

An
Anglo-American
Reunion



From An American Viewpoint

DELOS R. BAKER

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An Anglo-American Reunion.

In the current (September) number of *The Nineteenth Century* (London), appears an article by J. Ellis Barker entitled, An Anglo-American Reunion. It undertakes to set forth three chief motives which, in his judgment, should impel the United States to form, during the coming year, a defensive alliance with England against all the rest of mankind. Mr. Barker views this important subject from a British angle.

In this reply, the subject is regarded from an American viewpoint, and an examination is attempted into the verity and the validity of these three chief motives: and are set forth some considerations why such an alliance should not be formed.

But first let us inquire, Who is Mr. Barker? and, Why was his article written?

Mr. Barker, son of a physician, was born at Koln, Germany 43 years ago. Reared and educated at Koln, he removed some years ago to England, where he still resides. He is author of several books dealing with England's international relations. He is one of the foremost champions of the political, military and naval federation of England and her self-governing colonies. To further this cause, he has written a widely circulated book entitled, Great and Greater Britain. Also he is a prolific writer for the periodical press of England on political and international concerns and interests. By his countrymen he is esteemed a man of light and leading, a political prophet to his generation, a steadier Stead. In some quarters it is

believed that he is an unofficial collaborator with the English government. Confirmatory of this belief is the fact that, in another London monthly, which, like *The Nineteenth Century*, is reprinted regularly in the United States, appears simultaneously with Mr. Barker's article, one by Sir Gilbert Parker M. P. on the same subject and advocating the same cause.

Why were these articles written? Are they the skirmish line of a projected assault, in connection with British imperial federation, upon the continental independence of the United States? Are they written and published as feelers to test the sentiment of our people toward an English alliance, to find out how many of our citizens are American patriots, and how many are British Tories? The answer to this question, the coming months of the year 1914 may be expected to reveal. No doubt we have many Tories among us, in Church and State, in Press and College, in Bank and Clearing-house; but the great multitude of us, ten to one, are North Americans, and seek for our country no other alliance than with Jehovah, God of our Fathers.

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The first of Mr. Barker's three motives for an Anglo-American defensive alliance against all the rest of mankind is, Community of blood, speech and political institutions. Let us interrogate briefly this motive.

Between the United States and England exists no predominant community of blood: none ever has existed.

In 1787, when the United States were born, the population of our New-England section was part English, part French, part German, part Dutch, part Irish, part Indian, part African. Of the Anglo-Dutch-Ger-

man-Irish-Indian-African population of New York, less than half was English. That North-American patriot, Thomas Paine, writing in Philadelphia in 1775, declared that less than one-third of the population of Pennsylvania at that time was English. In Virginia, the African, Indian, French and Irish population outnumbered the English. The Carolinas were colonized by the French; and to this day in South Carolina the Africans outnumber the Whites of all bloods. The population of the later-acquired Gulf states was Spanish and French. The Anglo-Saxon blood was not conspicuous, and was much intermingled with the African. The territory we obtained from Mexico was Spanish-speaking.

Since those early days, has poured into the United States a stream of foreign bloods from every part of Europe and Asia, English, Irish, Scotch, Scandinavian, German, Russian, Danish, Dutch, Flemish, Swiss, Polish, Hungarian, Roumanian, Servian, Bulgarian, Montenegrin, Slavonian, Greek, Turkish, Armenian, Arab, Italian, French, Spanish, Portugese, Chinese, Japanese, Hindoo. We are become the most hybrid people on the face of the Earth; and are generously and hospitably proud of the fact. Only among the Appalachian highlands—the last retreat among us of illiteracy, feudism and moonshining—are Anglo-Saxons conspicuous in the population. In the whole United States in 1900, of the ten and one-half million of foreign-born, more than forty-two percent was German and Irish: only eight per cent was English. It is not too much to say that the total number of Anglo-Saxons among us is less than one-twentieth part of our total population.

Furthermore, in the United States, we Anglo-Saxons are a feeble, degenerate, disappearing strain of blood. We have lost both virility and fecundity, or else have mislaid them. We have ceased to have children. We leave child-bearing to our Africans and to our immigrant proletariat. We Anglo-Saxons in the United States are dying out. We are "The Last of the Mohicans".

If Mr. Barker thinks our people are Anglo-Saxons, he should walk down Broadway and read the names on the store-fronts. He should saunter through the Bowery with open eyes and ears and nostrils. Let him read the names in the poll-books of New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, New Orleans and San Francisco, and remember that a large share of the English patronyms belong to Mulattos, Quadroons, Octoons, Sexdecoons, who bear no affection to their Anglo-Saxon ancestors of the days of slavery, and cherish no pride in their admixture of Anglo-Saxon blood. The farmers and market gardeners of the United States are more than half German or of German descent.

Between England and the United States exists no community of blood.

We are a new people. Earth never saw our like before. Us and the land upon which Jehovah, our God, hath planted us, He hath dedicated alike to freedom and to independence. We need no alliance with England. We seek none.

* * * *

Now as to Anglo-Saxon community of speech.

In a general way, I think it may be conceded that most of us speak the American variety of English, en-

tuned in our noses full sweetly, after the school of Cohoes on the Hudson; for English of London (otherwise Cockney) is to us unknown. We speak a sort of English, it is true; but we have no great reverence for it. The fear of it is not before our eyes, nor in our hearts. We use it and misuse it very commonly indeed, merely as a vehicle for the communication of thought, or for the unconscious revelation of the lack of it. The way we monkey with the English language is something fierce.

