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CHINESE LABOR AND COMMON SENSE

Let us observe that in an article under the heading our esteemed contemporary the *Montreal Gazette* throws its influence in favor of the unrestrained immigration of Chinese into the Dominion. It endeavors to show a fortnight back, there are no circumstances which threaten to increase the number of Chinese flocking into the province. One is the new treaty between the United States, which the latter Government has labored most assiduously to secure, for the purpose of relieving itself from the fetters of a treaty, under which Chinamen were allowed to enter the country in numbers unlimited, and of obliging back again what should never have been suffered in the first place—the power of regulating, limiting, and even prohibiting at discretion, the influx of Chinese into the country. We pointed out the eminent part taken by Senator Blaine in opposition to Chinese immigration, and the importance to be attached to the fact that he is about to be called to the first position in President Garfield's Cabinet—that Secretary of State. With Mr. Blaine in this position of influence and authority we may be sure that the American Government will make use of its newly won powers to the utmost verge that the new law allows. Nor will there be any preventible in the matter, either, these freshly recovered powers of the nation, to take measures for its own safety and safety, which, as we say, should never have been parted with at all, in or by any treaty with foreign power whatsoever, will be promptly exercised. And this means, of course, that the tide of Chinese immigration, turned back from the shores of British Columbia in magnitude and volume beyond all former experience. The circumstances referred to is—the building of the coast section of our great transcontinental railway, which of itself would suffice to draw many thousands to our shores. Railway contractors are bringing them over by thousands, and this season will certainly see the Chinese population of British Columbia greatly augmented. Already there are some five or six hundred of them in the Province; there will be ten times that many in it ere we know what we are about. It may be, and probably is the case, that the contractors made engagements with the Government on the understanding, either expressed or implied, that they might avail themselves of cheap Chinese labor to build the ultramontane section of the road. It therefore would not be fair to come upon them now with a prohibition, but it would be quite reasonable to enforce the condition that if the work is done the Chinese shall be sent back to their own country. As we have before urged, the coming of a gigantic evil—the material for centuries of national sorrow and suffering—is upon us: let us help it in the bad, and at least put it under control. It becomes too strong for us to handle. We may be very much to be regretted, indeed, that the theo-

rick of cosmopolitan Free Traders, the friends of every country but their own, and of dreaming sentimentalists, who look with a light heart upon the beginnings of a threatened gigantic national calamity, should find expression in the editorial columns of such a paper as the *Montreal Gazette*. We would like to see our contemporary reconsider the subject, and try to realize what the peopling of our Pacific province by Chinese actually means. It means, as we contend, the lowering of wages and the degradation of labor in Canada—the lowering of the standard, and status, and morals of our laboring population generally. While we are making it our boast that the honest working man, with no means save his two strong arms, can attain in Canada a position better and higher up in the social scale than he can in the old countries of Europe, are we at the same time to swamp him—to drown him out in all his efforts to rise—with the cheap labor of the "heathen Chinese"? Is this Dominion, we ask, to be a country of millions of laborers kept down nearly to the Chinese level as to remuneration and style of living, officered and drilled by a small number of wealthy capitalists and educated captains of fifties and hundreds? If so, then farewell to all patriotic dreams of a great British Canadian Dominion, inhabited from ocean to ocean by intelligent freemen of our own race. We observe that the *Gazette* follows the writer of a recent American magazine article in the opinion that the actual population of China has been greatly overstated, and that the danger of an overflow into America is very small indeed. Now, we are not going to defend the traditional estimate of four hundred millions, it may be that, as this writer contends, a hundred and fifty or even a hundred and twenty millions is much nearer the truth. But, while estimates of the population of such a vast terra incognita as China is (to us) may have to be received with caution, we are not without facts as to Chinese emigration in the past, which may help us towards reasonable estimates of what it may be in the future. Whether China really contains four hundred millions of people, or only half or a third of that number, we know for a fact that, to use the Malthusian phrase, population there presses fearfully upon the means of subsistence. This is the powerful force behind that pushes emigration forward. It is not among things doubtful and debatable at all, but a fact which we know, that during about the average lifetime of a generation past there has been a large emigration from China to America, and to the Islands of the Pacific, tropical and southern seas. More ominous still, this emigration is not decreasing, or even stationary, but is, on the contrary, every year increasing. The poor Sandwich Islanders are even now at their wits end to devise means of saving themselves from being pushed out of their own homes and into the sea by the influx of Chinese; and already annexation to the United States is looked upon as the only hope. We may be sure that the new treaty, guaranteeing to the American Government the power of stopping the invasion of the yellow complexioned hordes, will give a fresh impetus to the annexation movement in the Sandwich Islands. The native race, in danger enough of extinction through the invasion of white men and their exterminating vices, view with still greater dread the new danger from another quarter; and will jump at anything that promises to protect them from it. The *Gazette* appeals to the spirit of Christianity, and says it would be an insult to it even to hint at the possibility of the anti-Chinese agitation being in accordance with its precepts. The Gospel is ocumenical in its comprehensiveness; why, then, oppose the very spirit of the Gospel by seeking to exclude the Chinese? We reply, nobody seeks to exclude them from the Gospel; on the contrary, let the Gospel command to go and teach all nations, China included, be both literally and in the spirit of it fulfilled. But is the significant fact that years upon years of trial and experience in California have failed to show any conversion of the Chinese laboring class from idolatry, when living among people of our own race, to be passed by as of no account? As we have before said, if upon a few thousands living amongst us our Christianity, such as it is, can make no impression, what hope have we of making impression upon a huge, compact mass of millions? None whatever, we reply; if the stolid, unimpressionable vis inertia of a few thousand so completely baffles our attempts to Christianize them, a mass of millions would be still more beyond our power to move. There may be, nay, must be, if prophecy is to be fulfilled, a way appointed for the conversion of the Chinese people; but assuredly, as far as experience shows, deporting them to America and the scattered islands of the sea is not that way. We heartily wish

