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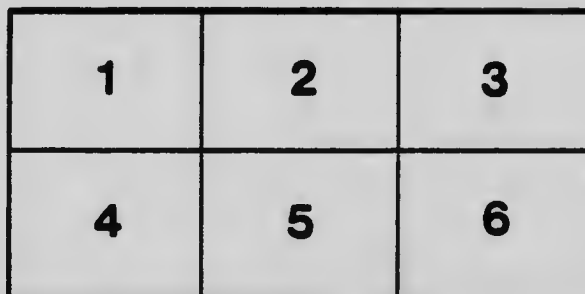
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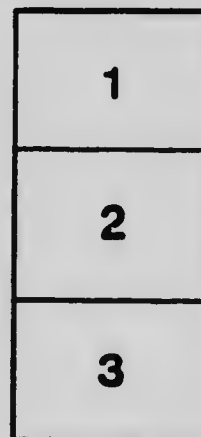
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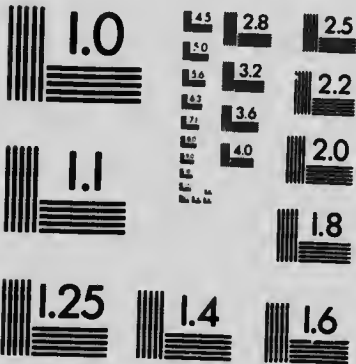
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“ Our  
Country<sup>(2)</sup>  
and its  
Future.”

**SPEECH BY**

<sup>(1)</sup>  
The Honourable Wallace Nesbitt, K.C.,  
At the Annual Banquet of the Chatham  
Board of Trade, January 9th, 1911.

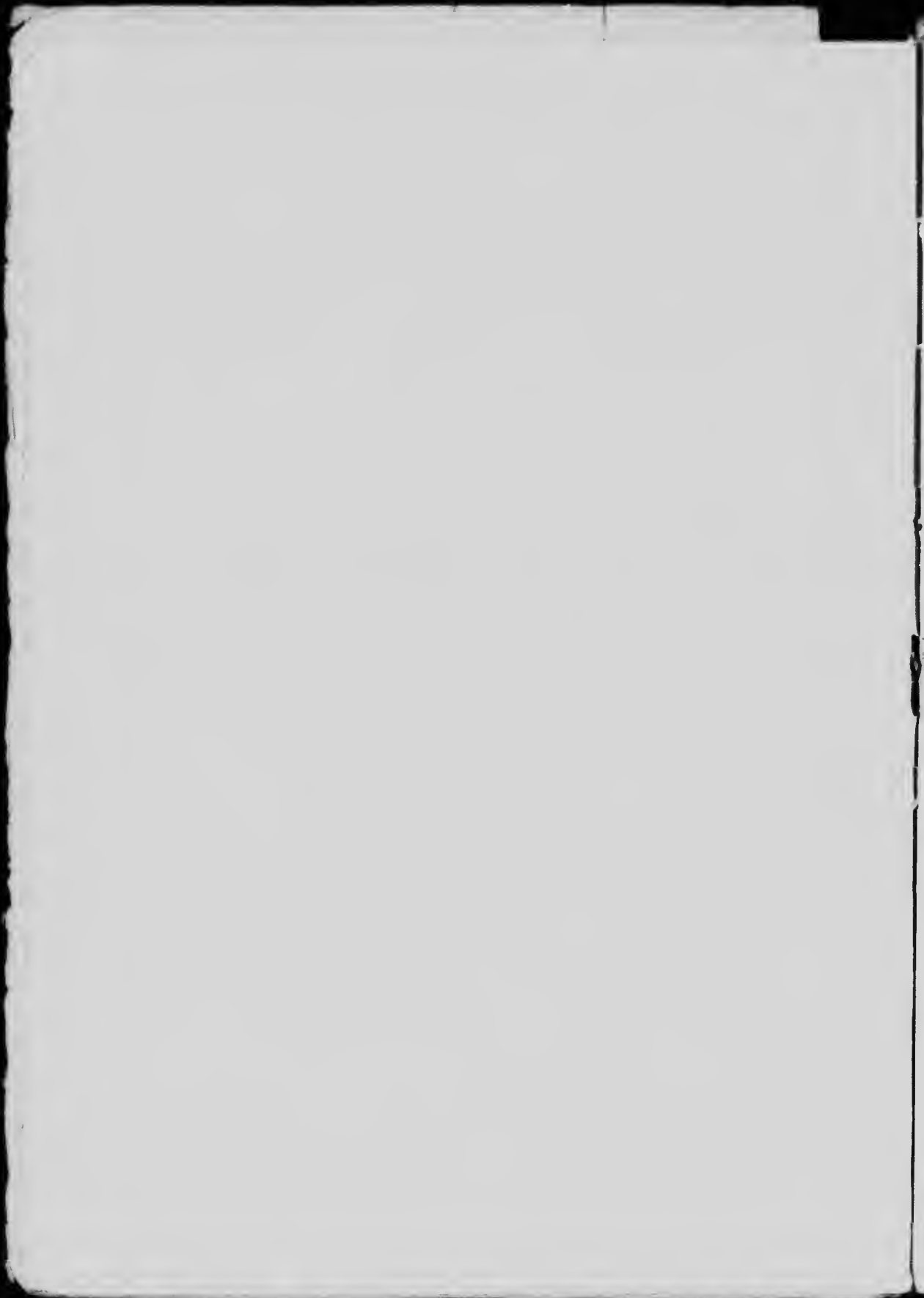
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*Our Country and It's Future*



## Our Country and Its Future

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**T**HE fatuity of Louis XV. and his Pompadour made the victory of Wolfe over the gallant Montcalm and his followers possible! That victory gave us Canada with its seventy thousand of a population, scattered along its chain of vast waters and through its interminable forests! More than one clear eye saw, however, that the triumph of English arms meant the loss, sooner or later, of the southern colonies to England. So long as an active and enterprising enemy threatened the colonial borders they could not break with the Mother Country, because they needed her help. I venture to say that had Wolfe failed to scale the heights of Abraham there would have been Revolutionary War and probably no independence. America owes much to the imbecility of Louis XV. and the foolish vanity and dislikes of his mistress, which threw France into the arms of Austria and brought on the Seven Years War.