One would think that prudence would dictate to England not to force upon our attention at this time this Anglo-Saxon community of speech. It is indeed true that, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic shore of Alaska, from the Southern delta of the Mississippi to the Northern delta of the Mackenzie, from the Rio Grande to the North Pole, where, by the will of God and the persistent courage and fortitude of Captain Peary U. S. N. and of Mr. Matthew Henson U. S. A., has been planted the flag of the United States—from Gulf to Pole, North America is one in speech; just as also geologically and topographically the Mississippi-Mackenzie valley is one from the Gulf to the Arctic ocean, and just as the Rocky Mountains are one to the very Arctic shore, and as the Atlantic coast is one from Key West to Smith sound, and as the Pacific coast is one from Lower California to Cape Nome. All this is true, no doubt; but why rally this linguistic fact to re-enforce these other analogous and prophetic facts, and to force it and them upon the attention of the people of the United States; especially at this time, when the march of English projects of imperial federation is giving all these facts more prominence in

the serious attention of all our North-American patriots than England would be expected to desire?

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Now as to community of political institutions.

It is news to us.

We have no House of Lords, temporal nor spiritual, reformed nor *au naturel*. We have no King; no Prince of whales; no Prime Minister; no First Lord of the Bed-chamber; no Privy Council; no Grand Duke of the Privy Purse; no Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal; no Lord Groom of the Privy Unicorn; no Lord Feeder of the Privy Lion, and so on, the rest of the Privy Menagerie; no Laureate of the Royal Muse; no Primates, all nor singular; no Established Church; no glebes; no tithes; no tips; no rates nor curates; no chaplains in ordinary nor in extraordinary; no Haitches; no suffragettes; no Barts. We have no Lord Mayor; no Lord High Sherif; no Lord High Chancellor; no Lord Hidalgo, the higher you go, the higher the dalgos; no Knights of the Suspenders. We have no quinquennial, occasional, precarious, unpredictable Parliament in unstable equilibrium; no royal prerogations nor royal dissolutions; no Front Benches; no sudden, unexpected and inconvenient elections at any old time in the year, it may be in ploughing-and-seeding time, or in haying or harvest or corncutting or husking, when one is heels over head in work and no help to be got for love nor money. We have no Marquises; no Righthons; no Seneschals; no Viscounts; no Barons of the Exchequer; no Vice-roys; no—but we refrain: it is not our funeral, and spectators should not crowd the mourners. Suffice it to say that we have no political, ecclesiastical, judicial nor social flummery and mummery, fit to make the

angels weep, and neither liking nor aptitude for that sort of ceremonial ostentation. Our politics, religion and society are the plainest ever. It is all in the day's work, like digging potatoes on a frosty morning, or going to mill or to church or to the meeting of the grange or to the polls. After some years as Chief Executive of the Family, one of us may become Chief Executive of the United States, and for a few more years, execute the Acts passed by the U. S. Congress, along with some other odd jobs pertaining to the office, besides doing the Executive chores, night and morning. After that, he returns once more to the exalted office of Chief Executive of the Family and executes faithfully his Wife's errands to the corner grocery, mail-box and drygoods store, and all other Acts of the Domestic Congress. It is just plain business; all in the day's work. But evil communications corrupt good manners; and there is no telling to what depths of fantastic pretentiousness we might sink, if we were to be abandoned to an alliance with England.

No; instead of a community with the political institutions of England, we have a blessed immunity from them; and we will seek to preserve it. In political institutions, we of the United States have closer community with the brave, invincible young republic across the Pacific.

* * * *

Now we come to Mr. Barker's second motive for allying ourselves with England against all the rest of mankind. This second impelling motive is gratitude. He argues that gratitude for the kindness which England ever has shown to us through all our past should lead us to requite her by making with her a defensive alliance against all the rest of mankind. Mr. Barker

inventories these items of kindness shewn by England to the United States, and sets them forth in his article at some length. Let us go over them with him, one by one, and try to estimate the amount of gratitude which they entitle England to receive from us.

Item 1. England has fought us only twice in one hundred forty years.

If for that we should be grateful to her, how much more grateful should we be to Germany; for in that time she has fought us not even once. On this score, if gratitude should make us consent to an alliance with England, how much more should gratitude urge us to seek an alliance with Germany. And how could gratitude make us ally ourselves with England against Germany, to whom, in this very item, we owe a far greater debt of gratitude? Furthermore, how do we know that England in this matter has exercised toward us any praiseworthy self-denial such as should entitle her to our gratitude? Perhaps she did not want to fight us again. Who knows? Also, if England has fought us only twice in one hundred forty years, in that time we have fought her only twice; so on that score we are quits, and no gratitude due to either party from either. What we have said above of Germany is true also of Norway, Sweden, Russia, Denmark, Austria, Turkey, Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain (except for a little brush which amounted hardly to a reconnaissance in force, and interrupted friendly relations for only a few weeks), Portugal, China, Japan and all of our neighbors and friends of the two Americas. How could we ally ourselves with England against all these who, than she, always have been far more friendly to us.

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Item 2. Mr. Barker claims that England, through her foreign secretary Canning, was the author of our American doctrine of America for Americans; and that for this reason, we owe England a debt of gratitude which we should repay by making an alliance with her against all the rest of mankind.

Is it true that England is the author of the American Doctrine that America belongs to Americans? Passing by Thomas Paine's Common Sense, and the Declaration of American Independence, neither of which originated with England, and antedated Canning's foreign-secretaryship by nearly half a century; passing by Washington's farewell counsel to his countrymen, which lays supreme stress upon the doctrine of America for Americans and abstention from foreign entanglements; passing by the revolts of all the Central and South American colonies of Spain, which the United States rejoiced to behold as emancipating achievements of the conquering American Doctrine, we come, at length, in 1823, to Mr. Canning's relation to the doctrine.

