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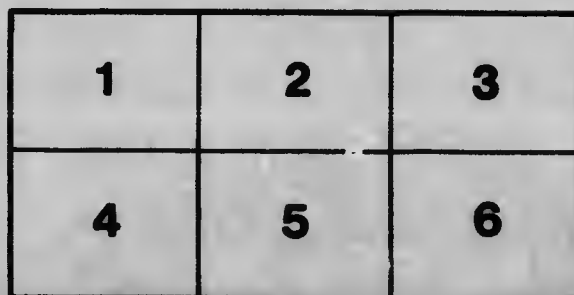
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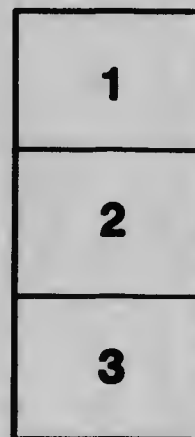
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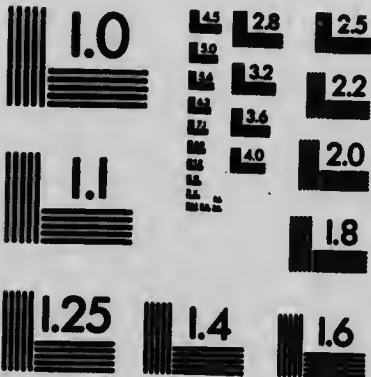
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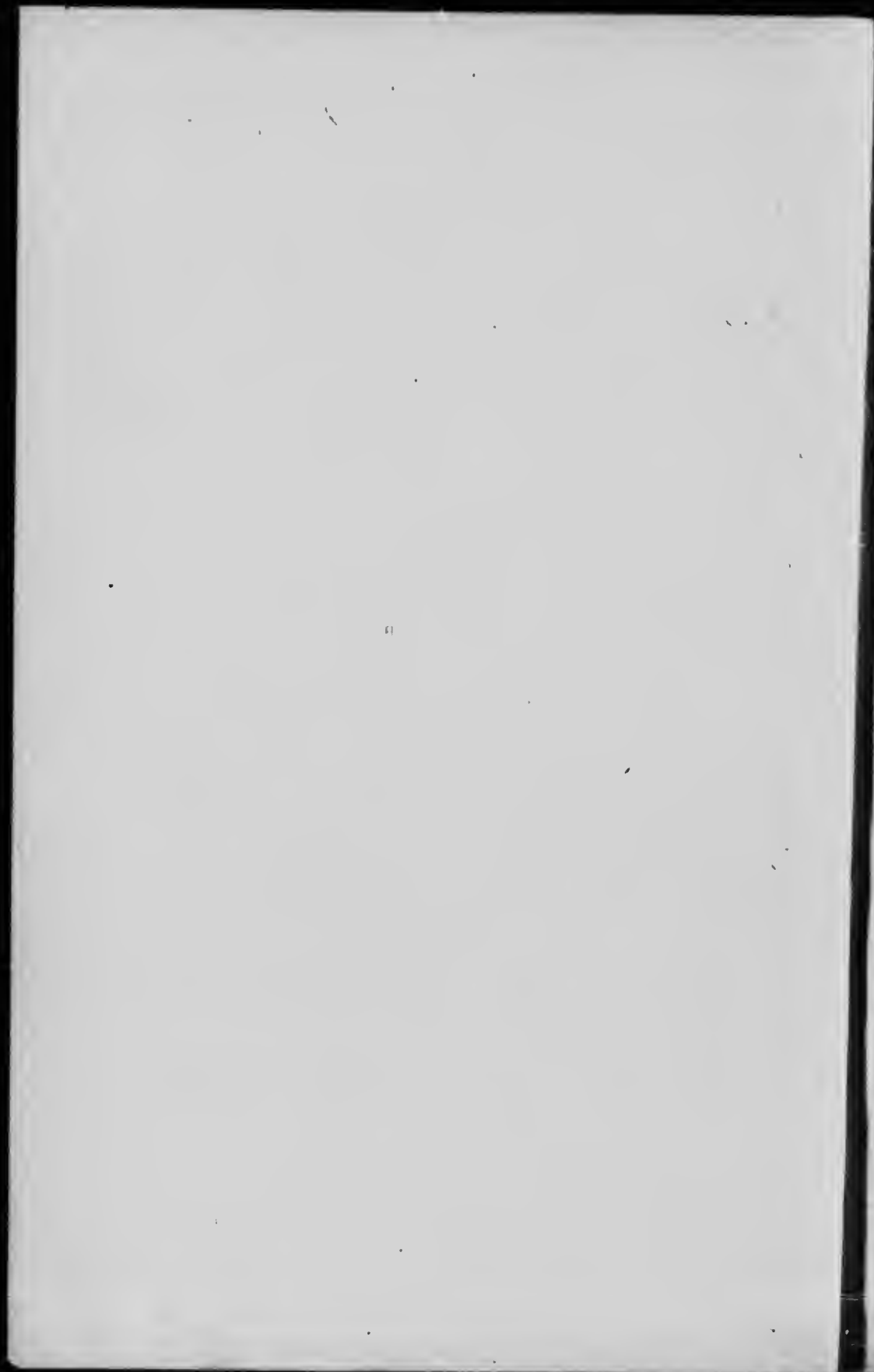
~~Pan-Canadian National League~~

