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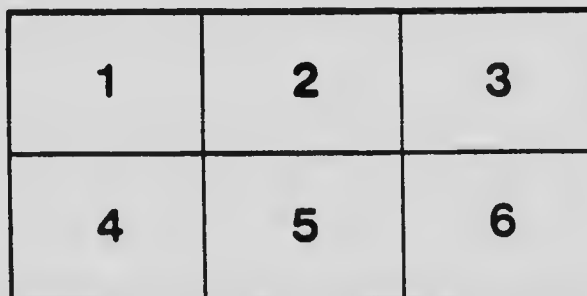
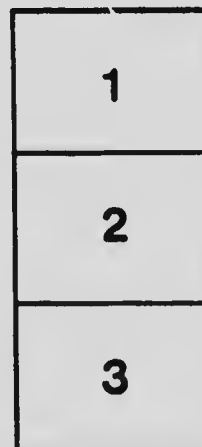
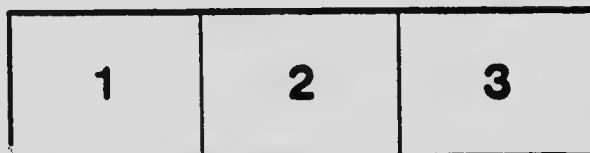
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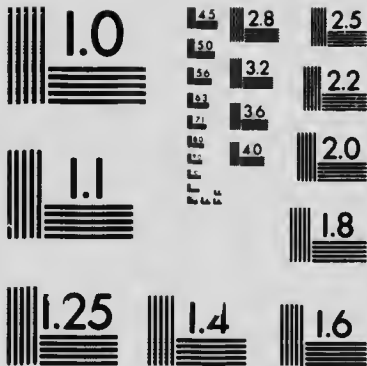
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Speech by Mr. Arthur Hawkes.

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## THE PLACE OF THE BRITISH-BORN IN THE GENERAL ELECTION

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Substance of the address delivered during the election by Mr. Arthur Hawkes, Secretary of the Canadian Nations' League, and Chairman of the Canada-British Association.

The chairman has alluded to the criticism the British-born movement has aroused, and to the singular personal attacks upon myself, which have distinguished some of that criticism. Personal questions one can leave aside, because, after all, the only man who can destroy your character is yourself. It has been said generally that this movement sets the British-born against the Canadian-born, and creates and deepens racial prejudice between the two. Nothing is farther from the truth. It is a unifying movement, as I think you will see before this meeting concludes. When you have heard the case, as it has been presented to other audiences, I believe you will not be surprised that those who have denounced the British-born campaign have never taken the trouble to read or hear the facts and arguments on which it is founded. They denounce, but they do not answer.

Every man who comes to Canada must enjoy the native-born. To stand on the wonderful coast of Nova Scotia and look towards Europe over the Atlantic, whereon the Nova Scotia fishermen gather their precarious harvest; to traverse the St. Lawrence, mightiest river of all the continents, on whose banks it is demonstrated how two races may live in harmony under one flag; to cross this province of Ontario, which, within living memory, has been transformed from impenetrable forest into a fragrant garden; to travel beyond Superior into the fastnesses of timber, and river and lake and rock, which sheer off into the silences of the great north; to find yourself in the prairie country, ascending rivers that cross the rolling plain for a thousand miles, where for every Indian there is a homestead, and for every buffalo a car-load of wheat; to climb the Rockies and the Selkirks, where the railway, clinging to the face of the cliffs, indicates man's challenge to Nature in her most whelming mood; to descend the Fraser canyon, and to plant your feet upon the shores of the Pacific Ocean, whence you look westward to Canada's nearest neighbor, Japan—to stand in any one of these places, and to say,

"This is my own, my native land"—it must be magnificent indeed.

\* \* \* \* \*

But hundreds of thousands of us who delight to call Canada our home, cannot say, "This is my own, my native land." We have to look for some compensation for this poverty of birthright. Can we find it? Indeed, we can. It is no small thing to have been born and to have spent your early years in those islands of the Northern Seas, which, though they could be buried in the Hinter-land of Lake Ontario, have planted in the uttermost parts of the earth great free self-governing communities, which have grown into a congeries of nations, bound together by ties of affection, and by a peculiar political genius which makes them the crown and wonder and envy of the modern world. With all its faults, with the manifold shortcomings of its leaders and people, the British Empire still remains the greatest engine of progress and civilization that the world has ever seen.

Few of us realize the splendor of our birthright, until long after we have forsaken the land of our fathers. We were not taught, as we ought to have been, to cherish the historical riches amidst which we were reared. We came to Canada insufficiently appreciative of what we owe both to the Old Land and to the New. Even now we know too little. It is as true as daylight, that it is only when we return to the Old Land that we begin to understand what great things Canada means for us.