At that time, and for a few years thereafter, England was opposed to a possible attempt of France, (under color of helping Spain to resubjugate her American colonies), to acquire possessions for herself either on the mainland of America or in the West Indies. Hence the English foreign secretary proposed to President Monroe that the United States and England should warn France, Spain and their European allies to keep hands off the new-born republics of this Western hemisphere. Monroe accepted the suggestion, but declined, according to the already settled policy of the United States, any co-operation with England in the promulgation of this warning. It was

an American concernment and beyond the jurisdiction of any European nation. In his message to Congress in December, 1823, President Monroe gave notice to the non-American world at large that it must keep hands off the infant republics of America, or else count the United States an enemy. It was a worthy declaration of the solidarity of the free, American republics in matters pertaining particularly and vitally to the American continent. The declaration was as plucky as it was generous and patriotic; and the people of the United States always justly have been proud of it.

But that declaration concerning the infant republics which the United States, like a loving big brother took under its protection, was not, and is not, the American Doctrine: it was merely the application of the American Doctrine to a specific, particular, accidental, evanescent case in point, which long ago lost any other than a historic interest.

In another part of that same message, President Monroe did announce the essential and permanent American Doctrine, which for long has been called the Monroe Doctrine; but which no longer should be so named; since, now that the other American republics no longer are infants, but have attained their majority, it has become the doctrine of all the American republics, and they stand together as one in its defence. In that message, in 1823, President Monroe, at no suggestion from England's Secretary, declared that this American continent no longer must be deemed open to foreign colonization, nor subject to foreign interference of any kind. That is the essential American Doctrine, subscribed by every republic on the American continent and by those in the West Indies. This

American Doctrine, please God, will endure inviolate so long as the shores of this Western continent shall be washed by the waves of four great oceans.

We have said that Mr. Canning had in mind no such doctrine as that, when he wrote to our Ambassador Rush on the subject of France and the Spanish colonies. When, at length in due course of ocean mail, he read it in President Monroe's message, it made him sit up and take notice. He seized his pen and wrote, "England cannot acknowledge the right of any power to proclaim such a principle, much less to bind other countries to the observance of it. If we were to be repelled from the shores of America, it would not matter to us whether that repulsion were effected by the ukase of Russia excluding us from the sea, or by the new doctrine of the President prohibiting us from the land. We cannot yield obedience to either."

The longer Mr. Canning mused, the fiercer the fire burned. He wrote that the declaration was "very extraordinary" (it would have been worth the price of admission to see his face when he wrote that) and one which His Majesty's government was "prepared to combat in the most unequivocal manner". Lest we should forget it, he added that the right of colonization is one that, as heretofore, may be exercised "without affording the slightest umbrage to the United States". So England's Mr. Canning was not the author of the American Doctrine of America for Americans. The claim that he was its author is very extraordinary, and should be combatted in the most unequivocal manner. We owe England no gratitude on that score.

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That brings us to item three in Mr. Barker's ar-

gment that gratitude to England for past kindnesses should impel the United States to make an alliance with England against all the rest of mankind.

Item 3. Mr. Barker says we owe England a debt of gratitude because, ever since its proclamation, she has been the consistent upholder of the American Doctrine; and because it has been England's support which has caused that doctrine to be respected thus far by non-American nations.

That is very extraordinary.

We have seen above that England at once began to support the American Doctrine by preparing to combat it in the most unequivocal manner. On this point of England's support of the American Doctrine, searching down through American history since 1823, we find that, in 1846, England still was supporting the American Doctrine by combatting in the most unequivocal manner our possession of our territory of Oregon, inherited from Spain, explored, colonized and settled by the United States, and delimited by international treaty between Russia and the United States, fixing the confine between Russian America and this country at parallel 54 degrees and 40 minutes North latitude.

A few years later, England sent a fleet of war-ships to support the American Doctrine further by combatting in the most unequivocal manner our possession of the island of San Juan in Puget sound; but a company of United States soldiers met England on the shore of that island, and persuaded her to desist and to let us support the American Doctrine in that instance by upholding it in the most unequivocal manner.

In 1861, England supported the American Doc-

trine, *suo more*, by escorting with her fleet Spain over to San Domingo and France over to Mexico, and bidding them help themselves to anything in sight; and if they did not see what they wanted, to ask for it.

In 1895, England still was supporting the American Doctrine, *suo more*, by stealing a few thousand square miles and the mouth of the Orinoco from our sister American republic of Venezuela; but the United States came to Venezuela's help; and the two jointly persuaded England to give over, in that instance also, her peculiar style of supporting the American Doctrine.

The fact is that England never has accepted the American Doctrine, always has been its persistent enemy; and today, with her resident Asiatic partner, Japan, is the only enemy of the American Doctrine on the face of the Earth.

We owe England no gratitude for her support of the American Doctrine. Under God, the republics of this Western continent, their non-interference in the affairs of other continents, and the good-will of all the other nations of mankind (except only England and her Asiatic partner) are the sufficient support of the American Doctrine, always have been, and, please God, always will be. Listen to brave little San Domingo when, in 1865, she persuaded the last Spanish soldier to re-embark for Spain. After four years of heroic and invincible resistance of the Spanish invader, and after untold suffering and privation, she exclaims: "The united Dominican people, without regard to rank or color, have planted the white cross of the Republic upon the principle enunciated by the great mother of free nations that America belongs to

Americans; and we will endure all our trials over again sooner than desert it”.

* * * *

That brings us to item four in Mr. Barker's argument that gratitude should impel the people of the United States to form a defensive alliance with England against all the rest of mankind.

Item 4. During our civil war, England did not join France in intervention for the disruption of the United States.

What are the facts?

In September, 1862, after McClellan's disastrous campaign on the peninsula and after the second Union defeat at Bull Run, when the victorious Confederates were advancing unopposed into Maryland and against Washington, which was almost defenseless; when Lord Palmerston, England's Prime Minister, was expecting by next American mail (it took nearly or quite two weeks for news from the United States to reach London) news of the capture of Washington or Baltimore or both; at this darkest hour of the Union cause, he and Lord Russell, England's Foreign Secretary, formulated a proposal for intervention between the North and the South, including a six-month's armistice on land and sea, during which the blockade should be raised, and three hundred million dollars worth of arms, ammunition, supplies and ships for the Confederate navy could be sold to the Confederacy by England and France, in exchange for the bumper cotton crop of 1861; which, at the end of the armistice, if war should be resumed, would be worth at Liverpool and Havre one billion dollars. With this help from England and France, the Confederacy would

be enabled to achieve independence, and the United States would be dissevered.