Presented to the Archives

by

G. A. Laoh, K.C.

May 1918



CANADIAN NATIONAL LEAGUE

CAMPAIGN OF 1911

AGAINST

RECIPROCITY

WITH THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FC 552

R 4

C 28

1911

INTRODUCTION

As the manifesto signed by the eighteen men who had theretofore supported the Liberal party in Canada, protesting against the ratification of the proposed Reciprocity Agreement with the United States of America, will probably be regarded as an historic document in connection with the great issue upon which the people of Canada passed in so decided a way on the 21st of September, 1911, the Canadian National League, which was formed to carry on the opposition on the grounds set out in that manifesto, embody it in this collection, with fac-simile signatures.

The objects of the League are set forth in the pamphlet entitled "Reciprocity with the United States." This pamphlet, and that called "Home Market and Farm," as well as others accompanying it, were distributed in large numbers from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and it is believed that the information and arguments contained in them largely influenced the result. There were also distributed by the League various other pamphlets, containing arguments and information upon the questions involved, including the speech delivered by the Hon. Clifford Sifton in the House of Commons on the debate upon the Government resolutions, and including extracts from speeches delivered by Sir George Ross, long prior to Mr. Fieldings' and Mr. Patterson's ill-fated journey to Washington.

When Parliament was dissolved and the general elections called for the 21st of September, the parties stood as follows:

	Government.	Opposition.
Ontario	36	50
Quebec	53	12
New Brunswick	11	2
Nova Scotia	12	6
Prince Edward Island ...	3	1
Manitoba	2	8
Saskatchewan	9	1
Alberta	4	3
British Columbia	2	5
Yukon	1	..
Total	133	88

making a Government majority of 45.

The result of the elections was as follows.

	Government.	Opposition.
Ontario	13	73
Quebec	38	27
New Brunswick	8	5
Nova Scotia	9	9
Prince Edward Island	2	2
Manitoba	2	8
Saskatchewan	9	1
Alberta	6	1
British Columbia	0	7
Yukon	0	1
	87	134

thus giving the Opposition a majority of 47.

On the 6th October, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government resigned, and Mr. R. L. Borden was called upon to form a government. On the 9th October he submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General the names of his Cabinet, and on the 10th they were sworn in and assumed office, as follows:

- Hon. R. L. BORDEN, Premier and President of the Council.
- Hon. MARTIN BURRELL, Minister of Agriculture.
- Hon. J. D. REID, Minister of Customs.
- Hon. W. T. WHITE, Minister of Finance.
- Hon. W. B. NANTEL, Minister of Inland Revenue.
- Hon. R. ROGERS, Minister of the Interior.
- Hon. C. J. DOHERTY, Minister of Justice.
- Hon. T. W. CROTHERS, Minister of Labor.
- Hon. J. D. HAZEN, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.
- Hon. SAM HUGHES, Minister of Militia.
- Hon. L. P. PELLETIER, Postmaster-General.
- Hon. F. D. MONK, Minister of Public Works.
- Hon. FRANK COCHRANE, Minister of Railways and Canals.
- Hon. W. J. ROCHE, Secretary of State.
- Hon. GEO. E. FOSTER, Minister of Trade and Commerce.
- Hon. A. E. KEMP, Hon. GEO. H. PERLEY, and SENATOR J. A. LOUGHEED, Ministers without portfolio.