Some of you, who have not yet taken your first holiday to "t'owd spot," will think that is a strange saying, but some day you will know how true it is. You imagine it will be lovely to visit the scenes of your childhood, and so it will be. At this moment you think of the village, nestling at the foot of the hill, with its street wider in some places than others, its houses leaning against one another for support, and the house at the corner where men occasionally used to lean for support. You call to mind the vicarage standing in its spacious grounds, and the Hall to which the squire and his family came several times a year. Your eye wanders over spacious fields, especially over a great big meadow through which the footpath wound towards the stile in the corner over which you and she clambered much more slowly than you need have done. You think of the vicar, the churchwardens, and the gentleman farmer, the doctor, and a few other people to whom you touched your hat, and in whose presence you were sometimes all too conscious of a hopeless inferiority.

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Let me tell you, that when you go back, you will find that the street that you remember as being wider in some places than in others, is narrower in some places than in others. The

houses leaning against one another you will feel like taking by the scruff of the neck, and scattering them around so that the people who live in them will have room to breathe, that the damp walls may be dried, and the cold brick floors done away with. The parson, the squire, the churchwarden and the doctor won't seem nearly as mighty as you thought they were. What you thought were enormous fields and meadows will look like paddocks and gardens.

Your friends will see great changes in you. They will observe that you wear better clothes, you spend money more freely, you stand up more independently, you have discovered the letter H. Canada has made you over again, and you will get a new perspective of Britain and of Canada. Your experience will be like mine. For every time I return to England I love the Old Country more, and I am more glad to leave it.

It is a great thing to have chosen to live, and to leave your family in Canada—sometimes I think it is even greater than to have been born in Canada. He who knows two countries is a wiser man than he who knows only one—which is true even in either country circumstances may have tied you down to a spot.

But is the case of the British-born in Canada any different from that of other people who immigrate to the Dominion? "Why?" it has been asked in print and on the platform, "Why should an appeal be made to the British-born in any way differing from the appeal to the American-born, the German-born, the Belgian-born, or any other people from outside Canadian territory? There are several reasons.

The Britisher does not have to sacrifice one tittle of his affection for the land of his birth in order to appreciate the land of his adoption. Of all those who come, he is the only one who is endowed with all rights of Canadian citizenship the moment he sets foot on Canadian soil. No American millionaire, who has bought half a township; no German manufacturer who has set up a great industrial concern since the last general election, has a right to vote in this election. But every Britisher of full age, who has lived a year in the province, and the last three months in one constituency is entitled to vote without taking any oath of allegiance, or, by implication, forswearing his native land.

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That is a remarkable situation for a man who has only seen one small corner of this half continent. He is expected to give a vote in an election which our opponents deem to be the most important in Canadian history—he is expected to be a first-class statesman, as far as his own vote is concerned. He has as much responsibility for that vote, according to his capacity and opportunity, as the Prime Minister has for his vote. It is a pretty large order to expect him, inside of a year, to

become a first-class statesman, when there are men who, after sitting through twenty sessions at Ottawa, are not statesmen yet. Who should discuss this man's attitude towards an essentially Canadian and essentially British problem, if not those who, like him, have come across the sea, and, through long years, have acquired an intimate knowledge of Canadian conditions from coast to coast, and are willing to talk plainly and freely and openly about the issues at stake?

Another reason why the British-born may specially be appealed to in this election, is that there are three-quarters of a million of them in the country, with approximately two hundred thousand voters. It has been alleged against me, almost as if it were a heinous crime, that I have pointed out to my countrymen that in many places they are numerous enough to decide any issue on which there is a close division of opinion. I shall make no apology for having pointed that out, until it is proved that the statement is untrue.

Take a specimen instance. In Oshawa there are at least three hundred Old Country voters. Do you suppose that the shrewd party politicians in that town are not aware of that fact? Do you suppose that they have not gone after that vote? There have been instances—I won't say at Oshawa—in which the immigrant vote has been sought for at night, and with a dark lantern. My crime is that I am publicly calling the immigrant vote's attention to itself and inviting it to declare itself in broad daylight, and to make its influence felt in the great decision the country is about to make.

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I have said that the Britisher becomes a bigger man though his Canadian experience. This is true of his politics as well as of his social life. Indeed, political life is essentially like domestic life, especially when you understand that the word politics means the science of government, and that on this continent it has been too much degraded, until people are apt to think of it as meaning the attempt of one gang of fellows to get their hands into the public treasury by first pulling out the hands of another gang which are already there. It ought to be a part of every man's religion to see that his country is well governed.

