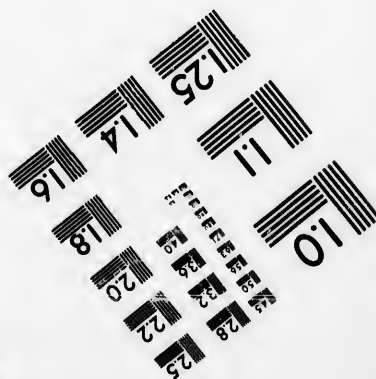
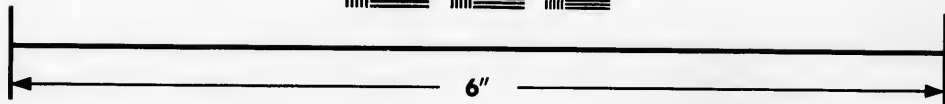
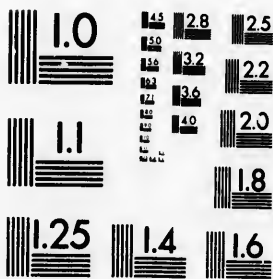


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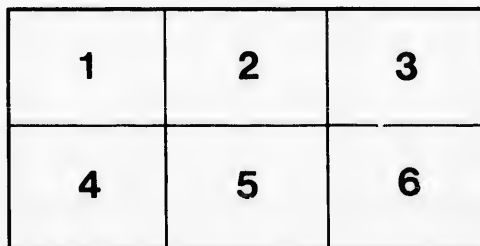
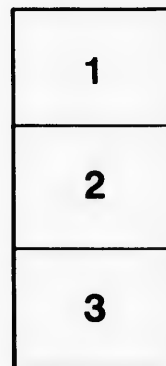
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"NO TINKERING WITH THE TARIFF."

FREE TRADE

FOR

THE PEOPLE.

PROTECTION.

FOR THE

FAVORED FEW.

Toronto:

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE GLOBE NEWSPAPER.

1878.

LET US BUY WHERE WE CAN BUY CHEAPEST.

LET US SELL WHERE WE CAN SELL DEAREST.

"LET WELL ENOUGH ALONE."

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHILOSOPHY

BY

WILLIAM V. DUNN

Free Trade vs. Protection.

The Tory newspapers, together with their army of pamphleteers, are daily consuming time and ink in efforts to induce the people of this Dominion to believe that an excessive tax should be placed on all articles entering the country, to such a degree—100 per cent. if necessary, as will prohibit the people from using anything from abroad.

We—an enlightened people, descended from the greatest commercial nation on the globe—we are asked to return to that relic of barbarism, the Chinese wall, to lock ourselves in and the rest of the world out. We are not to eat, drink, wear or sleep on anything that we ourselves have not grown or manufactured. We are not to have the liberty of buying a bed to lie on, or a blanket to cover our shivering limbs, or a single article to satisfy our wants,

WHERE WE CAN BUY THE CHEAPEST,

but shall be compelled to buy from certain rich monopolists that they may be made still richer. We are to be placed at the mercy of a favoured few—Farmer, Mechanic, Professional man, all to pay them tribute. Protection to our “perishing industries” is the cry of the Demagogue. No expression can be better calculated to arouse the patriotic pride of every true Canadian than this. Every man who has an interest at all in the country's welfare naturally becomes indignant, that, at this very early period of our nation's existence, we should begin to perish. Fortunately, however, it is well known that these paroxysms of protection occur only on the eve of general elections; and because the country has seen fit to take the custody of its affairs out of the hands of Sir John A. Macdonald and his followers, it is to go to ruin.

IS IT SO?

If any man of an ordinary thinking mind will quietly notice what is going on around him, he must at once see that Manufacturing in Canada is not “perishing.” The statistical records of the country show that in all branches of manufacturing we have steadily increased, and are increasing every day. We manufacture a greater variety of articles, make a greater quantity, and these of a better quality than we ever did before. The Dominion of Canada exported more manufacturers' product during the last period reckoned than during any corresponding period since Confederation. Everything points plainly to great improvements in our facilities.

