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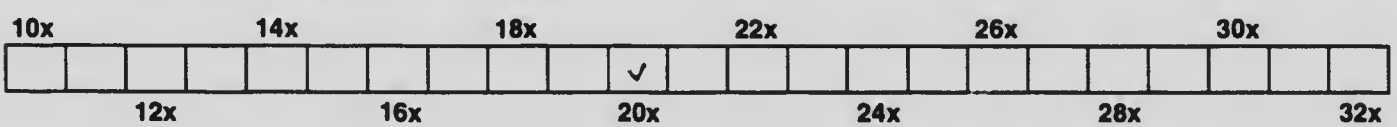

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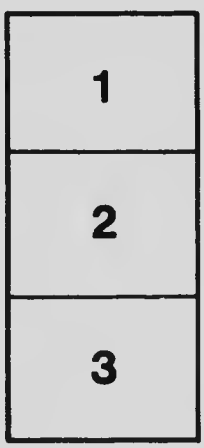

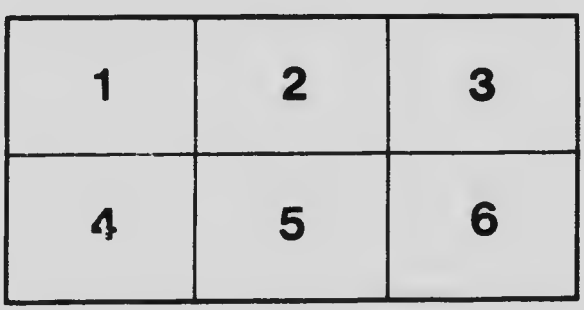

INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

An Address Delivered at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, held at Washington, April 29, 1911

BY

THE RT. HON. SIR CHARLES FITZPATRICK
Chief Justice of Canada

AUGUST, 1911—SPECIAL BULLETIN

American Association for International Conciliation
Sub-station 84 (501 West 116th Street)
New York City

The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects.

For the information of those who are not familiar with the work of the Association for International Conciliation, a list of its publications will be found on pp. 17 and 18.

Attention is also called to a pamphlet (not in the regular series) entitled "A[illegible]on between Great Britain and the United [illegible]s," by His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, [illegible]will be sent postpaid, on request.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

By the Right Honorable Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Chief Justice of Canada, at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Society of International Law, Washington, April 29, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT, CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN:

First of all, I must tell you quite frankly that I was moved to accept your kind invitation not merely that I might have the pleasure and honor of meeting the members of the American Society of International Law, but more especially in the hope that I might greet those gentlemen whose acquaintance I made last year at The Hague, and who are represented in such goodly numbers here tonight. This is the first opportunity I have had to refer to the work done at The Hague, and let me say that if some success attended our efforts, it was due not only to the skill and deep knowledge displayed by the counsel for the United States, who materially assisted the court in arriving at the conclusions to which it came, which I think are fairly satisfactory, but above all, it was due to the great learning and judicial temperament of your representative, or rather I should say of my colleague, Mr. Justice Gray. I have come here at some personal inconvenience to myself, I confess, but all inconveniences disappear in the face of the opportunity that is given to me to bear this testimony to my colleague and to your distinguished counsel, to whom is due in large part, I repeat, the successful result of our labors.

During the course of some correspondence I had recently with one of my English friends on the subject of the origin, rise and growth of international law and arbitration, he said to me:

> Claims have been made on the part of different places to the honor of being the ark from which the dove started on its flight, some years ago, across the waste of stormy waters, to find its olive branch. Paris, St. Petersburg and The Hague have been associated at different times, with different

phases of the movement, to such an extent that the claim of Washington to be its starting place has been to some degree overlooked.

I agree in part with my English friend, and I explain his enthusiasm for Washington by the fact that he has lived for some years under the seductive influence of this atmosphere. For my part, gentlemen, I admit that Washington was the place at which the dove found the olive branch, but the ark, when the dove started, was moored at Saratoga Springs. You will remember—no lawyer can forget it—that in the year 1896 Lord Russell of Killowen, Chief Justice of England, addressed the American Bar Association, then in session at Saratoga, on the subject of international law and arbitration. After having, to illustrate his theme, ransacked the history of all the ages and traced from century to century the slow process by which the hopes of civilized peoples have crystalized into international law, the great Chief Justice concluded his eloquent appeal in words which entitle him to have his name forever inseparably associated with that of William Howard Taft, as one of the two great apostles of international arbitration.

