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Semi-Weekly Telegraph and The News ST. JOHN, N. B., OCTOBER 16, 1912.

PROTECTION AND THE STALKING HORSE

The Conservative newspapers which are telling us that after the Aquith government is defeated in Great Britain (an event not likely to come soon) Mr. Bonar Law and his friends will introduce only enough protection to enable the Old Country to give a preference to the Dominions overseas, are not wholly frank. They do not tell us that British protectionists have proposed a duty on Colonial wheat and on Colonial grain generally, and that it is first proposed to introduce a general policy of protection and then to arrange the matter of preference "by negotiation with the colonies."

The speech in which Mr. Chamberlain outlined his plan was delivered in Glasgow in 1902. He proposed to impose a duty of two shillings a quarter on foreign corn except maize, a corresponding tax on flour, such as would give "a substantial preference to the miller," five per cent. on the foreign meat (except bacon) and dairy produce, to remit three-quarters of the duty on tea, and one-half of the duty on sugar. He proposed, also, an average duty of ten per cent. on manufactured imports, higher or lower according as the article is more or less finished.

That was the start. But the preparation of a protective tariff was entrusted by Mr. Chamberlain to a commission, and this commission did not wholly agree with his ideas. They proposed a general tariff for foreign countries which admit British goods on fair terms, a preferential tariff for such colonies as "give adequate preference to British manufacturers," and a maximum tariff consisting of comparative higher duties but subject to reduction by negotiation. They proposed an import duty of two shillings a quarter on foreign wheat and one-half that duty on Colonial wheat. They proposed "equivalent duties on other grain—both foreign and Colonial." And they proposed to tax all incoming flour and meal, animals for food, and meats (including bacon)—"the preference on all these to be arranged by negotiation with the colonies."

It is true that Mr. Bonar Law, in 1910, expressed himself as personally opposed to any tax on Colonial wheat, but his protectionist following insisted that all other Colonial foodstuffs must submit to import tax, although that tax would be lower than the tax on similar imports from foreign countries.

It will be observed, therefore, that the protectionist element of the Unionist party is animated by motives very much like those which control the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. If they give a preference to any other country they would like to be sure that the preference would not interfere with their ability to exploit the home market.

Mr. Aquith has steadily opposed the introduction of protection in Great Britain, maintaining that it would produce evil results both for the Old Country and the Dominion overseas. In that view he agrees with Lord Salisbury. Lord Salisbury said about a fiscal bargain with the Colonies: "It is a great advantage to your Colonies; it must be that you tax the similar goods from the rest of the world, and that the Colonies are to command a better price for goods than they would obtain under unrestricted competition. A better price for the vendor means a more depreciable price for the consumer, and we have to receive proof that the people of this country are in favor of a policy of preferential taxes on wheat, on corn, and on wool."

about the proposal to tax food. Here it is: "It does not fill the Canadian lumberman with the slightest enthusiasm for the Empire to be told that the wheat of Canada is to obtain a preference in our markets. Australia sends us 334,000,000 pounds of wool every year. What are you going to do with wool? Why, you are going to do it what you did for the timber: you are going to do nothing. But 'Oh' you say, 'wool and timber are raw materials and we have said we cannot tax raw materials.' Is food not raw material? Why, Sir, food is the raw material of the race, without which your Empire is nothing but an idle dream; and if you try to say you are proceeding on a basis as illogical as it is absurd. Depend upon it, an Empire which is based on a tax on breadstuffs you have enjoyed free imports of food for fifty years is not likely to last as long as the Campanile of Venice."

Also Mr. Chamberlain himself might be called upon to testify. In a famous speech which he made in London Mr. Chamberlain said: "Well, I express my own opinion when I say that there is not the slightest chance that, in any reasonable time, this country, or the Parliament of this country, would adopt so one-sided an agreement. The foreign trade of this country is so large, and the foreign trade of the Colonies is comparatively so small, that a small preference would be but a slight benefit. I do not believe the working classes of this country would consent to make a revolutionary change for an infinitesimal gain."