This proposal, when formulated (of course, not in these terms) by Lords Palmerston and Russell, was sent to Paris to be issued from the French foreign office as France's proposal to England and Russia for a joint intervention. The plan worked all right; and about Sept. 16, from across the Channel, the proposal arrived in London. Sept. 23, a meeting of the English cabinet was held to consider England's proposal to France and Russia (ostensibly France's proposal to England and Russia). Meanwhile, (Sept. 17) the battle of Antietam had been fought; the Confederates had retreated to Richmond; and Washington was uncaptured; but the news had not yet reached London. Meanwhile also (Sept. 17) our Ambassador Adams had given Lord Russell to understand that intervention would mean war with the United States. The English cabinet was in a quandary, and adjourned, pending receipt of news from the United States that Washington was captured, and from Russia that she would join England and France in intervention.

At length the news arrived from the United States that Washington was intact, and from Russia that she would not join in intervention. Intervention no longer looked so feasible nor so attractive.

Finally (Oct. 12, about one month after receipt of the proposal), at an adjourned meeting of the cabinet, Lord Russell (as reported by Mr. Gladstone, who was a member of the cabinet, and an enthusiastic supporter of intervention) "turned tail" on the proposal, and received "but half-hearted support" from Lord Palmerston. At this meeting, a reply was adopted in

which England "recognized with pleasure" France's proposal. It would have been a wonder if they had not recognized it; it was their own homing pigeon. In the reply, England agrees to stand with France in this matter, as France had stood with England in the affair of the Trent. But, "after weighing all the information which has been received from America (it was very weighty information), her Majesty's government are led to the conclusion that there is no ground at the present moment (this phrase, "at the present moment" or "at the present time", or "now", occurs five times in four consecutive sentences) to hope that the Federal government would accept the proposal suggested; and a refusal from Washington at the present time would prevent any speedy renewal of the offer. Her Majesty's government think, therefore, that it would be better to watch carefully the progress of opinion in America; and if, as there appears reason to hope, it may be found to have undergone, or may undergo hereafter, any change, the three courts might then avail themselves of such change to offer their friendly counsel with a greater prospect than now exists of its being accepted by the two contending parties.

"Her Majesty's government will communicate to that of France any intelligence they may receive from Washington or Richmond bearing on this important subject".

In short, England accepted her own proposal, and postponed the date for its going into operation, meantime keeping in touch with France while awaiting the favorable moment. This is that proposal which U. S. Consul-General Moore says "England promptly and

unqualifiedly declined". The document speaks for itself.

The favorable opportunity, thank God, never came. A few months later Gettysburg was fought, and Vicksburg surrendered; and the chance for intervention was gone forever.

The United States, neither North nor South, owes England any gratitude for her conduct toward either section during our civil war. England enticed and inveigled the South into secession by unofficial promises of recognition, support and intervention by England and France acting conjointly. England kept the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope. Not till midsummer, 1863, did the South finally despair of Anglo-French intervention. England, after preparing intervention, dared not intervene. The story of England's attitude and conduct toward the United States in its fearful struggle to maintain the Union, is known to all mankind, and to none better than to our own people.

Mr. Barker was ill-advised to bring that subject into this discussion. On this account, so far from gratitude leading us to ally ourselves with England against all the rest of mankind, gratitude should lead us to ally ourselves with all the rest of mankind against England. Listen to Prussia for instance: Berlin, May 8, 1861. Ambassador Judd writes to Secretary Seward. "Baron Schleinitz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, gave me the most positive assurance that this government, from the principle of unrelenting opposition to all revolutionary movements, would be one of the last to recognize any de facto government of the disaffected States of the American Union!" Under date of May 15, Ambassador Judd writes, "Baron Schleinitz in-

formed me that, in his opinion, no apprehension need be entertained as to Prussian subjects engaging under the authority of the so-called Confederate States in fitting out privateers, or in any manner interfering with our commerce." Under date of May 26, Mr. Judd writes to Mr. Seward, "Prussia will take efficient steps to sustain the government of the United States in the protection of property and commerce; and will do all she can consistently with her obligations to other governments, to sustain the vigorous action of our government in maintaining law and order."

Listen to Belgium: "The revolution will receive no sanction by any act of Belgium". And so of others. Russia was a preeminently conspicuous friend of the United States throughout the civil war. Should gratitude to England for her active enmity toward us during the civil war lead us to ally ourselves with her against Prussia, Russia, Belgium and all the other friendly nations of mankind?

* * * *

Item 5. England refused to join the rest of Europe in intervention during our Spanish-American war in 1898.

There was no Spanish-American war. We sent fifteen thousand soldiers to help the Cubans drive the Spaniards out of that island. There was one brief engagement at Santiago. Our killed in both army and navy throughout the whole "war" were fewer than those of the Afghans in the battle of Penjdeh (during the Anglo-Russian delimitation of the northern boundary of Afghanistan in 1885), which England and Russia agreed to regard as merely "a regrettable incident". The calling out by the United States of an army of two hundred thousand men was a piece of

very costly and very ridiculous folly, which contributed to the gaiety of all the warstuffs of Europe. We need not have called out a single man, nor have incurred a dollar of debt. All that was necessary was to blockade the Cuban ports and throw a few thousand regular troops into the island, and keep them and the patriot army well supplied through open communications. The Cubans already had the Spaniards penned up in the ports.

