

## **CONTENTS**

**INTRODUCTION TO THE CARLETON LIBRARY EDITION, *xiii***

**PREFACE TO THE ORIGINAL EDITION, *xxv***

**1: THE PATTERNS OF THE CONTINENT, 1**

The Canadian Shield and the American middle west; North American topography; avenues to the interior; climatic peculiarities; rainfall and vegetation; the Canadian-American Area; its Eastern Region and its resources; the Central Region; the Plains; the Pacific Region; variation in the pace of development.

**2: THE PEOPLES AND THEIR RIVALRIES, 1492-1763, 14**

The aborigines and their regional cultures; the early migrants from Europe; from bullion to fish, fur, settlement, and penetration of northern North America; Champlain vs. Hudson; the Hudson-St. Lawrence competition; development of the Hudson Bay gateway to the interior; development of the Mississippi gateway; international rivalries for the mid-continental Indian trade; competition and conflict between New France and the British colonies; the wars for mastery in North America.

**3: DIVERSITIES UNDER ONE FLAG, 1763, 32**

Victory and new problems of empire; some general North American characteristics; diversities; the North American French in contrast with the British colonists; disunity and sectionalism in the British colonies; the routes of migration and expansion; rivalries in fur trade and fisheries; obstacles to imperial consolidation; fiscal policy and mercantilistic control; the centres of colonial defiance; the regions of acceptance; the currency problem; the problem of the trans-Appalachian west; the anomalies presented by French colonists; the demand for colonial autonomy; the parliamentary upheaval in Great Britain.

**4: THE GRAND PARTITION, 1763-1791, 50**

Faction in the British Parliament; study and statesmanship in the colonies; the Quebec Act; the New Englanders of Nova Scotia; Newfoundland; cores and margins of revolution; the War of American Independence; the peace nego-

tations; the territorial division; free trade ideas and the Indian trade of the interior; British retention of the Western Posts; American violation of obligations to the loyalists; the fisheries and the West Indies; the equivocal behaviour of Vermont; American and British constitution-making; the American structure; the Maritime colonies; the Canadas; the American, French, and Irish revolutions evoke reaction in British imperial policy.

**5: OCEANIC AND CONTINENTAL CONFLICTS, 1783-1814, 73**

The persistence of North American problems in British mercantilistic policy; sea power and the imperial economy; the intention to subordinate the United States; the inferiority of the British colonies; the Anglo-American contest, 1783-1803; oceanic conflict; the anomaly of Anglo-American lend-lease; American migrations inundate the Canadas; American expansion into the mid-continent; the clash over the Indians' hunting grounds and trade; Jay's Treaty and Wayne's campaign; the Louisiana Purchase and American domestic schisms; British indifference and Montreal enterprise in the interior; Jay's Treaty and the inauguration of international arbitration; the Napoleonic wars and Jefferson's embargo invigorate British North America; oceanic and continental causes of the War of 1812; the character and the course of the war; peace and *status quo ante*.

**6: A NEW ALIGNMENT OF FORCES, 1815-1823, 94**

Altered circumstances and ambitions; American expansionism turns south; the Fisheries Convention of 1818; American victory in the West Indian trade; narrowing of the colonial timber trade; world-wide contests for the fur trade of the interior and of the Pacific Coast; Anglo-American partition of the west in 1818; Russian, Spanish, British, and American maritime activities on the Pacific Coast; the Nootka affair and the Anglo-Spanish settlement; American discovery of the Columbia River; Montreal launches Mackenzie across the continent in 1793; Lewis and Clark cross with Jefferson's support in 1805; Astor's world design; its mutilation by war and Montreal enterprise; monopolistic success within the United States and exclusion of the Canadians; the Rush-Bagot Agreement; Montreal surrenders the fur trade to the Red River Settle-

ment and Hudson Bay; Montreal and New York compete for the trade of the Great Lakes Basin; canal projects; completion of the continental partition; the basis of Anglo-American understanding; the Monroe Doctrine; Jefferson's prophetic view of Anglo-American co-operation.

**7: SEA, FORESTS, WATERWAYS, 1815-1850, 112**

The changing outlook of an industrialized Great Britain in its interaction with the lives of North Americans; free trade; the export of capital; the rise of the Maritimes; the enterprises of New England and the Maritimes; the development of wooden boats and ships; the nursery of North American lumbering; settlement of the Maine-New Brunswick boundary; onslaughts on the forests of the interior; New York and Pennsylvania; the Ottawa Valley; the lower Great Lakes Basin; the wooden house and growing cities; the lumbermen's solution of the transportation problem; the canal-building era; freshwater shipping and the steamboat; rival transportation routes in the Canadian-American region; railroad beginnings.

**8: PIONEERS AND DEMOCRATS, 1815-1850, 127**

Immigration, the expansion of settlement, and their rigours; the agricultural frontier; routes of immigration and migration; anti-Americanism in Upper Canada; the leap across the empty interior to Oregon; the glorification of the frontier as the touchstone of Americanism; the inadequacy of the frontier to explain the growth of nineteenth-century democracy; the origins and triumph of American democracy and social reform; transatlantic give-and-take; the American spoils system; the time lag and other obstacles to democracy and social reform in the British North American colonies; the Canadian rebellions and Durham's mission; the achievement of colonial self-government; the crisis of 1837-1842 along the international boundary; the Ashburton-Webster settlement; Fort Blunder.

