and aggressiveness. Canada, claimed the Journal, was "the greatest oyster remaining in the world, barring only Russia, and Americans were to have a share in prying off the upper shell and partaking of the meat below".[41]

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[40] "The U.S. Tariff", F.P., Jan. 2, 1908, p. 4.

[41] "A tribute to Canada", Free Press, Jan. 17, 1903, p. 4.

The American invasion of Canada was on.

While in 1901 the population of Canada was 5,371,315 by 1911 it had climbed to 7,206,643, or a 35% increase. This percentage increase, large as it was, in no way reflected the booming expansion of Canada's western provinces. The population of Alberta for example, had increased by about 400% while that of Saskatchewan by about 440%.[42] This influx of immigrants and especially Americans- in 1905 alone about 58,000 had come to Canada-[43] had invoked diverse responses from Canadians. The Free Press, however, had welcomed this American invasion.

Timid people in the east and in the west, it said, were beginning to dream "horrid dreams" conserning the outcome of this peaceful invasion. The Free Press reassured its readers that Americans will not "gobble the country". They were imbued, like the Canadians, with a strong sense of justice and fair play. They were similar in language, habits, customs and

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[42]D. Creighton, Canada's First Century, 1867-1967, Toronto: Macmillan, 1970, p. 103.

[43]R.C.Brown, R.Cook, Canada 1896-1921. A Nation Transformed, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974, p. 61.

religion. In fact, it commented, Canada would easily assimilate these incoming Americans with its stable and just form of government and its administration of civic and criminal law.[44] Besides, what could Canada do, it asked? It believed that obstruction to this peaceful invasion would be as futile as it would be directly injurious to Canada. Surely, it felt, the Ottawa Citizen had made this point clear:

> When it is considered that the revenue and expenditures of the government of the Dominion of Canada is only about two-thirds of the revenue expenditures of one city in the United States, the futility of Canada trying to frustrate the invasion of American capital should be apparent.[45]

The Free Press had illustrated this point before when it stated that New York city in 1903 was contemplating a civic budget of $106,679,955 which was "twice" the annual expenditures of the Dominion of Canada.[46]

Experience so far, observed the Free Press, had been that Americans made good citizens and that

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[44]"The American Invasion", Free Press, Feb. 13, 1902, p. 4.

[45]Ibid., p. 4.

[46]"The civic budget of New York", Free Press, Nov. 5, 1903, p. 4.

they were the best class of immigrants. It was very easy to explain why they were coming. First, it claimed, there was greater freedom, a better administration of justice and greater security of life and property in Canada.[47] Second, the Canadian Northwest was a "veritable eldorado" providing excellent opportunities to make money, besides being "one of the best places to live".[48] Third, Canada offered an opportunity to get land, because in the United States shark companies had grabbed the land for speculation.[49] Americans, it elaborated, had bought land in Canada worth $100 million for only $5 million.[50] Finally, they were welcomed with gates wide open and were encouraged by the Canadian government and its land policies to do so.

They were welcomed, it explained, for several reasons. First, their coming would promote more cordial relations between the two countries.[51] Second,

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[47]"They will be Canadians", Free Press, April 1, 1902, p. 4.

[48]"The coming of our American Cousins", Free Press, Jan. 9, 1904, p. 23.

[49]"The American exodus to Canada", Free Press, May 8, 1905, p. 4.

[50]Immigrants in the West", F.P., Jan. 26, 1907, p.28.

[51]"One effect of the American invasion", Free Press, Oct. 25, 1902, p. 4.

they were enriching Canada with their possessions. For example, in 1901 they had brought with them $3,751,363 from a total of $4,580,481 of all settler's effects imported into Canada.[52] Third, they were intelligent, understood public issues, did their own thinking and a large number of these naturalized Americans in Alberta were voting Liberal.[53] Finally, they were welcomed and preferred because they were bringing the best kind of character, that is it explained, true pioneer spirit and genuine home seeking and home making. In fact, it pointed out, they were building homes and markets where there were none.[54]

The United States might be perceived as the most aggressive commercial nation in the world, commented the Free Press, but the coming of Americans to Canada would be beneficial.[55] Canadian alarmists, like J.A.Hobson, might describe Canada as a "sub-American variety of civilization", by pointing out the similarities in clubs, in foods, in industrial development

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[52]"Canada enriched by the new settlers", Free Press, Nov. 19, 1902, p. 1.

[53]"The Western Canadians of U.S. birth", Free Press, Nov. 14, 1905, p. 4.

[54]"Immigrants in the West", Free Press, Jan. 26, 1907, p. 28.

[55]"American Traits of the Canadian", Free Press, Feb. 1, 1906, p. 4.

even in the very tone of voice. Hobson had contended that the differences were only of degree. He had conceded that the "superb self-confidence of the average American woman, the licenced obstrusiveness of children, the perpetual degeneracy of conversation into story-telling" were "less" marked in Canada than in the United States. But, he had concluded, in many ways rapidly assimilating to the United States.[56] Other European and Canadian observers might see annexation following immigration but the Free Press with optimism and confidence envisaged the fusion and assimilation of incoming Americans as easily and naturally "as one stream flows into another".[57]

The Free Press concluded that Canadians were neither Americanized nor was their loyalty to Britain eroded because Canada was a freer country, less fettered by central authority than the United States. It perceived no cultural assimilation even though a great mass of literature both magazines and current fiction sold and read in Canada was manufactured in the United

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[56]"The American invasion", Free Press, Feb. 13, 1902, p. 4. Reprinted from the London Chronicle.

[57]"The Americanization of Canada", Free Press, Dec. 30, 1902, p. 4.

States. The Free Press felt that this situation was likely to continue indefinitely. Canadians, it felt, wanted a good, bright fiction and in many ten-cent American magazines they were getting it. It regretted the fact that Canada had not as yet developed any high class fiction magazines but it claimed that the modern reader was educated and had enough wordly knowledge to evaluate quality and select what he wanted.[58] It was true that Americans were very patriotic, liked Fourth of July parades, flags and cannon crackers but why shouldn't they be allowed to spend their money for fireworks? Both Canadians and Americans were "brethren" sharring a common frontier, a common history and a feeling of kinship. Both were common heirs to British institutions, both were workers for the social betterment and moral progress of mankind.[59] Canada, the Free Press declared with confidence, was pulsating with the full consciousness of a true national life.[60] Canada was a strong, self-contained, prosperous

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[58]"Magazine Fiction", Free Press, April 14, 1906, p. 4.

[59]"The Fourth of July", Free Press, July 4, 1906, p. 4.

