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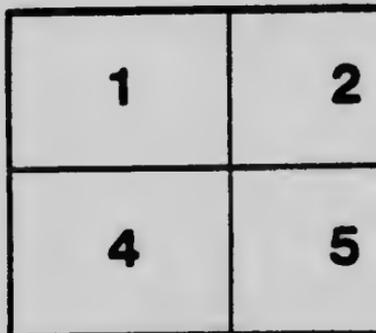
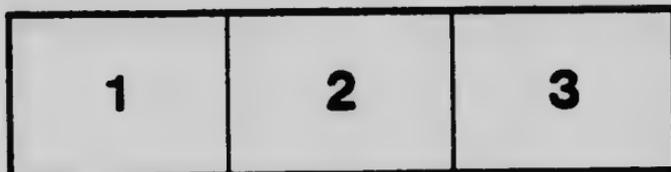
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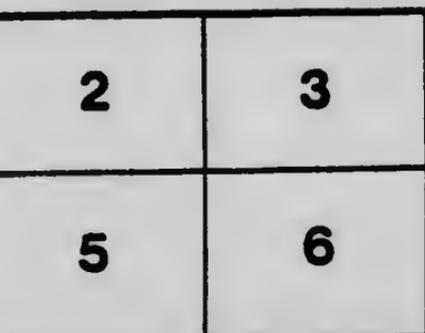
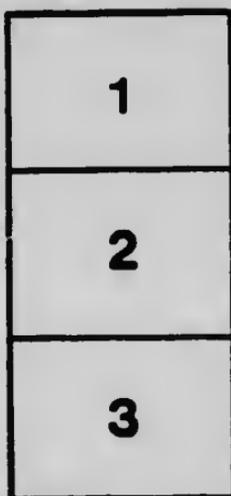
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# Reciprocity

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Would it be a good thing  
for the country as a whole  
—for the farmer in par-  
ticular?



A DISCUSSION OF THE QUESTION BY

**Dr. W. L. Shurtleff, K.C.**

COATICOOK, Que.

## PREFACE

This pamphlet is a compilation of a series of articles on Reciprocity which were published during the past winter in the Eastern Townships papers.

This question which was so unexpectedly thrown into the political arena should receive the serious consideration of every Canadian.

It raises three issues.

First, the constitutional question, involving the right of two men, unauthorized and unasked, to bind this whole Dominion to an agreement which is repugnant to a large proportion of its people.

Second, the economic, or dollars and cents side of the question.

I have treated the subject mostly from this point of view. I have tried to discuss it fairly, and especially as it will affect our Eastern Townships farmers.

I have endeavored to be very exact in quoting figures, and have taken pains to verify those quoted. It must of course be borne in mind, however, that the market prices of some products may not be just the same when this pamphlet is read as they were when the article was written.

Third, there is the national aspect.

To me as a Canadian, loyal to the British Crown, born a Britisher and desiring to die a Britisher, this phase of the question is the most important.

I look upon reciprocity as the thin edge of the wedge to separate us from the mother country.

I am not prepared to run the risk of such separation, even if some small present material gain were possible.

The mess of pottage would not tempt me to sell my Canadian birthright.

And if the loyal farmers of the Eastern Townships are of the same mind, I doubt whether they will risk severing their British connection even if they were assured a cent a pound more for their produce—which they are not.

W. L. SHURTLEFF.

Coaticook, Que., April, 1911.



# RECIPROCITY

Would it be a Good Thing for the Country as a Whole—for the Farmer in Particular?

A Discussion of the Question by

DR. W. L. SHURTLEFF, K.C., Coaticook, Que.

Let us have a friendly talk about it.

There are three aspects of this question, the constitutional, the economic, the national.

The constitutional aspect refers to the right of the government to force the whole country to accept a reciprocity agreement made by two ministers of the crown without any mandate from the people.

We won't talk about this, although we all would likely admit that such a course is not giving the people a square deal.

The economic aspect of the question will interest us more. This includes the financial side, and you and I are always interested in dollars and cents.

This is the aspect of the question which I want to talk with you about principally.

Yet, to me, the national aspect of the question is more serious than the other two, for even if it could be shown that reciprocity might help us a little just now, but at the risk of later severing our connection with the British Empire, most of us would not want it.

But I may have something to say later about the national aspect.

We will first consider the economic side, and if after such consideration we conclude that reciprocity, as now proposed, will not help us economically from the dollars and cents standpoint, we will not need to consider whether it will hurt us nationally, because we will not want it.

## Should not Judge the Future by the Past.

And in deciding whether we want reciprocity now, we must not judge the future by the past. Some people do this.

They would hark back to the former days of 1854 or 1856, and say reciprocity was a good thing for Canada then, therefore it must be a good thing for Canada now.

But not so. At least, not necessarily so.

I believe that reciprocity was a good thing for Canada then, but to assume that it would be a good thing for Canada now is to assume that the conditions now are the same as they were then.

But they are not. Decidedly not.

When the farmer is told of the high prices received for his products during the latter part of the time that treaty was in force, he must bear in mind that there was a special cause for those high prices, existing then but not existing to-day. A great civil war was raging. Production was checked in the United States while it was stimulated in Canada.

The prices of that time were abnormal and could not be expected to-day.

Think of our condition as a country then. In those days there was not even a confederation of the Provinces. Now the scattered fragments of those days have been brought together and consolidated and made one great Dominion.

Then there had been no combined systematic attempt to find a market for our goods. Apparently the United States was our only market. We had not then learned the possibility of others.

Now the federal government has expended \$427,000,000 on railways and canals to develop trade in our own country. The provincial governments have expended \$36,000,000 more, and the municipalities \$18,000,000 more. Furthermore, the federal and provincial governments have guaranteed bonds for railway construction in Canada amounting to \$127,000,000 more. Further still, we are proposing at the present time a further expenditure of from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to complete the trans-continental railway.

All this money has been spent to develop inter-provincial trade from east to west, and make us independent of the markets of the United States.

At the time of the last reciprocity agreement we were in a large measure dependent upon the United States for our markets. We are not now.

The Mother Country has replaced the United States.

Great Britain could not take our products then as it can to-day. Transportation and cold storage have brought the British markets nearer to us to-day than the United States market was in 1854. In 1910 Great Britain took of our animals and their products \$42,000,000 out of \$54,000,000 which were exported, equal to 77 per cent. Of our agricultural products she took \$71,000,000 out of \$91,000,000, equal to nearly 80 per cent. In the same year the United States took of the first 20 per cent. and of the second 9 per cent.

The United States took last year of our agricultural products only 7 per cent. more than she took 42 years ago.

These figures show conclusively the ability of the Mother Country to take all our products, and at good figures. They prove our independence of the United States market.