When Sir George Carleton sailed for England in 1774 and obtained the passage of the Quebec Act guaranteeing the French settlers their language, laws and religion, we have the next act in the great drama which was beginning to unfold itself upon the new world's stage. Critics, at the present time, of the problem of two languages and separate laws within the nation, must always remember that there can be but little doubt but that for that concession taking the form of a constitutional compact in later years there would in all probability not have been any Canada, as the then settlers would probably have thrown in their lot with the thirteen States. The Revolutionary War brought, as an incident, an attack upon Quebec under Montgomery, an attack which was successfully resisted, but which also brought into play national antagonism. There is no treatment for the body politic like the blood poultice of war! Nothing else produces a national feeling so quickly and keeps it alive so long. Immediately following the Revolutionary War came the influx of the U. E. Loyalists into the western part of Canada and the two Provinces, Lower and Upper Canada, began their existence.

The War of 1812-14 again aroused the national spirit, and French and English fought for the same flag and country, and their gallant defence amply testified to the fact that they were both true sons of warlike sires. It is not in the spirit of boastfulness I make the statement that American arms have only met with con-

tinuous reversal when attacking the liberties of Canada. As Canadians of to-day, let us say "hats off!" to those splendid old fighters, the French seigneur and habitant and U. E. Loyalist!

Until 1840 it was a struggle such as has seldom been witnessed. People at the present day would find it impossible to realize the stern warfare necessary to be waged by our forefathers for an existence in this country. The pathless forests, the long winters, the immense distances, the dearth of markets, made anything like material prosperity impossible.

The increase in population and wealth was very slow, for the reason that transportation with heavy freights for any great distance, necessarily had to be carried on by water. Transportation by teams, which before the introduction of the railway system was the only means of inland transportation, was too expensive to admit of the cultivation of farms or of the building up of manufacturing enterprises in places even a little remote from the water-courses. A team of horses or a pair of oxen could not move more than one ton of freight over the average country road a greater distance than fifteen or twenty miles in a day. A reasonable calculation made shows that a team would make its return journey in half that time, and it would involve a cost of transportation of a day and a half for a man and a team, or say \$4.50. Or, reckoning 33 bushels of wheat to the ton, that would mean it would cost 14c a bushel to move wheat to the water from a farm twenty miles away. Mr. Brown, the President of the New York Central, has recently stated that the cost of transportation by teams from Buffalo to the Hudson River previous to the opening of the Erie Canal was \$100 per ton, which was reduced to \$11 a ton on the opening of the canal, or, say 34c per bushel of grain. You will see, therefore, that the cost of moving grain from a farm twenty miles from, say, Lake Ontario, to the lake and down Lake Ontario say to Montreal, or twenty miles from the St. Lawrence and down the St. Lawrence to Quebec, would mean practically 50c a bushel, which was about what the grain was worth at that time at the river point.

There was, therefore, as I said, little in the way of material prosperity, and a great struggle was going on both in Upper and Lower Canada for what is known as "Responsible Government," which ultimately ended, after the Durham report, in the Union of Upper and Lower Canada. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, it is interesting to note the view of Wm. Lyon Mackenzie at that time about the future of Canada and its relations with the United

States. It would be difficult for the most lukewarm adherent of British Connection in this country to cavil at the considered view of William Lyon Mackenzie upon such a point. After his residence in the United States for eleven years, a residence, remember, which he was compelled to take to save his life, he thus speaks of his hopes for the future of the country which had cast him forth. I quote from a communication addressed by him to Earl Grey, at the Colonial Office, on February 3rd, 1849,

“A course of careful observation during the last eleven years has fully satisfied me that had the violent movement in which I and many others were engaged on both sides of the Niagara proved successful, success would have deeply injured the people of Canada, whom I then believed I was serving at great risks. \* \* \* There is not a living man on this continent who more sincerely desires that *British government in Canada* may long continue and give a home and a welcome to the old countrymen, than myself. Did I say so, or ask an amnesty seven or eight years ago till under the convictions of more recent experience? No; I studied earnestly the workings of the institutions before me and the manners of the people and looked at what had been done until few men, even natives, had been better schooled. The result is, not a desire to attain power and influence here, but to help, if I can and all I can, the country of my birth.”

Remember, this is written by a man who had been a constant and most careful observer of the workings of Congress and of the Legislature and of the civic life in the United States for some eleven years, and are the matured reflections of a man who owed nothing except bitter enmity to the people of Canada. If British connection was desirable then, how much more so now, under the progressive and favouring legislation since!

For some years after the union of Upper and Lower Canada times were very little improved, and many of the greatest minds in the country turned towards annexation as the true destiny of Canada. The adoption of free trade in England and the doing away of the Colonial Preference was another severe blow to the colonists, and Lower and Upper Canada felt the loss of what little market they had very keenly. It was at this time that Lord Elgin turned for relief to a treaty with the United States by which the natural products of Canada could obtain a free market there, and in all natural products, fish and lumber he obtained the benefit of the United States' markets. The result was almost like the waving of a magician's wand over the land! Our exports leaped in twelve years from two millions to over forty millions to that one market alone. Trade expanded in every direction. Railroads began to be built. Projects for other roads were entertained, and so far as young Canada was concerned, "Hope sprang exulting on triumphant

wing!" The abrogation of the treaty undoubtedly dampened many of our projects, but the results which were hoped for by the statesmen of the United States, namely, that we would be compelled to seek a union, were destined to be unfulfilled. I cannot refrain here from pausing to bring to your attention the remarkably prophetic vision of a great Canadian and a great American at that time. When Sir Francis Hincks was pressing upon the Chairman of the Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington, the desirability of trade relations between the United States and Canada, he said,

"I am, moreover, firmly persuaded that should the Canadian trade be forced into other channels, as seems not improbable, it will then be estimated at its true value by the people of the United States."

And the Honourable W. H. Seward, in 1857, advised his countrymen as follows:

"The policy of the United States is to propitiate and secure the alliance of Canada while it is yet young and incurious of its future. But on the other hand the policy which the United States actually pursues is the infatuated one of spurning and rejecting vigorous, perennial and ever-growing Canada. I shall not live to see it, but the man is already born who will live to see the United States mourn over its stupendous folly."

As if to make certain our destiny towards nationhood came the Fenian Raid, and all young Canada sprang to arms in defence of her borders. Nothing from the point of view of a national feeling could have been more auspicious than this raid, sympathised in by the United States Government, as was felt in Canada at that time.

Let me briefly glance at what followed for many years and solidified this feeling and put an end to any notion of annexation or of continental unity.