In approaching the decision of his political connection, the Britisher in Canada may proceed on the knowledge that a man does not cease to love his mother because he loves his wife. Indeed, if he has the instincts of true manhood within him, the more he loves his wife the more he will love his mother, especially when the children begin to climb his knee and ask inconvenient questions. Human affection is such that it grows on what it feeds on.

Not only does a man find that his love for his wife increases his love for his mother, but he learns to love his wife's



mother as well. You come to Canada and find many problems embodied in our political progress that cover much wider ground than those which traditionally belong to the historic politics of Great Britain. For instance, there are now two million Canadian descendants of the French who first settled in the St. Lawrence valley. They are British subjects, as we are. Some of their characteristics differ from ours, but they are whole-hearted lovers of the Dominion. We have got to get along with them in concord, and must, therefore, avoid those things which tend to exasperate rather than conciliate feelings which in times past have provoked calamitous discords.

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The British-born have a peculiar relation to another considerable proportion of Canada's inhabitants, who do not speak what a Detroit man once called "God Almighty's own language." Most of you derive your livelihood from the factories of this town. It is within the mark to say that half of your product is sold in the West. What does that mean? It means that your livelihood is in the West, in the same sense that many of our Christian brethren tell us our citizenship is in Heaven. As residents of this town you are geographical accidents. The West is the motive power of your Canadian existence; and you will learn to look at Canadian internal affairs to that extent, from a Western point of view.

The real crucible of Canadian nationality is in the West, where a decreasing proportion of a rapidly growing population is familiar with the conditions, history, temperament and tendencies of Eastern Canada—the people for whom the Upper Canada Bible Society prints the Scriptures in seventy different tongues.

Why did these aliens to this commonwealth come into the Prairie Provinces? Because they wished to be Canadians, or desired to support Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Mr. Borden or because they wanted to read the Liberal newspapers? No, sir. They came to Canada because they thought they could better their physical and financial position. Where they flourish materially they find it comparatively easy to become Canadian. But Canada is a British country with a wonderful prospective future within the Empire. When these gentlemen are told that Canada is British, and that they have a political relationship with London and Calcutta, with Dublin and Melbourne, with Edinburgh and Cape Town, they marvel how these things can be.

Now, suppose you, Mr. Britisher, were to find yourself, as many of your countrymen have done, in the midst of a community in which you were the only man who had been born under the Union Jack—your first neighbor on the north an American, who hangs the Stars and Stripes over his domes-

tic altar; your neighbor to the east a Scandinavian, wonderfully adaptable to prairie conditions; across the creek a Galician; in the valley a Ruthenian; and back in the bush, a Doukhobor, clothed and in his right mind.

Do you not see that you are all of the British Empire they know, and that they will judge the Empire, and especially the heart of it, by your walk and conversation? There is a scriptural saying that applies to the situation, "Living epistles, known and read of all men." If you are a pretty poor epistle your neighbors will wonder how it is that the smart Ontario man who keeps a store in town, is willing to continue in political relations with you, relations which tie him more or less to Britain and Australia, to India and South Africa. If he finds that you are indifferent about your Imperial associations he will ask himself when vital political questions come up for voting—and his vote is as powerful as yours—why he should consider Canada as a part of the British Empire when he is told that he may vote so that his wheat will bring him more money, and his relations with the smart American across the border will become closer and closer. We do not sufficiently realize that, with regard to our fellow Canadian citizens who hold the balance of power in the West, we are in a peculiar sense the ambassadors of the Empire to them, more intimately so than Mr. Bryce is the British Ambassador to Washington. For they are of our political body even though they speak our language with the accent of Central Europe, and do not yet partake of our political soul.

No man who moves from one country to another in any part of the world, does so under such conditions of privilege and responsibility as you and I do when we come to Canada. It lies upon us, therefore, to take careful heed how we try to work out our political salvation in Canada, and though it is often true that there are two foolish people in the world—the fellow who gives advice and the man who takes it—I shall dare to offer a few suggestions that arise out of a fairly wide experience of Canada and Britain.

The first is, that you should allow no man or party to put a political label on you. If you have an Old Country label put it in the bottom of your trunk and forget it. Don't put a Canadian political label on yourself until you are good and ready, and then don't stick it on very tight.

Secondly, believe that party names do not mean the same things in Canada as they mean in Britain. Let me illustrate. There has recently been unpleasantness in Britain over the House of Lords. The Liberal party has clipped its wings, as an Irishman said the other day, to prevent it trampling upon Liberal legislation.