that the *Gazette*, and all others of our contemporaries who may be inclined to what we have called the treatable sentimental view of Chinese immigration, would put Free Trade sentiment and theory aside for a while, and consider the bearing that hard facts have upon the question at issue.

THE QUESTION OF A NATIONAL TARIFF CONSIDERED—GENERAL RESUMÉ OF RESULTS.

Having, in our remarks under this heading, last week, disposed of most of the ordinary objections to a protective tariff for Canada, and explained to our readers the policy of the Government on this great question, as well as its beneficial results to the industrial classes, and on the general interests of the country, we will now lay down certain propositions in support of the above very important question. 1st. We submit that a protective tariff on foreign manufactured goods which can be produced under favorable circumstances in Canada, whilst greatly contributing to the encouragement of domestic manufactures, to the intellectual development and material happiness of our people, is identified with the agricultural, mechanical and commercial interests and general well being of the country. As to the first part of this proposition, that a protective tariff will have a tendency to encourage home manufactures, it is so self-evident that it will not be necessary to enter into any dissertation thereon. When we speak of manufactures, we allude in a special manner to such as can be produced under favorable circumstances in Canada. And as we have said before just as sure as water will seek its own level, will capital seek such investments as promise good remuneration. And what we lack in native experience and skill can easily be imported in the first instance, as illustrated by experience in the United States by the inducement of good wages and certain employment. We have in the Dominion, or can procure through commerce under equal conditions with other nations, all the elements and raw material necessary for the production of such manufactures as we require, and it will be our endeavor to convince the public that our interests demand the fostering of these industries at home. We will not detain our readers with any lengthy discussion on the next part of our proposition, viz., that manufacturing industries tend to the intellectual development and material happiness of the masses. This is illustrated by the almost innumerable inventions which by fostering domestic industries through protection have been given to the world by the United States, calling into action as they did, and concentrating as per necessity the finest faculties of the mind in the production of these scientific and mechanical inventions, suggested by the various arts, industries and necessities of the country, and which the inventors were stimulated to bring to perfection by the large rewards which success in their pursuits and studies assured. And as to the material happiness of the people, the great JOHN C. CALHOUN truly said that the wealth of the individual as well as the nation always pre-supposed the existence of three sources, viz., agriculture, manufactures and commerce, although immediately derived from any one or two of them, correctly observing that without commerce, industry would have no stimulus; without manufactures it would lack the means of production, and without agriculture neither could exist. When separated, he said, they must perish. But when we come to the last division of our proposition, that a protective tariff is identified with the agricultural, mechanical and general well being of the country, we touch hard pan as it were. And whilst we hope to mass together an array of overwhelming convincing evidence in support of our proposition, at the same time we must solicit the most careful attention of our readers to our arguments, necessarily very condensed in the premises, well knowing as we do that no mere sophistry, no mere individual opinion unsupported by cogent proof, no mere speculative theories will have a tendency, will have the effect of convincing those of our readers who differ from us in their views on this great branch of political economy, and whose studies of this science have imbued them with conclusions different from those we have formed, after a very devoted examination of the relative merits of Free Trade and Protection, of a protective as against a so-called revenue tariff for Canada. And first as to agriculture. On the assumption that we are essentially an agricultural people, the first thought which suggests itself to our consideration, to our reflection, is, what market have we for our surplus agricultural products? That of the United States is almost