Sir John Macdonald negotiated the Treaty of Washington in 1871, a treaty which was put an end to in 1885. This treaty so far as we were concerned gave the benefit of the American market to fish, but was practically made a nullity by a ruling that although fish under the treaty were free, the cans in which the fish were shipped were subject to duty. The canals were also made free, but under another ruling Lake Champlain, which had always been treated as part of the canal system leading to the Hudson, was held not to be so, and we lost all benefit which we had hoped to obtain for our shipping to the Hudson, although we were compelled to continue the freedom of our canal system connecting with the St. Lawrence, to the United States vessels. In 1883, also, they an-

nounced the bonding privilege as no longer extant, but railway connections were so intermingled that nothing has ever been done in that direction. Then came the Behring Sea controversy and the Alaskan controversy, and as affecting our colonial neighbor, Newfoundland, the Bond-Hay controversy, with all of which, without entering into the pros and cons of the discussions, the feeling was engendered throughout Canada that while our relations personally with all our American friends were of the warmest character, dealing with them as a government was unsatisfactory, and the result was that in the Spring of the year 1910, when President Taft was called upon to rule as to whether the maximum or minimum tariff should be applicable to Canada, many of our newspapers and many of our prominent public men and merchants were advocates of the doctrine of "stand-pat" and have a tariff war. Wiser and better counsels prevailed, and certain concessions were made which enabled the President to declare the minimum tariff in force as against Canada. I think he would probably have been compelled to declare the maximum tariff in force no matter what his goodwill might have been towards Canada, because of the negotiation by us of the French Treaty. The American point of view as at first urged was that while they were quite willing to recognize the preference as between the Mother Country and sister over-seas dominions, they could not recognize a preference to another foreign nation as not discriminating against them. This position, however, could not be maintained, as France purchased any concession with a concession and so no discrimination existed. The difficulty was happily bridged over. A tariff war, I think, would have been most disastrous, and I have before this ventured to say that the very people who were clamouring for the stand-pat doctrine would have been the first to have cursed the Government had they been unwise enough to have engaged in a tariff war. The tying-up of moneys and credits would have been enormous, and the dislocation of trade might have set us back another ten years. It would have been a case of cutting off your own nose to spite your face!

I go back now for a moment to what had been occurring in Canada in the way of trade since the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty. The Intercolonial had been built, linking up the Maritime Provinces with Montreal and the West; the Canadian Pacific had bound with bands of iron Vancouver to Halifax, and just here I desire to mention two things that are, perhaps, not generally known. In preparing to address you to-night, I had occasion to go through the Parliamentary papers from 1819 to 1871 relating to

the Hudson's Bay Company, particularly the voluminous record of testimony taken before a Parliamentary Committee in 1857 on the Isbester petition, as it is called. Chief Justice Draper represented Canada. I cannot describe to you the extraordinary interest any of you would take at the present day in reading the evidence given then as to the character of the country north and west of Lake Superior, its climate, soil, etc., and the views expressed as to its unfitness for settlement of any kind; also the extraordinary hardships endured by the early settlers in the east. Then I think was broached for the first time the scheme of linking up the east with the Pacific (the Canadian Pacific Railway dream in the hatching). The scheme was put forward rather as one for the Imperial authorities to be at the expense of. Mr. Gladstone sat on the Committee, and I do not think I am doing the memory of that gentleman an injustice in saying that a reasonable inference is that his view was that the natural trade route for all the country west of Superior was south to Chicago, and he would not have looked unfavourably on John Bright's picture of one continent, one flag, for all the great West! Gladstone and Bright were two great men, but Canada as an overseas dominion I think they would willingly have seen sever connection with the Mother Country. It is not the first, and perhaps may not be the last time, that the over-seas dominions have not obtained that importance in the eye of some great English statesman with a large development of what he is pleased to call philanthropy and Christianity which takes the form of being ready to sacrifice his kinsmen beyond the seas to the fetish of peace at any price!

The next incident is during the building of the Canadian Pacific. As you all know, a time arrived when the very chairs upon which the directors sat were mortgaged; resources were exhausted; credit was gone, and the government of the day, presided over by Sir John Macdonald, was notified that the enterprise must fail unless immediate relief and assistance were given. I desire here to say that, unbounded as my admiration is, in common with that of all other Canadians, for that great statesman, Sir John Macdonald, his courage failed him. Bankruptcy of the Canadian Pacific Railway meant, I believe, the ruin of the Bank of Montreal and the great capitalists connected with it. It meant the severance of British Columbia and I believe with that severance the secession of Manitoba and the whole North-West, and for a day the destiny of Canada trembled in the balance. A caucus of the Conservative party was held, and that great constructive statesman and much-



maligned politician, but the ablest of them all, in my opinion, Sir Charles Tupper, aided by the hard-headed, splendid Irish-Canadian, Sir Frank Smith, almost physically bullied the project through caucus and afterwards in the House, and, to my mind, is due to them the credit of saving the North-West and British Columbia to Confederation and all the benefits that have flowed from it! You will remember, too, the opposition that they had at that time from some of the greatest men the country has ever produced, who declared that it was a wasting of the credit of the country, that the road would never pay for the axle grease used on the wheels, and that those iron bands which I have referred to as linking up the Atlantic and the Pacific would be two streaks of rust across the limitless prairie. It required not only courage and resolution and tenacity of purpose, but it required an optimism and a gift of imagination granted to few, and if I am glad of nothing else, I am glad to be able to-night before you to pay this deserved tribute during his life to that great Canadian, Sir Charles Tupper! I have said to you, I am not in politics, but it is a poor spirit that will not give its meed of praise to the men who so benefitted the country!

Just here let me say that those who see great difficulties in the scheme of Empire should reflect how few and small those difficulties are compared with those which the Fathers of Confederation faced before 1867. The obstacles of distance, means of communication, differing interests, and, indeed, of language, were far greater than railways, steamships and cable have made for the separated dominions now. O ye of little faith, take example from the courage and tenacity of Sir Charles, and set your ideals high and let your hope have wing!