The complaint against the House of Lords was that it had become a Tory organization. When a Tory government

passed legislation in the House of Commons, the House of Lords opened its mouth and shut its eyes and took all that was sent to it. But when a Liberal Government sent important bills to the Upper Chamber, the process was reversed, the House of Lords shut its mouth and opened its eyes, and took what it was obliged to.

In Canada we have a pale and feeble imitation of the House of Lords—the Senate. Twenty years ago Sir Wilfrid Laurier pledged himself to reform it for the very same reason that the Liberal party attacked the House of Lords—it had become a Conservative party institution. He has governed the appointments to the Senate for fifteen years, and it is now as much a Liberal institution as it was a Conservative institution twenty years since. Sir Wilfrid does not mention Senate reform now.

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Take an illustration from provincial politics. A Conservative government at Toronto is distributing the lightning—it is bringing Niagara Falls into the electric bonds in this room. That is the most radical piece of Administration I know of in the Empire.

Again, some of you in Britain probably belonged to the Conservative party which has vehemently opposed local veto. The Conservative Government in Ontario is enforcing local veto. The other day in Nova Scotia I saw a letter from a Conservative candidate, a letter pledging himself to the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages in Canada.

Take still another illustration. Many people think that Free Trade is an immutable article of the Liberal faith in Britain. I agree with Sir Edward Grey, that it was and is an expedient. Free Trade was introduced into Britain in order to help manufactures. Agriculture could not support all the population. It was necessary to obtain and keep oversea markets, and Bright and Cobden, the great apostles of Free Trade, who were manufacturers, preached the necessity of obtaining cheap food and cheap raw material, as a means of maintaining the industrial supremacy of Britain.

In Canada Protection was adopted for the reason that Free Trade was adopted in Britain—to encourage manufactures. At that time the Canadian people were producing, as they are producing to-day, far more food than they could eat. Whatever your theories of Free Trade and Protection—and, of course, I admit that Protection is liable to abuse, and has been abused in some respects—it is true that thousands and thousands of Old Country workmen are better off in Protected Canada than ever they expected to be in Free Trade England.

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Having got rid of the idea which is pressed from some quarters, that because you were a Liberal in the Old Land

you should vote for Reciprocity in Canada, I would suggest that you disregard the appeals that are being made to the election speeches, of statesmen who have long since gone to their reward, and who knew as little of the Canada in which we live as we know of the regions where they now dwell. It is necessary to have some knowledge of Canadian political events of the last century in order to get a reasonable historic perspective, but the statesmen who are gone were also party politicians and said and did many things for the purpose of gaining votes rather than because they desired to influence posterity.

Most of us are alike in this, that we have no political past and are, therefore, not concerned as to whether the Conservative party was or was not in favor of Reciprocity years and years ago. The agreement on which this election is being fought has to do with the future and not with the past. We shall make no mistake in disregarding the graveyard gramophony of some of the party organs.

This is the twentieth century. One of the things that Sir Wilfrid has said that will survive his coming defeat is that the twentieth century belongs to Canada. So it does, and so will a good many other centuries, if Canada in the meantime does not belong to somebody else. If you can find a clear, coherent, progressive national policy laid down in the twentieth century for the twentieth century, I would suggest that you arrive at unmistakable conclusions concerning it, and do not allow yourselves to be deviated by arguments and recriminations that do not touch the soul and substance of it. If you can find such a policy, such a broad current of natural growth, launch your political barque on that stream, keep in the middle of the current, and do not be disturbed by the splashing of the fellows who crowd one another alongside the muddy banks.

Such a policy was laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, after he had disencumbered himself and his party of some of the ideas that belonged to a poverty-stricken Canada that had too little faith in its own future. He began by abandoning reciprocity just about the time the twentieth century was raising its head above the horizon, and also, mark you, about the time that the British immigration of men and money began to flow into the Dominion.

Reciprocity belonged to the time when it was impossible to travel from Canada to Britain during about half of the year, except through the United States ports. It is less than forty years since people in this part of Canada could reach the Atlantic coast by a Canadian railway. It was assumed that Canada was and would continue to be the backyard of the United States. That idea persisted longer than it should have done. Ottawa statesmen got the habit of going to Washington beseeching the United States for trade favors. They mis-

took the habit for a gift of divine providence. They remind me of a story of a Scotch preacher named Harry Lauder. Under the strain of much work, it is said his wife cautioned him against too much spirituous consolation. She said "You know, Harry, I am afraid ye'll get the whiskey habit." "Habit?" said Harry, "it's no a habit, it's a gift."

Sir Wilfrid tried one of the traditional pilgrimages, none of which produced more than a cup of cold water and a few kind words. Having been repulsed, and feeling in his bones that Canada's day of prosperity would come with the dawn of the twentieth century, Sir Wilfrid announced his abandonment of the idea of Commercial Justification by Faith in the United States. Some of our Liberal brethren do not like to hear about this aspect of reciprocity, and if there are any present who doubt that the Prime Minister definitely abandoned reciprocity, let me read for their instruction a few verses from the gospel according to St. Wilfrid.