Parenthetically I wish to add that it is to the credit of the much-maligned profession to which we belong that that profession should have given to the United States not only the great war President, Lincoln, but also the great peace President, Taft; that our profession should have given to the United States the two great Secretaries of State who have done so much for international law and arbitration--Elihu Root and Philander C. Knox.

The concluding words of Lord Russell at Saratoga were as follows:

> Mr. President, I began by speaking of the two great divisions—American and British—of that English-speaking race which you and I represent today, and with one more reference to them I end.
>
> Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind. But if this influence is to be fully exerted, they must work together in cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they also have great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them.
>
> Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self-respecting, each in honor uplifting its own flag, safeguarding its own heritage of right and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the progress and the peace of the world.

The seed sown in Saratoga fell on fruitful soil, and in consequence the great cause of international arbitration has made more solid progress, not only between your country and mine, but throughout the world, during the fifteen years which have gone since Lord Russell spoke than in the 1500 years which went before. It is apparently always thus with you, whether in the world of thought or of action, or invention; the harvest which so slowly ripens elsewhere seems to come, in this favored land, to maturity with a rush. Russell of Killowen was a great judge and a strong judge, and politically was always in the front of the thought of his time. His views upon the scope and possibilities of international arbitration may safely be taken as standing for the high-water mark which the cause had then reached. If we turn now to the address at Saratoga Springs, we find it a lucid exposition of the history of the movement; its timid tentative growth is traced from its beginnings among the Greek states of old, through the fitful experiments in the Middle Ages down to the historic instances of modern times. When he came to deal with the future of the movement, the Chief Justice seemed to falter. When he looked forward, it was with a dim and doubtful vision. Even his hope seemed to have its limitations. He thought arbitration an admirable method for settling quarrels of peoples, when the subject matter in dispute was trivial in itself, or concerned with the interpretation of an obscure treaty, or the finding of a doubtful frontier.

It was only fifteen years ago, and yet we find this advanced thinker, this generous pioneer, ruling out whole classes of cases as too vital, too serious, too intimately concerning the honor of the peoples to be fit subject matter for settlement by arbitration. He enumerated a number of questions which led to national differences and to which arbitration may properly be applied, and that enumeration is satisfactory as far as it goes; but what a little way it does go. When we come to note the exceptions, we find all the [illegible] causes of quarrels are left outside; left to the blind de[illegible] war. I quote:

> But there are differences to which, even as between individuals, arbitration is inapplicable—subjects which find their counterpart in the affairs of nations. Men do not arbitrate where character is at stake, nor will any self-respecting nation readily arbitrate on questions touching its national independence or affecting its honor.

When a nation s heart is in the quarrel, when its blood is up, what occasion for strife is there which could not be brought under one or other of these two exceptions, "touching its national independence," or "affecting its honor."

Taking then Lord Russell's address as our *terminus a quo* as the point at which we may fix the highest that was looked for in 1896, we are at once in a position to measure the progress that has since been made. The advance has been not to any half-way house, but to the top of the hill. We seem to stand on the summit of the mountain when we read these splendid and uncompromising words spoken only last year by the President of the United States. In his address to the American Peace and Arbitration League of New York, on the 22d of March, 1910, Mr. Taft said:

> Personally I do not see any more reason why matters of nation honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship. I know that is going further than most men are willing to go; but I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal supposed to be composed of men of honor, who understand questions of national honor, and then abide by their decisions, as well as any other question of difference arising between nations.

And Mr. Taft when he used these words was not playing with a theory. He meant business. As the Lord Chancellor of England recently said:

> When a man who holds an office such as that of President of the United States, which is not surpassed either in dignity or power by any position in the world—when he said what President Taft has said, he raises the hopes of mankind.

Let me add that when the President of the United States speaks he has humanity for his audience.

A few months later, in December of the same year, speaking before the American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes. the President used these memorable words:

> If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government.