We acquired Manitoba, Prince Rupert's Land, as it was called, and the North-west of Canada in 1869, and carved out the Yukon in 1898, and the Province of Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. The vastness of the area now comprised in Canada may be appreciated by saying that Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Norway, Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland and Greece occupy an aggregate of about a million and a half square miles. Canada has an area of 3,653,946 square miles, and while there is some justice in the observation made by a distinguished American to a Canadian friend of mine recently in Paris, whom he took for a fellow-countryman and asked what part of the great republic he came from, and being told that he came from the greater republic to the north of it, said, "Well, I reckon you can have the ice house!" yet the southern fringe has

only been touched upon, and in the North-West the Grand Trunk Pacific, now under construction, opens out at one point alone a wheat belt of a thousand miles in length and three hundred miles in width. The Province of Tobolsk in Siberia, which is one of the great wheat-growing provinces of Russia, superimposed on the map of Canada, would be wholly north of the wheat-growing and inhabited part of Canada to-day; there is now in operation a mill grinding the best quality of No. 1 hard wheat grown as far north of the international boundary line as Mexico is south of it. The mineral and timber resources of British Columbia you are all familiar with the statistics of. The great clay belt in the north of Ontario, which was not thought of a few years ago, you are all now familiar with the possibilities of. Our resources in timber, gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, etc., make it no idle boast when we say that in our natural resources there is no country in the world at the present day comparable with us, and making all allowances for the climatic conditions, if you take the total area of the present arid and swamp lands of the United States, we will have within the next fifty years a greater total productive habitable area in Canada than in the United States, and without the drawback of an enormous negro population and the less healthy and virile conditions of the softer climate to the south!

Can you wonder the more, that when 1910 came, we having spent hundreds of millions of dollars in developing our trade routes, east and west, and finding our market in the Mother Country, having by our national policy built up manufactures here in the east and a home market for the farmer near his doors; having spent years in creating this condition of things, we should view with indifference in most, with hostility in some, the suggestion of changing all this and throwing our manufacturers open to the competition of the more highly specialised manufacturers at the south, and destroying our trade routes?

That this is no idle suggestion or mere figment of the imagination, let me emphasize by making only two quotations. First, as to the trade routes let me quote what Mr. Whitney, of Boston, the great advocate of Reciprocity, has said.

"New York, and Boston and Portland are the natural outlets for the foreign trade of Eastern Canada. St. John and Halifax are twice as far from Montreal as New York, or Boston, or Portland. The Canadian Atlantic ports are not to be mentioned in competition with the American Atlantic ports for passenger business. Our steamers are larger, and social conditions count for very much with the travelers. Under existing circumstances what Canadian going abroad or coming from abroad would not prefer landing in New York, or Boston, or Portland, to disem-

barking in Halifax, or St. John? And with the increasing size of Atlantic liners and the growing attractions of our cities, the advantage will increase rather than diminish.

The elevators for storing and handling Canadian grain should be located on this side of the line, and steamers of the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk Pacific should in the winter time at least, find their 'home' port in New York, or Boston, or Portland. And if, under a reciprocity arrangement or otherwise, the farm products of Canada were admitted free of duty, the Canadian Government would be friendly, instead of hostile, to the use of American ports for Canadian business. My belief is that such a course would promote the cause of reciprocity on the broad lines of free trade between the two countries."

Then, as to manufacturers, let me quote that great statesman, Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, who, speaking from the middle west, says,

"There must be reciprocity with Canada. Our tariff with the rest of the world does not apply to our northern neighbour. That policy already has driven American manufacturers across the Canadian borders, built vast plants with American capital on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workmen to supply trade.

"That capital should be kept at home to employ American workmen to supply Canadian demand. We should admit Canadian wood pulp and Canadian paper free in return for Canada's admitting our agricultural implements, our engines, pumps and other machinery free. We should freely admit Canadian lumber to American planing mills in return for Canada's freely admitting other American manufacturing products to Canadian markets.

"We should have a special tariff arrangement with this intimate neighbour and natural customer. This would mean millions of dollars of profit every year to Indiana's factories. Reciprocity would mean vast increases in Canada's purchases from us.

"This policy has been prevented by the reactionaries of New England who wanted to prevent Canadian potatoes from competing with the potatoes of Maine; Canadian eggs from competing with the eggs of New Hampshire and Canadian paper from competing with the mills of the paper trust.

"Not the Bourbons of France in the time of Louis XVI., not the Tories of England in the period of George III., ever insisted on a policy so blind, so foolish and so ruinous as that so-called statesmanship which, instead of fostering a purchasing market in Canada, is making Canada a manufacturing competitor.

"The imaginary line which separates us should be more and more easy to cross; the Canadian and American people should be knit closer and closer together by ties of commerce as they are becoming closer and closer knit together by ties of blood.

"John Bright's splendid dream of one nation covering the whole continent from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico with the same blood, same speech, same institutions and a single flag perhaps cannot be realized; but the idea of two peoples, brothers in origin and race, brothers in institutions, literature and law, becoming also brothers in industry and commerce, can and will be realized."

I might add to this that if our wheat went to Minneapolis and St. Paul, apart from our railways losing the traffic the by-products which go with making up the flour would be in the United States and lost to the great meat industries which we are creating. That

this is no idle suggestion, I may say to you that last year the millers in this country so appreciated the fact that although they could sell at \$3 a ton net profit more in the eastern States, they preferred to lose that temporary profit and sell to the feeders of Canada, because it was good policy to retain and foster the home market for the future, rather than take the present profit in the States and destroy and cut off the growing market in Canada for by-products.

There is no doubt a strong desire for more friendly trade relations upon the part of many of our neighbours to the south. Governor-Elect G. N. Foss, at a dinner given by the National Democratic Club, in New York, on the 16th December, 1910, announced as his view that the United States should first take the ground that there should be the largest possible measure of trade relations between the United States and ourselves, and, secondly, that even if Canada would do nothing he would strongly advocate the Americans lowering their tariff to the same as ours on manufactured goods, and taking off the tariff altogether on natural products. Whether this would meet with general acceptance or not of course is a matter for the future. But it indicates an extraordinary change of feeling towards ourselves, and I think he is the enemy to the interests of the Empire who does not welcome every sign of friendship and amity upon the part of our neighbours and who does not do as much as he possibly can, consistent with our own ideas of independent national existence, to cultivate and strengthen those ties.

I would suggest we should not have a treaty with any one. Trade treaties lead to misunderstandings and friction. Such has been their history in the past. In the place of a treaty, agree as to any articles we desire reciprocal arrangements about for common legislative action by each party, but maintaining complete freedom of action. To our own people I would suggest that the reason that exchange in natural products is called for is that it will give the farmer a higher price for his product, giving him the eastern United States. If he gets such higher price it increases the present very high cost of living in Canada, because he will not sell to his neighbour for less than he can sell to an outsider. The farmer cannot have his cake and eat it; he cannot have his home market, which can only be obtained by protecting our industries against the onslaught of the specialised manufacturers of the United States, and against the very much less wage cost to the manufacturer in England and Germany, France, Austria, etc. Our workmen will hardly consent to the reduction of their wages to the level of Euro-

pean labour, and those wages can only be paid under some system of protection.