closed by its tariff; that of foreign countries except for cereals, which are so exhaustive to the soil, is most uncertain, and to a great extent marred by the cost of transportation. But if we take from agriculture the superabundant labor necessary for the production of manufactures we require, we establish for ourselves a home as well as a foreign market, which will be at times certain and remunerative and better than the foreign market. On the assumption that the inhabitants of each country should confine themselves to those branches of industry for which their situation is best adapted instead of diversifying their arts and labor as, for instance, suppose Russia, United States and Canada, essentially agricultural countries, were to confine themselves to this branch of industry and sell their products to manufacturing countries, what would be the result? A ruinous competition would arise, and the sale of their products under favorable circumstances would, to a great extent, be regulated by their distance from the seaboard, for the transportation of grain from these countries east of the Volga, west of the Red River or the Saskatchewan, will involve such cost as to greatly, if not altogether, render their production unprofitable. Thus we have seen the farmers west of the Mississippi burning their grain for fuel, having no market wherein to dispose of it, until by the establishment of manufacturing industries side by side with agriculture emigration was invited, population increased, and a home market established. The free trader may say why should I—why should the industrial classes of this country be compelled to pay more to the home than the foreign manufacturer for such goods as they require? Firstly, we invite his attention to the revenue question. Secondly, in reply to the above, we answer and distinguish, they may for a time have to pay a little more money, but mark the more important fact, they will not have to give the product of more, nor as much labor, which is the essential thing to be considered. For, notwithstanding the inaccurate and distorted figures of Mr. WATTS, in his great speech before the Cobden Club, we find, on most careful examination, analysis and comparison, that the purchasing power of the industrial classes in the United States, under a high protective tariff, is as great, if not greater, than those of any country in the world.

Now, we ask our readers to glance at the New England States, where manufactures, where diversified labor, are the distinguishing characteristics of the people, and what do we find? That one acre of land there is worth two in British America or the Western States! Nor will it be a sufficient reason to say it is because most of these eastern commonwealths are located on the Atlantic seaboard. The same comparison will apply between Massachusetts and Virginia as between Connecticut and Iowa. What is the cause? The agriculturist in New England has a home market for all his surplus produce among the densely settled manufacturing communities of the Eastern States, and the corn which is burnt in Nebraska and sold for 20 cents in Dubuque, Iowa, commands 55 cents in Boston; and it is the same with regard to almost all other products of the soil. But as we have said before, what better illustration does the public want that the laborer—we include in this classification the members of all branches of industry—has a greater purchasing power in the United States than in free trade countries, than the simple fact that one hundred emigrate to this high tariff protective Republic from free trade countries to the one who emigrates from her shores? Here in Canada during the Mackenzie regime, in a comparatively free trade country, enjoying, as far as liberty and safety for life and property are concerned, one of the best Governments in the world, we find that about twenty of our fellow-subjects emigrated to the south side of the St. Lawrence to the one who came over from the United States to settle on its northern shores, and one thing we must bear in mind, that whilst European markets are at times remunerative, at others unfavorable, they are always uncertain and distant. If the crops in Europe are abundant our market is correspondingly depressed, whereas by planting manufactures side by side with agriculture we establish a home as well as a foreign market for our products. But why in an especial manner is the agriculturist benefited by a protective tariff? In the first place among almost the entire farming community the class of goods entering into their consumption is excluded by the tariff, and, as a consequence, is produced better and cheaper at home. 2nd. The expensive luxuries which enter into the consumption of the wealthy and aristocratic classes, and which bear the brunt of taxation, not being used as a general rule by the great mass of the agricultural class, they escape these burdens. 3rd. The tariff creates a home market