RECIPROCITY STRIKES AT ROOT OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Continued From Page 1.

support in a general election. This issue is of the utmost importance. It goes to the root of our whole national life, involving changes which affect our commercial, social and national relations. Upon this issue I have the privilege to speak to you as one citizen to another, not being a candidate for office, or so far as I am aware biased by any political considerations. Had I been biased by party feeling I should be supporting the government. Nor have I any feeling of personal antipathy to the gentlemen who oppose me. So far as I am aware my feelings respecting the matter which is before the people are wholly governed by the merits of the case. I regard the treaty as being inimical to the best interests of Canada, and therefore I think it is in our interests that it should be refused. I go further and say that if a mistake is made the mistake is largely irretrievable; if I did not think so I would not feel called up to offer vigorous opposition to my former party associates. But feeling as I do that the mistake which the government has made, and which it desires the people of Canada to endorse, will, if consummated, be an irretrievable mistake, I believe that all party allegiance and personal prejudices must be set aside in the effort to prevent the consummation of what will be a vital national error.

A Fixed Fiscal Policy.

"The fiscal policy of Canada for the last 25 years, or thereabouts, has been of a fixed and definite character. The protective policy inaugurated in 1879 came under revision when a change of government took place in 1896. There were very substantial changes made in the tariff at that time. After the revision of 1897 the government was attacked on the one hand by the Conservative party, because it was claimed that the protective tariff had been destroyed, and on the other hand was attacked by the extreme free-traders, who claimed that the government had totally failed to carry out its promises. Neither of these two parties was correct as a matter of fact. A careful study had been made of the fiscal conditions and changed circumstances of the country. Substantial changes had been made in the tariff adapting it to these changed circumstances; the British preference had been adopted, resulting in lowering the duties to consumers in certain directions, and so on the whole important modifications had been made, but the protective principle remained in substance the same, the amended tariff continuing its application towards the products of all classes of the community, agricultural as well as industrial. This revision was followed under the present government by a policy of vigorous development of the west; vigorous exploitation of natural resources; rapid construction and improvement of transportation facilities; improvement of harbors and improvement of waterways. Upon these works hundreds of millions of dollars of Canadian money have been spent.

Result is Present Prosperity.

"The results have been successful beyond anticipation. All classes have shared in continued and increased prosperity. And particularly the farmer of Canada has had his full share, and more than his share of this prosperity. There has been no ground for the statement so often made where a protective tariff is in force, that the rest of the community was living off the farmer. In point of fact the prices of the farmer have increased more than 35 per cent. for the main lines of his products, which he places on the market, while in a similar way the cost of the articles which he purchases has not grown than by more than 14 per cent., or thereabouts, during the same time. He has, therefore, rather more than shared in the general prosperity.

"Another feature of that prosperity is the fact that Canada is becoming commercially independent, asking no favors from any country in the world. The causes of this prosperity are not far to seek, the agricultural development of the west adding to the population tens of thousands of producing farmers has in turn created an increased market for manufactures, increased development of railways, steamship lines, general transportation, etc., with the result that an army of men has been added to our population, who furnish a great consuming home market. To this also must be added the rapid development of our mining industries during the last few years. This home market provides for 85 per cent. of the Canadian farmers. It is a protective market. While the farmer has been voting authority for his representative to expend billions in the development of Canada he has been able to sow and reap his crops in security, feeling that the great home market, which was being built up under his eyes was his beyond a doubt. Apart from this home market 30 years of constant effort and education have won for the farmers of Canada a sure place in the British market, a place from which they cannot be deposed except by their own acts.

The Position in 1910.

"This then was the position of Canada when parliament met in 1910: unexampled prosperity, farmers enjoying good prices, labor fully employed, wages good, population increasing from two hundred thousand to three hundred thousand a year, tens of millions of foreign capital coming in, and added to this there was the fact that our political development had been proceeding most satisfactorily, we had been taking on greater powers, and increasing the scope of our responsibility. Canada had been recognized as an equal with the other dominions at an imperial conference, she had taken upon herself important duties in foreign negotiations, and generally her political development had been such as to afford the most complete satisfaction to her people.