The farmer, too, must bear in mind that twenty years ago his dollar bought him about the same as it does now; whereas he is now getting for what he sells anywhere from \$1.25 to \$2.25 as against his dollar of twenty years ago. He has had a home market created for him, which has given this result, and he has had it at very little expense to himself. No doubt the farmer wants cheaper goods, but he must remember that if he gets those cheaper goods by destroying his home market the country as a whole must inevitably suffer. We should endeavor to lower the cost of living. My suggestion is, to do this by lowering the tariff between the over-seas dominions and the Mother Country and ourselves. Give our kinsmen the benefit of our increasing market and population. We are now connected by merely the slender crimson thread of kinship. Turn that into the red arteries of commerce, and when you advocate reciprocity, advocate Empire Reciprocity! Remember blood is thicker than water!

As to making this too cheap a country, let me tell you a story "I tell you," said a recently returned traveller, "I tell you, Switzerland is the place to go to. Why, you can get a splendid fat turkey there for 20c." "Whew!" said a bystander, "if I had been in your place I should have stayed there." "Would you now," remarked the traveller. "Well, then, since you would have stayed, probably you can tell me how I could get the 20c in Switzerland."

I have pointed out the enormous strides that we have made in the last few years towards the linking together and the upbuilding of the country, and the almost illimitable possibilities yet in store for us in the way of development of our natural resources. I would suggest to the public men of the future, first, that as all government requires revenue, and as for many years, owing to our geographical propinquity to our powerful neighbours to the south, a tariff will be necessary, that that is the best way of raising the revenue, but that the tariff should not be framed by the haphazard method of a pork-barrel conference, that is, one interest paying to the other. "You help me and I will help you," and without any real knowledge upon the part of anybody as to what the best interests of the whole required. There may be industries that had better not be created, or if created had better in the interests of the whole be allowed to languish and die. Let me illustrate. It would be idle for us to spend money in creating a silk worm industry, because it could not be worked profitably. There may be other industries that in

the general interest of the whole community it is better should not exist; they could only employ a limited number of men, and to give employment to that limited number of men such a tax might be put upon the whole community as would be foolish in the interests of us all. Let us create a tariff board, non-political and expert, something in the nature of the Railway Board; a board that has constant employment; that can go to any manufacturer, get his books (their information should be entirely private to themselves), but they can ascertain whether his protection is more than he needs or less than he needs, and can report accordingly to Parliament, without, as I say, giving the details of his business. This would give us a scientific tariff, and the board could consider, as I have pointed out, the interests of all.

Another function I would have the tariff board perform would be something in the nature of the Public Utilities Commission of New York State. One of the greatest dangers at the present time to the community is the unwarranted issue of capital stock of corporations as against so-called good-will and other intangible assets; in a word, what is known as the issue of watered stock. Millions upon millions of this is being issued, and there is quite certain to be a clamour upon the part of the holders of it for protection so that dividends may be paid and this fictitious capital made secure. A tariff board would easily discover such a state of things, whether returns were being earned and paid only upon real capital, under honest management, under up-to-date methods, and with proper machinery, etc., and their instructions should be to absolutely lend no countenance to the gross misuse of the right to issue paid up stock for other than cash. There may be instances where management, where good-will, etc., is entitled to some consideration in the way of capital stock issue, but such cases are rare.

We have created a Conservation Commission, but this idea I think can be pressed much too far. It is of the utmost value in watching the waste of resources, in conserving health, etc., and in advising on the grants which may be sought from time to time of what I may term natural monopolies, the grants of which should be jealously safeguarded. I doubt very much if a great many of what are called "modern improvements" and "enterprises" would be undertaken at all except at the instance of private capital, and my notion is that we should have government regulation, government control, not government ownership. While human nature remains as it is, I foresee grave difficulties in working out the idea of public ownership except in the case of natural monopolies, and

even in those it is better to have strict regulation and control than actual operation by public authorities. This country is young. It needs population, it needs development, and the utilization of these is a prime necessity. Our great natural resources are likely to remain locked up and enterprise stifled by a restrictive policy, which however ideal it may be and however beneficial it may be in older countries is likely to retard progress in this. In New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario we have vast tracts of unsettled lands which are likely to remain so unless private enterprise is enlisted in their development. The grants of land in the North-West to railway companies and to private companies called forth the energies of private capital to develop them, and I do not believe we would have had as much settlement at the present day but for these agencies.

Another suggestion I would make would be that we must continue the creation of shipping facilities, particularly the building of the Hudson Bay Railway and terminal elevators, and if government operation, let it be by a non-partisan commission practically independent of political control. The experiment of government ownership in the case of the T. & N. O. has been most gratifying, but I cannot but think it is largely personal to the guiding mind of Mr. Englehart. Too high a meed of praise cannot be given to him for his unselfish performance of public duty without adequate reward. I am also satisfied he is protected from political interference by the rugged honesty of administration of Sir James Whitney. It needs no great imagination to picture not only the great wheat belt and stock-raising country of the west benefiting, but the eastern Provinces and Newfoundand, and the West Indies. If time allowed I should like to develop this line of thought to its ultimate and glowing conclusions. Deepen the Welland Canal without delay and my own view is that the first section of the Georgian Bay Canal, which would cost about five million dollars, should be at once undertaken, and defer the more serious undertaking for some considerable time in the future. This expenditure of five millions would give water facilities to North Bay, the building of forty miles of railway from North Bay to the Canada Atlantic would give the shortest possible immediate railway accommodation, practically all down grade, from North Bay to Montreal, and a cheap haul by the competing railways, the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk systems, from North Bay to Montreal. Take a third of the money that would be expended in the further development of the Georgian Bay Canal and lend it to the railways without interest

for a term of years, enabling them to lower the grades, lengthen the sidings, and improve the road-bed and you would save enormously in time and money on the grain proposition. You have power under the Railway Board to regulate these matters, and I have no doubt the railways would only be too glad to make special terms as to the carrying of grain if they received any such assistance from the Government as a consideration. It is good business on both sides. Lord Bacon said long ago,

“There be three things which make a country rich and prosperous—a fertile soil, busy workshops, and easy conveyance for men and things from one place to another.”