It was at once assumed that when he spoke of some great nation, Mr. Taft had Great Britain in his mind. What was confident conjecture then is a certainty now. Asked in the House of Commons whether it were true that the Government of the United States had expressed itself willing to negotiate a treaty under which all disputes of whatever nature between the two countries should be referred to arbitration, and what steps he would take to promote that object, the British Premier, Mr. Asquith, made answer on the 7th day of March, as follows:

> His Majesty's Ambassador at Washington has reported that the United States Government communicated plates proposing such a treaty and a reply has been sent that any proposals they may make will of course meet with the most sympathetic considera[illegible]

That was good and decisive, but there was better to follow.

On the 13th day of March, during the debate on the Naval Estimates, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, after speaking in a rather despondent tone of the growing burden of military and naval expenditures, and of the difficulty of checking it under existing conditions of Europe, said:

> I can conceive but one thing which will really affect the military and naval expenditure of the world on the wholesale scale on which it must be affected if there is to be a real and sure relief. You will not get it until nations do what individuals have done—come to regard an appeal to the law as the natural course for nations instead of an appeal to force.

It was a new note in the discussion, and coming from the representative of the government, at once arrested the attention of the House. In justification of his belief, that the disputes of nations may some day be decided by process of law and their armies be only an international police force, Sir Edward Grey read to the House the two paragraphs from the speeches of Mr. Taft which I have just quoted. Now see how the American proposal was met. Sir Edward Grey answered for England thus:

> Supposing two of the greatest nations in the world were to make it clear to the whole world that by an agreement of such a character as under no circumstances were they going to war again, I venture to say that the effect on the world at large of the example would be one that would be bound to have beneficent consequences . . . . I have spoken of that because I do not think that a statement of that kind put forward by a man in the position of the President of the United States should go without response. Entering into an agreement of that kind, there would be great risks. It would entail certain risks for us to refer everything to arbitration, and as the President of the

United States has said, we must be prepared to take certain risks and to make some sacrifice of national pride. When an agreement of that kind, so sweeping as it is, is proposed to us, we shall be delighted to have such a proposal. But I should feel that it was something so momentous and so far-reaching in its possible consequence that it would require, not only the signature of both governments, but the deliberate and decided sanction of Parliament, and that, I believe, would be obtained.

It is interesting to note that Sir Edward Grey proposed a departure from the usual constitutional practice in his statement that he would submit a new treaty to Parliament. In so doing, he has invested the t[illegible] now under negotiation with an importance which gives it a different status from that of the ordinary international compact. He rightfully feels that such treaties are compacts between peoples, and as such should have the popular sanction, for, when all is said and done, the burden of expenditure and the toil of blood caused by war must, in the last resort, be levied on the masses of the people. If the hope expressed by Sir Edward Grey ever finds its fulfillment, we shall indeed feel we are at the summit of the hill and may even look down upon the possibilities of fratricidal strife as only a nightmare of the dreadful past; but though we may fairly hope that we are now on the eve of a treaty which will open a new epoch in the history of mankind, this position of high expectancy has been reached only by gradual steps and not a few setbacks.

And let me say that while I was considering what I should say to you tonight, my mind reverted to a treatise on war which I read many years ago, by an eminent French philosopher, in which he says that war cannot be banished from the world; that from the days that Cain slew Abel down to the present time, at all epochs of the world's history there have been at different places on the surface of the earth pools of blood, which, as he put it so beautifully in French, and as I am sure you will understand it, I venture to quote it in all the beauty of the original:

> Depuis le commencement du monde, la terre à différents endroits a été couverte de taches de sang que ne peuvent dessécher ni les vents avec leur brûlante haleine, ni le soleil avec tous ses feux,

that is, neither the sun with all its ardor, nor the wind with its burning breath, have ever been able to dry up.

Let us concede that war cannot be banished from the face of the earth; but surely, if war can not disappear, the crime of fratricide will disappear.

