

now the United States. But the growth of that sentiment was rapid; and one of the great causes that led to the abandonment of the confederation of the thirteen States, and the formation of that "more perfect union" which was afterward created, was that the Congress—the central power—might be clothed with the necessary authority to levy duties upon imports from foreign countries. Before the union was perfected New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts were clamoring for protection; and when Congress met in 1785, it found itself besieged by influential petitioners who demanded that some system of protection should be adopted. Four years later—in 1789—when the first Congress chosen under the new constitution met in New York, petitions for protection were showered upon it from all sections, from Boston to Charleston; and in response to this expression of public sentiment, the first important law passed by the first Congress was a Tariff Act. This Act was prepared by James Madison—who afterwards became President—and in the preamble it was clearly stated that one object of the act was 'the encouragement and protection of manufactures.'

It is not necessary to recur to the ups and downs of protection in the United States. When its friends were in power the country was prosperous, and when they were out of power the country was not prosperous. The element that antagonized protection was the element that precipitated the country into rebellion; and it was to raise the means to pay the cost of the rebellion that the Morrill Tariff Act was passed.

#### PROSPERITY UNDER PROTECTION.

How the United States has prospered under its system of protection is shown by a statement made by Michael G. Mulhall, the great English statistician, to a recent meeting of the British Association. Speaking of the growth of the resources of the United States—its wealth, population and industries—in a single generation, from 1850 to 1888, one of his computations showed the relative progress in ten principal items of national greatness during this period of thirty-eight years. These elements and their advance during the period alluded to were as follows:—

ELEMENTS.	ADVANCE.
Railways.....	1580 per cent.
Banking.....	918 "
Steam Power.....	685 "
Wealth.....	680 "
Manufactures.....	408 "
Commerce.....	315 "
Agriculture.....	252 "
Education.....	206 "
Population.....	170 "
Shipping.....	74 "

It should be borne in mind that no distinctively protective tariff was in force in the United States at the earlier of the dates mentioned by Mr. Mulhall—1850—and that the great and exhaustive rebellion occurred during the period; therefore nearly all the advances here alluded to occurred after the war, and by and through the influences of what its enemies are pleased to call the "war tariff."

#### CANADA PROFITS BY EXAMPLE.

With all of the illustrious precedents here alluded to—with all the teachings of history before her—it is not strange that Canada should have adopted a National Policy of Protection herself; it is somewhat remarkable that she should not have adopted it sooner. What that policy has already done for Canada, and what it is doing, is current history.

#### DIFFERENT KINDS OF PROTECTION.

There are those, perhaps, who do not comprehend the fact that there are many interests in this country which, while not coming directly under the influence of the tariff, enjoy even greater protection than any tariff laws could possibly give. It is not necessary for a person to be an actual resident of Canada to enjoy the protection afforded by our patent laws; and any Canadian who may have acquired the right to use any patent, domestic or foreign, possesses a privilege which excludes all the rest of the world from its use. Thus the patentee of any useful machine may manufacture the same in Canada without fear of competition either from any other manufacturer in Canada or any where else in the world; and this without reference to any tariff laws—his patent is his protection. The owner of the copyright of a book, or picture, or trade mark, enjoys similar immunity from competition from any source—his copyright is his protection. Another aspect of protection is the system by which merchants and store-keepers in cities, towns and villages are protected from the competition of transient vendors by the imposition of licenses. The resident trader pays taxes for the support of government; and if the stranger desires to share the trade, he, too, must take some of the burden upon his own shoulders. The license is the protection against free trade. It has been said that the laboring man enjoys no protection: that the carpenter, bricklayer, mason, metal worker and all those employed in the construction of houses are not "protected" in any way. But they are. All classes of buildings from the cottage of the laborer to the palace of the wealthy—the modest little country church and the stately city cathedral—all stand as monuments of the fact that the workmen who erected them were protected in their labors—protected because of the impossibility of importing such structures from abroad. If it were possible to load buildings on to ships and to transport them from place to place, some of us to-day might be living in houses, and worshipping in churches, built in England or the United States; and it would be found that our tariff laws imposed specific or *ad valorem* duties on them. But because such buildings are not thus transportable there is no necessity for any such law. The impossibility of moving houses from place to place is the protection workmen have in their labor.

#### PROTECTION PROTECTS THE AGRICULTURIST.

There are other phases of the question in which it might be shown that workingmen have a vital interest in protection; and in the term "workingmen" are included all who perform manual labor for their living. In the United States about ninety-two per cent. of the products of agricultural pursuits are consumed at home, only about eight per cent. going abroad. This shows the value of the home market to that class; and what may be said of this interest in the United States may also apply to Canada. Of course the producers are not the consumers; but the products go to satisfy the wants of those engaged in other pursuits. Thus the market gardener near a manufacturing city finds quick remunerative sale for his products close at hand. But it is certain that if there was no large aggregation of hungry men, women and children close at hand there would be no home demand; and if the products were sold at all it would necessarily be to those at a distance. Of what avail would it be to this agri-