As the work of the League in opposing reciprocity was actively commenced by a mass meeting in Massey Hall, Toronto, on the 9th March, 1911, a short report of the proceedings at that meeting, and of the principal addresses given at it is included in this collection. The address delivered by the Hon. W. T. White, at Brockville, is inserted as a specimen of the kind of opposition offered to the Government by those who signed the manifesto, and the speech of Mr. Hawkes (Secretary of the League on "The Place of the British Born in the General Election," is included in this record to remove any misunderstanding as to what he did say and to show that the speech was in full accord with the policy of the League in refer-

ence to Canadian Nationality and British Connection. The paper written by Sir Edmund Walker; and the paper written by the Chairman of the League, which were published in the "Mail and Empire" shortly before the elections, are included here because they sum up the main issues upon which the election was fought.

Mr. W. T. White, one of the signers of the manifesto, addressed twenty-five meetings during the election campaign in opposition to reciprocity. He was called by Mr. Borden to the Cabinet, and is now the Honourable W. T. White, Minister of Finance. Mr. Arthur Hawkes, the Secretary of the League, addressed twenty-five meetings, and Mr. E. H. Scammell, the Assistant Secretary, addressed eight meetings. I take this opportunity of expressing, on behalf of the League, to Mr. Hawkes and Mr. Scammell my appreciation of the value of their services in the collection of facts, figures and information, and in connection with the preparation and distribution of the literature issued by the League.

Z. A. LASH,
Chairman.

Toronto, October, 1911.

THE MANIFESTO

We oppose ratification of the proposed reciprocity agreement with the United States of America:—

1. Because in the year 1897 the Parliament of Canada repealed the legislation then existing relating to reciprocity, and since such repeal neither the people of Canada nor their Parliament have entrusted the Government with any duty or authority to negotiate with respect to any agreement on the subject.
2. Because the present unexampled prosperity of Canada is the result of the policy which has been pursued in the development of her trade and of her natural resources. Because this has involved the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars upon railways, canals, steamships and other means of transportation between east and west and west and east, and the obligation to incur further great expenditures for the same purpose; and because further development along the same lines would be seriously checked by the proposed reciprocity agreement and the benefits of the expenditures referred to would be to a great extent lost.
3. Because it is essential to the continued national unity and development of Canada that no trade relations with any country should be agreed to by Canada on any basis which would check the growth and development of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other, or between Canada and the various parts of the Empire; and because the proposed reciprocity agreement between Canada and the United States of America would seriously check the growth and development of this trade.
4. Because any present benefit to any section of Canada or to any interests or individuals therein which might accrue from the proposed agreement would be more than offset by the loss and injury which would accrue to other sections and

interests and individuals, and because the result to Canada as a whole would be greatly injurious.

5. Because as a result of the proposed 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 after some years of reciprocity under the proposed agreement the channels of Canada's trade would have become so changed that a termination of the agreement and a return by the United States to a protective tariff as against Canada would cause a disturbance of trade to an unparalleled extent, and because the risk of this should not be voluntarily undertaken by Canada.

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

8. Because the agreement as proposed would weaken the ties which bind Canada to the Empire, and because the unrestricted reciprocity which would naturally follow would still further weaken those ties and make it more difficult to avert political union with the United States.

9. Because the disruption in the channels of Canada's trade which was caused by the termination of the reciprocity treaty of 1854 and the subsequent establishment of a protective tariff by the United States gave rise to a decided leaning in many minds towards annexation with the United States, and this at a time when Canada was mainly peopled by native-born Canadians and other British subjects, to whom the prospect of annexation was most unwelcome, and because Canada in a comparatively few years will have millions of newcomers, a large percentage of whom will have come from foreign countries, and because if Canada should then have to choose between disruption of her channels of trade with the United States or political union with them the preservation of Canadian autonomy and Canadian nationality would be enormously more difficult.