In 1899, the year after the last abortive attempt to secure reciprocity, he said:

"I am not making too wide a statement when I say that the general feeling in Canada is not in favor of reciprocity. There was a time when the market of the great cities of the Union was the only market we had, but these days are past and over now. We are not dependent on the American market now."

In 1901, at a banquet in Montreal, Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared:

"Since the abolition of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1866, we have sent delegation after delegation to Washington to obtain Reciprocity. We are not sending any more delegations. But I rather expect that there will be delegations coming from Washington to Ottawa for reciprocity. Having learned from our friends in the south how to receive such a delegation, we shall receive them in the proper manner—with every possible politeness."

In 1903, in proposing the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway legislation, the Prime Minister was uncompromising:

"I have found, in the short experience during which it has been my privilege and my fortune to be placed at the head of affairs, by the will of the Canadian people, that the best and most effective way to maintain friendship with our American neighbors is to be absolutely independent of them."

Then the Prime Minister spoke to the Imperial Conference in 1907. Remember the whole world is at the key-hole of the Imperial Conference, because it is there that the future of the Empire is most instructively fore-shadowed. Listen to Sir Wilfrid again:

"If we were to follow the laws of nature and geography between Canada and the United States, the whole trade would

flow from south to north, and from north to south. We have done everything possible, by building canals and subsidizing railways, to bring the trade from west to east and east to west so as to bring trade into British channels. So far as legislation can influence trade we have done everything possible to push our trade towards the British people as against the American people.

"There was a time when we wanted reciprocity with the United States, but our efforts and our offers were put aside. We have said good-bye to that trade, and we now put all our hopes upon the British trade."

Statesmen sometimes talk through their hats, but when you find them implementing their declared opinions by embarking upon a policy which deeply pledges the finances of the country you may know that they really mean business. Sir Wilfrid abandoned reciprocity. But with a country like Canada, just getting into its stride, he could not stop there. The abandoning of reciprocity was, for all practical purposes, endorsed by the general election of 1900. Before the next election came Sir Wilfrid committed the country to a vast constructive commercial policy, the building of a new railway from ocean to ocean. It was not a mere commercial undertaking, but vital to the national growth of Canada. Here beginneth a brief chapter from the further gospel according to St. Wilfrid. In the House of Commons, speaking upon the National Transcontinental-Grand Trunk Pacific legislation he said:

"A railway to extend from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and to be, every inch of it, on Canadian soil, is a national as well as a commercial necessity. That such a road must be built, that it is, in the language which I have used, a national and commercial necessity, that it is a corollary of our status as a nation, that it is a requisite of our commercial development is a proposition to which, up to the moment, I have heard no dissent.

"We consider that it is the duty of all those who sit within these walls by the will of the people, to provide immediate means whereby the products of those new settlers may find an exit to the ocean at the least possible cost, and whereby, likewise, a market may be found in this new region for those who toil in the forests, in the fields, in the mines, in the shops of the older provinces. Such is our duty; it is immediate and imperative. It is not for to-morrow, but of this day, of this hour and of this minute. Heaven grant that it be not already too late; heaven grant that whilst we tarry and dispute the trade of Canada is not deviated to other channels, and that an ever vigilant competitor does not take to himself the trade that properly belongs to those who acknowledge Canada as their native or their adopted land."

"Heaven grant that it is not too late," cried Sir Wilfrid, and he followed up this demonstration of political piety, in which he put his hand over his heart, by putting his other hand into your pocket. It is there yet, the proof of the hostage we have given to the future against the "ever vigilant competitor."

The National Transcontinental section of Sir Wilfrid's railway between Moncton and Winnipeg is over 1,800 miles long. Nearly 1,300 miles of this is through a country which, when the railway was undertaken, did not contain as many white people as there are in this hall. The railway is being built on a scale the expense of which is greater than that of any pioneer railway built on this continent.

Mr. Graham, Minister of Railways, told the House of Commons last March that it would cost over \$145,000,000—more than \$80,000 per mile. In the end the taxpayers will have to make good a yearly interest of \$3,000 per mile, or about \$1.75 per yard on the cost of construction and equipment. In the West, the prairie section, which is really to carry the other sections, traverses 800 miles of prairie country. The mountain section, which will be far more costly than the Ontario and Quebec sections, is over one thousand miles long.