[60]"Dominion Day", F.P., July 1, 1907, p. 1.

and populous nation. Its destiny was to be permanently tied as a part of the British Empire in a confederation of sovereign states.[61] It agreed with the Toronto Globe that Canada's economic policy should be based on an intelligent regard to Canadian self-interest, the consumer, the producer and the manufacturer.[62] Therefore, Canadians being a soberminded people, were determined to mark out their own destiny in North America in friendly rivalry with the United States.

Geography, a common language, and similar social customs made for intermingling of the two peoples and for a larger international trade between them inevitable. This intercourse did not imperil the Canadian nationality because of the "vital strength of the Canadian national sentiment".[63] Had not Laurier, it asked, stated that the Canadian people had achieved "the full consciousness of a true national life?"[64] Had not the Springfield Republican reminded its readers that,

Those who understand Canada best accept as

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[61]"Where Canada Stands", Free Press, Sept. 12, 1903, p. 4.

[62]"Reciprocity with the U.S.", Free Press, Nov. 15, 1901, p. 4.

[63]"The Fourth of July", Free Press, July 4, 1907, p. 4.

[64]"Governor Johnson is astray", Free Press, May 6, 1908, p. 4.

> a fixed principle of the relations of the respective peoples the fact that the Canadians are developing a national spirit of their own and are more and more intent upon developing their country both economically and politically on lines independent of the United States.[65]

Had not Professor A.C.Coolidge, a Harvard historian, pointed out in his book The United States as a World Power, that the two neighbors were to always remain two independent nations?

> The Canadian name, the Canadian race, the Canadian flag, and the Canadian nation are as sure of permanency as is the United States.[66]

Let timid souls worry. Americans, said the Free Press, were men and women of ordinary human feelings. Prosperous and happy they would honour and be loyal to Canada and their children will become Canadians.[67]

By 1908 then the Free Press perceived the United States through its foreign affairs as a matu-

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[65]"Governor Johnson is astray", Free Press, May 6, 1908, p. 4.

[66]"Interested in Canada's future", Free Press, Dec. 14, 1908, p. 4.

[67]"Bourassa organ on the American immigration", Free Press, Aug. 31, 1908, p. 4.

ring world power extending its influence both in this hemisphere as well as abroad. This inference can best be illustrated by reflecting on how the Free Press saw the following international incidents involving the United States.

First, when in 1901 Miss Ellen Stone, an American missionary in Bulgaria, was abducted the Free Press regretted the weak international esteem of the United States.

> If Miss Stone had hailed from the North instead of from the South of the international boundary line across this continent, there would be a very different story to tell about her abduction in Macedonia or elsewhere else... The only citizenship which is secure protection all around the world is British citizenship.[68]

What an ironic remark when one considers the difficulty Canadians had in redressing Miss Cadenhead's case.

By 1905 this image of weakness was replaced by one of resolve and power. Sabers were rattling when

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[68]"The captivity of Miss Stone", Free Press, Oct. 14, 1901, p. 4.

Ion Perdicaris and his stepson Cromwell Varley were kidnapped in Morocco. Roosevelt, felt the Free Press, might "declare war" to protect American citizenship abroad.[69] This image of power was more clearly expressed by the Free Press in 1907 while discussing American-Japanese relations. The Japanese, observed the Free Press, were well aware of the power of the United States; they were aware of the fact that the United States, unlike Russia, will not be bankrupt in case of war; and they understood the unyielding temper of the American people.[70] At the same time, the Free Press was convinced that if the American people ever set themselves to defeat the Japanese that they would perhaps achieve it in the end but that they were going to have a ghastly awakening in the meantime.[71] When the United States and Japan agreed to settle their future disputes by arbitration the Free Press confidently proclaimed,

The forces which make for peace are becoming

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[69]"Roosevelt may declare war", Free Press, May 30, 1904, p. 1.

[70]"Japan and the U.S.", Free Press, June 21, 1907, p. 4.

[71]"The cruise of the U.S. fleet", Free Press, Jan. 30, 1908, p. 4.

irresistible, and possibly within a generation war between enlightened nations will be unthinkable.[72]

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[72]"Gains for peace", Free Press, May 12, 1908, p. 1.

AMERICA: DEMOCRACY UNDER SCRUTINY

America, claimed the Free Press, was the land in which the largest experiment in democratic institutions[1] had ever been attempted in the world. This experiment was applauded when evidence was observed of genuine progress and chastised when corrupt practices became apparent. In its frank and sympathetic treatment of the American experiment the Free Press concurred with the Toronto Globe which claimed that by the turn of the century Canadian editors did not have to illustrate their patriotism by taking "a fling at the people or the institutions of the United States" unless they deserved it.[2] Furthermore, the Free Press pointed out, the American experiment was undergoing a detailed and outspoken evaluation by its own citizens. A few decades earlier Americans had been "sensitive to criticism" but now they were stronger, less open to foreign attack, very conscious of their shortcomings and quite outspoken in discussing them.[3]

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[1] "The Fourth of July", F.P., July 4, 1907, p. 4.

[2] "Improved relations between Canada and the U.S.", Free Press, Nov. 21, 1906, p. 4.

[3] "American contributions to science", Free Press, Feb. 29, 1904, p. 4.

For example, American failings and faults were set forth with the utmost frankness in the Nineteenth Century and the Fortnightly Review in the sincere hope and faith that the best way to remove the blemish was to recognize it, and the true method of cure was to begin with an unflattering searchlight.[4]

The Free Press viewed America as an idealistic, generous and resourceful nation with great potential for progress and advancement. Its idealism and generosity, however, were seen as both strength and weakness. For example, when approximately 4,000 American prospectors were stranded at Nome in 1901 the Free Press pointed out the American dilemma. The previous year when the same condition had occurred the American war department, moved by a sense of charity had brought the unfortunate prospectors to safety. The Free Press considered this an unfortunate precedent. Now they must once more extend relief to those careless and selfish prospectors by bringing them back or they would starve. "How difficult it is to do charity", lamented the Free Press, "without

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[4]"American contributions to science", Free Press, Feb. 29, 1904, p. 4.

its evil following".[5]

The same carelessness and generosity was evident when the ex-Canadian J.J.Hill of the Great Northern Railway decried America's generosity for welcoming with open arms every foreign man, woman, and child no matter who he or she might be. Furthermore, he stated, Americans were not protecting their high officials to the same extent as Europeans did.[6] The Free Press questioned the wisdom of the republican theory that because the President ruled by the consent of the governed he should be able to move among the masses in perfect safety, especially after the tragic events of 1865, 1881, and 1901. It saw this form of idealism as utter foolishness and declared that the crowds had in fact acted as screens for the assassins to reach their victims undetected. It advised Americans in the future to keep their President away from crowds and deter such crimes by making them a state offence.[7]

The Free Press criticized another American

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[5]"Suffering at Nome", F.P., Sept. 4, 1901, p. 1.

