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## THE CANADIAN

## Illustrated News.

HAMILTON, JANUARY 30, 1864.

H. GREGORY &amp; Co. Proprietors.

## NATIVE MANUFACTURES.

It is announced that the Provincial Parliament meets on the 19th of February. The subjects which will arise for legislative debate can only at present be conjectured. Every question will be contested which can be adopted as a gauge of party strength. The acquisition of a larger revenue will task the genius of finance. The prolongation of the Reciprocity Act will invite the eloquence of controversy. Fresh imposts whether of Direct Taxation, or of Indirect, in form of augmented Customs duties, will raise the question of protection to Canada's native manufactures. Protection for Canadian industry will also accompany the diversity of views on reciprocity.

It is time that this question was openly avowed as a principle in public economy vitally affecting the well-being of the Province. Why are the legislators and constituencies, why are leaders of public opinion in the press so slow to avow that which they secretly believe and propagate in whispers, that protection to Canadian manufactures is a necessity? They are slow to avow this because it is contrary to the spirit of free trade, and free trade is British, and they are loyal to Britain. Long may they be loyal to Britain, but loyalty is not involved in this question. The circumstances of the British manufacturer and of the Canadian manufacturer, in all the elements which determine profit or loss, are directly the reverse, the one of the other, save in one element, that of an erratic currency which exposes moneyed capital and industry to commercial panics. That is an element in profit and loss in the mother country and in the Province. To present this position the more clearly, let us glance backward to Britain in the last century and in the present. It is done in another article in this day's issue. When we reach in the birds-wing narrative the form of argument which assailed the Corn Laws within the area of the British Islands from 1842 to 1846, it will be seen why the duties levied on imported grain, and the presumed protection derived from them were abolished; why, also, it is that the same object to be gained, and the same logic which demanded free trade in grain within the ports of Great Britain, demands protection to manufactures within the frontiers of Canada.

What were the objects contended for in the arguments which assailed the Corn Laws from 1842 to 1846, and overthrew them in the latter year? The objects were a larger consumption of native agricultural products, partic-

ularly of beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese; the attraction of larger capital to native agriculture through greater steadiness of prices; through improved culture and expanded markets an enhancement of the value of land. The principle of industrial vitality by which those ends were to be obtained, and which to a very satisfactory degree have been obtained, was the continuous multiplication of manufacturing forces within the very limited area of the British Islands, and the expansion of external commerce throughout the unlimited area of the habitable globe.

The objects sought for in Canada by protective duties in favor of native manufactures are, that manufacturing forces may be continuously multiplied, producing comforts, utilities, elegancies, abundantly and cheaply, the producers of these consuming the products of native agriculture in an increasing ratio of consumption, thereby enhancing the value of land by the enlargement of general industry, and by a larger demand for beef, mutton, pork, butter, cheese, as in Britain.

In the mother country and in the Province, successful agriculture is dependent on the continuous increase of a manufacturing and commercial population. In Britain this end could only be attained by the removal of duties which increased the prices of raw material and of food, and which were a hindrance to external commerce. In Canada the end desired can only be reached by imposing customs duties as a protection to native manufactures.

The smuggler determines the limits to which duties, whether imposed for protection or for revenue, can be laid on. When the smuggler can incur peril at a profit, the maximum tax has been exceeded.

The policy of protection to Canadian manufactures for the general benefit of the Province, is as consistent with a sound logical Political Economy as was the policy which removed customs duties that were a hindrance to the progress of British development. Protection to native manufactures was for many years, centuries, a necessity in the British Islands. The development of mechanical and chemical science, the steam-engine, spinning-frame, powerloom, native iron, native coal, railroads and steam navigation, bestowed on the British Islands in one busy stretch of sixty or seventy years the productive strength and distributive power of one thousand millions of human beings. The Corn Laws, restrictive of commerce were abrogated to give these enormous forces of production freedom of action. It was then foretold, 1842 to 1846, that the owners of land would derive the larger and most enduring benefit from the change; a promised result well fulfilled, and still fulfilling.

## THE EARL OF ELGIN.

The Earl of Elgin might have been permitted to pass away without any controversy as to his personal merits and tenure of office in Canada, had not the impetuous pens of Mr. Oliphant, and similar retainers of the deceased, claimed for his memory what cannot be conceded but at the expense of the common sense of the people of this Province. Grant all that is asserted of Lord Elgin between 1846 and 1854, the term of his incumbency of office as Governor General, and the inhabitants are described as if plunged in basest degradation. The man was never born of woman who could have effected for a community all that is attributed to the Earl of Elgin, disintegrated in anarchy and ignorance as that community is presumed to have been before he laid its shattered pieces together and built up a fabric of law, order, obedience, freedom and prosperity.