And so let us disabuse our minds of the thought that because we needed reciprocity in 1854, we need it now, or that because it may have been profitable under the conditions existing then, that it would be profitable under the changed conditions of to-day. Circumstances alter cases.

Before we consider the effect of the proposed agreement, it may be of interest to consider three things concerning it. One thing is this:

### **Reciprocity had become a Dead Issue.**

Why has this matter of reciprocity been thrown into the political arena at all?

You and I have not heard anything of reciprocity for years. It was not mentioned in connection with the last two or three elections. Neither party had it as a plank in its platform. As a matter of fact it had become a dead issue.

It was in 1891 that the Conservatives declared themselves done with reciprocity, and declared that henceforth it was the duty of Canadians to develop Canada on the lines of its own self-dependence, and look to the British market as a steady, stable market for our products.

It was not until 1898 that the Liberals came to the same conclusion. But they came to it then.

In 1898 Sir Wilfrid Laurier made the following statement in the House of Commons:—

“Canada to-day is not in favor of reciprocity. There was a time when Canadians, beginning with myself, would have given many things to obtain the American market, but, thank Heaven, those days are past and over.”

Ten years later, in the Imperial Congress in London, he made the following statement before the assembled delegates of the Empire:—

“There was a time when we were wanting reciprocity with the United States, but our efforts and our offers were put aside and negatived. We have said good-bye to that trade and we now put all our hopes upon the British trade.”

### The Cause of its Resurrection.

Considering the fact that reciprocity was thus cast aside years ago by both parties as something undesirable for Canada, it is interesting to consider why it has jumped into such prominence just now. What brought it to life? Whence its resurrection?

To find the cause we must study United States history. The Republican party had pledged itself to a revision of the tariff downward. There was need enough of this for it had reached 45 per cent on an average of dutiable goods, nearly double our Canadian tariff of 26 per cent.

The Republican party didn't keep their promise and the people turned them out and put in their place the Democrats who had pledged themselves to decrease the duties, especially upon natural products and food stuffs, and they have already given proof that they intend to do it by the introduction in Congress of the so-called "Farmers Free List."

President Taft knew this. He wanted the credit of doing it for himself and his party. He didn't wait for the Democrats to do it.

He invited the Canadian premier and his ministers to dine with him at Washington. The premier couldn't go but he sent two of his ministers. They dined with the president and he poured into their ears the advantages of reciprocity.

What had so often been denied Canada in the past was now freely offered.

Our ministers expected little but they were offered much. They had failed to reckon with the political necessities of the president and his party.

The demands of Uncle Sam's people for a lower tariff on food-stuffs were so insistent that either the Republicans or the Democrats were bound to give us just what our ministers received.

But, if the president could get a quid pro quo, so much the better for the president and his party. Hence his generosity.

This generosity on his part and that of his ministers was overwhelming. Freely our ministers received and freely they gave in return, until they came back with a proposal which affects \$95,000,000 of our products, a proposition that affects the fiscal interchange of all our dairy products, animals, grains, natural food products, vegetable products, mineral products, all our fish products except sardines, pulp and paper and much of our lumber.

### **The People of the Country not even Consulted.**

And I may add here that, to me, it is almost intolerable that these two men, worthy men though they may be, should be allowed to make a hard and fast agreement of such momentous importance, and with such far-reaching results, without the people affected having anything to say in the matter—yes, without having even been consulted.

Here is a question which the Canadian people presumed was dead, a question which had not been in issue for years, and yet two men, without any mandate from the people, make an agreement concerning it which is obnoxious, to say the least, to a large percentage of the country.

As fair-minded men we must all admit that such a course is not fair nor in keeping with the principles of responsible government.

It would go in Russia. It should not go in Canada. This thing should not be forced upon a free people.

The people of Canada should be allowed to declare whether or not they want reciprocity, especially in the form now offered them.

They should not be compelled to accept the decision of Messrs. Fielding and Patterson.

Let the people decide.

### **Have We Forgotten Past Treatment ?**

And again I chafe under the collar, so to speak, when there is brought to my mind the reason why the United States brought to an end the former treaty.

Senator Beveridge gives the reason as a passion for revenge.

The repeal by the United States in 1866 of the treaty of 1854 was, under the conditions then existing, a severe blow to Canada.

The United States knew that it would be a severe blow to us at that time, and this was largely the reason why they refused to continue the treaty.

Secretary Boutwell of President Grant's administration said: "Canada needs our markets and our ocean ports, and without them she cannot prosper."

The secretary was right concerning our needs at that time, but no one ever made a greater mistake than he did in thinking that we could not prosper as a people without their markets and ports.

Our prosperity in the past years and extending to the present time gives to that statement the lie.

And I remember the haughty scorn with which the United States treated our requests afterwards for a renewal of the treaty.

Then, when we really needed reciprocity they scorned our offers.

Yet, with the treatment of the past still in mind, and at a time when public opinion has practically compelled the United States government to lower their tariff wall and let in our agricultural products, our ministers tumble over each other, at the beck and call of President Taft, in their haste to lower our own tariff which has protected Canadian farmers from the products of the United States.

Then again I chafe under the blatant and widespread assumption in the United States that reciprocity is only the thin edge of the wedge, and that commercial union and then political union—annexation will follow.

### **Not only no Demand but no Need of Reciprocity.**

The second thing of interest to consider is the fact that not only was there no demand for reciprocity, but there was no need of it.

Under our present policy of Canada for the Canadians we have been getting and are still getting more than our share of the world's prosperity.

The words of Mr. Sifton, a former member of the government, who feels so strongly against this proposed arrangement that he has been obliged to leave his party, will describe our condition. Let me quote them to you.

"We know how the population has grown. We know how our public revenue, our foreign trade and the deposits in our banks have grown. We know that in the last twelve or fifteen years the Dominion of Canada has prospered more abundantly than any other country on the face of the earth. We know this, further, that man for man the body of the people of Canada are better off than any other population of similar numbers that we can point to."

Consider our growth.

Take for example Canada's trade in 1868 and in 1910. In 1868 it was \$116,000,000; in 1910, \$649,000,000, an increase in forty-two years of 459 per cent.

The exports then were \$49,000,000. Last year they were \$279,000,000, an increase of 470 per cent.

The imports then were \$67,000,000. Last year they were \$370,000,000, an increase of 450 per cent.

It might be interesting to make a comparison between some of our exports then and now.

Take, for instance, animals and their products. In 1868 we exported to the value of \$7,000,000; in 1910, \$54,000,000.

Our agricultural exports in 1868 were \$13,000,000. Last year they were \$90,000,000.

The value of the total field crops of Canada last year was \$533,000,000.