[6]Free Press, Sept. 7, 1901, p. 4.

[7]"The Republic and its President", Free Press, Sept. 13, 1901, p. 4.

idealistic belief as foolishness. Americans, it commented, believed "the glittering generality" expressed in their declaration of independence that all men were created equal. This belief was one of the "most obvious untruths ever promulgated to mislead men". It felt that there was nothing more evident to human observation than the inequalities between the human races and even inequalities between individuals of the same race. These inequalities could not be erased by any declaration of any people. It was useless to argue this "immutable fact".[8] Furthermore, the Free Press pointed out that, ironically, there were few lands under the sun where the love of titles and distinctions was more in evidence than under the Stars and Stripes.[9]

Perhaps the best example of American ideals and idealism observed by the Free Press during the Roosevelt era can be found in a quotation it printed from McClures' Magazine. In this quotation Senator Lodge gave what the Free Press considered "an accu-

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[8]"Titles and Distinctions", Free Press, July 4, 1902, p. 4.

[9]Ibid., p. 4.

rate representation of the typical American":

> Every nation, or rather every historic race, has certain attributes in addition to the great and more obvious virtues which it believes to be peculiarly its own, and in which it takes an especial pride. We of the U.S. like to think of the typical American as a brave man and an honest man, very human, with no vain pretense to infallibility. We would have him simple in his home life, democratic in his ways, with the highest education that the world can give, kind to the weak, tender and loyal and true, never quarrelsome but never afraid to fight, with a strain of adventure in his blood, which we shall never cease to love until those ancestors of ours who conquered a continent have drifted a good deal further into the past than is the case to-day. These are the qualities which all men admire and respect and which thus combined we like to think peculiarly American. As I enumerate them I describe Theodore Roosevelt.[10]

Post election rhetoric in praise of the successful candidate? Perhaps, but it was evident that the Free Press had a very high regard for Roosevelt, the "active, clear-headed, clear-minded" young Ameri-

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[10]"The U.S. results", Free Press, Nov. 9, 1904, p. 4.

can who had a tendency to indulge in "big talk" but who was always guided by a "deep sense of his duty".[11] He had impressed the American people with his earnestness, his high purpose, and his restless energy.[12] He had also impressed the Free Press with his plain speaking, his sense of duty and his constructive policies. For example, he was seen as encouraging thrift, business energy and honesty as well as advocating an adequate supervision and control over swollen fortunes.[13]

America's idealism and generosity, however, were greatly overshadowed during the first Roosevelt-tian term by the spirit of lawlessness which according to the Free Press was threatening the very existence of the American civilization. This spirit of lawlessness had permeated many facets of the American civilization and was clearly visible in America's lynchings, race prejudice, mob violence, anarchy and civic carelessness.

The Free Press which abhorred lynchings had

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[11] Free Press, Sept. 14, 1905, p. 4.

[12] "President Roosevelt's Renomination", Free Press, June 25, 1904, p. 4.

[13] "The radicalism of Roosevelt", Free Press, Oct. 17, 1906, p. 4.

chastised Americans for printing this "disgraceful"[14] practice to parade as justice. It reminded its readers of the superior quality of British and Canadian justice they enjoyed:

> It is the honor of the British rule that wherever the flag of the Empire flies every person accused of crime, however heinous the crime may be, is assured of justice being done to the end. Better that a country should have no laws, than laws which are not enforced and respected.[15]

President Roosevelt, claimed the Free Press, was on the right road when he strongly praised the methods of Governor Dublin of Indiana against a mob of lynchers. Americans now seemed to realize the menace threatening them for Roosevelt's letter to Governor Dublin claimed that "mob violence was simply anarchy and anarchy was the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny".[16] The solution was clear to President Roosevelt and to the Free Press. It required the establishment of public confidence in the speedy and sure administration of justice by lawful means, because

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[14]"Lynching in the U.S.", F.P., Sept. 9, 1901, p. 4.

[15]Ibid., p. 4.

[16]"The increasing lynching in the U.S.", Free Press, Aug. 17, 1903, p. 4.

when mobs were lynching criminals for one cause with impunity they were certain to repeat the practice with real or alleged criminals in the future.[17]

Lynching in America was clearly associated by the Free Press with racial prejudice. For example, when the Mississippi Democrats in 1903 nominated Major Vandaman for Governor the Free Press described him as a "most violent negro-hater" who believed in lynch law and was an uncompromising enemy of negro education.[18] On another occasion when it analysed the 1905 lynching statistics in the United States the Free Press pointed out that 65 out of 66 victims were negroes.[19] Its conclusion was that American justice was unequally enforced between the two races. President Roosevelt, perceived as a "fair man", had told Congress in 1906 that the law must apply equally to both "black and white men".[20]

Like its contemporary British observers the

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[17]"The increasing lynching in the U.S.", Free Press, Aug. 17, 1903, p. 4.

[18]"Negro hatred in the South", Free Press, Sept. 17, 1903, p. 4.

[19]"Lynching in the U.S.", Free Press, Jan. 8, 1906, p. 4.

[20]"Roosevelt's message to the U.S. Congress", Free Press, Dec. 5, 1906, p. 3.

Free Press believed that lynching and racial prejudice were definitely destroying the American civilization. It supported this view with a quotation from the Louisburg Courier-Journal which claimed that nightraders and lynchers were making "civilization a myth, law a joke, and the inalienable rights of men a delusion in America:

> Race riots in the home of Abraham Lincoln, a nearly successful attempt at lynching in the vicinity of the city, mobs in Cincinnati and Chicago, a whole state of Kentuky terrorized by bands organized to nuliffy the laws and defy the authorities, cold-blooded murders every direction- this is a day's grist of crime such as could be paralled in no other country, unless it be one in the throes of a social revolution. If liberty stands triumphant and honored at the gates, Justice appears but a discredited drab, unable to make herself respected save here and there for a moment.[21]

This was a "bitter arraignment", thought the Free Press. It felt that the Post was setting forth strongly but not "too strongly" the "greatest evil" confronting the United States. There was an urgent

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[21]"A reign of lawlessness", New York Evening Post quoted by the Free Press, Aug. 21, 1908, p. 4.

need, it advised America, for the great mass of the sober, law-abiding population to "bestir itself to secure respect for the orderly procedure of justice".[22]

Lynching and race prejudice were only partly responsible for the spirit of lawlessness in America. Yellow journalism and its teachings were blamed for stirring up anarchism in the United States. For example, the Free Press concurred with the Brooklin Eagle that Leon Czolgosz, the assassin of President McKinley, had done "what these folk said with pen, pencil, or tongue". It was definitely, claimed the Free Press, a "contributing cause to the assault".[23]

Another explanation for American anarchism was presented by the Free Press when it reprinted an article by Dr. Goldwin Smith well known for his continentalist views, in which he argued that anarchism was the result of the marked economic inequalities in the United States. Plutocracy, he argued, had come public scrutiny and denunciation because of the increase in public education and public awareness concerning the

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[22]"A reign of lawlessness", Aug. 21, 1908, p. 4.