Remember the railways are the keystone of the arch of commerce of any country, and while I have pointed out the enormous benefits, in the way of the opening up of a country that railways bring, you must not assume that they can always continue borrowing foreign capital for the creation of railway enterprises. The mere up-keep of a railway, which is necessary to keep it from getting into the condition of having a poor roadbed, an absence of conveniences and safety appliances, and becoming hopelessly obsolete and out of keeping with the civilisation of the future, means enormous expenditures. The improvements and betterments that are necessary to avoid obsolescence and to keep step with the trend of progress, will require increasing amounts more and more in the future. These moneys can only be got either, as in the past, by borrowing foreign capital upon bonds, or by taking them out of the profits of the business or by selling new stock. Nobody will lend to these established railways which are not opening out new country unless there is a substantial surplus earning shown, from which either dividends will be paid upon the stock that may be issued, or which is an assurance to bondholders of the safety of their investment, and, therefore, you must be prepared in the future if not for a raising of rates upon many of the lighter commodities, to at least a maintenance of both passenger and freight rates in order out of the increased traffic to provide such a return of earnings as will enable the company to go on and continue extensions, betterments and to keep up the necessary progress. The travelling public will demand increasing conveniences and new territories will demand the railway mileage. Everything that the railway buys has been enormously increased in price and is likely to continue to increase, and, therefore, I point out to you, that as one of the great considerations in the future is the increase of shipping facilities for the western



farmer, to be brought in touch with his market in the east, so that he may be content to bear the burden of taxation for the creation of the eastern population through manufactures, you must recognize that those railway facilities upon which the prosperity of the country must ultimately depend cannot be obtained without proper consideration of the railway earnings. Increased cost of operation, increased cost of supply, tend to decrease the amount which the company can spend upon the property out of earnings. The spectacle is seen in the United States of two to three million employees of the railways banding themselves together and insisting upon legislation allowing a general increase in the tolls to be taken by the railway in order that these employees may enjoy along with their fellow-citizens the benefit of increased pay for their work! It is a question for the public to decide. It must either be satisfied with fewer and poorer railway facilities than it now demands, or it must permit the railways to earn more in revenue to enable them to raise the money to enable them to satisfy those demands. Companies must pay a sufficient dividend on the stock to make that stock productive as an investment, and must in addition have a sufficient surplus for expenditures upon the property. This can only be accomplished by a substantial increase on the company's net revenue, and unless that is made up by increased business at present rates it follows that there must be increased rates in the present business.

In what I am saying I am holding no brief for the railways, but my attention has been particularly drawn to this phase of our commercial future by the discussions which have taken place before me sitting as a member of a board in disputes between the various branches of railway employment and the companies, which necessarily brought to one's attention the whole problem of the general public. It is not a question merely between the merchants and shippers and the railway companies, but the interests of labour, investors in railway securities (the issue of watered stock should be prohibited), producers of railway supplies and materials, and the settler concerned in the opening up of the undeveloped regions of the country. In short, the interests of all the people in the subject of railway transportation and in the increased convenience, efficiency and safety of that transportation.

Who in the future shall determine these matters? That brings me to the question of the franchise. We now have the federal voter determined by the provincial franchise, which may vary in the different Provinces. In federal matters it seems to me that every person exercising the right to vote should be upon the same

plane. I should have a federal franchise applicable to the whole Dominion, and should lay down in it as a basic principle that no man had a right to take part in governing others who had not shown himself capable of governing himself, and I should not allow any person to have a vote in federal matters unless he could read and write English or French, the latter in deference to our compact under the Quebec Act, owned at least \$500 worth of property, or in receipt of yearly earnings to that extent, and had paid taxes for at least two years. A provision that no man could vote unless he has intelligence enough to read and write, thrift enough to have laid up \$500 worth of property, and patriotism enough to pay his taxes would, I suggest, be not a bad provision for our country. Each Province has a right to be supreme in its own affairs, and we have no right to suggest what shall be the test of the right to carry on those affairs so long as they do not affect us as members of the federal unit. The question of who shall take part in the carving out of the future of this country is vitally important to us, because of the enormous influx of new settlers every year into the country. For the year 1910 the estimate of immigration is 300,000, or nearly one-twentieth of the total population of the country. In 1909 103,798 came from the United States, and 45,206 from continental countries. For the past four years the proportion has been about one-quarter from Great Britain and the rest from other countries, so that year by year the relative social and political strength of the old native Canadian element and his British kinsman, declines.

Let me quote, with a slight change, language used in connection with conditions in the United States, which I think most apt for this country:

This land belongs to its citizens. But the present generation have in it only a life estate. They are solemnly bound to leave it unimpaired to their children and their children's children. This involves guarding, not only against needless waste of its material resources, but even more against adulteration and corruption of its citizenship. We should have a well-considered policy of restriction and regulation of immigration. This country is not a Hospital for the diseased, nor an Asylum for the feeble-minded, nor a County Poorhouse for the world's paupers, nor a Reform School for the morally deficient.

The need of this country is not solely for cheap labour. The wealth of a country consists not in its money-bags but in its men.

Aristotle, in the fourth century before Christ, defined the object of national life. The nation does not exist merely to preserve property—if so, the voter's political power should be proportioned to his stock in the enterprise; nor to protect and promote industry—if so, an ant-hill and a beehive would be nations. 'A state is the association of families and villages in a complete and independent existence, or, in other words, according to our definition, in a life of felicity and nobleness.' I would put no bar against skilled or unskilled labour. It is possible for a nation, as for an individual, to grow too fast. It is better to be slow and sure.

No one, I think, desires continental unity. There are those who aspire in the early future to a separate nationality for Canada. I think the aspirations of the major part of Canadians lead them towards Canada as a nation but as a national unit of the British Empire. Let us see what this calls for. My own ideal for the future is that there shall be a federal Parliament in the Mother Country, provincial home rule for England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, always providing there are proper safeguards for the protection of the rights of the minority both as to right of property and the right of the person. That there should be at least meetings of the various units of Empire in an advanced form of the present Colonial Conference, something in the nature of an Imperial Council, which, perhaps not having the right of legislation, yet being in the nature of the Elder Statesmen of Japan, their advice and resolutions would probably have such weight as to bring about legislative sanction of those resolutions, and that such a Council should deal simply with the great Imperial matters of defence and foreign relations. That we should take our part in these surely cannot be denied by any self-respecting man. Of course, every portion of the Empire must retain substantial fiscal independence and must legislate primarily to conserve its own industrial welfare.

We should as such a unit of Empire bear our share of the burden of Empire. Let me give you some figures:

The naval estimates of the United Kingdom for the current year are .....	£40,600,000
For Army .....	£27,000,000
Total .....	£67,600,000

or about \$325,000,000.

Assume population of the United Kingdom to be 45,000,000:—  
Expenditure on navy is \$4.33 1/3 per head.

Total expenditure on defence about \$7.25 per head.

Canada now pays \$3,000,000 a year for her naval scheme. Assuming her population to be 7,500,000, this represents 40c. per head.