Europe never thought of intervening. It was an American question: we were not trying to drive Spain out of the Minorcas. Europe is not in the intervening business when a great power is at war. If in our regrettable incident, England did not intervene, she had her own reasons for non-intervention; and they were ample justification of the prudence of her conduct in that particular. If she had any thought of intervention, she was the only European power that had. We owe her no gratitude in that item.

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We now have dealt with all of Mr. Barker's causes for gratitude of the United States toward England. No; we had forgotten:

Item 6. The people of the United States should be grateful to England for fighting us in the war of the revolution; for if she had not fought us, we would not have become a nation. Perhaps no comment is needed upon this item. We will be hard up for causes of gratitude when we adopt that one.

* * * *

Next we take up Mr. Barker's third and last line of argument: To make at this time a defensive alliance with England against all the rest of mankind, is to the interest of the United States.

1. Mr. Barker says that it is to our interest first; because, with our very small army and feeble navy, we must have the aid of England to maintain the American Doctrine of America for Americans.

Heretofore England has helped maintain this doctrine by combatting it "in the most unequivocal manner". For ninety years, the American Doctrine has survived that kind of assistance on the part of England. The American continent numbers manier than one hundred fifty million American patriots ready to die at a minute's notice for this their native or adopted continent; and the American continent is filling up at the rate of three or four million people a year. But though each American patriot will stand and die, if need be, for God and home and country, we do not depend upon that alone for the defense of the American Doctrine. This doctrine is automatic, and defends itself. So long as we keep out of the affairs of the other continents, they, in their turn, have no cause, nor occasion, nor interest to meddle with the affairs of this continent. Besides, under God, America feeds and clothes the world. That is an unnatural child that beats the breast that nourishes it. But above all else, from our hearts we say, in the words of an English hymn sung in millions of American homes:

Thus far the Lord hath led us on.
Thus far His power prolongs our days.
And every evening doth make known
Some fresh memorial of His grace.

This American continent, consecrated to God and to freedom at great price of glad-spilt, patriot blood, is in the care and keeping of Jehovah, God of Hosts.

The American Doctrine, please God, will survive for all time, without any further aid from England.

* * * *

2. Mr. Barker says that a defensive alliance with England against all the rest of mankind is to our interest; because, with so many and so valuable recently-acquired possessions, separated from us by intervening waters, we need the English navy to help hold them against an envious world. It ill becomes the ally of Japan to utter a word upon this subject. If we lose any or all of our possessions in the Pacific, it will be after the annihilation of our navy; and the bill will be presented to England on the point of a bayonet.

* * * *

I believe this concludes Mr. Barker's argument, except a string of quotations from our Admiral Mahan, whose opinion on the advantageous union of the two fleets (England's and ours) is the expert judgment of a very competent authority upon the smallest and least important part of this subject; and amounts to saying that two modern fleets united are more powerful than either one alone—a statement which, especially when upheld by so high an authority, few, I suppose, will be prepared to controvert.

* * * *

But incidentally Mr. Barker brings into discussion the relation of Canada, on the one hand, to England, and, on the other, to the United States.

That is a subject which we of the United States do not discuss, except privately among ourselves. We do not discuss it with non-American and non-English nations; because it does not specially concern them. We do not obtrude it upon the attention of England; because hitherto the time to do so has not arrived.

But, since Mr. Barker has introduced the subject into public discussion of the relations which he thinks should exist between the United States and England; and inasmuch as he and Sir Gilbert Parker and Lord Haldane may be supposed to be unofficial spokesmen for the English government, perhaps, at length, the time has come when the subject of Canadian relations to the American continent, on the one hand, and to the British empire, on the other, ought to be opened up in a frank and truthful representation. But first, let us hear Mr. Barker:

“Great Britain’s refusal to countenance European aggression (against the United States) even passively has sprung from her race instinct, not from her fear of losing Canada. In the first place, the United States would not have any cause to attack Canada, if Great Britain had merely maintained a strict neutrality in the event of war between the United States and some European power or powers. Secondly, the United States would not find it very easy to conquer the Dominion. Last, and not least, it must not be forgotten that, while the continental powers never could obtain Great Britain’s support against the United States, Great Britain herself would probably very readily receive the support of the continental powers against the great republic, were she at war with that country. If, for instance, President Cleveland’s high-handed action in regard to Venezuela in 1895 should unhappily have led to an American attack upon Canada, Great Britain need not have stood alone. That fact should be borne in mind by all those, on both sides of the Atlantic, who believe that Great Britain’s attitude toward the United States is dictated by her fear of losing Canada.”

To every one conversant with American history, it must be obvious that Canada and the Guianas occupy on the American continent an awkward and anomalous position. All the other nations of the continent are American: these alone are European aliens. It is impossible that such a state of things should endure forever. Canada eventually must cease to be European and must become American. For nearly a century and a half, the United States has waited patiently for this transformation to take place. For nearly a century, the other American republics also have waited with exemplary patience for this conversion to American fellowship. If the world would stand still meanwhile, the United States and her sister American republics could wait another century, if need be, for Canada to make up her mind to become American. But the world does not stand still, and will not.

Canada has arrived at that place in her history and development when she must decide for or against active membership in a British imperial federation. Canada must know, or if she does not know it, she should be told, that never will she be permitted, by active membership in any such unAmerican federation, to link up this American continent with the political struggles and political destinies of the other continents. Before she will be allowed to do that, she will have to fight and overcome every American republic, beginning with the United States, and ending with little Haiti. The American republics have no objection to the British imperial federation. So far as it concerns other continents, it is none of our business; but if it undertakes to include territory on this American continent, it becomes at once a very important and urgent part of the business of all the American republics.

God helping us to prevent it, it never shall include Canada nor British Guiana. It may take in Australia and New Zealand, and even South Africa, if Africa shall permit; but it must keep off the American continent.