[23]"Yellow Journalism and the Czolgosz crime", Free Press, Sept. 12, 1901, p. 4.

plight of the unfortunate. The best antidote to this type of anarchism, he claimed, was a demonstration by the possessors of wealth and the leaders of the nation that they were trying to do their duty.[24] The Free Press observed that not only the leaders but also the citizens had to be involved in the process for better government. When Seth Low, President of Columbia University, won over the Tammany candidate in the New York elections it was "cause for satisfaction far and wide". The forces for a clean city government were vindicated by the "intelligent voter" of New York.[25] By 1903 the Free Press had reason to despair after Tammany won the New York elections "by turning out the honest men".[26]

The following year the Free Press decried the lawlessness and wholesale destruction of human life and property with "revolvers, riots, and dynamite" in the Colorado district where not even martial law could enforce law and order.[27] Once more,

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[24]Dr.G.Smith, "The demons of Discontent", Free Press, Sept. 16, 1901, p. 4.

[25]"The Overthrow of Tammany", Free Press, Nov. 6, 1901, p. 4.

[26]"The civic budget of New York", Free Press, Nov. 5, 1903, p. 4.

[27]"Lawlessness in Colorado", Free Press, June 8, 1904, p. 4.

it printed an article by Goldwin Smith which blamed such lawlessness in industrial disputes on the weakness of the Federal government within the structure of the American constitution. Labour agitations, Smith pointed out, were to be handled by the state government and if that failed then the President could do nothing but negotiate with the agitators. The effects of such industrial disputes were lowering America's international reputation. He was sure that the American people had the character to overcome their crisis but like Ostrogorski he was not optimistic that the American system could bring these qualities out.[28]

The Free Press also saw vivid evidence of civic carelessness in the 1903 Chicago Iroquoi theater disaster. On New Years eve the apparently incomplete and faultily constructed Iroquoi theater opened for business attracting a packed house of 1842 patrons. On the same evening its roof caught fire and totally destroyed the theater claiming 578 dead, 358 injured and 180 missing from its 1842 patrons. Fire-inspector Monroe Fulkerson who investigated the catastrophe explained that it was a story of incompetence, blunder,

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[28]"Goldwin Smith on the U.S. Constitution", Free Press, June 29, 1904, p. 4.

carelessness and neglect. The Free Press chastised American carelessness and neglect for allowing such a fire-trap to open for business. It could not understand how eleven exits were bolted and locked; how the emergency staircases leading to the balconies were not constructed; why the building had no fire alarm system; why there was no automatic water flooding system in the theatre? Truly, it observed, this was "an unmitigated horror" and not only the builders and managers but also the city officials had failed in their duty to their community.[29]

Yet all was not lost. The disaster had taught its lesson. The Free Press praised American resourcefulness in October 1904 when the roof of another Chicago theatre caught fire and the wise manager ordered the orchestra to play a quick march and the crowd of 1500 evacuated the building in "one minute and forty-five seconds" because everyone thought that the matinee was over.[30]

The year 1904 clearly becomes a transitional

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[29]"A preventable disaster", Free Press, Jan. 8, 1904, p. 4.

[30]"Prevented a panic in Chicago", Free Press, Oct. 3, 1904, p. 1.

period in the editorial page of the Free Press both in foreign and domestic affairs. Although there is a continuity in the topics discussed, such as political corruption, judicial injustices and materialism, nevertheless the treatment of the topics has altered drastically. The Free Press captured and portrayed a mood of optimism, of spiritual awakening, of resourcefulness, responsibility and a return to sanity.

The Free Press perceived a political revival in the claim of Governor Hoard, a Republican from Wisconsin, that all over America a war was being waged against "the corrupting, liberty-destroying, law-perverting influences of organized wealth".[31] The Free Press also saw hope in the decision of the Democratic party to name Judge Alton Brooks Parker, a conservative, as its standard-bearer and boldly described the decision as "A return to sanity".[32]

Like many contemporary British observers the Free Press gave ample evidence for the need for electoral reform in the United States. It pointed out

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[31]"Republican Differences", Free Press, June 8, 1904, p. 4.

[32]"The nomination of Parker", Free Press, July 11, 1904, p. 4.

that in a single county in Indiana twelve hundred votes were regularly purchasable. Even in township contests votes were sold for $25.00 to $30.00 each. If this was a fair sample, it concluded, it was the electorate that had to be reformed.[33] Ostrogorski would second the motion! At the same time, it was noted that the state of Indiana had brought forward legislation to limit political corruption. One of the methods advocated for attracting better candidates was attaching a high salary to a position of trust. The Free Press also pointed out that the American system in spite of its imperfections had produced many public men of moral courage, men like Grover Cleveland.[34] It should be noted on this point that the Free Press shared and continually advocated legislation for the purity of the ballot especially with regards to provincial elections. Therefore Indiana's legislation was viewed with more than "passing interest".[35]

The Free Press welcomed this political revival,

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[33]"A corrupt State", F.P., Jan. 12, 1905, p. 4.

[34]Free Press, June 24, 1905, p. 4.

[35]Ibid., p. 4.

this mood of reform and advocated its extension to cover America's criminal justice. Americans themselves were seen as calling for more certainty, more uniformity and more severity in the enforcement of the laws. Americans, contended the Free Press, had no doubt that the disgraceful lynchings in the United States were mainly due to the delays in justice as well as to its laxity. Statistics were used to illustrate what they meant by laxity. For example, while in 1885 there were 1808 murders with 108 executions in the United States, by 1904 there were 8,482 murders but only 116 executions.[36] The Free Press agreed and once more reminded its readers that "justice" was more certain in Canada.

Within the United States, this soul-searching and agonizing self-analysis increased in the following year and the editorial page of the Free Press gave additional space to outspoken Americans urging reform. In January 1906 it printed an article from the Springfield Republican in which Rev. G. Hirsch of Chicago denounced the modern American philosophy of materialism and its effects on American youth:

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[36]"Crime and the Law", Free Press, July 5, 1905, p. 4.