Taking the enterprise as a whole, which the country must make good, it will be found that, supposing the ratio of expenses to earnings in the early lean years is the same as that of the Canadian Pacific after it has become the greatest railway system in the world, it will have to earn anywhere from twenty to twenty-five million dollars a year, before the interest on the cost of construction can be paid out of the revenue.

I know something about another railway. The Canadian Northern, west of Lake Superior, has a mileage about the same as that of the Laurier Transcontinental from Moncton to Prince Rupert, with branches through the most fertile sections of the prairie provinces spreading out like the fingers of my hand. It has no long stretches of unproductive territory, but after thirteen years' existence it earned \$12,000,000, according to the last annual report.

You will see there are still great obligations to meet in connection with the enterprise, which was designed to secure our relationship with Great Britain, and to prevent the supremacy of the United States in Canadian commerce. And yet, while the scheme is still unfinished, the Prime Minister turns his back upon it, and prophesies at St. John, that the Reciprocity agreement will cause Canadian trade to flow towards the United States like water through a millrace.

The agreement is said by its friends to involve nothing more than a few ordinary commercial transactions that have no bearing upon our national integrity. They might as well say that the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific Transcontin-

ental Railway, which Sir Wilfrid declared was a corollary of our status as a nation, is not a national undertaking.

You cannot, in making a national bargain, ignore the intention of the other party to the deal, especially if he happens to be ten times as big as you are. Our friends talk as though the agreement were like a lady's purchases of a week's groceries and a few ribbons and pins across the counter. They airily assume it has nothing more to do with our national destiny than those purchases will decide the eternal welfare of the lady's family.

The transaction is of another sort altogether. It is of this kind. Two men compete in the same line of trade on the same street. One does ten times as much business as the other, and for many years has refused to make friendly arrangements with him. The smaller man has developed a few special lines of his own, and has mapped out a course for himself, for which he has incurred large capital obligations. The big man after years of loudly-proclaimed indifference to his neighbor, proposes that the two conduct their business according to an agreement, which, while it will have little effect upon his own method of carrying on his commerce, will vitally change the special plan which the smaller man has been working out for years.

What is the first question the smaller man asks? It is not about the details of the agreement, but as to why the other fellow seeks to make it. The nicer the big fellow is, the more anxiously will the little fellow ask that question. It will be the governing factor in the case for him. Sometime ago I met an old ranchman friend of mine in Montreal, who gave me a little of his philosophy of business. He said:

"Sometimes when I have an awful trouble to make a deal with a man about a bunch of cattle, and finally, after chewing the rag nearly all day, I agree to sell to him, if he gives me a slap on the back, and says, 'George, come and have a drink,' I say to myself, 'George, you are beat,' and if he asks me to have a second drink almost before I get the first one down, I say, 'and look out that you ain't beat to death.'"

The reciprocity agreement was negotiated in Washington. President Taft and his friends expected it to be so delightful to the Canadian people that it would pass through Parliament like lubricated lightning, and the President and his friends began to describe its effects. They reckoned without their Borden, and went on talking, after the danger lights were hung on the boundary wall.

In considering the meaning of President Taft's speeches, we must remember that it is the head of a foreign state who speaks, and that we must judge his remarks as though they were coming from William the Kaiser instead of from William the President. We must be just as careful about sacrificing our



independence, fiscal and otherwise, to the President, as we would be about sacrificing it to the Kaiser.

There is, of course, no disrespect to our neighbors in this. The way to retain their respect is to display the maximum of respect for ourselves. They are a wonderful people with a wonderful country, but their ways are not our ways. We shall render them a service only less in degree than the service we shall perform for ourselves by adopting the view I have already quoted from the gospel according to St. Wilfrid. "That the best and most effective way to retain friendship with them is to be absolutely independent of them."

We must develop our institutions in our own way, and on British rather than American lines. For example: one of the glories of the Empire is the administration of justice. British courts are a model for the world. Another is the quality of public service in our cities and other communities. President Taft has written more than once that the administration of criminal justice in the United States is a disgrace to their civilization. I remember hearing Mr. McClure, the magazine editor, say to five hundred business men in Kentucky, that the government of the large cities in the United States is in the hands of the criminal and semi-criminal classes. Nobody protested. Our public life is imperfect enough, but at least we must avoid the troubles from which our neighbors find it so difficult to extricate themselves.

Then President Taft says that this agreement brings Canada to the parting of the ways. He can only mean that we must travel more closely with the United States or with the United Kingdom. There is no escape from this conclusion, especially when, after weeks of reflection he followed that saying—with its natural sequel. He said the bond that unites Canada with the Mother Country is so light as to be almost imperceptible, and that if reciprocity comes into effect it will, by insuring a social and commercial union with the United States, prevent a commercial union within the British Empire.