But is not Canada in favor of an increased trade with Great Britain, and within the Empire generally? By all means, yes. And the way to get about it is plain enough. The way to increase trade is to remove the barriers which interfere with it. The Liberal party introduced the British preference and gradually increased it to thirty-three and one-third per cent. The western farmers are now pressing for an increase of that preference to fifty per cent., followed by other increases until free trade with the Old Country shall have been established. There we have a policy loyal enough to suit the most earnest flag-waver, and one fiscally sound enough to appeal to thoughtful men both in Great Britain and in Canada. If the protectionists of Great Britain succeed in defeating the Free Trade government, and if they introduce a general tariff and proceed, as they declare their intention to be, to negotiate with the Dominions overseas regarding preferential treatment, we probably shall find that the first thing they will ask will be that, in return for the favor of taxing Colonial imports somewhat less than foreign imports, the Colonies shall admit British manufactures duty free. If that comes to pass what an indignity protest will arise from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

To increase the British preference will be good for business in Canada and in Great Britain, and will be a further imperial step of no little importance. Why does not the British government proceed along that line while it is waiting for the victory of its protectionist friends in Great Britain?

The protectionists are for protection first and the flag afterwards, both here and in Great Britain. They are using Imperialism as a stalking horse.

THE OLD CHIEFTAIN

The inspiring description given to Sir Wilfrid Laurier during his recent tour of Ontario, and its significance, is thus described editorially by the Toronto Globe: "The reception given to Sir Wilfrid Laurier was one that must have warmed the old Chief's heart. He has spent two strenuous weeks touring the province, but he has had the reward of learning that he is not less the hero of Liberalism in opposition than he was in office. The wave of distrust so cunningly set in motion against him on race and creed grounds a year ago by the whispering brigade has subsided. There are thousands of Ontario electors today returning to Laurier who have discovered that he had nothing to do with the nemere decree, and that the marriage laws of Canada cannot be made or mended at Ottawa unless the British North America Act is first amended. The lesson of the Ontario tour is that the best way to meet the slanders and whisperers, who hurt both Laurier and the Liberal party last year by sectarian appeals, is to give the dupes of such base political tactics the opportunity of seeing and hearing Sir Wilfrid and of learning that he is a Liberal of the British school, who stands for all that is best in the traditions of a great historic party. The old Chief, in the Ontario meetings have proved, is still the greatest asset of Canadian Liberalism."

Had Ontario kept its head during the last Dominion election as well as the rest of the country did, Sir Wilfrid Laurier would still be Premier. It is well for Liberals everywhere to remember that it was Ontario which gave Mr. Borden his majority. Leaving out Ontario, the Liberals had more votes than the Conservatives in the rest of the country. Now that Ontario shows signs of returning sanity, now that it has had time to observe Mr. Borden's hard and fast alliance with the Nationalists, now that it has seen clearly that the flag waving in the last election was merely a device to divert public attention from the real issue, which was a business question, Ontario must be said to show a strong revulsion of feeling against the Conservatives. Meantime the solid Middle West swings steadily toward a lower tariff, and the farmers and consumers of the East view that policy with increasing favor. Well may Sir Wilfrid be cheerful.

THE LONDON TIMES AND THE NAVY

The London Times, which has been devoting much attention to Mr. Borden and his predicted but still unannounced naval policy, gives editorial credence to the pre-

diction of its Canadian correspondent (who is understood to be the editor-in-chief of the Conservative Toronto News) to the effect that Mr. Borden, at the coming session of Parliament, will provide for the construction of three Dreadnoughts. The Times is disposed to think that this so-called emergency action will constitute all that will be done in regard to the navy at the next session at Ottawa, and that the elaboration of a permanent naval policy may be deferred to a later date, "since the Liberal government of the Senate may precipitate a political conflict of a striking kind."

This may be read in connection with Mr. Borden's recent speech, in which he said that he would dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country unless he was able to put through the naval policy which he had in mind—but as to which the country has not yet been informed. The Times appears to be under the impression that Mr. Borden if he should propose an emergency contribution in the form of Dreadnoughts. This opinion is premature, and seems to be based largely upon the Conservative hope that the Liberal party may do something which will give cause for another flag election. The Liberals will not cross any bridge till they come to it. It is Mr. Borden who must act.