> It is a generation which has no fear of God before its eyes; it fears no hell; it fears nothing but the criminal court, the penitentiary and the scaffold. The universal passion for money has allied itself with the ambition of American youth to succeed in the world.[37]

The Springfield Republican felt that the outcry against the abuse of plutocratic power was in itself "an indication of the spiritual soundness of the people". There was no doubt, it claimed, that there was a grassroot desire to expose and condemn the crookedness and plunders practiced by syndicated wealth. This task, however, was not an easy and simple matter because Americans were now condoning much that had up to now been condoned and even admired.[38]

The Chicago Daily News presented a similar optimistic opinion of 1906 America. There was a moral awakening in the United States. The moral tone of the country was better, the civic and commercial leaders of the country were more fully awake to their responsibilities; standards of honour and honesty had deen

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[37]"The Spiritual Soundness of the People", Springfield Republican printed in the Free Press, Jan. 5, 1906, p. 4.

[38]Ibid., p. 4.

raised and public reprobation was more severe on those who failed to meet them.[39] In both cases it was evident that the Free Press agreed with these viewpoints. It had selected these pieces of American journalism and had offered no rebuttals. In fact, it offered congratulations for the decrease in reported lynchings in 1905, a "most encouraging" sign of American growth of self-control. There were only 66 lynchings in 1905 as compared with 135 four years earlier. This could be taken as an indication that Americans were making visible headway against the "worst defect" in their civilization.[40]

The Free Press was appalled by the utter disregard for justice as practiced in New York city. It denounced the systematic and dishonest scheme to rob the poor and unsuspecting New York customers by "butchers, grocers, fish peddlers, poultry dealers, coal dealers, produce merchants" whose distorted and fraudulent scales and weighing machines were delivering ten and

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[39]"A year of moral awakening", Chicago Daily News, printed by the Free Press, Jan. 8, 1906, p. 4.

[40]"Lynching in the U.S.", Free Press, Jan. 8, 1906, p. 4.

one-half ounces per pound.[41] It applauded the growth of public indignation at the disclosure of campaign fund contributions by the New York insurance companies to the Republican party, such as the New York Life with its $148,000 contributions in the 1896, 1900, and 1904 presidential elections. The Republican party, claimed the Free Press, had a responsibility to the American public to prove that it was not bound to the great corporations for campaign fund contributions, especially after the bills on electoral reform before the House were killed.[42]

It was an encouraging sign when the American government announced its intentions to prosecute the Standard Oil Company under the Elkins Act, a piece of legislation which prohibited rebates in interstate commerce and under the Sherman Anti-trust law for violations in trade and transportation discrimination.[43] When the Standard Oil Company was convicted at Finley Ohio on a criminal charge of conspiracy of

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[41]"Systematic scheme to rob the poor", Free Press, Jan. 12, 1906, p. 1.

[42]"Republican campaign funds", Free Press, Mar. 28, 1906, p. 4.

[43]"Will prosecute Standard Oil", Free Press, June 23, 1906, p. 1.

restraint in trade, the Free Press was convinced that the war against the trusts was becoming effective.[44] It pointed out that not only the Standard Oil company but also the New York Central was fined $108,000 for giving the Sugar trust a secret rebate on freight rates.[45]

Like the Cuban crisis in foreign affairs the Standard Oil case was seen as a step in America's sense of responsibility, resourcefulness, and maturity. Standard Oil, claimed the Free Press, had defiantly ignored the laws of the country, such as the Railroad Rate Act of 1906. The Company, it felt, had thrown down the "gantlet to the American government".[46] Standard Oil lived up to expectations and soon announced that it was not going to pay the fine of $29,240,000 that Judge Landis of Chicago had imposed.[47] Even Americans like the Springfield Republican showed pessimism as to the government's ability to secure justice when it rhetorically asked if the Standard Oil will

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[44]"The war against the Trusts", Free Press, Nov. 2, 1906, p. 4.

[45]Ibid., p. 4.

[46]"The Standard Oil Pipe Line", Free Press, June 6, 1907, p. 4.

[47]"Standard Oil", F.P., Aug. 6, 1907, p. 4.

"will raise its prices to collect the fine".[48]

The Standard Oil published a small pamphlet presenting its case. It stated that it was not going to pay the fine because the Chicago and Alton Company were really at fault. The two companies, argued Standard Oil, had made a change in the rate on oil from 18¢ down to 6¢ and had neglected to make a corresponding case of publication with the interstate commission. For their oversight, claimed the Standard Oil, the company was fined $29,240,000 simply because the federal government was going "after big fish".[49] American persistence and determination, however, was evident when H.K.Smith, the United States Commissioner of corporations, defended the fine and accused the Standard Oil of destroying competition in Southwestern United States. He pointed out how Standard Oil had lowered its rates from 18¢ to 6¢ and after the competition was eliminated the company had raised its prices with subsequent rise in its capital stock of 690% making "extraordinary profits".[50]

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[48]"The Standard Oil Fine", Springfield Republican, printed by the Free Press, Aug. 9, 1907, p. 4.

[49]"The Standard Oil case", F.P., Sept. 2, 1907, p. 4.

[50]"Standard's Big Fine Defended", Free Press, Jan. 6, 1908, p. 4.

The Free Press perceived further evidence of American political responsibility and maturity. In 1906 it regretted the Tammany selection of W.R.Hearst for Governor of New York. He was, felt the Free Press, the "foremost champion of unrestrained publicity",[51] a detestable and contemptible figure. It accepted that there was a vast army of voters behind Hearst because they were discontended with existing conditions and he offered them "the only known way to record their dissatisfaction".[52] It would be a disaster, it lamented, if public discontent was so strong to elect him as Governor. "It will mean", it claimed, "that a revolution in the United States' politics has arrived".[53] There was relief when W.R.Hearst was defeated.

After 1906 the Free Press perceived a strong tide of public opinion unquestionably in favour of the "property of the Public" doctrine in America.[54] For example, it cited the New York Utilities Bill. The bill provided for the regulation by the state of

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[51] "William Randolph Hearst", Free Press, Sept. 28, 1906, p. 4.

[52] "Hearst and his following", Free Press, Oct. 20, 1906, p. 4.

[53] Ibid., p. 4.

[54] "The public and Coal lands", Free Press, Dec. 13, 1906, p. 4.

every sort of activity in which such companies were engaged. For example, the state would regulate not only the rates but also the capitalization, the transfer of stock, the franchises, the equipment, the appliances, the labor conditions, as well as the character of the service in steam railways, street railways, gas companies, electric lights and power companies.[55] The bill was based on the theory that the government of a country to be effective must control the organizations it created. It was, felt the Free Press, the type of legislation that was establishing an important milestone towards public ownership:

> The theory that the business of furnishing public utilities and services is a private business to be conducted by the men who invest money in it according to their judgement is fast disappearing on this continent.[56]

For example, the Free Press mentioned the city of San Franscisco which was about to try the direct municipal ownership and operation of one of

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[55]"The New York Utilities Bill", Free Press, June 5, 1907, p. 4.