One does not have to be a Tariff Reformer in British politics in order to appreciate the significance of this declaration. What should we say if the German Emperor were to announce his desire to use an agreement with Canada, as a means of preventing commercial union within the British Empire? We may not be ready to-day for such a union, but I greatly mistake the ambition and temper of our people if they will permit President Taft or any other president, to put them in a position where such a union cannot be accomplished.

President Taft has used an ominous word in connection with the purely commercial aspect of this agreement. He has said it will lead to a greater control of the wheat trade of the world by the United States, because it will divert into American

channels the flow of Canadian wheat to Great Britain. Secretary Knox has used the same expression.

The word "control" has come to have a different meaning from what it had a generation ago. Large aggregations of capital, telegraphic communication everywhere, and vastly improved transportation, have produced the great company whose operations cover illimitable territory.

In a small way you have noticed that, in the Old Country towns with which you are familiar. Go back to Exeter or Chelmsford, and you will see shops that used to be kept by townsmen of the fifth and sixth generation that are now in the hands of concerns like Liptons and the Inter-Colonial Tea Company.

In the United States the control of conditions by great corporations has been perfected into a science, so that it includes not only the dominance of purely commercial transactions, but also the control of legislatures and even of the judicial bench.

I have not time to go fully into the evidence which proved how largely this reciprocity agreement suggests a march on Canada's natural resources which the President avows are to be used to save the remainder of the squandered resources of the United States.

Without the least restraint, the reciprocity agreement is declared by the high contracting parties to be a means of inducing the Canadian provinces to cancel their regulations by which the timber on Crown lands must be manufactured into wood pulp on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workmen, who will consume Canadian supplies. That alone should be enough to decide a far-seeing man to vote against the whole scheme.

The attitude of the President and Secretary of State is exactly like that of leading business men and periodicals of that country. I could quote you evidence by the yard, but will be content with a typical extract from the Minneapolis Journal, the leading newspaper of the north-western states.

The Taft policy spells not only North American commercial union, but also the doom of British Imperialistic commercial unity.

Too late, provided Congress acts, the British are awakening to the value of the prize they so fatuously rejected. Too late, if Congress rises to the level of this, perhaps the greatest piece of statesmanship effected by an American President since Thomas Jefferson annexed the west.

This is an agreement between two countries on which a future policy is to rest. The principle of give and take must first be established before the next step can be taken. The next step will be the removal of duties on

manufactured products. Why should that barrier exist any more than one between Minnesota and Dakota?

To-day England is our best customer, and Canada is our third best customer. But our foreign trade wanes, and that of Canada grows. If we push Canada into England's arms, the trade arrangements between the two will tend more and more to shut us out.

How long will our trade with these two customers last if reciprocity fails? Our Canadian trade must fall off, as the east and west channels of her commerce are scoured by use. And Canada will more and more supply English needs in our stead.

Our neighbors are not to be blamed for cherishing these expectations. To me, it is astounding that some of our own people assert that the agreement is innocent of any possible effect on the fine quality of our national spirit.

Let it be understood that in seeking to defeat the government upon this agreement, I do not impugn the loyalty of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or any of his colleagues, or supporters; but I do challenge their discernment.

President Taft is the father and mother of the agreement, and Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson are its wet nurses. They have apparently failed to realize the change that has come over the Canadian people in this century. Secure in their own sense of attachment to Canadian institutions, they have forgotten that the balance of power may any day transfer to those who are not natives of the country, who do not regard the eastern and western channels of commerce, as being the very arteries of our life-blood, and who will be quick to appreciate any sign of indifference to a continued working out of our destiny as it was prescribed by Sir Wilfrid himself.

I end as I began, on the note of the essential unity of the British-born and the native born in this great issue. To thousands of us, our choice of this wider, freer, more hopeful Britain, has been consecrated by the birth of our children on Canadian soil. Do you think a man in that situation is going to create division in his own household? He may not be able to say, "This is my own, my native land," but he can listen to his children say it, and he can do his part to preserve for those whom he has brought into the world, the blessed truth that as they grow older, and devote themselves to the noble prosperity of their native country, they may enjoy the rich happiness and the everlasting fruit of the closest, most enduring union with the land of their fathers.

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**The following views on Reciprocity were furnished  
to the Mail and Empire by Mr. Z. A. Lash,  
Chairman of the Canadian National  
League.**

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On February 20, 1911, the manifesto against reciprocity, signed by eighteen supporters of the Laurier Government, was published in the Canadian press, and the reasons for the opposition were given. The reasons stated shortly were:—

1. Because since the legislation relating to reciprocity with the United States was repealed by Parliament in 1897, the Government had received no mandate or authority from the people of Canada to negotiate with respect to any agreement on the subject.