In 1868 we had \$33,000,000 in our banks. Last year we had \$925,000,000.

In 1868 the area of Canada was 337,524 square miles. Now it is 3,315,647 square miles.

We have only to consider these things for a moment to realize how far from the truth was the belief of Americans generally and the statements of some of their public men in 1866 to the effect that Canada could not prosper without the markets of the United States.

### **The Western Grain Growers demanded it.**

The third matter of interest before considering the arrangement itself is one of the causes, perhaps the proximate cause of the country being thrown into the present turmoil over this question.

The people of Canada as a whole were satisfied with their progress and prosperity.

But out in our North West there are some farmers whose prosperity is only equalled by their demands.

They raise wheat. They believe that if they could sell their wheat to Uncle Sam without any duty being imposed upon it, it would be a good thing for them.

They are not solicitous as to what the effect would be upon their fellow farmers in other provinces, or upon the country as a whole.

And so they come by the trainload to Ottawa and tell Canada's premier that unless he arranges with the United States to get that duty off wheat dire things would happen to him and his government. And, rather strange to state, Canada's premier apparently believed their statements.

The votes of the farmers in that great West bulked largely in the eyes of the premier, and to save their votes, apparently, he sought to satisfy their demands.

The invitation of President Taft to come and dine with him and discuss reciprocity afforded him an opportunity.

### Have the Grain Growers just cause for Complaint?

Let us consider for a moment these North-Western farmers for whom so many other interests are to be sacrificed, if this reciprocity arrangement goes into effect.

Let us consider what the state has already done for them as compared, for example, with the farmers of the Eastern Townships.

The pioneers of our Eastern Townships tramped through vast forests and settled in them, making a clearing for a log hut, and extended the clearing from year to year until, through their toil and labor, we have a splendid inheritance.

All honor, then, to the pioneer settlers of the Eastern Townships. They worked for all they got. They got practically nothing from the state.

But what shall we say of those pioneer farmers of the North West, whose grumbling and threats are apparently to be the cause of rending the country from one end to another, and taking away from the farmers and fruit growers in other provinces the protection which they have always had against the United States, and which is still to be continued to manufacturers and others outside the agricultural classes?

Did these men tramp their way through forests to their new homes? Not at all. They went in good, comfortable railway cars over a railway largely built by the state, and which you and I had to help pay for, just as we must help pay for the other lines of railway being built to open up that Western country.

And when they reached their homes did they clear forests in order to make a living from the land? They did not. Virgin soil awaited them which would produce wheat from the very beginning.

Did they pay for their farms? No. The farms were given them by the state.

What are they giving back to the state? Comparatively nothing. The taxes they pay are but a trifle.

Then, again, let us remember that every year these men are putting money into their pockets at the expense of the state. Every year these North Western farmers are converting the fertility of the soil into wheat. The proceeds of the wheat they place in their pockets in the form of yellow coin, but they return nothing to the soil. They are mining the land and in time the soil of the North West will refuse to produce further without a return.

And yet these men who went to homes given by the state over a railroad provided by the state, and are now coining money at the expense of the state, are those for whom the government is willing to sacrifice the prosperity of others.

### Effect of Reciprocity upon the Eastern Townships Farmer.

And now I have come to the consideration of the proposed arrangement and its effect upon the farmer.

Let us consider what the Eastern Townships farmer would gain, that is, what he would get under reciprocity that he does not now possess.

As far as I know there is only one advantage promised the Canadian farmer under this proposed reciprocity agreement.

This one advantage is that the Canadian farmer will be able to send his produce to the United States free of duty, that is to say, he will be permitted to compete with the United States farmer in his own market. There are twelve times as many farmers in the United States as there are in Canada and they are raising the same products as is the Canadian farmer.

The Canadian farmer must have some odds if he is to beat the United States farmer in his own market.

The odds dangled before the Canadian farmer are higher prices.

Now it is true that for two or three years past the value of some farm products have ruled higher in the United States than similar products have ruled in Canada.

The government points to this fact and says reciprocity will always give to the Canadian farmer these same high prices.

But not so, and for several reasons.

First, the prices of the past two or three years were brought about by a shortage in food stuff which occurs but seldom.

These prices were not normal prices.

And these very high prices have stimulated production in the United States until an over production has taken place, and to-day there is actually a surplus there of many of these farm products, the prices of which have declined to a lower basis than that which now prevails in Canada.

American dealers have more hog products, butter, cheese, and eggs than the American market can consume and they are offering these

to Canadian dealers at prices which will allow the latter to import them from the United States even under the present duty and sell them in Canada at a profit.

Therefore, at the present time the Canadian farmer has need if anything of higher protection than exists to-day. Reciprocity would take away even the protection that he has.

Of course it may be said that the present conditions existing in the United States are also exceptional, and in fairness it must be admitted that there is some truth in the statement.

But the fact remains that because, owing to special reasons, prices have been high in the United States for a couple of years it does not follow that they will continue to be high. The fact that the prices there are now lower than they were in Canada refutes such a pretension.

Then, again, looking ahead, what are the prospects as regards prices in the United States? Are they likely to be higher or lower?

President Taft says they will be lower.

He has told the people of his country that reciprocity will bring down the cost of living there, that the receipt of Canadian products into the United States will reduce the present prices, and that reciprocity is therefore a good thing for the United States.

Now, if reciprocity will reduce the prices of all farm produce and thereby cheapen the cost of living, it necessarily follows that the opening of the United States markets to Canadian produce will not result in Canadian farmers realizing the high prices which may have existed there for a couple of years.

In saying that prices will be lower, President Taft has good reasons for the statement.

First, the influx of Canadian products will increase the supply. The greater the supply the smaller the price. This is the law of supply and demand.

Second, there is going to be more farm produce raised in the United States in the future. This will still further increase the supply.

The high prices there have greatly stimulated production. Never before has so much attention been given to scientific and intensive farming as is being given now.

The supply is increasing. The price is decreasing.

The probable increase of the supply can be estimated when we remember that in the various items of farm products, the percent of growth per acre is only about one half of the advanced countries in Europe.

It is therefore quite probable that without the products of Canada the United States will for many years to come have a surplus from its home production.

What, then, will be the advantage to the Canadian farmer in being allowed to send his product into a country which already has more of these products than it needs, in fact has them in large quantity to sell?

Then the question of transportation and distribution is a serious one.

The United States is a large country. Its ninety-three million people are distributed over immense spaces. Most of them live a long way from the Canadian farmer, too far for him to sell to them with a profit. Only a proportion of the United States market is after all available to the Canadian farmer. Distance and the cost of transportation cut out the bulk of the people.