MILLING.

Our millers have become celebrated the world over; they have brought their business to such perfection that they are not only grinding our own grain, but they annually buy large quantities of grain in the United States, grind it and send the flour to Europe at a good profit to themselves, besides employing our ships to carry the flour away.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

The most noticeable increase in manufacturing seems to be in that of Agricultural Implements. A few years ago we manufactured about one in every ten used in Canada; to-day we manufacture about six in every ten, and within the last year a very large establishment has been started in Toronto for the manufacture of reaping and mowing machines, the product of which is already in the market for the harvest of 1878. It is but reasonable to estimate that this will increase the proportion of Canadian made machines in use this year, to seven or perhaps eight in every ten. They are better, and certainly cheaper.

MACHINERY GENERALLY.

All other kinds of machinery, especially that used by wood and iron workers, have increased proportionately with the increase just noticed. Look at the machine shops of Toronto, Hamilton, Galt and Dundas, to-day. These centres of industry are mentioned as the writer is familiar with them, but there are doubtless other places in Canada where industries of this class have improved equally. There is hardly a tool or piece of machinery required by a manufacturer in Canada which cannot be readily supplied by our machinists, equal in quality and as low in price as foreign makers can furnish.

WOOD-WARE.

In the manufacture of wood-ware we have improved, so that lately we have exported considerable quantities.

COTTON GOODS.

The manufacture of cotton fabrics, which has been depressed all over the world, is to-day thriving in the Dominion, while in one town in the United States 30,000 operatives are idle and hungry. The following, furnished by the Associated Press, will show the pitiable condition of the cotton operatives of Fall River:—

FALL RIVER, Mass., May, 23.—By the stoppage of several mills and suspension of others, there are nearly 12,000 of 30,000 looms remaining idle this week. It is stated that other mills will shut down next week. By the stoppage of these mills 41,000 operatives are thrown out of employment.

It also serves as a warning to those who advocate an excessive tariff in this country.

A SUGGESTIVE COMPARISON.

If the reader belongs to the mercantile class, let him look over his stock of goods and note the proportion of home-made goods to foreign, and also their quality, comparing them with his stock ten years ago.

It matters not what line he is in, he will find the proportion of manufactured goods largely increased within even the last five years. Let the mechanic look at the makers' names stamped on the tools he uses to-day, and compare with the names on the tools he used ten years ago, and he will find an increase in the proportion of Canadian manufactured tools that will astonish him.

THE PUBLISHING INTEREST.

Professional men may take the names of publishers of late works in their libraries, and compare the works, as regards number and mechanical execution, with the product of ten or five years ago, and they will reach a result as surprising and as favourable as the mechanic found in regard to his tools.

In fact, any one who takes an interest in this question can satisfy himself of the steady and healthy progress that Canada is every day making in manufactures, by himself forming comparisons in any line of goods or articles with which he is familiar.

THE FARMING INTEREST.

No class of our population, however, have the evidence of this development so plainly before them as the farmers. A few years ago it was with difficulty that a farmer could be induced to buy a Reaper or a Mower, unless duplicate pieces of many parts of the machine were included in its price. The farmer's great fear was that if his machine broke down during harvest he might have great difficulty in replacing the fractured parts. To-day he can not only replace the broken parts but can buy a Canadian machine, and for less money, at his door. In Glasgow, London, and on the continental markets, Canadian machines sell side by side with American, and, equally good, command the same prices, though less than ten years ago a Canadian Reaper or Mower was regarded as a curiosity in many of our farming districts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Canada is exporting to Europe large quantities of Hubs and Spokes. Nails and Screws are successfully manufactured, and of a quality equal to any that can be imported, and at as low a price. Certain grades of Oil-cloths and Carpets are successfully manufactured, and every indication points to a rapid growth of the latter industry.

FOREIGN TESTIMONY.

During the debates which occurred in the Legislatures of New South Wales and Victoria a short time since, on the Free Trade-Protection question, Canada was frequently referred to as a country whose manufactures had steadily increased, without the aid of an excessive tariff. Her industries were described as being on a sound basis, and as relying solely on their merits for their success. New South Wales has always acted on free trade principles, while Victoria has what might be called a Compromise Tariff.