10. Believing as we do that Canadian nationality is now threatened with a more serious blow than any it has heretofore met with, and that all Canadians who place the interests of Canada before those of any party or section or

individuals therein, should at this crisis state their views
openly and fearlessly, we, who have hitherto supported the
Liberal party in Canada, subscribe to this statement.

FEBRUARY, 1911.

Signatures

Residences

B. S. Walker	Toronto
John A. Blair	do
W. B. Matthews	do
W. K. George	do
Z. S. Goff	do
L. White	do
L. J. Brown	do
John S. Dowling	do
Mr. Moulton Clark	"
R. J. Christie	"

Signatures

Residences

H. Pain	"
H. ⁱⁿ Strang	"
L. Coldman	"
Proa Somerville	"
10 Francis	"
James D. Han	"
E. R. Hood	"
Geo. Eaton	"

MASSEY HALL MEETING

On Thursday, March 9th, 1911, the first gun was fired in the anti-reciprocity campaign. A mass meeting, at which over 4,000 were present, was held in Massey Hall, Toronto, when speeches were delivered by Sir Wm. Mortimer Clark, who presided, Mr. Z. A. Lash, K.C., Mr. W. T. White, Mr. Arthur Hawkes, Mr. W. K. George, and Mr. Geo. Tate Blackstock, K.C.

Sir Wm. Mortimer Clark, in opening the meeting, said it had been called by a number of gentlemen who felt that a great crisis was before the country. The meeting, he said, was a non-party gathering. They saw no reason why the established policy of the country should be discontinued. There had been no demand for a change.

"We are at the parting of the ways," continued the chairman. "We must either choose the way to Washington or the way to the great Empire beyond the sea. We do not want our trade to go south of the line to the American nation. Our whole interest lies in aiding to build up the great British Empire."

Mr. Z. A. Lash, K.C., briefly explained who composed the committee on behalf of which he, as chairman, had invited them to be present, and moved the following resolution:

This meeting protests against the adoption of the reciprocity agreement with the United States of America, because:

- (1) It would substantially reverse the policy which has brought Canada to her present prosperous and enviable position, and cause widespread disturbance in her trade, and injury to many interests, and jeopardize the commercial and political status of the Dominion.
- (2) It would hamper Canada's freedom in developing her own resources in her own way and by her own people.
- (3) It would check the growth and development of trade between the various provinces and parts of Canada with each other, and between Canada and the Empire, and would diminish Canada's position and influence as a unit in the British Empire.
- (4) It would lead to commercial union and ultimately tend to political union with the United States.
- (5) Because the agreement was negotiated in secret and without consultation with the commercial interests involved and without any mandate from the people.
- (6) This meeting claims that before the agreement is made effective by legislation the question should be passed upon by the people at a general election, and to prevent a continuation of the commercial disturbance which the agreement has already caused the election should be held without delay.

"Exactly six weeks ago to-day," continued Mr. Lash, "the Hon. Mr. Fielding startled this country by introducing into Parliament a series of resolutions, on which to found an Act to carry out the terms of an agreement, which he and the Hon. Mr. Paterson had secretly negotiated at Washington, with the United States Government, providing for reciprocity of tariffs between Canada and the United States, admitting free of duty into each country from the other, practically all natural and farm products, and admitting at reduced rates of duty certain manufactured articles. I say that the country was startled. Let us enquire why. What has been Canada's position for many years past and what is now her position? It was and is one of unexampled prosperity, her trade steadily growing in all directions, her population rapidly increasing, and her people contented. The National Policy, which was commenced in 1879 by Sir John Macdonald's Government, was the beginning of the period of prosperity which we are still enjoying. This policy was continued and improved by the Liberal Government, which took office in 1896, and the great part, since then, taken by the present Government in the building up of Canada, was always along lines entirely inconsistent with the policy now sought to be forced upon us by this reciprocity agreement. Since the Laurier Government came into power the development of Canada has gone on apace, and trade between Canada and the Empire has been encouraged by the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars. Look at that map and see what has been done. The Canadian Pacific Railway has been completed. The Canadian Northern Railway System has been brought into existence. The Grand Trunk Pacific and the National Transcontinental have been partially constructed, and the country is irrevocably committed to their completion. Steamship lines have been established on the Great Lakes and on the St. Lawrence and on the ocean; our canals have been enlarged and improved, and other vast public and private expenditures have been made to promote and encourage east and west, and west and east, traffic, and traffic between Canada and Great Britain. Sir Wilfrid Laurier declared in his speech upon the Grand Trunk Pacific and National Transcontinental Railway Bills:—