And in selling to the remainder, the Canadian farmer must compete with the wide awake United States farmer who has the same products to sell as himself, and, being right at home, enjoys superior transportation facilities.

#### **United States Prices Compared with those of Canada.**

Let us compare some of the United States prices with those of Canada.

The Montreal Herald, a Liberal newspaper, compiled a table of comparative prices in Montreal and Boston the week the reciprocity agreement was made.

This statement was prepared with the assistance of prominent produce dealers and food experts.

Here is what it showed.

Cheese, eggs, live poultry, carrots, celery, lettuce, onions, squash, tomatoes, beans and cranberries all commanded higher prices in Montreal than in Boston. Hay and oats were considerably higher in Boston.

The best creamery butter was then a cent and a half per pound higher in Boston than in Montreal, while storage creamery butter was one cent higher in Boston.

Since then butter prices have declined in most of the markets of the United States.

Not long ago a leading produce dealer of Montreal received a telegram from Chicago offering him 300 tubs of September creamery butter, cold stored, at 18 cents, Chicago. At the time this telegram was received the same kind of

butter was worth 24 cents to 25 cents in Montreal.

Mr. Gage, president of the Toronto Board of Trade, recently prepared a table of prices in Toronto and New York, comparing the Toronto market reports with the New York market reports as given in the New York Commercial Bulletin. The table follows.

	Toronto	New York.
Best Creamery Butter		
in prints, wholesale.....	26	.26½
Prime chickens.....	18 to .20	.15
Prime turkeys.....	20 " .22	.18
Ducks.....	18 " .20	.15 to .16
Geese.....	15 " .16	.14
Bacon.....	16 " .16½	.16½
Hams.....	13½" .15	.14

### Figures that Cannot be Questioned.

There was recently published, at the request of the United States, Senate Document No. 849 of 1911, which was the report of the American Tariff board of experts on the comparative prices and products on both sides of the line, mentioned in the treaty.

This is an official compilation by an outside authority, not subject to suspicion as being favorable to Liberal or Conservative and has been accepted by all as reliable.

Now this statement shows that horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, etc., were in January, 1911, bringing higher prices in Canada than in the United States. It further shows that general farm produce is sometimes higher and sometimes lower according to the article and the special circumstances.

Here are a few comparative prices as between Detroit in the United States and Windsor, just opposite, in Canada.

	Detroit	Windsor
Wheat, No. 2, red.....	\$ .98	\$1.01
Corn.....	.47½	.53
Oats, standard.....	.34½	.39
Beets.....	.50	.40
Potatoes.....	.40	.50
Beef, steers, heifers, lowest	3.65	3.95
Beef cows.....	" 3.00	2.50
Stockers, feeders.....	" 2.45	3.70
Milkers, springers.....	" 20.00	25.00
Lambs.....	" 3.90	5.15
Sheep.....	" 2.00	2.55
Hogs.....	" 5.50	6.50

## How Prices Compare.

It will be of interest to consider in detail some of the products of the Eastern Townships farmer and the comparative prices of the products in the United States and Canada.

### CATTLE.

Last year Canada exported to Great Britain from all ports approximately 100,000 cattle, which netted the farmer over seven millions of dollars. Had the Americans access into Canada they would have taken into the United States this 100,000 as yearlings, which would have netted to our farmers about \$20 per head, or two millions of dollars. The difference, five million dollars, would have been largely lost to Canada, as these cattle are fattened chiefly on our rough food which cannot otherwise be marketed to good advantage.

This winter the exporter has been able to purchase cattle of better quality cheaper in Chicago than he could in any part of Canada.

### HORSES.

In this connection I want you to read a statement recently made in an article in the Saturday Evening Post by United States Senator Beveridge, who said:—

“We now ship to Canada every year thousands more of horses and mules than Canada ships to us. Canada has an undersupply of horses and mules; comparatively we have an oversupply. So the free interchange of horses and mules between this country and Canada means an enlarged market for horses and mules raised by our farmers. And our farmers want that enlarged market, do they not? Why, then, should we make it hard for them to enter that market with their horses and mules?”

Will the Canadian farmer get as much for his horses as he does now if the United States farmer is allowed to flood our market without let or hindrance?

### LAMBS.

Since December last lambs have sold at one cent per pound cheaper in Chicago than in Toronto.

Will they not sell cheaper still when the United States can send them into Canada free of duty?

As I am now speaking of the United States market I will not refer to the incidental effect of reciprocity in allowing the entry of lambs from the twelve favored nations, and the consequent effect upon the price in Canada. I will refer to that later.

### HOGS.

The average price of hogs in Chicago and Montreal for the five years ending December 31st, 1910, was as follows:—

Year	Chicago	Montreal
1906.....	\$6.20	\$7.77
1907.....	6.10	7.43
1908.....	5.70	7.10
1909.....	7.35	8.64
1910.....	8.90	9.60

In October, 1907, live hogs sold in Chicago as low as \$3.80 per cwt., against \$6.65 per cwt. in the same time in Montreal.

During the same period prices of hogs averaged lower in Buffalo than in Toronto. Occasionally the price goes higher in Buffalo, but commonly it is lower.

How can the Eastern Townships farmer compete with the American farmer on the irrigated plains of the great South West which grow yearly three to four crops of alfalfa upon which he raises and fattens as many crops of pigs?

And in this connection the matter of quarantine is worthy of consideration.

It is understood that there will be no change in the present regulations of the two countries.

If our regulations are changed then the stock of the Canadian farmer will be exposed to mange, hog cholera, foot and mouth disease, etc. If they are not changed the regulations are and will be unfair to the Canadian farmer.

### DAIRY PRODUCTS.

Now, I frankly admit that at times during the past two or three years dairy products have brought higher prices in the United States than in Canada, but they are not doing so at the time I am writing.

For some three years prior to last year there was a succession of poor fodder crops in a large part of the United States.

There was, therefore, naturally a diminution in the products. The demand was as large as ever and with less to supply it the prices increased.

Last year witnessed a return to normal crop conditions and to the normal production. I should, perhaps, rather say to abnormal production, because farmers, stimulated by the high prices, produced more butter and cheese than ever before, and more than the country could absorb.

Some of this surplus is going across the Atlantic to England. Some of it is coming into Canada. A duty of four cents has to be paid on every pound of butter, but still it comes.

Butter has ranged recently from two to five cents per pound higher in Canada than in the United States.

Under reciprocity this whole American surplus could have been dumped into Canada.

What do you think the Canadian farmer would have got for his butter then?

### EGGS.

It appears to me that the Canadian farmer will get less for his eggs under reciprocity.

According to the statement of the board of tariff experts appointed by the United States government to compare Canadian and United States prices, the price of eggs (new laid) was considerably higher at the time of the report (January 11th) in Canada than in the United States.