[56]Ibid., p. 4.

its street railways. The Portland Oregonian also observed the same trend in America when it claimed that everyone in the United States one felt "an awakening determination in the people to do things for themselves". Ostrogorski would have welcomed these experiments in American democracy just as the Free Press did. Mistakes, commented the Free Press will be made but through experience wisdom will come. Americans, after all it argued, were as "intelligent and as honest" as any other community.[57]

While reform was clearly visible in many facets of the American civilization the Free Press despaired at what it described as the destructive pace of American life. It quoted both Americans as well as foreign observers and bluntly offered its own evaluation as to the causes and effects of this apparent North American phenomenon.

The Free Press quoted the World's Work which commented that Americans "were going fast, building higher, faster than any previous nation built". This tendency had placed a high premium on time and had

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[57]"The change in public opinion", Portland Oregonian, printed by the Free Press, June 4, 1907, p. 4,

deflated the value of human life. America was the "richest" nation in the world and the spirit of the millionaire prevailed everywhere. It was inconsequential if every floor of a skyscraper was built in the blood of a man, or if American railroads were killing their thousands every month in "wrecks" or "trespasses". Harshly it painted America's callousness and pride:

> We are a race of but one generation or at least two. When we reach the top of our ladder, we call for another, a longer one, and try, at last, to scale the heavens... Our boys are in harness at fifteen, broken to the pace at twenty, in full stride at twenty-five, gray at forty-five broken and counted out at sixty.[58]

The Free Press reinforced these comments on American life by quoting Maxim Gorky, a Russian, describing the hectic life in New York city:

> Feverish life bubbles around as soup on a hob. People rush, whirl, disappear in this effervescence, as groats in broath, as splinters in the ocean. The city roars and engulfs one after another

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[58]"The pace that kills", World's Work, printed by the Free Press, Mar. 20, 1907, p. 4.

> in its insatiable maw. Some of their heroes (the bronze statues in public squares) have let their hands droop, others have uplifted them, spreading them out above the people's heads, just as if they wanted to say, Stop! This is not life, this is madness.[59]

Americans might be an electric and thunderous people but their strenuous life, so well exemplified by President Roosevelt and so well "understood and appreciated in Western Canada" had definite disadvantages. In both Canada and the United States, observed the Free Press, men's hair was turning gray at least ten years earlier than in Europe and in every American circle "men were suffering from nervous collapse or had killed themselves or permanently injured their health by long years of overwork".[60]

The Free Press had made it clear that the stupendous fortunes of the very rich in America were setting the pace of American life. This pace was "unfriendly to plain living and to high thinking there

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[59]Maxim Gorky, "The American Pace", New York Post, printed by the Free Press, April 25, 1907, p. 4.

[60]"The Gospel of relaxation", Free Press, Jan. 6, 1906, p. 4.

of". As a result American achievements were practical but not "on the higher level". America, therefore, had made so few important additions to truth and had demonstrated a "striking poverty of men of science of the first order".[61]

In 1907 the Free Press printed without rebuttal a German treatise on American education, more precisely, why it was not as effective as the German. The German observer admitted that the mixed nature of the American population along with the American tendency to move from place to place rendered the American system less effective than in Germany. Coupled with these disadvantages he listed the following as well. First the go-as-you-please system of local organization which made it extremely difficult to gain safe and rapid progress in administration; second, the non-attendance and irregularity of attendance because of the contradiction between compulsory laws in a democratic community which had not learned to subordinate its wayward individualism to the general good; third, what he called, the "native difficulties" in learning English as opposed to German;

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[61]"American contributions to science", Free Press, Feb. 29, 1904, p. 4.

finally, the hardship in the system of weights and measures used in America. These were the longterm, underlying, difficult causes but there were also remediable causes as well. First, there was too much entertainment and not enough work in the American school; then there was a substitution of masculine discipline by feminine discipline; also the system of elective studies by the pupils themselves; and finally, the low teacher salaries. These low teacher salaries were in turn responsible for the large number of women teachers whose motherly instinct and encouragement led to more entertainment and not enough work. Low wages also led to the insufficient professional training of American teachers. For example, in the Northwestern section of the United States only 40% of the elementary teachers had attended normal school and in the South only 8%. Low salaries, finally, had led to the impermanent and shifting character of the teaching body.[62] It was sad, claimed the Free Press, how the Americans were so possessed by an almost superstitious fear of centralization along with an equal reverence for local initiative.[63]

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[62]"Educational Methods", Free Press, Aug. 10, 1907, p. 4.

[63]Ibid., p. 4.

Thirteen days after this German treatise was presented the Free Press printed what it seemed was a rebuttal of the charges made against the American system of education. Elmer E. Brown claimed that American education was "all democratic and American".[64] It had been influenced by the Pestalozzian movement going back to Rousseau and Emile. It had received vigorous emphasis at the hands of Francis W. Parker and was greatly influenced by the philosophic insights of John Dewey. Its basic ideal was that of "organized self-education":

> We would make of every school a favourite environment, in which each pupil shall find his own opportunity and stimulus, and shall begin the working out of his true destiny.[65]

It was true, he continued, that thirty-six American states had in force compulsory education laws but he took exception with the reported poor attendance record by claiming that 70% of school age children were attending school.[66]

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[64]"Tendencies of U.S. Education", Chicago Tribune, printed by the Free Press, Aug. 23, 1907, p. 5.

[65]Ibid., p. 5.

[66]Ibid., p. 5.

The Free Press was on record that in Canada and in the United States the public schools stood for freedom and equality of opportunity.[67] It had praised Wisconsin's common schools as being "among the best in the world". These common schools were supplemented by agricultural and technical colleges of high rank which were maintained and aided by the state. Crowning this system was a state university of which New York or Pennsylvania might be proud.[68] It agreed with Professor Paul Hanus of Harvard that an efficient public school system must include vocational training to provide skilled labor for the manufacturer and to provide an opportunity for the workman to gain industrial intelligence, skill and a sense of responsibility, skills and know-how so essential for a steady job and higher wages.[69]

The extent of the Free Press' coverage of events and issues in America showed the importance placed on developments south of the forty-ninth parallel but the analysis of these developments indicates

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[67] Free Press, Oct. 31, 1903, p. 4.

[68] "Law makers informed", Free Press, March 4, 1905, p. 4.