"Why this new enterprise? Why this expenditure? Why should Parliament be called upon to assent to such a policy as is here indicated? We ask Parliament to assent to this policy because we believe—nay, we feel certain, and certain beyond a doubt—that in so doing we give voice and expression to a sentiment, a latent but deep sentiment, which is to-day in the mind, and still more in the heart, of every Canadian, that 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 a 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 this moment, I have heard no dissent.'"

* * * * *

"The tariff against the United States was maintained and a preference given to England. The Canadian people were developing the natural resources of Canada in their own way. The natural resources of the United States were becoming exhausted, and on account of our trade and tariff policy many millions of dollars of United States capital had been forced into Canada, where it is employed in giving work to thousands of men. Large mills have been erected, and our wheat and other grains are being ground into flour and foodstuffs, and the surplus exported to Great Britain and her colonies and to foreign countries. A home market has been created; the provinces east and west are trading with each other in their natural resources and farm-products, and they are being more and more closely bound together by these relations. The Tariff Act of 1897, passed by the present Government, repealed the reciprocity legislation which was then in force. A fresh start was taken by both parties so far as reciprocity with the United States was concerned. Since then there were three general elections, viz.: 1900, 1904, and 1908, and reciprocity was never an issue before the people. On the contrary, the policy, to which I have alluded, to encourage east and west traffic, and trade relations with the Empire, the Grand Trunk Pacific and National Transcontinental Railways and other things inconsistent with reciprocity were all planks in the Liberal platform, and the country and the Liberal party had the right to believe that reciprocity was dead so far as Canada was concerned, and that it would not be revived without a mandate from the people and without full investigation into our conditions and businesses and without those concerned being heard.

* * * * *

"Then six weeks ago this bomb was exploded," said Mr. Lash, "and after recovering from the first shock we began to see its meaning. We saw that it was practically a reversal of the policy which had been followed and developed by this Government since 1896. Look at the map again and see what it means. Instead of trade between the provinces being further encouraged, a north and south trade would to a large extent take its place. Our country would be tapped all along our southern boundary. British Columbia would trade with Washington, Oregon and California; Alberta and Saskatchewan with Montana, the Dakotas and States to the south; Manitoba with

Minnesota and Wisconsin and adjoining States; Ontario with Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York; Quebec and the Maritime Provinces with New York and the New England States. Our wheat and other grains would be ground in the United States mills, and our export trade in flour and other foodstuffs would be ruined. The inflow of United States capital to Canada would be stopped, and the disturbance of our trade and trade channels would be widespread and revolutionary; but more than that, our freedom to develop our own resources, in our own way, and by our own people, would be curtailed and hampered, and our hands would be tied by an agreement with a foreign nation who would look after their own interests first, last and always. But still more, our Canadian nationality, our proud position and our influence as a unit in the great British Empire would be diminished, our trade with Great Britain would be lessened, and our hopes of trade preference within the Empire would be frustrated, the ties which bind us to Great Britain would be weakened, and the strongly and clearly expressed desire in the United States, that the Stars and Stripes may float over Canada instead of our own beloved flag would be nearer of accomplishment."

* * * * *

Mr. Lash combatted the claim that the Liberal party was committed to reciprocity, and had been since Confederation. The clause in the Tariff Act of 1879 had long since been abrogated.