"A short time before this a little cloud had arisen from the United States. There had evidently been a serious consideration of the relations between that country and Canada. For 40 years the United States had treated Canada with indifference, if not contempt. Of late years it was beginning to be evident that she was seriously considering that while the export of grain from New York was diminishing that from Montreal was increasing with great rapidity. The possession of our natural resources had become almost necessary for the conduct of American business.

"The United States authorities did not approach Canada for the purpose of securing tariff arrangements. That would have been the natural course of procedure. What they did was offensive and unjustifiable in the extreme. They passed an act of congress to impose a surtax of 25 per cent. on the goods of any country which discriminated against the United States, and after going over the record of our policy with a microscope they arrived at the conclusion that some of the provisions of our French Treaty constituted a discrimination against the United States. The position of the United States was quite unjustifiable; we did not and do not discriminate against them. Our tariff imposed against them is about half as high as their's against us, and we buy three times as much in their markets as they buy in ours. The cry of discrimination was grotesque in the light of the fact. Nevertheless they threatened the surtax and the president of the United States had mentioned that he would be bound by the law of congress to impose this additional tax upon our goods going across the border. At this critical moment someone got busy, Mr. Fielding went and saw Mr. Taft at Albany, further negotiations ensued, our government made concessions, and the United States Government was graciously pleased to refrain from imposing the surtax.

A String to the Deal.

"There was a string to this deal. The string was that the government had agreed to enter into negotiations looking to reciprocity at the earliest convenient date so that the real fact is that the negotiations which have resulted in the present treaty were brought about b ythe unjustifiable coercion and bullying of the United States, and were not due to the free act of the Canadian Government. The negotiators went to Washington and after a prolonged delay they brought back the treaty.

"There are some strange things about the making of this treaty. It is said that no member of the government except, perhaps, the prime minister, knew what the treaty was until Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson arrived in Ottawa. This had been apparently undertaken by these two gentlemen without even consultation or discussion with their colleagues. They are reported to have arrived in Ottawa, retired to their chambers, and on the next morning to have met their colleagues, the members of the cabinet, at a meeting which is reported to have lasted something less than an hour. At this meeting the treaty was presented. There cannot have been more than time to read its provisions, if, in fact, that was attempted. An adjournment was had and immediately at 3 o'clock that same afernoon the treaty was presented to parliament as the considered and deliberated policy of the Canadian Government, and the members of the Liberal party in parliament and in the country were given the choice between adopting this treaty as the main article of their political faith or seceding from their party. I think it will be admitted that the method in which this business was done, was in view of its far reaching importance, somewhat hasty, and somewhat lacking in that deliberate care which should characterize all important business transactions.

What Reciprocity Does.

"What now is the effect of the treaty? Broadly speaking it throws our markets open for farm produce between the United States and Canada. It is substantially free trade in natural products beween the two countries. In addition to this, it throws the farmers' markets open to twelve other foreign countries and to the whole British Empire. Added to the addition to the free list it makes substantial reductions in certain manufactured articles which are produced directly from agricultural products. We have complained that there was no reasonable explanation and defense of this treaty made in parliament by the gentlemen who were responsible for it. The speeches of the two ministers who negotiated the treaty could not by any stretch or courtesy be regarded as business statements justifying and explaining the operation of the treaty. While the United States government furnished detailed schedules of markets and prices prepared by the most competent experts in their country, no similar information was furnished to us. Lately such a document has been furnished, hastily prepared and by reason of its limitations, incapable of being made use of with any definitness of discussion of the provisions of this treaty. Under this disadvantage the discussion has proceeded with and largely by reason of the efforts of the opposition and those opposing the treaty, whether Liberal or Conservative, the facts have been pretty well elucidated.

Sir Wilfrid's Speech.