[69] "Education and industrial efficiency", Free Press, Jan. 11, 1908, p. 4.

that the Free Press praised or blamed almost as an American midwestern newspaper of liberal sympathies and reforming bent.

It was evident that the Free Press perceived no malign schemes or influences by the United States on Canada. In fact it opposed any restrictions to a closer commercial and cultural intercourse between the two neighbours. This mood of confidence was reflecting the Free Press' opinion of the vitality of the Canadian entity, its national character, and independence. The opinion also reflected the new sense of liberation that Liberal Canadian editors enjoyed at the turn of the century with improved British-American relations. They did not feel the need to undeservedly criticize America and her civilization for the sole purpose of proving their Canadian loyalty.

From its description of domestic America the United States was seen as the "largest experiment in democratic institutions" ever attempted in the world. The United States was viewed as a generous, rich, conservative and idealistic nation with a strong tendency towards carelessness, outspokenness and exaggeration. It was, however, challenged to its foundations by a deep undercurrent of evils and weaknesses, such as,

lawlessness, anarchism, racism, big trusts, an unresponsive to public opinion Senate, organized crime, political corruption and all topped by a careless electorate.

Yet there was hope. American ideals were continually mentioned by its public leaders; attempts to curb plutocracy, mobs, injustice, racism, and political corruption were in evidence; a spiritual revival in the public conscience was observed with hopes of reform and a return to sanity.

The American giant, however, had not achieved any great distinctions in the higher spheres of civilization and had not managed to promote a higher, more humane pace of life. Like an iceberg it had suddenly emerged from isolation, demanding its due respect and recognition for its size and power and was flexing its muscles to achieve it. Yet like the iceberg it had realized that it must check its direction and pace because the South seas were contradictory to its democratic constitution and its ideals.

The mass of American people were described as brave, honest, simple and democratic. They valued education, kindness, loyalty and truth. They possessed a sense of humour and a strain of adventure. They were hard working, resourceful and opportunistic. Often,

they were portrayed as tainted by a giant touch of pride, materialistic pursuits, individualism and corruption. At the same time they were seen as solid family people, neighbourly and the best class of immigrants for Canada's Northwest.

It was evident then that the Free Press shared and eloquently enunciated and defended the contemporary liberal views so well presented by Laurier, on American immigration and American capital, on the vitality of the Canadian society and on Canadian destiny. However, its tone was definitely calmer and more sympathetic than most Canadians on America and her civilization.

Perhaps its geographic location and its market had influenced its perceptions as much as the liberal ideas of its editor. Winnipeg, at this time was considered by the Free Press as the metropolis of the Canadian West. Any factors influencing, improving, and benefiting the West were bound, it argued, to beneficially influence its metropolis. Its aim therefore was to encourage and actively support any such factors. The biggest factor, of course, at this point in time was the opening up, the developing and the filling up of the

Western prairies. In this endeavour the single, most important factor in fulfilling these aspirations appeared to be the American "invasion" from the South. As a result, the Free Press welcomed it and continually explained the benefits accrued to Canada because of the coming of "our American cousins".

Second, Winnipeg was an agricultural metropolis catering to the needs of an isolated, expanding farming community. Isolated from established industrial Ontario by the Cambrian shield these new and ever-expanding settlements were establishing a Western Canadian tradition especially in economic relations with the United States. As a result, the Free Press reflected the economic realities of the West and continually advocated a lower tariff for Canada and reciprocity with the United States. However, at no time did it forget that fairness, justice and true reciprocity should be the underlying principles for any economic Canadian-American discussions.

Finally, it was catering to a "new" immigrant society composed of the stream of newcomers from Europe, Americans, repatriated Canadians from the South and the few original settlers. Therefore, this Free Press market was, it felt, more liberal than the established

Ontario and Quebec with their loyalist and Catholic traditions and their continual fear of American annexation. As a result, the Free Press felt in a sense liberated to discuss, evaluate, and present its views, especially on America, more freely than if it was catering to Southern Ontario. In fact, the Free Press was able to be sympathetic to America, call for reciprocity and at the same time enjoy the widest circulation in the West!

Being sympathetic, however, did not imply that the Free Press was uncritical of the United States, her civilization, her institutions and her people. The frequency with which editorial articles appeared in its pages indicates that the United States was regarded with respect, intellectual curiosity, friendship and at times sorrow in her victories and perceived weaknesses. The United States was also viewed as an educational microcosm from which Canadians could learn to avoid America's mistakes and to appreciate their own cleaner politics, enlightened leaders, better justice and social tranquility. In Canada, it observed, there were no lynchings, no violent, dynamite throwing industrial disputes, no forest mismanagement,[70] no plu-

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[70]"Waste in Forest Wealth", Free Press, Aug. 24, 1906, p. 4.

tocracy and no "bossism". In fact, the Canadian political atmosphere was free, regardless of what Münsterberg or Stead were writing, the national heart was strong, the future bright and secure.

CONCLUSION

To what extent did the Manitoba Free Press reflect the contemporary perceptions of Roosevelt's America? What contradictions became apparent from this study? What do we learn about our past from the benefits of this comparative study? These are some of the questions that we must turn our attention and reflect upon.

It was evident from this study that there was a close similarity among all sources examined concerning America and her civilization on several themes. Most sources agreed that America was a giant world power destined to play a great role in mankind's future. Most sources portrayed the United States as opportunistic and commercially aggressive with the general Canadian view emerging as the harshest one with its use of adjectives such as "foxy" and "hoggish". It was also clear that most contemporaries viewed America as a nation practicing duplicity in foreign affairs with British writers somewhat less critical of this characteristic. Perhaps the Anglo-American international entente of this period helps to explain this discrepancy.

Most contemporary authors expressed similar views concerning Americans as hard working and resourceful; most condemned American carelessness, materialism, and corruption; and most recognized American slick business organization and international influence and expressed praise or horror depending on their interpretation as to their effects both on the American civilization and abroad.

Many American evils, such as lawlessness and racism, were described by most contemporaries. However, British observers blamed these American evils on the overemphasized American individualism and on the mediocre and inadequate educational system in the United States which had resulted in America's political corruption. Continental Europeans, on the other hand, stressed America's plutocracy, materialism and bossism as the real culprits. Canadians agreed that materialism was a destructive force within the American civilization but explained American lawlessness and corruption in their incorrect theory of social organization and in their lack of political involvement. The Pree Press on this point, while it accepted these evils as part of the American civilization and offered similar advice as to how to overcome them, seemed to be convinced

that Americans were making headway against their worst evils, that the public conscience was awakening, and that a spiritual revival was taking place after 1904 in the United States.