Lord Elgin's merit was simply negative. He did not resist the desire of the Home Government to allow the people of this Province to elect their Legislative Assembly. The people having by their own resolute will obtained the privilege of self-government, municipalities were organized, with public schools, and colleges; so also post-offices. Canals were constructed and Railways carried through the primeval forests, because the population of the Province submitted willingly to be taxed for such useful works; taxed for payment at the time of expenditure, and willingly submitting to additional imposts to sustain the public credit by which funds were borrowed to complete what current revenue could not accomplish.

To read Mr. Oliphant in a late number of the *Dunfermlin Press*, a paper published in a town which that gentleman aspires to represent in the British Parliament, and which is situated beside the ancestral residence of the Elgin family, one would suppose that in this Canada there was no political philosophy nor progressive idea above the level of the wig-wam until the descendant of "Robert the Bruce" came hither with Mr. Oliphant as private Secretary.

In the *London Times*, and in *Blackwood's Magazine* and other less potent organs it has been this Secretary's vocation for years, in Canada, in China, in Japan, in England, and in the kingdom of Hife, to cover Lord Elgin, while he yet lived, with elaborate eulogy. One feels the task ungracious to raise any exceptions now that the Earl is dead, but the writer in question presuming, perhaps, on the impunity

which may accompany the mournful event of the death of a public servant so exalted as the Governor General of India, does not hesitate to defame another public servant the equal of Lord Elgin in every human attribute, and his superior in some—Sir John Bowring. To mention him leads to China; let the concluding remarks be first made about Canada Mr. Oliphant says:

"Elgin's diplomatic success arose from his integrity. There are, we know, some people who esteem a basis of veracity the most hopeless of all foundations for a diplomatic triumph. With Elgin, however, it was otherwise."

In Canada that event, destined to be the monument of his lordship's name, will preserve with it the memory of a policy in which there was neither frankness nor veracity. We pronounce not now whether compensation for losses sustained in the rebellion were right or wrong; but Lord Elgin, as Governor General, on seeing the magnitude and moral force of the opposition to that measure announced publicly and deliberately that he would not give the Royal assent to the bill. By that declaration he calmed the opposition, threw them off their guard for a day, and on that day, belying his words, he proceeded to the Parliament House at Montreal and gave the Royal assent to that bill. The evil done lay in the manner of exercising the duplicity which his adulators have named "successful diplomacy." Some of the truest hearted men in the Province were driven by that act to talk of annexation to the United States. The Parliament House was burned the same night, a disgrace attaching to Montreal and Canada to this day; but a disgrace resulting from a want of "veracity" in Lord Elgin's diplomatic relations with a very large section of the population. Added to that deliberate inexactness in veracity was Mr. Oliphant's escape out of Montreal on that night. He knows who accompanied him. The aged King Louis Philippe trudging out of Paris and out of France as William Smith, was the nearest parallel; but William Smith's flight, if not dignified, was at least blameless in its moral associations.

There was also the event recorded in the biography of Mr. John Sandfield Macdonald, the present Premier of Canada. [No. 12., Vol. 1 of the *Canadian Illustrated News*.] A passage may be quoted:

"Mr. Macdonald was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly after the first removal of the Public Departments to Quebec in 1852, and filled the chair of the House until the dissolution in 1854. It was while at the head of the Commons of Canada in June of the latter year, that he administered to Lord Elgin, the then Governor General, that startling rebuke, of memorable record on the journals of the Assembly. The summoning of Parliament had been protracted to the latest period allowed by law and custom; and when, on the consideration of the Address, in answer to His Excellency's speech from the throne, an adverse vote was recorded against his Ministry, instead of the usual course being adopted of calling upon a new set of men to advance the high handed purpose of an immediate prorogation, to be followed by dissolution. They were thus naturally excited and indignant that no opportunity would be allowed for explanations in regard to their late convention, nor the reasons that might have existed for non-legislation during so long a period. Under the circumstances the Speaker was impelled by loyalty to the Constitution and duty to the House, to his voice was stilled by the imperative mandate of a dissolution, to deliver the following remonstrance. Standing whilst he did so in front of the members in the Legislative Council Chamber, the commanding height of Mr. Macdonald, his earnest eloquence, his firm and respectful demeanor, gave dignity and life to a scene not to be forgotten by the spectators, nor to be obliterated as one of the prominent landmarks of progress in the Constitutional history of Canada."

Mr. Speaker Macdonald's speech is too long to be recited here in full. He said it had been the immemorial custom of the Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament to communicate to the Throne the general result of the deliberations of the Assembly upon the principal objects which had employed the attention of Parliament. "It is not now," said he, "an Act passed or judgment of Parliament honored by your Excellency's summons to the Parliament by your grace Throne. The passing of an Act through according to the laws and custom of declared applicable to the parliamentary Province by a decision of the Legislature is held to be necessary to constitute a law. This we have been unable to accomplish which Your Excellency has laid this day for the purpose of prorogation."

After other remarks Parliament constitutional rules sacrificed, to the political morality. A subsequent Government could not go far wrong if he imitated the example of the Constitution in the August, 1858.

Mr. Oliphant inspires the *Dunfermlin* "Within two years of his return from