"For the provisions of the government and the reasons which they allege in support of the treaty we are now able to look to the prime minister's address, and to his opening campaign speech delivered at the Town of Simcoe a few days ago. We have also speeches by some other ministers and the arguments advanced by the government press. Let us see what they are. Sir Wilfrid in his Simcoe speech sets out by giving us a reason for the adoption of the treaty, the fact that Sir John A. Macdonald, Geo. Brown, Dorion, Cartier, Tilley and finally John Charlton, were in favor of it. He then deals with objections that have been raised to the treaty, and after that goes back to the advantages to be derived from reciprocity, and in the course of this opening speech, in which the whole issue is admitted to be the question of reciprocity, all the prime minister has to say in justification of the treaty is contained in the following words, 'as to the advantages they are so obvious that they need no reiteration.'

"This is the only attempt at a reason which is contained in the whole address of the prim eminister. There are some statements by other ministers in regard to the treaty, which I may summarize: That it will help the consumer because the middlemen are combining to rob him by unduly enhanced prices—(Mackenzie King). That the farmers will get better prices by getting access to the United States markets—(Sydney Fisher, minister of agriculture). That all progressive countries are seeking wider markets. The question is whether Canada is willing to deal with those who offer to buy from her—(Alan Aylesworth). This seems to be all for the ministers. In outside sources there is a second reiteration that the treaty makes for freedom and equality. It helps the poor man as against the rich oppressor, that it is a fight of what the government members call the common people against the classes who oppress them. In other words, it is a fight for liberty.

Liberal Arguments Dissected.

"Let us look at these arguments. First Sir Wilfrid's statement that Sir John A. Macdonald and others were in favor of this treaty. Leaving out the case of Mr. John Charlton, it will at once recur to you that the last of these eminent gentlemen, whose opinions are quoted, died about 20 years ago. At the time when their opinions were formed, the circumstances of Canada were wholly different from what they are now. Our home market was poor, fluctuating and unreliable. We had the capacity to produce a large quantity of agricultural products for which there was no market at all; immediately south of the line were ready and remunerative markets for these products which were practically incapable of sale in Canada. Refrigerator cars and cold storage had not come into general use, and it may be said that they were practically unknown. Perishable farm products, therefore, could not be transported to the markets of Canada, and there was no possibility of the farmers' markets in Canada being taken from them. In a word the whole circumstances of the case were different from what they are now, and the answer to the statement that Sir John and others were in favor of reciprocity is that every single argument and reason that induced them to be in favor of reciprocity has been swept away by the progress of the last 20 years.

The Question of Prices.

"All the other arguments which are advanced from the government side are embraced in a discussion of market prices and commercial combinations. Upon the question of prices I do not purpose quoting price-lists or endeavoring to controvert the statements which are made by those who advocate the treaty. So far as my argument is based upon the question of prices, I am content in the main to take most of the statements which are made on behalf of the treaty as being substantially correct in so far as prices are concerned. And while there may be room for dispute about the question of prices, I would prefer to give the advocates of the treaty the benefit of the doubt for the purposes of argument.

"Let us consider now for a few minutes the question of prices. So far as butter and cheese are concerned it is alleged that there is no ground for the statement that cheese is higher in the United States. So far as butter is concerned, it is alleged by Mr. Fisher, minister of agriculture, that the rate of butter is higher in the United States than in Canada. We will assume that Mr. Fisher's statement is correct. It is beyond doubt that the price for lower grade butter is much lower in the United States.

"I think it would be safe to say that the price of hogs is slightly lower in the United States than it is in Canada, but The Weekly Sun, advocating the treaty and assuming to speak on behalf of its supporters, has published elaborate tables which go to show that during a period of years the price of hogs in Buffalo has been two cents a hundred pounds higher than it has been in Toronto. This statement is disputed. Elaborate files of statistics are advanced to show that the price of hogs has been much higher in Ontario and in Quebec than in Buffalo. However, we will take it that The Weekly Sun is correct—two cents a hundred pounds is an unappreciable amount. We will therefore take it that the price of hogs is practically the same.

No Distinct Advantage.

"It can be shown that for cattle of the highest quality there is no distinct advantage in the United States market; sometimes they are higher, sometimes they are lower. Eggs of the highest quality are higher in the United States; all the rest are lower. Sheep and lambs are lower. Poultry of the very best quality is higher; all the rest are lower. Barley is higher, hay is higher, beans are higher; but it will be noted taht we do not raise enough beans for our own market. Horses are much lower in the United States.