Of course, it follows that Canada never will be permitted to take England's side in a European war, any more than the United States would be permitted to participate in any such European struggle. Canada was permitted to send troops to the Boer war; because that was a domestic controversy, concerning only England and her colonies; but if England should go to war with some European power, Germany, for instance, the United States, backed by all the other American republics, would forbid and prevent the participation of her Northern neighbor therein. Canadian battleships, steaming to join the British fleet in the North Sea, would meet the navy of the United States before losing sight of American shores. The dispatch of Canadian troops to augment England's expeditionary force in Belgium or wherever, would be followed immediately by the invasion of Canada by the army of the United States.

The free and independent people of this Western continent, God helping us, will maintain for this continent that secure, detached and undisturbed political position in which Almighty God, in His favoring providence, has placed it: and no North-American Ulster will be permitted to import alien wars into our midst. An independent and American Canada and the United States could live peacefully and happily side by side for a thousand years, with no ship of war between them from the Lake of the Woods to the straits of Belle Isle; and no fort nor sentineled musket from the

Lake of the Woods to Puget Sound. But an active partner in a British imperial federation cannot live peaceably beside the United States for one day. If this scheme of British imperial federation is to be pressed, Canada has come to the parting of the ways. She will have to become American, or else carry her British affiliations to some other and more congenial continent.

* * * *

But why must Canada take this fatal step? Why part peaceful and prosperous company with the United States, after a hundred years of unbroken fellowship? Why look for defense and safety, under God, beyond the tie which links together all the nations of this Western hemisphere, and enlists a whole continent in defense of any imperiled nation thereof? Why desert Jehovah, who thus far has brought you and led you on from strength to strength? Is His arm shortened, that it cannot save? Or His ear heavy, that it cannot hear?

* * * *

Our French brothers of Quebec, may we address ourselves to you, to beg you take not this step. We are American brethren. You and our New-Englanders are cousins of the blood. We have intermarried together. We are at home on your side of the St. Lawrence: you are at home on ours. You are building a bridge at Quebec to facilitate and increase this happy intercourse between us. Our hearts are one. Every morning we kneel together and together pray, Pater noster qui in Coelum. Can you not, our Christian brothers, can you not trust God, our Father, to have you and your country ever in His holy care and keeping? Oh, why, for succor, must you turn from

rose to go and die in as holy a cause as ever required and received a patriot's devotion.

Between Hudson-Bay muskets on one side, and shrapnel shells and Gatling guns and repeating rifles on the other, could be no battles. There were three engagements, massacres they should be named, in which altogether 53 soldiers were killed and 129 wounded. How many hundred Indians and half-breeds fell, is known only to the just and righteous God who marks even the sparrow's fall.

The soldiers, like those on Calvary, had their reward. Louis Riel had asked for only 240 acres each for his half-breed and Indian brothers; each volunteer in this campaign received 320 acres.

Louis Riel, who had surrendered as prisoner of war, was taken to Regina. There he was tried by an English colonel, condemned by an English jury of six, and was sentenced to death. The Privy Council of England, appealed to by practically all of you people of Quebec, refused to intervene. And on November 16—a date you French Canadians ever should hold in sacred recollection, about the sixth hour, with eight of his Indian brothers and compatriots, kissing the holy cross and forgiving his enemies, in the bleak barrack yard at Regina, like God's own patriot Son on Calvary, Louis Riel, too, was hanged for loving his fellow men.

The souls of Louis Riel and his brother French and Indian Canadians, who died for God and home and loved ones and native land, are with the holy martyrs before the throne of God; but their blood still crieth unto Him from the ground.

Quebec, have you forgotten—can you ever forget that true-hearted, French Canadian patriot, that loyal

son of Holy Church, that martyr of liberty, your brother, Louis Riel? Oh let us adjure you by his memory, go not with the enemies of your country to make this federation with England, your age-long foe, a federation which can bring only alienation and estrangement between you and us, and war between Canada and the United States.

* * * *

And you, our brothers of Ontario, how can we dissuade you from the fatal step you have in contemplation? What have we done, or left undone, that you should desire to desert our company? We speak a common tongue. We cherish a common literature. We read the same Bible. We bow at the same altar—one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all. No ship of war vexes the waters between us, of Ontario or Erie, of Huron or Superior. We have not crossed over against you in anger. You have not crossed over against us. The blessed peace of God, which passeth all understanding, hath kept our hearts and minds in amity and friendship. God has blessed you with the blessings of the heavens above and of the deep that lieth under: His blessings have prevailed even unto the everlasting hills. He has planted you in a goodly land prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

You have seen Him sever, one by one, the political ties which have bound this continent to Europe, till now yours alone remains. Are you not afraid, in this scheme for imperial federation with England, lest haply you be found fighting against God?

If American independence lay deep in the loving and provident thought of Jehovah, while long yet this continent lay as deep in the bosom of a shoreless sea;

if American independence still was in His loving purpose when he lifted the granite-hearted Laurentian Vee out of the waves, like Ararat above the flood; if American independence still was His care, while, in the silent and solitary geologic ages, whose seconds were measured by the revolutions of distant Neptune, He shaped and fashioned with happy industry this meridional continent to become the future home of His children long yet unborn; if American independence still lay upon Jehovah's trestle-board, or ever yet there was a manchild upon the Earth, He stored this then forming land with coal and salt and lime and iron and nickel, with tin and zinc and lead, with copper and silver and gold, and in His mud laboratory beneath the waters of an interior sea, He distilled an exhaustless supply of oil and gas, and sealed it hermetically away for the use and comfort of His children long yet to appear upon the scene; if at length, in the long fullness of time, he brought American independence into experimental and prophetic existence, when races of mankind, whose origin and history long since have perished, here lived and died and passed away uncowed by foreign domination and unexploited by foreign greed, to be succeeded by the red, roving sons of freedom; if, after a whelming tidal wave of European aggression and tyranny and robbery had submerged the continent and again had receded into the political depths, washing the continent clean for a new and better American independence, more generous, more beneficent, more hospitable, Jehovah Himself has superintended its political erection upon this continent never to be demolished, but to shelter, protect and bless His children for a thousand generations, what is man, the fleeting

insect of a moment, to withstand and rebuke the eternal counsels of Jehovah?