A year after the occasion of Lord Russell's address at Saratoga Springs, a wide-reaching treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain was successfully negotiated by Mr. Olney on the one side and Lord Pauncefote on the other. The treaty, though fully accepted by the British government, failed to secure ratification in the United States Senate and so came to nothing. At the same time, its provisions are well worth careful study, representing as they do the extent to which public opinion had been educated in the two countries before The Hague Conference had been thought of. The treaty is remarkable for the fact that it stipulated that every kind of dispute should come before the arbitrators, but its weak point was that in the gravest class of cases the decision was not binding unless the court was practically unanimous. Mr. Cleveland, in his letter transmitting to the Senate the treaty, which he declared to represent the concessions of each party for the sake of agreement to a general scheme, said that, though the result reached might not meet the views of the advocates of immediate, unlimited, and irrevocable arbitration for international controversies, nevertheless he confidently believed that the treaty could not fail to be recognized everywhere as being a long step in the right direction, as embodying a practical working plan by which disputes between the two countries might reach a peaceful adjustment as a matter of course and ordinary routine. Some of its features were admittedly of a tentative character; yet the treaty not only made war between England and the United States a remote possibility, but precluded those fears and rumors of war which are sometimes only less disastrous than the dread reality itself. The President did but echo the opinion of both nations when he went on to declare that it was "eminently fitting" that the first great treaty of arbitration should be signed by "kindred peoples of the same tongue, and peoples joined by the ties of common tradition, institutions, and aspirations."

Finally, the President expressed his belief that the example thus set by the English-speaking peoples would not be lost upon the world, so that the treaty might be the beginning of a better time for the world and mark an epoch in the history of civilization. These were brave words and well meant, but the treaty failed to secure the necessary number of votes in the Senate. Those who were inclined to blame the Senate for

its action may now perhaps exclaim "O felix culpa," for the failure of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of 1897 has left the field open for something better in 1911.

Two years after this failure came the First Hague Conference, the nearest approach the world has ever seen to a common legislative assembly for all the nations. The facilities and machinery it provided for arbitration have had incalculable results, and every new precedent for this peaceful method of settling international quarrels strengthens the chain by tending to develop the habit of looking to arbitration as the natural alternative of war. From first to last, something like a hundred and fifty disputes between nations have been peacefully adjusted. Some such as the Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration have involved intricate and difficult investigations with mixed questions of law and fact, while others have concerned questions in which the honor and dignity of nations have seemed to be involved. The Dogger Bank incident brought England and Russia to the verge of war, but was peacefully adjusted by the machinery originally suggested by the proceedings at The Hague. Even more dangerous as raising a question about which every nation is honorably sensitive—the right of asylum—was the dispute arising at the beginning of the present year out of the re-arrest of an Indian prisoner on French soil by the officers of an English ship. The Savarkar case was settled amicably by The Hague Tribunal in the course of a very few days.

If there could be any assurance that the Powers could be relied upon to allow serious causes of quarrel to be adjudicated by the permanent tribunal of The Hague, created at the second conference in 1907, there would be little reason to fear for the world's peace. As matters stand today, the weak point of the system is that no Power, or no great Power, is bound, or even pledged by its own promise, to submit serious disputes to arbitration. It was hoped that the Second Hague Conference would result in some common and binding agreement in this respect. Perhaps the time was not ripe. All that was done was to put on record a solemn declaration in favor of compulsory arbitration and to renew the standing invitation to individual Powers to enter into treaties with each other in favor of arbitration. Article 19 ran:

> Independently of existing general or special treaties, imposing the obligation to have recourse to arbitration on the part of any of the signatory powers, these powers reserve to themselves the right to conclude, either before

the ratification of the present convention, or subsequent to that date, new agreements, general or special, with a view of extending the obligation to submit controversies to arbitration, to all cases which they consider suitable for such submission.

And it is along those lines that for the present we must look for signs of progress. The most positive result of the Second Hague Conference was a resolution accepted by all the Powers not to resort to hostilities for the enforcement of contractural debts without first submitting any disputed claim to arbitration. A year before the second conference at The Hague a remarkable treaty was arranged between Norway and Sweden. The Treaty of Karlstad, perhaps because it was between sister nations, has attracted less attention than might have been expected. None the less it represents a great advance upon anything which had gone before. It provides that all disputes not touching the vital interests of either country should be referred to the Hague court, and—this is the important clause—the question whether a given question does in fact affect the vital interests of either country was to be decided, not by the parties themselves, but by the court.

As the immediate result of the second conference at The Hague, a whole group of treaties providing for arbitration under certain conditions was negotiated. The 1908 treaty between England and the United States belonged to a common type—easy to arrange and of little practical value when arranged. It was a poor compensation for the loss of the Olney-Pauncefote agreement. That at least would have secured arbitration for all possible causes of quarrel between the two countries, even if it did not in all cases offer the prospect of a certain and binding decision. The treaty of 1908 merely provides that,

> Differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties . . . . shall be referred to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the Convention of the 29th of July, 1899, provided, nevertheless, that they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting States.