"Leaving out the question of the Northwest, the result is that there is at best only a very small advantage in price, which, on the average, even according to the advocates of the treaty, is a comparatively trifling mtter, which applies to that portion of our farm produce which is capable of export and which, leaving out the hard wheat of the Northwest, certainly does not exceed 15 per cent. of the total amount of our farm produce. If, therefore, the United States market were thrown open to us permanently, and we were not required to give anything in return, we would enjoy upon the average a small advantage by selling for export the best of our produce in that market, and this advantage would apply at the extreme limit to not more than 15 per cent. of our produce, the remaining 85 per cent. being sold in our home market at prices fixed by the local condition in that market. But it is not proposed to give us the United States markets permanently. There are no arguments for permanency, and it is not proposed to give it to us without a return.

What Canada Gives.

"The return is that we throw open our markets for the 85 per cent. of our produce which is sold in the home market, to the United States, to the whole of the British Empire, and to twelve other competing countries. The question, and the main question, which has to be decided in connection with this matter is the effect of throwing the home market open to these competing countries.

"In the first place, let me say that the question cannot be settled by the arguments advanced by the prime minister at Simcoe. It will have to be dealt with in a serious manner. It is not necessary to burden the argument with a consideration of all the countries involved; some of them are quite unimportant. I will take a few for illustration, and a statement which I wish to make as a preliminary to the discussion is that these countries are producers of the same articles which we produce, and they are to-day our most active competitors in the markets of the world. In 1909 these countries exported as follows:

United States, foodstuffs	$438,000,000
Russia, butter	23,500,000
Australia, butter	11,678,000
New Zealand, butter	7,978,000
Australia, beef	3,568,000
New Zealand, beef	2,751,000
Argentina, beef	20,210,000
Australia, mutton and lamb	5,991,000
New Zealand, mutton and lamb	14,052,000
Argentina, mutton and lamb	5,133,000

Effective Competitors.

"You will at once observe that these countries export enormous quantities of the produce which we sell at home, and which we sell abroad; and they are among our most effective competitors. Every one of these countries can ship its produce by water to Montreal at a cost which adds but a trifle to the selling price at the port of entry. If the duties are reduced, as proposed, New Zealand beef can come to Montreal, the maritime ports and British Columbia for seven cents, including the duty, on the basis of last year's price. So also with Argentina and Australia. Mutton and lamb can be laid down from these countries at eight cents, including the duty. Butter was actually imported from Australia last year to the extent of five thousand packages in one consignment. The price of good creamery butter in Montreal at the time was 27 1-2 cents. It fell within a month to 19 cents. Last spring the Montreal egg market was broken by importations from Chicago, which paid the duty and undersold the Canadian product. In February and March of last year about a million dozen of eggs were imported into Canada. I am told now by a responsible dealer, whose name I could give, that eggs are being bought in Wisconsin and Illinois for from three to five cents less than they can be bought in Canada, and that the are being so bought for the purpose of competing with our own dealers' produce. Dealers thruout Canada are at the present time beginning to get letters from dealers in the United States looking to the exploitation of the Canadian market for foreign produce. Sheep and lambs have been imported within a month in large quautities.

The Canadian Horse.

"On the subject of horses, the Ontario and Quebec farmer has to-day the best home market in the world. The development of the prairie provinces, combined with the fact of the conditions of the prairie farm in early years, has produced an enormous market in the west for farm animals. A responsible dealer in Toronto a short time ago made the statement that probably ten million dollars' worth of horses were bought in the Province of Ontario alone and shipped west during the last year. These horses are sold by the farmers of Ontario at very remunerative prices, and the demand is greater than the supply. Not only is the demand good now, but it will continue. Anyone familiar with the conditions in the Northwest knows that the market for horses will get better and not worse, notwithstanding all that may be done in the way of employing steam or other power for doing farm work. Now, so far as the horse business is concerned, there is not the remotest doubt that a strong, useful class of horses, capable of supplying the needs of the Northwest, can be bought in the middle west and southwestern states in unlimited numbers, at a price ranging from forty to sixty dollars less than the price now paid the Ontario farmer.