Ever widening and deepening, you have seen American independence flow on from Cape Horn between the spreading coasts, submerging the pampas of the La Plata and the Amazon and the forest plains of the Orinoco and the Magdalena, crossing the Gulf and its island palisades, flowing still on with mightier volume, overtopping the Alleghenies and coming at length to you. This is that stream which Ezekiel saw and traced up to the gate of the temple, and which the seer of Patmos followed still on and up to the very throne of God. Everything liveth where the sweet waters of this holy river come. Think you that you can stop its onward course? Accept it, and it will bless your land and you, like the smile of God. Resist it, and it will overwhelm you and sweep you away, like the slaveborn generations of the children of men in the days of Noah, to make room for the freeborn family of the sons of God.

* * * *

And you too, our brother farmers of the big and breezy West, what shall we say to you? Together we have ploughed our fields and drilled our grain. Together we have reaped our harvests. The only strife between us has been the happy and Heaven-crowned rivalry as to which should become the greater blessing to mankind. In the swift days and nights of the recent geologic past, when, with the warm waters of the equatorial Atlantic, running swift and free from the Gulf to the Arctic, Jehovah ploughed out this gigantic trough, and, later in an inland sea, spread this glorious, wind-swept plain, more than two

thousand miles across from the northern Appalachian chain to the Rocky mountains, every foot of it fertile as the garden of the Lord, He meant it all, from North to South, from East to West, for the home of freemen, no less than for the granary of mankind.

In the fulness of time, in these last days, from many lands, He has brought us to live together in peace upon it, and to become co-workers with Him in feeding the human race. And so in us all the nations of the Earth are blessed. Are we not one in our appointed task, one in our common destiny? Jehovah hath erected no barrier between us. Our confine is imaginary, an invisible line in the viewless air. We cross it and re-cross it as freely and as unwittingly as the birds in the sky. We fain would be brothers with you for a thousand years, in the happy fellowship of common toil mid rain and wind and sunshine beneath the open sky.

But how *can* we remain brothers, or even friends, with those who are seeking to carry our common American destinies into European and Asiatic complications, and into foreign perils? We love you; but better we love our God and the continent which He hath given us. How can we forget that, of your own free will, you are choosing to become an alien and hostile people upon the continent of your nativity or adoption? All the rest of us, from Lake Superior to Cape Horn, are American freemen: you choose to be, and to remain, European bondmen. We are free citizens of free nations on a free continent: upon American soil, you kneel to an alien monarch, and supplicate a foreign throne.

You are worthy of a higher and nobler allegiance. Why don't you rise up, and assume that separate and

equal station among the nations of mankind to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle you? Why don't you become as American as your soil? Why don't you stand up in the divine right of your own manhood, with brow bared to the free winds that sweep at will for a thousand miles across this treeless plain, and become as free as they? Why don't you take out your continental naturalization papers, and cease to be an alien government upon American soil?

Oh, it strikes a sick repugnance to our hearts to see you gather under a foreign, an alien, and a hostile flag, the flag of the enemy and oppressor of mankind. It is red with the blood of slaughtered patriots of every land and clime of Earth. We love our flag; for, under God, it is ours. How can you love the flag which is not yours but England's? To us our flag is an uplifting inspiration, the beautiful symbol of a free nation, which knows no king but Jehovah, and has no greater desire than to be made a blessing to all the peoples of the Earth. To you Americans the alien flag of England must be a degrading fetich, a proclamation of dependence, a sign of submission, an acknowledgment of servitude, a confession of inferiority, a demand for homage, an emblem of debasement. We love our flag, Jehovah's flag and ours; and we rally to it to defend it. You rally to England's flag—Oh, the pity and the shame of it, my brothers—to be defended by it. What could harm you, if you should stand alone with Jehovah, and under none but Him? There are seven millions of you, as brave men as tread the Earth: you deserve a braver nationhood. Look at little Haiti and San Domingo.

Oh, why don't you make a flag of your own?

Why don't you join the triumphant American army of Jehovah, God of Hosts, strike hands with this happy Western brotherhood of freedom, and march with the free republics of America?

* * * *

And ye of British Columbia—Oh, I would I could say, ye of American Columbia,—whose mountains gaze upon the coast, and the coast upon the sea, 'tis a far cry from Vancouver to the British Isles.

We face a common danger: ours must be a common defense. The Anglo-Japanese international plunderbund would make of the North Atlantic another St. George's Channel, and of the North Pacific another Gulf of Japan. This Anglo-Japanese plunderbund would make of California, Oregon and Washington another Corea, and of British Columbia and Alaska another Manchuria.

No continental coast ever has been defended successfully by a fleet; nor ever will be. Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow. For you and for us, it is God and our own strong arm. He never meant this glorious continental coast to be ruled by Japan's, nor by England's, distant, little islands. For this North-American Pacific slope awaits, please God, a destiny as great and as benign as the floods of the Columbia and of the Yukon are great among the rivers of the Earth. Our common coast of our common continent is too great, too rich, too precious to become, or to remain, an appanage of a little island five thousand miles away to the West, or to the East. By the rugged seam of the Rocky mountains, Jehovah hath sewed our coast and our common destiny to this American continent. Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

Think you that you could be attacked, and we not leap to your defense? We know no dividing line between you and us. To us forty-nine and fifty-four are only map-terms of no significance politically, commercially, socially nor territorially. Higher than political relations, stronger than political ties, ours is the kinship of the North-American Pacific coast. As well try to plow a dividing furrow in the Pacific as to erect artificial political barriers between us dwellers by the Western sea. We will not believe that you will, that you can, turn traitor to America, and seek to link this Pacific coast with the accursed Anglo-Japanese plunderbund. We depend upon you to prevent it: we cannot believe that you will fail yourselves and us.