The scope of the second treaty had been indefinitely contracted, and, except as a sort of diplomatic germ out of which something better might develop, it was almost valueless. For the difference between the two treaties was vital. The first renounced the immediate right to appeal to arms, and bound both parties to submit their quarrels. whatever their nature, to

the decision of an impartial tribunal. The second arranged a convenient machinery for the adjustment of disputes which were not grave enough for war. If either party thought its honor involved, the quarrel at once passed beyond the scope of the treaty. Such a treaty though somberly acquiesced in at the time as the best that could be got, was a retrograde measure. It seemed to concur in the view that arbitration is suitable for trivialities, but is out of place when things that matter are in dispute. When in the feudal times the growing strength of the central power slowly forced the robber barons to surrender their right to wage private wars, there was a long period in which the right was still claimed when questions of boundaries of an estate were in issue. And to a much later period the feudal lord and the private gentleman claimed to be the sole judges when honor was impugned, and successfully asserted their right in such cases to oust the jurisdiction of the courts of the land, and to vindicate their cause with the sword. Slowly, but surely, those pretensions of a caste have been worn down, and under the steady pressure of the common sense of the people the practice of duelling—of private fighting with the intention to kill—has come to an end. It is a subject upon which the nations are not yet quite in line. In England, the man who killed his opponent in a duel would be most infallibly hanged; in other countries duels are still fought, but under conditions so thoughtfully arranged that a man may go through fifty "mortal combats" without being the worse for them. Under such circumstances, if a regrettable accident sometimes takes place, it is as much as though one of the combatants caught his death of cold through exposure to the damp air of an early morning meeting. For such an unexpected termination of the meeting none can be held seriously responsible. Unfortunately, we have not yet arrived at the same stage of progress in the management of international quarrels. We still claim the right of each to be the judge in his own case where honor or vital interest is concerned, and when wars come there is no make-believe. Still, those who note the growth of the juridical idea, and take count of the evolution which has ended serious duelling and led men to submit their honor and their characters to the decisions of judicial tribunals in actions for libel and slander and in the divorce courts, will be most certain that sooner or later the reign of law will extend further, and in the end control collective as well as private quarrels of whatever sort.

No one who has watched with care the most recent development of the arbitration movement can doubt that the trend of opinion, and especially on this continent, is now in favor of tribunals which have the character and authority of courts of law. It may be objected that strictly judicial decisions imply the sanction of force behind them, which may compel obedience. That may come, and some of us may yet live to see an international police force. But it is relevant here to point out that so far no case for the necessity of such a force has yet been made out. History is full of the stories of broken and violated treaties, but there is happily no record of the repudiation of an arbitral award. The pressure of the public opinion of the world is strong and growing stronger every day, and the risk of its displeasure will not be lightly encountered.

Meanwhile, I would draw attention in illustration of what I have called the new trend of the arbitration movement to the treaty inaugurated in May, 1908, between the five States of Central America, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and San Salvador. These five republics have combined to call into being a court of justice to

> act as an arbitrator and last tribunal of appeal in all questions and controversies that may arise among the Republics of Central America, no matter what these questions and controversies may be, or what may have given rise to them, in case the respective departments for foreign affairs should not have found a common ground for an understanding.

The principal feature in the conception and plan of the Central American Court of Justice is stated to be

> that it shall not at all be a mere Commission of Arbitration, but a genuine judicial tribunal, whose work shall be to sift evidence, consider arguments and pronounce judgment in all questions that may arise before it, acting, of course, in accordance with rigid justice and equity and with the principles of international law.

The new tribunal was not long in proving its usefulness. In July, 1908, it had before it a case in which Honduras made complaint that Guatemala and San Salvador were guilty of unneutral conduct fomenting revolution within her borders. Within six months of the first citation, judgment was given and war averted.

The creators of the Central American Court quote with approval the following statement made by Mr. Elihu Root:

> What we need for the further development of arbitration is the substitution of judicial action for diplomatic action, the substitution of juridical

sense of responsibility for diplomatic sense of responsibility. We need for arbitrators, not distinguished public men concerned in all the international questions of the day, but judges who will be interested only in the question appearing upon the record before them. Plainly, this end is to be attained by the establishment of a court of permanent judges, who will have no other occupation and no other interest but the exercise of the judicial faculty under the sanction of that high sense of responsibility which has made the courts of justice in the civilized nations of the world the exponents of all that is best and noblest in modern civilization.