* * * * *

Continuing, Mr. Lash said: "When we realized what had been done, and what it would mean to Canadian autonomy and nationality, five or six of us Liberals met to discuss the crisis, for a crisis it is. We were loth to differ from our party leaders, but we felt that if ever Canadians were called upon to place country before party, now was the time. We felt that, as members of the Liberal party in 1911, we were not committed to this policy of reciprocity, and that the Government had no right to assume to commit the party or the country to it. We felt that the question was not whether industries or interests or individuals or sections of this country would be benefitted or injured by this agreement. The true question was that of Canadian nationality and autonomy, and we believed that it was the duty of all true Canadians to look at it in this way, and to decide it upon these principles, and not upon the balance of profits or losses to classes or interests. To us it was not a party question; it was something above and beyond any party; and we decided to oppose it upon these grounds, and to come out in the open and do so.

"We had further meetings to discuss the agreement and the results of it to the material interests of Canada and of her people, and we became convinced that any benefits to one class

or section would be more than offset by the injury to other classes and sections. We believed it to be essential to the continued national unity and development of Canada, that no trade relations with any country should be agreed to by Canada on any basis which would check the growth and development of trade between the various parts of Canada with each other, or between Canada and the various parts of the Empire, and we believed that the proposed agreement would seriously check the growth and development of this trade. We saw that, as a result of the proposed agreement, the freedom of action possessed by Canada with reference to her tariffs and channels of trade would be greatly curtailed, and that she would be hampered in developing her own resources in her own way and by her own people. We remembered the position of Canada after the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, had been terminated and the high protective tariff had been established by the United States as against Canada, and we knew that a great disturbance of trade had taken place, and that many of our people had become almost hopeless for our future, and that a very decided feeling that no course was left but annexation with the United States had grown up in many minds. We remembered that at that time Canada was mainly peopled by native-born Canadians and other British subjects, to whom the prospect of annexation was most unwelcome; yet many saw no other remedy. We remembered that many hundreds of thousands of newcomers had settled in Canada since that time, and that they were coming in by the thousands, and that in a comparatively few years their numbers would be millions. We knew that a large percentage of these newcomers were foreigners, and a large percentage of them had come and would come from the United States. We remembered the attitude of the United States towards Canada in the past, and we knew that that country would consider her own interests and wishes first, last and always, and we felt that if the United States thought it would be in their interests, and would serve the object they have always had in view, to legislate so as to cause a disruption in our channels of trade, our people might then, with millions of newcomers, and foreigners, have to choose between submitting to this disruption or to some closer union with the United States. We felt sure that the first thing that would happen would be that the scope of the reciprocity agreement would have to be extended, so as to include manufactures and other things, and that after that it would be a mere question of time when political union would follow.

“During our discussions there were appearing almost daily in the United States press, speeches of their public men and letters and editorials in their newspapers, proving conclusively what we have always believed to be the fact, that the United States longs for Canada, and would go almost any

length to acquire it and to have the Stars and Stripes floating o'er this continent from the Arctic Ocean to the Gulf. To use Sir William Van Horne's now celebrated phrase, we felt 'sick and ashamed,' and we decided to act.

"A manifesto was then drawn up and agreed to, embodying the views I have expressed. I was asked to invite other Liberals, who were true Canadians, to join in our protest and I am proud to say that we met with a ready and hearty response.

"We had no intention of allowing our protest to be a mere flash in the pan; we intended to organize and work against this preposterous agreement. We have organized; we have appointed a committee of ourselves as a nucleus of a larger committee, and we will have representation on our committee from other organizations opposed to this agreement. The committee honored me by asking me to be their chairman, and, although the task is not a very inviting one, and much time and thought and anxiety will be entailed, yet I shall not shirk the work. We propose to carry on a campaign of education and information, and to show upon what a flimsy basis this supposed boon to the Canadian people rests. The true inwardness of the agreement has already become known, and we feel sure that, when it is fully known, the people of Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will rise up and prove themselves true Canadians, and settle once and for all that Canada is to be free, that Canada is to continue in her own prosperous course, that no agreements with the United States shall be made which will hamper her freedom of action in the settlement of her own tariffs and the carving out of her own destiny; that she shall remain as the brightest jewel in the British Crown, and achieve nationhood within the British Empire."