For land defence we are spending nearly \$7,000,000; or about 90c. per head. Total, \$1.30.

Australia is spending yearly for naval defence .....	£ 750,000
“ land “ .....	£1,000,000

£1,750,000

Assume the population to be 4,000,000, rather over \$2 per head.

New Zealand is spending yearly—land defence..... £ 250,000  
 naval “ ..... £ 100,000

£ 350,000

Assuming the population to be 1,000,000, this means about \$1.60 per head.

In the United States the Congress of 1910 made the following appropriations—Navy .....\$136,935,000  
 Army ..... 101,195,000

Total defence .....\$238,131,000

Assume United States population to be 95,000,000:—

Amount paid per caput—Navy.....\$1.43

Army ..... 1.06

Total .....\$2.50

You will, therefore, see that our expenditure is less than either that of Australia and New Zealand, although we ought to be able to afford the expenditures a great deal better than either of them. You will see that if we formed part of the United States we would practically have to pay two to one for what we pay now. You will see from these that even if we were a separate nationality what the smallest burden would be, unless, indeed, we are prepared to say that we shelter ourselves under the so-called Monroe Doctrine. Think of the utter foolishness of such a suggestion. I can scarcely speak with tolerance of an educated man who puts forward such a plea! We get into a quarrel with Japan or with Germany. Is it to be supposed for a moment that unless we are prepared to become part and parcel of the United States that they will undertake the risk of war with such a great nation as either of these, a war that at the present time would probably end disastrously to the United States, great as their resources are, considering their naval and military unpreparedness! Would fifteen millions of negroes and fifteen millions of Germans and from twenty to twenty-five millions of other foreigners be keen to imperil their lives and property for the protection of Canadians? Would the Germans not prefer their own countrymen in possession of Canada? The Monroe Doctrine is really supported by the British flag. If that flag was not supreme at sea, Germany to-day would carve up South America like a Christmas goose! You have only for a moment to consider the situation to see that we must be prepared to defend ourselves if we are a separate nationality; that we must be pre-

pared to be represented in diplomatic circles abroad, and that the expense would be double or quadruple what it is suggested we should contribute to the general up-keep of Empire! Our young men ought to be trained in the diplomatic service and take part in the general affairs of the Empire. What an educative influence, what training to produce in a generation men of capacity, men of wider understanding, greater experience, and more knowledge in the world's affairs to assist in the councils of our own country in their declining years! An alluring prospect, indeed, for any young man who is desirous of snatching a flower from the field of honour instead of merely spending his time grubbing for dollars.

This should not be made a party question. No true lover of his country should allow any consideration of ins or outs to influence his judgment in regard to that which is the end of all patriotism, "our national existence!" Although, as I say, I am not speaking from a political standpoint, and although my natural sympathies are always stated by my friends to be Conservative, I cannot help but think that Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the subject of our sharing our burden by taking part in the naval defence of the Empire, for a first step carried his party as far as he could, and while my own view would be to adopt what he did and to go further—at that time to have voted a cash contribution if necessary, and in the future to stand ready, if it became apparent to the governing powers that immediate action is necessary, to vote further money for the maintenance and defence of our trade routes! I think that all classes in the community should have maintained a solid front upon the line of action that was determined to be taken by the government as a government. Canada on the 29th of March, 1909, presented a solid front, to the great advantage of herself and the Empire, and it is to be deplored that that front was not at least maintained, with a universal pledge to go further, if need be. My view is that the War Lord of Germany would have called a halt if he saw a United Empire arrayed and not merely three little islands! I have no doubt that it is against the views of many people, some because they are opposed to everything in the nature of war, some because they are too mean-spirited to pay their fair share of taxes, and many because they have not thought the subject out, but I believe that a campaign of education, in which the considerations I have alluded to above are pointed out, and that preparation for defence is just as necessary for our national existence as constables and police are necessary for protection against tramps and evil-

doers, will bring about a complete solidarity of feeling throughout the Dominion in favour of our bearing our share of the burdens of Empire.

The idea of military training for every youth in Canada between the ages of sixteen and twenty, coupled with previous manual training in the schools, is one that should appeal to every person of common sense and having the good of his country at heart. My attention was first drawn to the subject by London "Truth," a great radical newspaper, which propounded the view that some such training was the best antidote for hooliganism. The dangerous times for the boys in towns and cities and villages is between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. I would suggest that every boy should give four months the first year, two months the second, and a month the third year of his life between sixteen and twenty. For the mere physical betterment of the race nothing could equal this. It would straighten their shoulders and backs, throw out their chests, teach them to walk erect, and, above all, give them habits of mental discipline and of obedience to orders that will be invaluable in the creation of them as citizens! I should with this have classes in elementary technical education, and in agriculture. Both of these would lend interest to the work, and there is no man, I care not what his future in life is intended to be, who will not be benefitted by learning some of the elemental principles of agriculture. It will broaden and ripen him and probably open visions of avenues of interest to him in subsequent life of the greatest possible benefit. My ideal would be that in every school there should be manual training, followed, as I say, by military teaching for varying periods in at least three successive years, and from an industrial and citizen standpoint. I do not think that any time spent in any other way would give as great national results! The blending and mixing of all classes would do more towards the assimilating of all into one national whole than any other influence!

In advocating this I am not overlooking the part we should play in endeavoring to bring about conditions of peace, by pressing forward treaties of arbitration, especially with the United States. War is waste and legalized murder, but my advocacy of the training and education I refer to is from an industrial and health standpoint!

I now desire to advert to a matter which I think of sufficient importance to bring to your attention in reference to our constitution. As you are all aware, our constitution is contained in what is known as the British North America Act, which defines the

powers of the Dominion Parliament and of the various Provincial Legislatures. It has been held that within the ambit of their legislative jurisdiction the Dominion Parliament and the Legislature are supreme, have practically Imperial powers. Many years ago it was pointed out to me by that great jurist, Chief Justice Armour, that this was the inherent weakness and defect in our constitution; that the American constitution was for the purposes of pure democracy, which Canada is in this particular, far wiser and more provident of the rights of the individual. It was said by one of our ablest Judges the other day, Mr. Justice Riddell, in a recent case,

“In short, the legislature within its jurisdiction can do everything that is not naturally impossible, and is restrained by no rule, human or divine. \* \* \* And there would be no necessity for compensation to be given. We have no such restriction upon the power of the legislature as is found in some of the States.”