**9: FREE TRADE, RECIPROCITY, CIVIL WAR, 1840-1865, 150**

The impact of canal competition and British free trade in Canada; the Montreal Riots and the Annexation Manifesto of 1849; swift retreat from these excesses and the quest for reciprocity with the United States; Merritt, Keefer, and Andrews; the American attitudes and interests; President

x - NORTH ATLANTIC TRIANGLE

Pierce acts in 1853; British policy; the provincial interests; the passage of the Treaty; its terms; Canadian tariff increases on manufactures excite American discontent; the Civil War; British North American condemnation of slavery; the *Trent* affair; general friendliness toward the North; the relation between emigration and enlistment; breaches of neutrality arouse American resentment and reprisals.

10: TRANSCONTINENTAL CANADA, 1865-1871, 169

Expansive American strength, British respect, and colonial fears; the trans-Mississippi west, gold discoveries along the Pacific coast, and the purchase of Alaska; settlement railroads and the first transcontinental combination; American protectionist annexationism; American toleration of Fenian threats to British North America; fear of American annexationism promotes the federation of the British North American colonies; the activities of Seward, Sumner, President Grant, and others; the gradual and obscure reversal of British anti-imperialism as it affected Canadian federation; the attitudes of the separate colonies; British pressure pushes federation through; its expansion, 1870-1873; hopes for, and faith in, the new nation.

11: CORNERSTONE OF TRIUNE UNDERSTANDING, 1871-1878, 187

Canada's vulnerability in the face of Little Englandism and Anglo-American tension; Canadian strategy: the fisheries as fulcrum for commercial concessions; Fish and Sumner; Sir John Rose as the man behind the scenes; Fish takes the initiative; the International Joint Commission; Macdonald's dubious position; the construction of the Treaty of Washington; its terms; Britain compensates Canada for her Fenian claims against the United States; prolonged conflicts over carrying out the Treaty provisions; reciprocity rejected again; the U.S.A. denounces the fisheries provisions; the foundation of Anglo-American understanding; Canada delimits American Manifest Destiny and cultivates the revival of British imperialism; Anglo-American understanding henceforth the keystone of Canadian foreign policy.

12: WESTWARD THE COURSE OF EMPIRE, 1850-1900, 205

The westward agricultural migrants are halted by the Great

Plains; lode mining and the railroad in the Rockies; the Sod-House Frontier; a long period of trial and error in the United States spares Canada; the role of the railways; international railway contests; the Indian problem; the extermination of the buffalo; the Cattle Kingdom; barbed-wire and windmills; the problems of dry-farming and short growing seasons; mining, lumbering, and specialized agriculture in the Rocky Mountain region; the influence of commodity prices; emigration signalizes Canada's grim ordeal.

**13: THE MATERIALS OF A TRIANGLE, 1896-1940, 230**

Economic expansion after 1896; the unparalleled interlocking of the American, British, and Canadian economies; Atlantic and North American migrations; railroad multiplication along continental and international lines; the importance of Great Lakes shipping; wheat and other agriculture; iron and steel; hydro-electric power; the mineral exploitation of the Canadian Shield; American large-scale industry invades Canada; the pattern of international investment; the triangular movements of goods and money; tariffs fail and interdependence finally triumphs in the reciprocity treaties of 1935 and 1938; the characteristic Canadian-American exchange of goods.

**14: A TRIANGLE TAKES FORM, 1880-1917, 250**

The growth of Anglo-American mutual respect and understanding; the rise of Canada to nationhood; Anglo-American clashes during an imperialistic period; the Bering Sea case; the failure of the Bayard-Chamberlain Treaty; the Venezuelan Affair; the South African and Spanish-American wars; Great Britain yields on the Panama Canal; Canada's subordinate role; prosperity and confidence affect Canada's long quest for commercial reciprocity with the United States; the significance of the Alaska Boundary Award in the triangular relationship; its connection with Canada's assertion of Dominion Status; the French Canadians and Laurier; Canadian-American relations and the permanent International Joint Commission; the fisheries arbitration at The Hague; Canada's rejection of the American bid for reciprocity; Canada's rejection of the British bid for naval aid; Canada's entry into the War of 1914; the entry of the United States.

**15: NORTH AMERICAN WITHDRAWAL, 1918-1932, 279**

Canadian-American friction; Canada's status at the Peace Conference and in the League of Nations; the British position; the destruction of Wilson and American isolationism; Quebec and Canada's refusal of international commitments; Canada's share in supplanting the Anglo-Japanese Alliance by multilateral Pacific agreements; the United States revises the Monroe Doctrine; Canada uses her independent status to avoid external responsibilities; the impact of American tariff policy on Canada; Canadian pressure, British distress, and the Ottawa Agreements; the distorted economic triangle; extensive mingling of the American and Canadian peoples; the situation at the time of its stoppage about 1930; the sway of isolationism.

**16: MAELSTROM, 1932-1942, 309**

The perplexing triangular interplay during the prelude to war; some social aspects; trade unionism; Roosevelt's New Deal in its impact on Canada; the Reciprocal Trade Treaties Act restores the economic triangle; the Manchurian Crisis; retreat to the American, British, and Canadian storm cellars; the special problem of French Canada; the Abyssinian Crisis; Pan-Americanism; the Axis and Munich; Poland and war; Roosevelt's offers to protect Canada and the processes involved in Canada's decision to declare war; the efforts of the United States to remain neutral; their gradual breakdown; the panic of 1940; sales of munitions to rearm Great Britain; vigorous Pan-American action; the Canadian-American Permanent Joint Defense Board; destroyers for bases; the election of 1940 and the protection of American shipping; Lend-Lease; the Hyde Park Agreement; triangular economic integration for war; Japan strikes and the war becomes general; the continuing problems of the North Atlantic Triangle.

**APPENDIX: BIBLIOGRAPHY, 337**

**INDEX, 358**