Here are the prices.

Place	Wholesale price per doz.
Buffalo, N.Y. ....	\$ .36
Toronto, Ont. ....	.40
Ogdensburg, N.Y. ....	.30
Prescott, Ont. ....	.32
Lancaster, N.H. ....	.27
Sherbrooke, Que. ....	.32
Burlington, Vt. ....	.27
Montreal, Que. ....	.35
Bangor, Me. ....	.30
Calais, Me. ....	.26
Eastport, Me. ....	.28
St. Stephen, N.B. ....	.33

The Canadian farmer has now a good market for his eggs right here at home. The fact is, we consumed in Canada last year 728,489 dozen more eggs than we produced.

The United States sent us 757,316 dozen eggs last year and paid three cents per dozen duty on them.

Reciprocity will give Canadian farmers the privilege of selling their eggs in the United States at lower prices than they can get for them in Canada, and it will give farmers of the United States and twelve other foreign countries the right to send eggs into Canada free of duty.

What will the Canadian farmer get for his eggs then?

### **The Probable Effect on Prices.**

No one, of course, can tell in advance just what the effect of reciprocity will be on each farm product. The effect will probably be different in different localities. While some localities may gain others will lose.

It does, however, seem fair to conclude that the average prices of farm products as a whole in the United States are no higher than they are in Canada.

Remember, I say the average. There are times when abnormal circumstances will make abnormal prices. There may be some times, owing to special circumstances, and some places, owing to contiguity to the market, that the Canadian farmer may get a little more for some of his products.

He may, for instance, get a little more at times in summer for his dairy products, but he stands to get less in winter when he must meet the competition of Australia, New Zealand, etc.

I think the conclusion is fairly justified that the Canadian farmer with all his disadvantages cannot profitably compete with the United States farmer on his own ground.

### **Canadian Farmer gets Greater Percentage of Price than the United States Farmer.**

In considering the United States prices the Canadian farmer should not compare the prices he gets with those of Boston, New York, Chicago, and other large cities.

He could not get these prices.

From these prices must be deducted the cost of transportation to get his products into those cities, and he must remember, too, that he will have to pay more to get his products into these cities than will the United States farmer who lives nearer to them.

And again, in considering the prices in the United States market the Canadian farmer should remember this fact.

The United States farmer does not get as much accordingly of the going price as does the Canadian farmer in his home market.

The price for the consumer in the United States would have to be quite a little higher in order to give the United States farmer as much as the Canadian would get here at the lower price.

The reason is this.

The United States trusts buy the product from the farmer at moderate prices. They control the market. They are not satisfied with a small margin or profit, so they raise the price on the consumer.

And so when we see high prices quoted for farm products in the United States, it does not follow that the United States farmers are getting high prices.

They may not. It is often the trusts pushing up the prices after they have bought the products from the farmer and have them packed away in cold storage waiting for the advanced price.

### **The United States Market an Unstable Market.**

A steady market is a great boon to the farmer.

It is worth something to a farmer to know what he can depend upon when the time comes for marketing his products.

The Canadian market is much more steady than that of the United States.

In the United States prices occasionally go up in the clouds, and more often they go away down.

There is perhaps nothing which will discourage a farmer more quickly than to have prices drop away down, even temporarily.

Take hogs, for example. A farmer would rather have a good even price that he can depend on than to have occasionally a high price and then a big drop.

He does not want to face the possibility of a low market when he gets his hogs ready. If he strikes the low market a couple of times he is quite likely to give up hog raising in disgust.

And right here we must remember that under reciprocity the Canadian farmer will have the same kind of market that the United States farmer has to face now.

He will suffer from the tactics of the United States Meat Trust, just what the United States farmer does now.

The market may sometimes go a little higher than it does now, but at other times it will go extremely low.

And even if prices should average as high as

they do now, the Canadian farmer will not be as well off as he is now with the more even prices of his steady home market.

This steady, stable home market has hitherto taken four-fifths of all that the Canadian farmer has produced.

Most of the remaining fifth has gone to England, where there is an ever increasing demand for Canadian goods. The market there is stable also.

Now, under reciprocity the conditions will be changed.

As is generally known, the English market requires a different article and differently put up from that required by the United States market. The Canadian farmer will therefore be required in the very beginning to choose between the two markets.

The Canadian farmer must have in mind when he begins production, for which market he intends his products. If he produces for the United States market he cannot, provided the prices are not satisfactory, resort to the English market.

It will be a pretty difficult matter, too, for him to tell in advance which will be the better market.

### **Present Channels of Trade will be Lost.**

Of course the intention of reciprocity is, and the effect will be, that the channels of trade established after many years' hard work and the expenditure of millions of dollars will be changed. New channels of trade will be established. The old channels will be less used, and in the end pretty well abandoned.

Furthermore, the tendency under reciprocity will be to market the less perfected products.

Hay, grain, cattle, milk and cream will be stripped from the farm and exported to the United States.

Our butter and cheese and meat factories are bound to suffer.

Intensive farming, which the government has been urging upon farmers, will decline.

The advantages which after many years the Canadian farmer has gained in the English market will be lost.

And in this connection, here is a question which is worthy of the most serious consideration by every Canadian farmer; viz:

After we have left the old paths of trade and got established in the new; after we have lost

the home market and the English market and have got accustomed to the requirements of the American market, suppose that this American market (for which we have deserted the markets of home and Motherland) should be suddenly closed against us, what then?

With what loss and chagrin would we be obliged to hunt out again the old paths, open up the old channels of trade and try to regain that which we had lost.

And let us not think such a thing impossible. It is even probable.

### **No Permanence of Reciprocity is Guaranteed.**

Read for yourself the clause in the arrangement in this connection:

“It is distinctly understood that we do not attempt to bind for the future the action of the United States Congress or the Parliament of Canada, but that each of these authorities shall be absolutely free to make any change of tariff policy, or of any other matter covered by the present arrangement that may be deemed expedient.”

Just think how much the Canadian farmer is asked to give up in return for the United States market which is not guaranteed him one single year.

Supposing this agreement should not work out as is anticipated by the United States and the people should cry out for its discontinuance. Do you think for a moment that it would not be discontinued? It surely would be.

And there always will be strong influences at work in the United States that may cause Congress to alter the tariff. The American farmer may be dissatisfied or the American manufacturers may think that they are not getting a square deal through the agreement and may demand change.

President Taft has said that he offered our commissioners continental free trade. He has made no secret of his expectation that the United States will get other concessions later on.

Listen to these words of United States Senator Beveridge in an article in the Saturday Evening Post to which I have already referred. The Senator says:

“Suppose the trade agreement between ourselves and Canada is not what we should like it to be in all of its items. Once the policy is established it is absolutely certain that those defects will be remedied.”