Any Act of Parliament which infringes upon such individual right is contrary to universal reason and natural justice, and the fundamental principles of right and justice inherent in the nature and spirit of the social compact restrain and set bounds to the power of legislation; the Legislature should not take away that security for private property for the protection of which the government itself was established. There are certain immutable principles of justice which are the very essence of free government and which no legislature should disregard. These are the principles which were crystallized into legislative form by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right.

Throughout the Provinces it may be said that the sole power of regulating such legislation is by virtue of the disallowance sections of the British North America Act which were inserted, as I understand as a safeguard against confiscatory legislation and in lieu of the provisions in the American Constitution. By the recent ruling, as evidenced in the speech of the Minister of Justice, any legislation within the ambit of jurisdiction of the Province will not be disallowed. Any legislation which was not within the ambit of the Province there is no necessity of disallowing, as it is wholly void. The result, therefore, is that the only safeguard inserted at present in the British North America Act has been wiped out as a matter of policy, rather than make political controversy.

Chief Justice Marshall, in the celebrated and famous case of *Marbury v. Madison*, said,

“The very essence of civil liberty certainly consists in the right of every individual to claim the protection of the laws whenever he receives an injury.

One of the first duties of government is to afford that protection. The government of the United States has been emphatically termed a government of laws and not of men. It will certainly cease to deserve this high appellation if the laws furnish no remedy for the violation of a vested legal right."

In the United States, however, it has been objected that the provisions under which legislation which interferes with contractual rights are somewhat inelastic. I would suggest that in our constitution something of this kind should be inserted,

"Neither the Parliament of Canada nor the Legislature of any Province shall pass any *ex post facto* legislation, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or law taking private property for public use, without due compensation in law."

which I do not believe any one would object to. In my view the United States would have been split into fragments ere this but for this constitutional sheet anchor of safety. Any statesmen who will put through such an amendment to the British North America Act will, in my opinion, deserve a high place in the history of the country. If in the future a Federal Parliament is likely to be established in the Mother Country, some such provision will be absolutely necessary there for the protection of property and the rights of the individual as against the selfishness of the many. You will observe that I have not suggested that bargains which experience has taught are inadvisable cannot be got rid of, but they should only be got rid of upon a just compensation.

In order to prevent any misapprehension I desire to say here that these observations are not inspired by any consideration or thought of Ontario legislation relating to what is known as Hydro-Electric matters. The controversy relating to that seemed to be settled by the answer made by the Whitney Government to the application for disallowance. The thought has been inspired by what has recently happened in the West in relation to the Great Waterways Railway. When President Castro, of Venezuela, repudiated the bargain which the Government of Venezuela had made with the Orinoco Steamship Company, a New Jersey corporation, he thought to avoid adverse comment by submitting the claim of the Company to damages to an arbitration tribunal practically nominated by the Government. This tribunal gave a small award. The United States Government pressed the claim and disputed the award, and the matter was referred to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague, which has just rendered its decision reversing the whole proceedings. In the meantime, the credit of Venezuela has been enormously hurt by such action. I



think that as this country depends so much for its development on foreign borrowed capital, if for no higher reason, it is well for us to consider whether a limit should not be placed upon power of repudiation.

I have pointed out our great assets, glanced at how they should be administered, who should administer, and under what conditions. I would like to see the young men of Canada wearing the badge of no party and the livery of no faction, each voting for the measures which would most benefit the whole, enforcing rigid economy and retrenchment, doing away with useless expenditures made for naught but political capital in disguised bribery of constituencies. Without going into detail, we are at the present time wickedly wasting much money in this way. An electorate insistent on the reduction of taxation to the lowest point consistent with efficiency an electorate which will not be lured by the voice of the selfish demagogue, but conserving what is good and eradicating what is bad in our municipal, provincial and Federal life!

A nation is merely the aggregate units which compose it. The ideal citizen is the man who makes an ideal neighbour, friend or companion, honest, thrifty, God-fearing, kindly, one ever ready to defend the poor and the fatherless and to be just to the afflicted and needy! Let us all try to be such a citizen and we shall be blessed among nations!

And now what should all this lead to? I have a vision of Jack Canuck grown mightily in strength, erect, confident, fearless, clear-eyed, in the procession of nations, joining hands with his brethren and kinsmen over the seas in the up-building of an Empire, which united shall stand for justice, for equality, for true democracy, for the up-lifting of the many, and the bettering of their conditions in life, and so march on through the procession of the ages under the flag we have all been taught to love! George III. presented to a family of United Empire Loyalists a flag of England, the remains of which are still preserved, and under it are these words:

“ 'Tis but an old bit of bunting,  
'Tis but a coloured rag;  
But thousands have fought for its honour,  
And shed their best blood for the flag.”

So may we continue to love and reverence it and, if necessary, defend it with the martial courage of our forbears!



## *Press Notices*

**From The Toronto News, January 18th, 1911.**

"Mr. Nesbitt's suggestion that a curb be put on the conduct of over-capitalized industrial combines will meet with general favor. These mergers should not be allowed to exploit the tariff for their own advantage, the crushing of weaker rivals and the oppression of consumers. A properly qualified Government commission might well investigate the proposed capitalization of every industrial trust before it is allowed to come into being. The proposal for an expert tariff commission might well be entertained so long as Parliament is not relieved of its proper responsibility in this connection. The establishment of another commission to construct the Hudson Bay Railway and the proposed terminal elevators in the West should meet with general approval, if it could have for chairman a man like Mr. Englehart and protection against political influence like that afforded the Temiscaming and Ontario Railway Commission by Sir James Whitney."

**From The Toronto News, January 10th, 1911.**

"Before the Chatham Board of Trade Mr. Wallace Nesbitt delivered an address that should be printed in permanent form and widely distributed throughout the Dominion. In recent years no one has given a more striking review of the events and influences that have gone to the making of Canada. The News does not agree with all his conclusions, but perhaps no one has ever estimated more profoundly some of the nation's present problems or held out to Canadians a more inspiring prospect of their country's potentialities as a powerful unit in a world wide confederation of British States."

**From the Hamilton Herald, January 10th, 1911.**

"In this issue of the Herald appears a full report of an address delivered last evening before the Chatham board of trade by the Hon. Wallace Nesbitt, K.C., formerly a member of the Supreme Court of Canada. It deserves wide publicity on account of the importance of the subjects discussed by the speaker and because of the freshness of thought, the independence of spirit, the patriotic sentiment, the frankness of speech and the mature judgment revealed in it.

"No other such comprehensive address relating to Canada's past, present and future, and dealing with so many subjects of prime importance, has been delivered in Canada for many a day; and it is valuable because it is very evident that Mr. Nesbitt's opinions are not hastily uttered, but are the results of study and reflection.