Will Lose Whole Business.

"It has been said that you will lose the profits upon this whole business if reciprocity went into force. I will go further. From what I know of the condition of the horse business in the middle west and southwestern states, I say that you will lose the whole business completely, and the horses of the Northwest will be purchased south of the boundary line, and not in Ontario or Quebec. What, then, is the position of the Ontario farmer? He exports, at the highest competition, from 15 to 20 per cent. of his produce. For this he has a sure and certain market at good and remunerative prices. For the other 80 or 85 per cent., which is sold at home, and which on the average is not of so high a quality, not fit to force its way into the markets of the world, he has one of the best markets in the world.

"This market, altho a protected one, is now being invaded from abroad. Why? Because prices have got so high that our competitors are able to pay the stiff duties which are enforced against farm produce imports, and undersell us in our own market. It would be thought that if anything were to be done for the Canadian farmer it would be in the direction of further protection of his market, and if it was thought that the price of living was so high as to make it impossible to increase the duties, then, at least, that no proposition would be made to reduce the protection which the farmers of Canada now enpoys.

A Dangerous Gamble.

"But the proposition which we have before us may be summed up in this: IT GIVES THE FARMER WHAT MAY BE CALLED A GAMBLING CHANCE OF GETTING A SLIGHTLY IMPROVED PRICE FOR 15 PER CENT. OF HIS PRODUCTS, AND AS TO THE OTHER 85 PER CENT. IT LETS DOWN THE BARS, IT ABOLISHES THE PROTECTION, AND IT ALLOWS THE HOME MARKETS OF CANADA TO BE FLOODED BY THE SURPLUS PRODUCTS OF OUR STRONGEST COMEPETITOR. Butter from Russia, New Zealand and Australia; and eggs and poultry from the southwest states; chilled beef, mutton and lamb from Adgentina, Australia and New Zealand; horses from the United States, and millions of dollars' worth of farm produce of all kinds from different parts of the United States, wherever there is a glut in the market.

"Will this be done? The answed is that it is being done to some extent now, as against very substantial duties. WHEN THE DUTIES ARE TAKEN OFF THE COMPETITION WILL COME LIKE A FLOOD. This argument seems sufficiently obvious to be comprehended by any person.

"What is the answer that is made on behalf of the advocates of the treaty? I have only seen one: It is said that the Canadian farmer is as good a farmer as there is in the world, that he does not want any protection, and that he can compete with any farmer in the world, either at home or abroad. This is the statement.

Statement Not True.

"What answer do I make? My answer is that the statement is not true. I completely deny that the Canadian farmer can compete at home or abroad with any farmer in the world. The Canadian farmer cannot raise eggs and the lower grades of poultry in competition with the negroes of the southwestern states, where there is no winter and practically no cost of living. He cannot raise sheep and lambs in competition with the farmer of the United States, because the Canadian farmer has not protection from the wool, and can make very little money out of it; whereas the American farmer has extreme protection on his wool, and makes a large profit therefrom. The Canadian farmer cannot raise sheep in competition with the sheep ranges of New Zealand and Australia, where sheep are raised for the wool and the meat is practically a by-product. Nor can the Canadian farmer be on equal terms in regard to the staple product of Argentina, where there is no winter climate, and where the labor that is employed at farm work costs from 60 to 70 cents a day.

"These, I think, should be self-evident facts. I would say, however, that if the Canadian farmer can compete under these disadvantages, and make a poor living, there is no reason why he should be called upon to do so. Farmers of Canada can develop their own country. They have borne the hard times and circumstances of early pioneer life; they have cheerfully voted tens of millions of dollars to develop the resources of their country and overcame its great natural obstacles. By doing so they have built up a magnificent and profitable market.

Farmer Secure Now.