It almost goes without saying that further concessions will be demanded by the United States.

We shall be continually in the shadow of the "big stick."

If we refuse to meet the demands of the United States the big stick will fall and reciprocity will be dead.

Yes, unstable describes the condition of the market which reciprocity will bring to the Canadian farmer.

Unstable, lack of permanence, describes the very arrangement itself.

### Comparing Notes with our Neighbors.

Let us compare notes with our neighbors in Vermont and New Hampshire.

The value of the United States market to the Canadian farmer, and especially to the farmer of the Eastern Townships, is pretty well exemplified by the New England States.

Our nearest neighbor to the South is the State of Vermont. This is an agricultural State.

The percentage of farmers in the State is about the largest in the Union.

These farmers have always had the market which the Canadian farmer will have under reciprocity.

If this market will make the Canadian farmer rich it should have made the Vermont farmer rich.

Let us compare the prosperity of the Canadian farmer with that of the Vermont farmer.

Now, it is admitted that the Canadian farmer is already prosperous.

Reciprocity and the United States market are not to make him prosperous, but rather more prosperous.

What about the Vermont farmer, our next door neighbor, who has always had this United States market?

Is he prosperous? Has he been prosperous during the past thirty years?

Decidedly not.

The abandoned farms of Vermont and the other New England States have become a by-word.

Many are the farmers in that State who have been obliged to turn the key in the door and leave the old farm to fall into decay because they could not make a living.

I have before me United States government statements which show that in 1900 there were

2362 less farmers in the State of Vermont than there were twenty years before, and that the farms of the State were then worth \$22,360,043 less than they were twenty years ago.

Let us see how the farms of Vermont compare in value to-day with those of Quebec.

In order that the figures may be absolutely trustworthy I will quote from the Senate document, No. 849, from which it appears that in 1900 the average value per acre of improved land in the State of Vermont was \$18.00. In New Hampshire it was \$19.00. In Quebec it was \$24.

Last year the average per acre in Vermont was \$24.00. In New Hampshire \$26.00. In Quebec it was \$43.00.

These figures prove conclusively that in 1900 farms were worth about a third more per acre in Quebec than they were in either Vermont or New Hampshire, while in 1910 they were worth more than half again as much as were the farms in these two States.

They further prove that while the average value per acre has increased 33 per cent in ten years in the State of Vermont and 37 per cent in the State of New Hampshire, it has increased 80 per cent in the Province of Quebec.

### **The Reason for their Abandoned Farms.**

Now, the farms along our border line in Vermont and New Hampshire have the same fertility of soil and climatic conditions as our own. Why are they worth so much less per acre?

Why have the farms on the Quebec side of the line increased so much more largely in value during the past ten years than have those on the American side?

If the American market makes farming more profitable, the farms in Vermont and New Hampshire, to which this market has always been available, should be worth more, not less, than the Quebec farms to which the market has not been available.

How, then, are the abandoned farms and decreased farm values in Vermont and New Hampshire to be accounted for?

The reason is very simple, very apparent.

The Vermont and New Hampshire farmers could not meet the competition of the great states West and South West.

Forty years ago the Vermont and New Hampshire farmer found a market for his produce in the New England States.

The Eastern Townships farmer had this same

market available to him in the days of the reciprocity treaty of 1854. It was a market worth something then.

But the produce of the Western and South Western farmer has increased since then.

The over production from these newer lands starved out the eastern farmers.

Will that make the Eastern Townships farmer rich which has made his Vermont and New Hampshire neighbor poor?

### Comparative Value of Live Stock.

We have compared the value of farms. Let us now consider the comparative value of live stock.

Again I take my figures from the Senate Document (No. 849, page 110).

From this it appears that the average value per head for the year 1910, of horses was, in the States of Vermont and New Hampshire, \$106.00. In Quebec the average value was \$139.00.

The average value of dairy cows in Vermont was \$34.20, in New Hampshire, \$36.20, in Quebec, \$31.00.

The average value of other cattle in Vermont was \$14.40, in New Hampshire, \$20.30, in Quebec, \$31.00.

The average value of sheep in Vermont was \$4.00, in New Hampshire, \$3.70. In Quebec it was \$6.00.

The average value of swine in Vermont was \$10.00, in New Hampshire, \$11.50. In Quebec it was \$13.00.

In practically every case these prices are favorable to the Eastern Townships farmer.

Why? Surely because the Eastern Townships farmer has not been obliged to meet the competition from the West and South West to which I have just referred.

The Canadian duty on farm products has protected him in his home market.

But reciprocity will make us one as regards trade.

There will be no duty between us.

The Eastern Townships farmer will then be subject to the same competition that his Vermont neighbors are subject to—a competition that has so decreased the price of their farms and animals that in 1900 the number of farms had decreased 2632 in number in twenty years, and \$22,360,043 in value.

Dark indeed will be the prospects of the East-

ern Townships farmer when reciprocity compels him to meet the same competition which has made the Vermont and New Hampshire farmer poor.

### The Canadian Farmer's Home Market.

And now, having discussed the United States market pretty thoroughly, let us turn to the Canadian market.

I fear that the Canadian farmer does not sufficiently appreciate his home market—the market preserved for him by the Canadian tariff.

This home market is taking eighty per cent of his produce and at good prices.

The demand of this market is increasing and it will continue to increase as the country grows.

It has the advantage of nearness, stability, cheapness of transportation and quickness of returns.

The Canadian farmer is familiar with its conditions and requirements.

And yet, withal, the Canadian farmer is inclined to look beyond this market with longing eyes to the market of the United States, forgetting, perhaps, that the United States farmer is looking with just as longing eyes at the Canadian market.

There are at least twelve farmers in the United States looking longingly at the Canadian market to one farmer in Canada looking at the United States market.

Let us remember that there are at least twelve times as many farmers in the United States as there are in Canada, and so, while one Canadian farmer will get entrance into the markets of the United States, twelve American farmers will get entrance into our home markets. They have already succeeded in selling immense quantities of farm products in Canada, in spite of the duty. They have sold twice as much in Canada as Canadian farmers have sold in the United States.

With reciprocity in farm products the twelve American farmers will crowd the one Canadian farmer pretty closely in his own home market.

The surplus production of the United States farmer would be liable at any time to demoralize the home market of the Canadian farmer.

It will cost the American farmer no more to bring his farm products to Canadian towns and cities than it will cost the Canadian farmer to carry his to the United States.

These American products are pretty well

kept out now by the tariff wall. With this removed they will enter twelve to one.

We must remember, too, that the Americans have the earlier season, and that their products will therefore be upon our markets before our products are salable and get the early price.