The Times proceeds to warn Canada that any contribution it may make to the naval strength of the Empire must be made conditionally. The condition insisted upon is that the Borden government shall tell the Aquith administration that any ships contributed by Canada must not be used "as an excuse for smaller provision than would otherwise have been made in our own navy estimates next year. It has already been clearly stated (by the Times and certain opponents of the Aquith government) that ships built by Canada must be regarded as increasing our margin of security and not as abating the British government from maintaining at its own charge the full margin which it has already told us that the situation requires."

Thus Mr. Borden is asked, or directed, to take cognizance of a party difference in Great Britain, and to espouse the Unionist view and forward the Unionist cause by telling the British government that Canada is to do certain things Mr. Aquith and his ministers must not do certain other things. This would be to forget that Mr. Aquith is still Premier and that it would be ungracious, in offering a Canadian contribution, to assume in the presence of the Prime Minister of Britain and his colleagues are about to pursue an unwise policy in one of the gravest matters falling within their authority.

The Times describes Mr. Pelletier as an Imperialist of proved conviction, instance his recent action in regard to the cable tolls, and apparently anticipates that he will stand at Mr. Borden's right hand and keep the bridge with him in the day of battle. Saul, it appears, is also among the prophets.

THE AIRMAN IN WAR

The opening moves in past wars have been the conflicts between the opposing cavalry squadrons. Future wars will open in the air, with the meeting of the flying warriors—the new war eagles. Men are busy with the problems of the mechanical applications of the powers of mechanical flight, and they are performing many new exploits of daring in the air. In peace the aeroplane will be used chiefly in sport, according to present indications; it is on the prospect of extensive government contracts that the manufacturers of flying machines rely for large profits. The outlook for its serious use lies altogether in the direction of war. All the war offices of Europe have recognized that it is a necessary auxiliary arm, and Tennyson's vision of "The nations' armies grappling in the central blue" may well be a reality in the future; but instead of the rain of blood, he imagined, there will be the crashing to earth of shattered machines and mangled bodies of men.

France has taken the lead in this new preparation for war and has maintained it throughout. Her pre-eminence does not depend merely on the possession of a larger number of machines than any other nation, but on the possession of a very large number of trained men who feel at home in the air. Machines can be built very rapidly, but it takes time to train men. The man who has "just learned" is of no particular use in case of war. He must feel at home in the air. The wonderful progress of recent years has not been in machines, but in men. They have learned their business, and performances that were wonderful a few years ago are now to be very ordinary. The learner has the experience of many to guide him, and with self and knowledge has come the most self-reliant daring that accomplishes extraordinary evolutions.

Aeroplane promise to be better eyes to fleets than the fastest cruisers, and because of the developments in the direction of fitting them with floats, they are likely to take the place of the fast cruisers in scouting and reconnaissance. The problem of using wireless telegraphy from an aeroplane has been successfully solved. Photography has been used as an aid to

sighting. The application of this new art to service on land and sea will completely change old methods and revolutionize warfare. Men have flown over the Alps, the Apennines, and the Channel, and traversed whole countries. They have ascended about three miles into the sky, and they find conditions at great elevations more stable than nearer the earth. Heights once regarded as appalling are now considered as easier than the lower levels.

PUT THE CARDS ON THE TABLE, FACE UP

John Wainwright recently issued a warning to the business men of the United States, asserting that tariff reduction would ruin the country. The New York Journal of Commerce, in making answer to Mr. Wainwright, and to President Taft and others who have taken substantially the same position, advances some very sound tariff doctrine. The proposition of this reliable business newspaper is worthy of study by those who have been deceived by the protectionist cry that depression would follow the removal of fiscal injustices from the tariff. The Journal of Commerce says:

"If the return of prosperity is due to the existing tariff, which does not differ materially from that which was established fifteen years ago in the Dingley act, what was the cause of the panic which occurred five years ago, and the depression that followed it, from which American industries have been slowly recovering? If prosperity is due to the existing tariff, which does not differ materially from that which was established fifteen years ago in the Dingley act, what was the cause of the panic which occurred five years ago, and the depression that followed it, from which American industries have been slowly recovering? If prosperity is due to the existing tariff, which does not differ materially from that which was established fifteen years ago in the Dingley act, what was the cause of the panic which occurred five years ago, and the depression that followed it, from which American industries have been slowly recovering? 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