In conclusion the speaker said: "This is not a question of party; it is a question above and beyond any parties. This is not a question of the interests of individuals or classes or sections in Canada; it is a question of Canadian autonomy and Canadian nationality and the Canadian flag.

Our hearts where they rocked our cradle;
Our love where we spent our toil;
Our faith, our hope and our honor,
We pledge to our native soil."

Mr. W. T. White, who seconded the resolution, opened his address by quoting a previous speech by Sir Wilfrid Laurier before the last election. Referring to the National Transcontinental Railway, it said, in part: "We consider it our duty to provide immediate means for the farmer of the West to get his products to the Atlantic Ocean." He then showed how by every legitimate means, trade had been opened in Canada along east and west lines, instead of north and south.

Continuing, Mr. White dwelt on the marked prosperity en-

joyed all over the Dominion. "No other country has made the same relative progress since 1900. No country has so big a credit in the London money market. The development of east and west transportation has been the chief factor in the great headway that we have made. Without tariff separation from the United States, the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railways would never have been built, and we should not now be building the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific railways. Without these Confederation would never have hung together, and our great centres of industry would have no existence."

"Under the National Policy of Sir John Macdonald, perpetuated by the Laurier Government, the values of western farm lands have risen from 50 cents and \$1 or \$2 an acre, to \$30, \$40, and \$50 an acre. Under this policy, in those years, we have borrowed from Great Britain \$550,000,000 for national, provincial, municipal, and railway purposes. C. P. R. stock is one of the world's premier securities, and every day, for ten years past, Sir Wm. Mackenzie has built one mile of railway. We are spending \$200,000,000 on the National Transcontinental Railway. Montreal is the second greatest ocean port in America. Men now in middle age will see it with a million population."

"The Dominion has the greatest potentialities of any country on earth if we stick to the national internal lines of trade, and avoid becoming involved in those financial and commercial panics to which the United States, more than any other nation, is subject.

"If we part with our heritage we shall be worse than Esau, because instead of being hungry we wax fat on unprecedented prosperity. The general effect of the proposed agreement would be to strip this country of its raw material, as the tendency would be to have our raw products manufactured in the United States."

Mr. Arthur Hawkes said he spoke for those who had the double fortune of being born in the old land, and making their fortunes in the new land across the sea. He believed there were about 750,000 of them.

"Where's your mandate?" cried one of the audience.

"These listening people," flashed back the speaker.

"We knew there were greater opportunities here for us than in the land of our birth, and there will be more opportunities after this agreement is defeated."

Mr. Hawkes then dealt with the important part transportation had played in the development of the country. He said that through its railways Canada had become the economic marvel of the modern world. The great movement of traffic from east to west must be maintained. On the maintenance of interprovincial trade depended the loyalty of the provinces

to the Dominion, and he appealed to those present to use their influence with the masses of foreign speaking people, now pouring into the country, by advocating the growth of Canadian nationality, and so making them true, loyal Canadians.

Mr. W. K. George considered the vital point to be emphasized was the dire effect the agreement would have upon the national life of Canada. Accepting for the sake of argument that all the promises would be fulfilled which the negotiations made, the disintegrating effect it would have was sufficient to cause its rejection.

They had been building up a young, strong, clean nation—the men of the north, unconquered and unconquerable—with the further prospect of becoming the dominant partner, the controlling factor in the greatest empire the world had seen. Were they to abandon that?

From a commercial standpoint, the agreement was open to the most serious objections, but apart from that, they were all aware that the greatest ambition of the United States was the annexation of Canada.

Mr. G. T. Blackstock, K.C., expressed his appreciation of the enlightened patriotism and civil courage of their Liberal brethren on the platform, who had brought about that great meeting, and moved them to join issue with their comrades on the matters involved in this debate.

“The only course on earth by which Canadian nationality could be preserved was as a component part of the British Empire. The general aspect and character of the civilization of the United States is not one that we ought to follow.” He ventured the statement that the influence of the United States to-day among us was greater than it ought to be. On all the grounds mentioned, he opposed the reciprocity policy.