### **Must Meet Competition from Twelve Favored Nations.**

And, unfortunately for the Canadian farmer, this is not all.

It is not only the farm products of the United States that will come into Canada in free competition with the Canadian products, but those of twelve other countries as well.

A little time ago a member of Parliament asked some questions of the Government. Among the questions was this: "What is the number and the names of the countries, if any, that will be entitled to have their natural products and manufactured articles come into Canada under the same terms as the United States under the reciprocity agreement?"

This was a fairly plain question, but it had to be reiterated many times, and even then the whole truth was only extracted from the Government piecemeal.

"Does Argentina get the same treatment as the United States?" was asked of Mr. Fielding.

"Yes."

"Does Denmark?" "Yes."

"Does Japan?" "Yes."

And so on, down the whole list of the dozen.

For it is a fact that under the proposed reciprocity agreement Canada gives the new free list and the new set of lower duties to (1) the United States, (2) the British Empire, (3) twelve foreign countries, Argentina, Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Switzerland, Spain, Japan and some smaller South American countries.

And here is the list of countries from which Canada gets the same privileges in return.

(1) The United States.

(2) Nobody else.

In other words, the goods of all the above named countries can enter Canada under the proposed reciprocity agreement, but Canadian goods cannot enter these countries to any greater extent than they did before.

Is this reciprocity? Far from it.

The very essence of reciprocity is reciprocal

giving. Here we give these nations much. We get nothing we did not already have.

The Danish butter maker can send his butter free into Canada.

The Canadian dairyman cannot send his butter into Denmark on terms one whit more favorable than now.

Australia and New Zealand can ship meat into Canada.

Canadian meat is met with a protective tariff when it goes to Australia, and so on.

Let the Canadian farmer who is inclined to think that reciprocity may be a good thing for him, consider well these two facts.

1. Twelve foreign countries and the whole British Empire, as well as the United States, are to have the free run of the Canadian farmer's home market.

2. The Canadian farmer does not get one inch further into the markets of the British Empire, or into the markets of the twelve foreign nations.

The government seems inclined to make light of the fact that twelve nations besides the United States are to get access into our home market.

But it is really a serious matter.

Let us consider what it means to the Canadian farmer to face competition from only three of these twelve countries, Australia, New Zealand and Argentina.

These countries raise agricultural products similar to those raised in Canada.

They get one great advantage over the Canadian farmer. There is no winter there, that is, nothing like our Canadian winters.

Their cattle can live out of doors throughout the year.

Winter shelter and winter feeding, large items of expense to the Canadian farmer, are largely obviated there by climatic conditions.

This is a great advantage over the Canadian farmer.

As a result the farmers of these countries can produce butter, cheese, meat and eggs, much more cheaply than the Canadian farmer can.

They produce, too, in large quantities. They export in large quantities.

Australia exports annually from forty to fifty million pounds of frozen meat.

Let me give you a concrete example of what would be the effect of letting Australian meat into Canada.

### Example of the Effect of Competition with Australia.

On March 18th last, 750 carcasses of frozen lamb from Australia were landed at St. John, N.B. 250 carcasses were sent to the William Davies Co., Limited, Toronto. The greater part of the remainder were shipped to Montreal. This lamb was purchased at nine cents per pound delivered in bond at Toronto.

Under existing conditions the duty was three cents per pound. This made the lamb cost twelve cents per pound laid down in Toronto.

Fresh dressed lambs were selling in Toronto at that time at  $12\frac{1}{2}$ c. to 13c. per pound.

So you see, after paying this duty there was not much difference between the prices of the Australian and Canadian lamb.

The duty protected the Canadian farmer against the Australian product.

But under reciprocity the duty on this frozen lamb will be only  $1\frac{1}{4}$ c. per pound, so that similar shipments could be laid down in Toronto at  $10\frac{1}{4}$ c. per pound, two or three cents per pound cheaper than the price for the home raised products.

Referring to the lambs which were sent to Montreal. When they reached Montreal Canadian lamb was selling at  $10\frac{1}{2}$ c. The Australian lambs were sold at  $9\frac{1}{2}$ c. delivered ex cars Montreal duty paid, the owners apparently being contented to undersell the Canadian market by one cent per pound.

Now, if you wish to see the effect upon the live stock market of the receipt of this Australian lamb in Montreal, turn up the Montreal papers of March 20th, in one of which, for example, the headline was "Sheep Sold Lower in Local Markets."

If, with the three cent duty on every pound, frozen lamb can be profitably imported from Australia, it seems almost conclusive that reducing the duty will also reduce the price of Canadian lamb accordingly.

And not only does Australia export frozen meat, but it exports butter as well. It exports annually between fifty and seventy-five million pounds of butter.

Australian butter can be laid down now in bond at Montreal at 23c. per pound. A duty of four cents per pound keeps it out of competition with the Eastern Townships butter now selling at 26c. per pound.

Under reciprocity, which would do away with the duty of four cents per pound, the Eastern Townships butter would have to compete during the winter months with Australian butter which cost only 23c. per pound in Montreal.

### How New Zealand and Argentina can Compete.

Now turn to New Zealand, renowned for its wool, its wheat and its dairy products.

New Zealand exported in 1909 thirteen and a half million dollars worth of butter and cheese and eighteen and a half million dollars worth of frozen lamb and mutton.

New Zealand butter can be landed in Vancouver at two cents per pound freight. There is a good deal of it landed there now, upon which a duty of four cents per pound is paid. Under reciprocity there will be no duty but there will be a lot more New Zealand butter.

The effect of this New Zealand importation upon the Eastern Townships farmer is well exemplified by the following circumstances.

During January of 1909 Montreal produce merchants imported 5,000 packages of New Zealand butter.

At that time the price of Eastern Townships creamery butter was 27½c. per pound.

When this New Zealand butter came in competition with the Eastern Townships butter the price of the homemade article fell before the end of February to 19c. per pound.

Now, take the Argentine Republic.

The government may make light of these countries and their trade. Yet the fact remains that this country alone has an international trade larger than that of Canada.

Ninety per cent of the exports are live stock and agricultural products.

The country exports chilled meats in enormous quantities.

Its population is largely composed of Italians, Spaniards, Germans, who are contented with a lower scale of living than our Canadian farmers.

Their products will under reciprocity come into free competition with the products of the Canadian farmer.

The products received from these countries are likely to largely increase even under the present duties, and for this reason. A steamship service between Montreal in summer and St. John in winter to New Zealand and Australia has now been established.

A similar service between Canada and the Argentine is about to be established.

This is bound to largely increase the imports from these countries, and to affect Canadian prices accordingly.

Reference has been made to only three countries. There are nine others. They may not send us as much, but they send us something.