Perhaps the Free Press' optimism was the result of its view of Americans as a brave, honest and democratic people. This view of Americans, however, did not correlate with other contemporary perceptions either in Canada or in Europe with the most vivid contradiction expressed in the typical German stereotype of the American or perhaps in the Canadian reference to Americans as "grafters" and "pushers".

It is also possible that the Free Press' optimism of the American character was the result of simple economic realities of the times. On this point it will help to remember that a "considerable clientele" of the Free Press was across the boundary line as well as among the tens of thousands of American newcomers in the Canadian Northwest. It is also well to remember that the Free Press encouraged and promoted, especially after 1904, American immigrants and American capital in Western Canada.

The Free Press' perception of Americans as kind, loyal, true, as solid family people and as the

best type of settlers for Western Canada appears to echo in words the official Canadian viewpoint. However, it was also clear that a strong undercurrent of Canadian defensiveness was quite widespread in contemporary Canada. The Free Press might not see any malign American influences, designs, or effects on Canadian national identity, ideals, institutions or independence but this view stood alone. Contemporary Canadian, British and even European observers openly contradicted this conviction and warned of danger. Even American authors had contradicted the Free Press' opinion. For example, F.B.Tracy had confidently speculated that,

> barring a world-wide war and terrible crises involving the trading of empires by battle or treaty, Canada, will come to the U.S. after a brief period of independence.[1]

This outcome Tracy considered as inevitable and welcomed it wholeheartedly:

> Canada cannot continue to be half-free, half-slave; half-nation, and half-subject colony... It is idle for her statesmen to talk and dream of her growing to be

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[1]F.B.Tracy, "The Republic and the Dominion", North American Review, 177, 1903, p. 584.

> "the greater half of the continent". The trend of history and precedent... cannot be checked. Canada belongs to the United States, and by the will of her people she must some day be a great, proud, and welcome addition to the Union.[2]

This outcome was also, as was seen in the previous chapters, confidently predicted by Stead in 1902, by Munsterberg in 1904, and by S.F.Moffet in his thesis The Americanization of Canada (1907).

Why this contradiction between the Free Press and other contemporaries? It is evident that the Free Press perceived Canada as a growing, maturing nation within the British Empire, purer than America in ideals, in government, in institutions, and in family life. It was also convinced that with the Alaskan dispute out of the way and the re-election of both Roosevelt as well as Laurier in 1904 that Canadian independence was secure. Perhaps the economic boom of the Canadian West, perhaps pure liberal idealism, perhaps partisanship, perhaps a sense of duty to fight for reciprocity, whatever its motivation it is clear that

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[2]F.B.Tracy, p. 586.

it perceived no danger from the United States. The fact that it enjoyed such prestige and circulation clearly illustrates that the Free Press was presenting a position acceptable within the region.

In other regions there was the same belief that Canadians enjoyed a fairer less corrupt society, but there was more concern expressed about the infiltration of American practices and ideas. When a change in the postal rates to cut off American periodicals from flooding the Canadian market was proposed in Eastern Canada the Free Press objected arguing that Canadians were mature enough to value their superior culture. As a secondary argument it commented that such changes would hinder its efficiency in its campaign to solicit more American immigrants to Canada and requested reconsideration of this law on economic rather than intellectual grounds. This case alone clearly indicates the pragmatic, solidly thoughtout editorial policy of the Free Press.

It is hoped that this study has accomplished several contributions in the ever expanding quest for knowledge of our past. While most historians commenting on this topic of Canadian perceptions towards the United States have tended to generalize from important perhaps

but isolated incidents or issues this study undertook and covered a vast area of hitherto unexplored mass of historical sources. From this investigation it was evident that the Falconer interpretation of Americans as shrewd and resourceful businessmen presenting no danger to Canadian unity reflected the traditional liberal viewpoint expressed by the Free Press but disputed in the periodical literature of that period. The Angu's interpretation of the Canadian reaction during the Alaska boundary dispute that Canadians "under provocation" denounced and harshly criticized American practices and policies reflects the general Canadian viewpoint even during calmer times up to 1908. The only exception to such denounciation appears in the Free Press which clearly indicates two conclusions. First, that the public opinion media of the time used the Alaska issue in an exaggerated form to perhaps cover other internal difficulties in Canadian policies. To what extent for example was this Alaska boundary issue an economic question for Canadian newspapers and periodicals? To what extent its coverage and presentation was influenced by the money-making practices of American journalism? To what extent was this issue used to camouflage the Canadian Boor War

involvement? To what extent did this denounciation by the Canadian media reflected the biases of Eastern Canada rather than the merits of the case? Such questions will require further concentrated studies to answer. The Free Press indicated that while the dispute was under investigation and negotiation and people were reading it it fed them with numerous editorials. When the decision was reached the Free Press quietly dropped the topic and moved on to more immediate topics. This technique clearly illustrates that Canadian regionalism is as old as Canada itself. Even before the western provinces were incorporated a regional perspective was evident, if the Free Press reflected western opinion, that of the prairie mentality preoccupied with economic issues and sharply in contrast with the main concerns of the rest of the country, an open, cosmopolitan, and self-confident view of their area and of Canada.

The more recent interpretation of Canadian views of Roosevelt's America by R.C.Brown and R.Cook mentioned in the introduction clearly reflect the general Canadian opinion of America described in the official documents and the periodical literature but not in the Free Press. It did not "fear" nor "envy" the United States. It simply took notice of its

potential in a friendly way, pointed out its efforts to improve itself and after 1904 openly praised its successes.

This study upholds the prestige of the Free Press as a powerful, mature and comprehensive liberal newspaper in Canada. Its findings will also reinforce the observations by W.L.Forbes that the "anti-Americanism" of many Canadians was an example of exaggerated rhetoric, a camouflage against charges of disloyalty, a highly important part of the Canadian political dogma of Canadian intellectuals of the period. The real, the "principal rule" in Canadian-American conflicts, explained Forbes, was Canadian self-interest.[3] This study of a larger period, encompassing a greater variety of sources upholds this view that self-interest was a powerful motive in the Canadian foreign policy decisions during this period.

In general, it was evident that in such an age of Canadian optimism, when Canada was searching to define its relations with the United States and the mother-country Canadians were guided by the dictates of their

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[3]W.L.Forbes, Some Canadian Editorial opinion conserning the Spanish-American war, (M.A.Thesis, Queen's University, 1971), pp. 161-78.

own self-interest always mindful of their own complex national essence, fearing American economic and political corruption and control, decrying any cultural pollution from their big neighbour and distrusting the British diplomatic and Imperial connection. The Free Press shared this optimism and eloquently expounded it while disregarding or downplaying the American threat to Canadian unity and national integrity.

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