2. Because the present unexampled prosperity of Canada was the result of the policy which had been pursued in the development of her trade and natural resources, and that further development along the lines of east and west transportation would be seriously checked by the proposed agreement, and the benefits of the great expenditure made to promote east and west transportation would be to a great extent lost.

3. Because the proposed agreement would seriously check the growth and development of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other, and between Canada and the various parts of the Empire.

4. Because the result of the agreement to Canada as a whole would be greatly injurious.

5. Because as a result of the agreement the freedom of action possessed by Canada with reference to her tariffs and channels of trade would be greatly curtailed and she would be hampered in developing her own resources in her own way and by her own people.

6. Because the termination of the agreement by the United States and a return to a protective tariff as against Canada would cause a disturbance of trade to an unparalleled extent, and the risk of this should not be undertaken by Canada.

7. Because Canada would be forced ultimately to extend the scope of the agreement so as to include manufactures and other things.

8. Because the agreement would weaken the ties which bind Canada to the Empire and tend to political union with the United States, and

9. Because the preservation of Canadian autonomy and Canadian nationality would in course of time be made enormously more difficult.

In taking the stand set out in this manifesto the signers felt that the questions involved were above and beyond party questions, and called for open and fearless opposition to the Government, by whose act the interests of Canada and Canadian nationality were threatened, and who by entering into the agreement had substantially reversed the policy which had brought Canada to its enviable position, and which had been the means of keeping the Liberal party in power for so many years. The signers felt that the act of the Government had absolved those of their supporters who disapproved of the agreement from further supporting them, and that those who disapproved were in duty to Canada and in self-respect called on to act in accordance with their views irrespective of previous party affiliations. Seven months have since elapsed, and the questions have been debated in and out of Parliament. The opposition to the agreement has been consistent throughout and the evidence and arguments advanced have convinced thousands of former Government supporters that for the reasons stated the reciprocity agreement should not be ratified. No attempt has been made by the Government to show that they had received from the people of Canada any mandate or authority to negotiate with respect to any reciprocity agreement with the United States, except the unfounded assertion that for the last forty years all parties have wanted it. The evidence drawn from the Premier's own public statements and from the solemn acts of the Government and Parliament conclusively disprove the assertion. It has not been contended by the Government that the present prosperity of Canada was not the result of the policy which has been pursued in the development of her trade and natural resources, and that further development along the lines of east and west transportation and of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other, and between Canada and the various parts of the Empire, would not be seriously checked and interfered with. On the contrary, a Government candidate now seeking election has frankly and publicly confessed that reciprocity would develop south and north trade instead.

No real answer has been made by the Government to the evidences furnished by the utterances of public men and the press of the United States that the result of this reciprocity agreement would ultimately be political union or annexation. An attempt was once made to treat the speech of Mr. Champ Clark in this respect as a joke, but the evidence of his seriousness and of the seriousness of the dozens of other utterances of the same kind by men and newspapers was too overwhelming to controvert, and the attempt was abandoned. The

only answer attempted has been to sneer at those who decline to take the risks involved. No answer other than the sneer has been attempted to the statement by President Taft, Mr. J. J. Hill and others that the result of reciprocity would be to prevent a closer union between Canada and the Empire, and to give to the United States the trade which, without reciprocity, would flow between Canada and Great Britain. No answer, other than a statement of the Government's intentions, made in extremis, has been given to the contention that Canada would be ultimately forced to extend the scope of the agreement so as to include manufactures and other things. The evidence of the public men and press in the United States and the natural result of such an agreement made by 8,000,000 people with 90,000,000 prove that Canada should not take the risk involved. Upon the national questions involved the evidences and arguments have been unanswerable. Upon the economic questions the Government have shifted ground and have involved themselves in absurd contradictions and dilemmas. They launched the agreement upon the theory and for the avowed reason that the farmer and food producer would obtain larger markets and higher prices. They are now appealing to the consumer for support on the ground that he will obtain his food at lower prices. The catch-ery of a 90,000,000 market has been shown beyond question to be absurd, and that, instead of a larger market, with higher prices, our own splendid home market would be opened not only to the United States, but also to thirteen other countries and all the colonies of the Empire, and that keen competition with our farmers and food producers would be the result.

The Government and their forces now utter the despairing cry, "Give the agreement a trial, and if it does not prove satisfactory let it be repealed." In urging such a course to prevent defeat the Government are regardless of the injurious disturbance of trade which would ensue by a trial and repeal. They entered into the agreement without knowing its full effect and without consultation with the people. They were willing to take all the risks involved, and they now ask the people to take the risks. The people will not do so.