A new Brunswick farmer wrote to "The Canadian Century," the other day, as follows:—

"There may be something in what you say about the danger of competition from great food exporting countries like Australia and Argentina, but I'm willing to bet that not one pound of food will come to Canada from Switzerland owing to the privileges of the reciprocity agreement. What do you say to that?"

The farmer would have lost his bet, for during the fiscal year ending March 31st. 1910, there were 227,954 pounds of cheese imported into Canada from Switzerland.

There is no getting around the fact that the Canadian farmer must, under reciprocity, meet in his home market the competition of the United States farmer in the ratio of twelve to one, and he must also meet the competition of the farmers of these twelve favored nations.

This means to the Canadian farmer the loss of the Canadian market.

What will he get in return for the home market which he will lose?

He will only get the opportunity to compete in the markets of the United States farmer, and the ratio of competition will be the same there as it will be here, twelve to one.

The odds are against the Canadian farmer.

The proposed arrangement is not equally reciprocal.

The Canadian farmer does not get a fair deal.

After giving this question serious consideration, I am forced to the conclusion that the Canadian farmer has much to lose and little to gain from this proposed arrangement.

### **If they had only Waited.**

Developments in the United States Congress since I wrote the first of this series of articles have practically proved what I then suggested—we could have got the gain without the loss.

By a bill introduced into Congress the Democrats have declared their willingness to give free entry into the United States of a long list of articles produced in Canada. This list includes

meats of all kinds, flour, cereal foods, dressed lumber and other finished products.

They have brought in a free list as long as your arm, and propose to let the Canadians send these articles into their country without the payment of a cent of duty, and they are not even asking for anything in return.

The fact of the matter is, both the Republican president and the Democratic Congress know that their political lives depend on their taking off the duties and making things cheaper for their people.

Both political parties in the United States are now eager to please the people by taking off duties.

That being the case, what is the need of giving them our market?

If they are now willing to admit free of duty, and without any concession in return, so many things for which there was no special demand from their people, do you for one moment believe that they would not have admitted without any concession in return Canadian farm products for which their people clamoured in order to reduce the cost of living?

To me there seems no doubt about it. They certainly would.

Of course we should not blame the Americans for making the best trade they could. It was up to them to get a free market in Canada for their farmers if they could, even if they had intended all the time to let our products into their country without any reciprocal concession from us.

No, we should not blame the Americans.

But what about those who have hurriedly and prematurely, and as now appears so needlessly, agreed on behalf of Canada to despoil the Canadian farmer of his home market?

To say the least, they were too hasty.

If they had only waited they would not have done it. They would not have let the American farmers and the farmers of twelve other nations into our home market.

It seems to me, though, that the well-known record of Uncle Sam for bargaining and getting the best of the trade should at least have made them suspicious—have made them hesitate and come back for consultation.

But they did not, and now it is very apparent that they made a very poor trade.

So poor a trade, as I have said, that if it had not been made when it was it would not be made now.

### No such Agreement would be made now.

No sane person to-day would think of throwing open our home market and inviting competition from the world when we do not need to do so.

If from self-interest the United States are willing to let Canadians into their own markets in order to make living cheaper in their country, that is their own lookout. They can do it if they choose.

On the other hand, Canada, from a similar motive of self-interest, should keep them out of ours—keep the Canadian market for the Canadian farmer.

And it will be a strange thing if Canada does not.

It will be a strange thing if Canada opens her home market to the farmers of thirteen countries without necessity, and I could at this time almost say without excuse.

We do not have to.

Messrs. Fielding and Paterson could not bind Canada. Only Parliament can do that.

But the Government even now seems bound to force this agreement through Parliament.

True, it might be a little hard on Messrs. Fielding and Paterson not to ratify their trade, but it is much better that they should suffer a little in their feelings than that all Canada should suffer, and the farmers in particular.

To say the least, the farmers should be given an opportunity to decide whether they wish to give away their own market, now that it is practically proved that they do not have to, to get the American market of doubtful value.

### The National Aspect.

In closing I feel constrained to say a few words on the national aspect of this question.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier has said truly that the twentieth century belongs to Canada.

But now the United States are coming to us and asking us to share it with them.

We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Americans are now looking with longing eyes towards Canada. They need and want our raw materials.

President Taft says we are now at the parting of the ways.

He and his people would mark out a new path for us—a path, as has been said, that leads from home, from the mother land.

The breaking of the commercial bonds which now help to bind us to the British Empire, and

the transferring of them to the United States, appears to me to be a step in the wrong direction from the national standpoint.

I am strengthened in this opinion by the stand taken regarding reciprocity by many prominent Liberals, who put country before party.

Some may read the patriotic appeals made by Messrs. Borden and Foster and say that they are prompted by political considerations.

But not so with the statements of Sir George Ross, Sir Edmund Walker and the Liberal bankers, shippers, importers and manufacturers who have such large stakes in this country, and who have publicly opposed the agreement, giving as one of their reasons the following:—

“Believing as we do that Canadian nationality is now threatened with a more serious blow than any it has heretofore met with, and that all Canadians who place the interests of Canada before those of any party or section or individuals therein, should at this crisis state their views openly and fearlessly, we, who have hitherto supported the Liberal party in Canada, subscribe to this statement.”

#### **No Reason for Abandoning our present Course.**

The old reciprocity treaty was repealed in anger by the United States, and with the admitted purpose to hurt Canada. And it did so.

The McKinley tariff and the Dingley tariff were aimed largely at Canada. They hit Canada, and hurt her, too.

We had to struggle for years against these hostile tariffs until finally we enacted the national policy of Canada for the Canadians, and under it we have prospered and are now prospering.

We have built up a great system of railways and canals, developed a large inter-provincial trade, and enabled industries of our own to grow up here and flourish, even in the shadow of the powerful trusts and combinations just across the line.

We have opened up our great West, which is destined to furnish homes for millions of loyal Canadians.

And there has never been a time when we could not have had immunity from this struggle, first for existence and then in nation building, by simply hoisting the white flag.

Throughout it all we struggled on, and shall we hoist it now when success is perching upon our banners?

**Emphatically no.**

Let us not abandon that far-sighted national policy which has cemented together our scattered provinces by the development of inter-provincial trade and the creation of mutual interests, and has made us the brightest and most valued gem in the diadem of the British Empire.

Let us remember, too, that we have obtained our present proud and prosperous condition, not with the help of the United States, but rather with their strenuous opposition.

And now shall we divide our heritage with them?

Shall we sell our birthright—risk our present prosperity and our future prospects for the mess of pottage they are offering us?

I believe that when Canadians get an opportunity to pronounce upon this question they will answer decidedly—No.

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