* * * *

Listen, Canadians all, from Vancouver to the straits of Belle Isle: Listen, as if it were a message from Heaven to you.

As possessors of free will, God gives to each nation the choice of its destiny. Jehovah has given you the choice of yours. As you shall decide this question of imperial federation, so fix you your fate, and that of your children, and of your children's children through all the future tides of Time.

But not the fate of Canada. Canada is not yours, but Jehovah's, whose is the Earth and the fulness thereof. You and we and all mankind are but His tenants at will. God made Canada American; and American, please God, Canada will remain.

If you shall decide to link your national destiny with that of England as an active partner in a British imperial federation, Jehovah will dispossess you, as unworthy of America; and will give Canada to another

nation, a free nation, owing allegiance to none but Him, and bringing forth the fruits of righteousness.

* * * *

As to Mr. Barker's three Canadian propositions quoted above, little comment is required.

To the first, it may be replied that, not since England and France, in 1859-60, combined against the United States, and through five long years strove to rive apart this republic, has been a European coalition against this country. And that itself was not a European coalition: it was an Anglo-Napoleonic coalition, from which Russia, Prussia and the other European nations held aloof. England never has refused to join a European coalition against us; and it is to be hoped that she never will have the chance. For more than a dozen years England has been in an Anglo-Japanese coalition against the United States; which fact we ever keep *alta in mente repositum*.

To Mr. Barker's second Canadian proposition, it may be replied that, however difficult the task of conquering Canada, the United States would undertake it, sooner than see North America linked up with England in an active federation, which would import European and Asiatic wars into this continent.

To Mr. Barker's third Canadian proposition, it may be replied that that is England's concern, not ours. As Jehovah shall enable us, we will endeavor to meet any foreign force that England shall be able to recruit against us.

* * * *

That concludes our examination of Mr. Barker's article. Little more remains to be said.

And after these things, I saw another angel come down from heaven having great power; and the

Earth was lightened with his glory. And he cried mightily with a strong voice saying:

Britain the Great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and the cage of every unclean and hateful bird. For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication; and the kings of the Earth have committed fornication with her; and the merchants of the Earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies.

And I heard another voice from heaven saying:

Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven; and God hath remembered her iniquities. Render unto her even as she hath rendered, and double unto her the double according to her works. In the cup which she hath mingled, mingle to her double: how much soever she hath glorified herself and waxed wanton, so much give her of torment and mourning.

Her plagues shall come in one day, death and mourning and famine, and she shall be utterly burned with fire; for strong is Jehovah who hath judged her. * * * And the merchants of the Earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more. * * * The merchants of these things who were made rich by her shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and mourning and saying, Alas, Alas, that great city, that was clothed in linen and fine purple and scarlet, and was decked with gold and precious stones and pearls. For in one hour so great riches shall come to nought.

And every one that saileth anywhither, and mariners, and as many as gain their living by the sea,

stood afar off, and cried out when they looked upon the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like to the great city? And they cast dust upon their heads and cried, weeping and mourning, saying, Alas, Alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness; for in one hour is she made desolate. Rejoice over her ye saints and ye apostles and ye prophets; for God hath avenged you upon her.

And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea saying, Thus, with a mighty fall, shall that great city, Britain, be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all; for thy merchants were the great men of the Earth; for with thy sorcery were all the nations deceived. And in her was found the blood of prophets and of saints and of all that were slain upon the Earth.

* * * *

Shall the United States make a defensive alliance with England against all the rest of mankind? Jehovah forbid. My soul, come not into her secret; and to her assembly, mine honor, be not thou joined. Instruments of cruelty are in her habitation. Cursed be her anger; for it was fierce. And her wrath; for it was cruel. She shall be divided and scattered.

* * * *

From Thibet's holy mountain,
From India's coral strand,
Where Africa's sunny fountain
Rolls down her golden sand,
From Burmah's mighty river,
From Egypt's palmy plain,
They cry, O God, deliver
Our land from England's chain.

Oh, let their cry of anguish
Come up into thine ears.
Attend to where they languish
And weep with bitter tears.
Oh, snap the hateful fetter.
Oh, break the galling chain.
Release the prisoned debtor
To face thy skies again.

In many a templed city
The Hindu makes his moan.
The Moslem's plea for pity
Besieges Allah's throne.
Make bare thine arm of power
As in the days of old.
Abase the haughty Giaour:
Rebuke his lust of gold.

Again, in bright resplendence,
Thy glory shall we see,
In India's independence
And Egypt's jubilee.
Through Chaldee hill and valley,
Where ancient nations teemed,
Oh, with Thy people rally
Till Persia be redeemed.

Oh, drive the alien raider
From Afric's sunny shore.
Repel the fierce invader,
And love thy land once more.
Arise, Thy foes to scatter,
Jehovah, God of Hosts.
Their armies break and shatter,
And drive them off the coasts.

Oh, banish from the ocean
The hated battle fleet,
The bloodflow and commotion
Where warring navies meet.
Oh, let Thy peace and blessing
Extend from shore to shore.
Each land its own possessing,
Let nations war no more.

O Allah, Jove, Jehovah,
By whate'er name acknown,
Upon Thy Terra nova,
Establish Thou Thy throne;
Where peace and righteous order
And love to God and man
Prevaieth to the border,
Beersheba unto Dan.

And to Thy name be praises
And glory without end,
While heaven her dome upraises
And skies above us bend.
We'll pray Thee and implore Thee,
And strive Thy will to do,
We'll love Thee and adore Thee
Eternal ages through.