What is the next step to be? What form is the pending treaty between the United States and the United Kingdom to assume? It is hardly too much to say that the time of the coming of the Prince of Peace depends on the answer; for the example of these two peoples will lead the world. Certainly no one will propose that the Olney-Pauncefote treaty should be revived just as it was. The world has not stood still during these fourteen years, and what was satisfying then would not satisfy now. As we have seen, the treaty of 1897 referred disputes to a court composed of nationals whose numbers varied according to the importance of the matter in dispute. But a decision was not binding, except by consent, unless it were arrived at in serious cases by a majority of five to one. In the event of failure to come to a binding award, the mediation of a third Power was to be sought before hostilities. All that seems crude today. Then there was no Hague Tribunal which now would naturally take the place of a mediating Power. But a better plan, and one which finds great favor in the United States, is one which involves the establishment of a specially constituted arbitral court, which would have the character of an actual court of law as distinguished from a court of arbitration. In a speech last June, Mr. Knox emphasized the judicial as opposed to the diplomatic character of the proposed court, which he was confident would be ultimately adopted by the nations. The United States, he said, took the advanced ground that

the judgment of an arbitration court must conform to the principles of international law and equity involved and controlling, and that where, in its opinion it is wholly clear and evident that a decision essentially fails so to conform, such decision should be open to an international judicial revision.

Such a tribunal, administering international law and adjudicating between the peoples, obviously represents an immense extension of the reign of law, and a great advance upon the methods of an ordinary court of arbitration. The principle of

arbitration by a court of nationals would find full opportunity in the settlement of ordinary differences, but in case of graver issues, or in cases in which agreement could not otherwise be reached, there would be appeal to a permanent court of arbitral justice, which would gradually, by its decisions, consolidate its own code of international law with its own rules of interpretation and procedure. The establishment of such a court would be supplemented by special treaties binding the contracting Powers to accept its decisions as final. It is impossible not to feel that Mr. Taft has an opportunity of opening a new and happier chapter in the history of the world.

There is one consideration, however, which must temper our satisfaction at the prospect of such a treaty as I have supposed. No doubt it would practically eliminate the possibility of war between the two countries, but the burden of the armed peace would remain. Great Britain does not build ships against the United States, nor is the American Government thinking of the English fleet when drawing up its naval program for the year. Let the two Powers agree unreservedly to submit all their differences to a tribunal of justice, and yet having banished the possibility of war, neither Power will feel at liberty to lay off a single ship either in the Atlantic or the Pacific. Both Powers must continue to spend millions in preparations for war by sea and land just as if no arbitration treaty had been thought of. Is there any remedy for that evil? I throw out a seed of thought to all the winds; it may fall on stony ground, or it may be choked by thorns, or the birds of the air may devour it, but if it prosper I think fair fruit may come of it. I am not going to suggest any sort of defensive alliance. But I hesitate, and the thought comes at this moment that I should be content to say: The country which within one century has from relatively humble beginnings grown to be the greatest republic the world has ever seen; the people who have not only taught but, I may truthfully say, conquered nature, who have diverted rivers, tunnelled mountains, harnessed Niagara, bound the Atlantic to the Pacific by many bands of iron and are now engaged in the Herculean task of piercing the continent, may well be trusted to find a remedy for the evil which I have mentioned.

And now, in conclusion, one word of the Dominion of Canada, of that bumptious member of the British family that lives in the house next door. Of her I have said nothing, for

this reason, that the part is included in the whole, and allow me to assure you, although it is quite unnecessary, that a part of the good old Empire we intend to remain.

I have heard it rumored here in Washington that there is some question of a reciprocity agreement being entered into between Canada and the United States. Of the political feature of such an agreement I have no mandate to speak. But if there is to be reciprocity in "natural products," I hold that among the "natural products" of this American continent, on either side of the international frontier, must be counted love of justice and fair play, and great courtesy and generosity, and kindly and neighborly feeling in abundance. In those "natural products" of America there shall surely be a perfect reciprocity between the United States and Canada. Especially shall we reciprocate every aspiration for permanent peace and good will between the peoples already united by so many common memories and common ideals, and above all by the "large music of English speech."

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