"I am unable to understand why, in the name of reason or common sense, it is suggested that this market should be thrown open to the whole world, so that whenever in this great aggregation of agricultural countries, there is a glut in the market or an over-production, it can be dumped into the Canadian market to the detriment of the Canadian producer. Why should the Canadian farmer change his position for the worse? He is now secure. His market is getting better and not worse. The growth of the home market in the past 20 years is due to the development of mining, industry and of transportation. This development is not going to stop, but the development of the next 20 years will go on more rapidly than the capacity of the farmers to supply its requirements, so that not only is the market good now, but it is becoming steadily and surely better, and will continue to do so for many years to come. No farming community in the world is better situated than the Province of Ontario and the Province of Quebec, and I may add in a lesser degree the Maritime Provinces, which are the natural manufacturing grounds for the last industry just on the eve of development.

"If anyone can suggest a reason why this great and remunerative market should be thrown open to the competition of the world, the time has arrived for him to speak and explain what the reason is.

A Confusion of Ideas.

"This is all that I have to say on the question of markets and prices. It is said that this is a fight of the poor man against the rich man, who is oppressing him. There is some question as to who the poor man is. If it is the farmer and his prices are to be improved, it will not help the townsman, and if it is the townsman, and he is to get cheaper prices, it will not help the farmer. There seems to be a singular confusion of ideas under the general phrases which are used in support of the arguments advanced to help out this treaty. But there is one thing that is very clear, and that is that it is to be a fight of the poor man against the oppressors.

"Now who are their oppressors? Is it the railways? Formerly the railways were without adequate control. We have lately adopted what is believed to be by competent observers to be the most effective system known in the world for regulating and controling railways—our railway commission. This commission has brought important relief in many cases, has control of the operation and rates of the railways and express companies, it has ordered the reduction of rates in important cases. But a railway is an economic institution. It is governed by economic laws. Its ability to give a good service and to give it cheaply depend upon the prosperous condition of its business.

Railway Rate Reduction.

"Railways in Canada until a few years ago were none too prosperous and the service was none too good and the rates were none too low. The position of the railways has vastly improved and we are now looking to a greater improvement in position and an immense growth in the volume of their business that will enable our commission to order a most substantial reduction in the rates of freight and for rates which railways charge the people of this country. There is no other method in which this reduction can be assured than by the increase in the volume of business, thereby enabling the railway companies to do business more cheaply and more effectively. But the advocates of the treaty come along and they propose a measure, the immediate effect of which will be to embarass the railways, to take from their revenues and load them with the necessity of making new and expensive improvements and additions to their properties and so postponing indefinitely the possibility of making any reduction in their rates. So much for the railways.

Talk of Combines.

"It will be obvious that the remedy proposed by these gentlemen is not effective in the case of railways. Now continuing the question as to who is the oppressor I come to the middlemen, the business men, who purchase goods from the farmer, companies or corporations and sell them elsewhere. Mr. King says that combinations have been formed. Possibly it is true. If so, the growth of combines has been comparatively recent in Canada. Small in number, comparatively small in influence, it is the duty of the government to investigate these combines, to attack them, to provide necessary legislation for preventing their operations, from oppressing people. In the case of Canadian combinations it would be a comparatively simple matter. These combinations have little strength, their organization is of the simplest and most elementary character, and they would one and all at once succumb at the slightest sign of a direct attack by the government forces.

U. S. Would Control.

"Is that the method that the government adopts? No. The government proposes to receive you from the oppression of the middlemen of Canada by using your markets for farm products with those of the United States. The United States being enormously richer and larger in production than we are, will control the markets. The markets for our products will be fixed and controlled in the large centres of the United States. Of that there can be no doubt. Now there is no country in the world where the producer is so ruthlessly exploited by trusts and combinations as he is in the United States. It has been said that seven men control the whole business of the United States. I think that is an extreme statement, but I think it is quite safe to say that from twenty to twenty-five men, by railways, manufacturing, banking, warehousing and other combinations are substantially in control of all the business operations of that great country. The United States and the governments of the States have spent millions of dollars in legal

Continued on Page 3, Column 1.

"I COULD NOT LIVE" WITHOUT "FRUIT-A-TIVES"

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PROOF ACCUMULATES

An Opinion From Nova Scotia.

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