AMERICAN OPINION.

The journalists and pamphleteers in Canada who represent the selfish interests of the rich monopolists, seem to ignore all the world except the United States, and that country is held up to us in illustration of the benefits accruing from a high tariff. Strange to say, a great number of intelligent people in that country are strongly in favour of the tariff reductions proposed in the bill of Senator Fernando Wood, of New York, and Senator Beck, who represents the interests of the farmers of the Great West. Day after day these Tory journals and pamphlets republish stale stump speeches and fly-sheets, the product of the greatest demagogues and lobby agents that have ever haunted the Capitol. They omit to tell us that protection in the United States was a war measure,—that it was not adopted to foster any “perishing industries,” or for the pecuniary benefit of the community at large. The Government had taxed everything they could tax, and still wanted money to carry on the war. As an evidence of this, the tariff was collected in gold, and that gold was used in paying interest on the public debt, of which Europe at one time held nearly two-thirds.

The following extract from a speech made during the present session of Congress, by Senator Beck, will give an idea of his opinion of Protection in the United States; and it may be premised that he is as good an authority on that subject as the *Toronto Mail*:—

“We have had Protection. God knows we have had nothing else for the last twelve years. I would like to know where all the immense profits made by the manufacturers by virtue of the protection they have unjustly maintained in the last twelve years have gone. It is obvious that their employees have not been the beneficiaries. They are, it is claimed, in a starving condition. Thousands are reduced to beggary, and have become tramps instead of industrious operatives. Protection has not protected them. Each new protected machine which performs their work drives them out of the workshops in which they earned their daily bread, and their former employers care for them no more. But the palatial residences, the magnificent equipages, the princely style of living of these protected owners of that machinery, attest where the profits of their sweat and toil, and the money of the tax-payers all over the land have gone. And the clamour they are making in these halls, the lobbies they have organized, the newspapers they have subsidized, the arrogance with which they demand the maintenance of these bounties in perpetuity, attest equally their insolence and their confidence in their power.

“They have the audacity to require their operatives, the victims of their greed, to petition the representatives of the people for a continuation of the system which has produced these results, and they set themselves up as the special guardians of the labouring poor. Representatives in these halls are threatened with defeat if they dare to oppose, and are lured by promises of promotion if they obey their orders. The poor are becoming poorer and the rich richer, extreme poverty and immense fortunes are brought in sharp contrast, and the masses are used by their masters to influence legislation to still further enrich the already overprotected few, and to add to their own poverty and degradation.

“If the manufacturer, instead of getting 50 per cent., which he gets now by a tariff-tax upon the people of this country, had to content himself with 10 per cent. above the value of his goods in open market, which he could obtain by fair competition in the markets of the world, he could not close his establishments when he pleased, but his labourers would have employment day by day, and every day in the year, at full, fair, honest wages. It is because he can control a restricted market for his goods, which he can glut as often as he pleases, because our machinery has increased to such an extent that it can produce four times—yes, ten times—what the people of this country can consume, that when it has produced as much as can be safely held without reducing the price below the foreign cost and the tariff added, the mills and factories can be closed and the workmen left to starve. The labourers are the victims of protection; it does not protect them.

“The clamour of protection to labour and home industry is all a fraud; the tariff is not in the interest of labouring people, but in the interest of the owners of the machinery that manufactures all. The labourers only manage it and oversee it. When it stands idle it neither eats nor drinks nor requires clothing. The original cost is all the cost or expense there is about it, and its owners can let it stand idle until the market is sufficient to enable them to get their profits again by excluding competition with the people of all other nations, making the unprotected masses of the people pay for all.”

PROTECTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the discussion of such a question as this, most people would in candour look further than the States for evidence, as there are many countries which long since passed through a tariff era. But as these Canadian Protection writers insist upon holding up the United States, Free-traders should not object, for most certainly no country on earth furnishes such a terrible example of the ruin caused by protection. All the teachings of Smith and Mill are proved; and a glance at the social and commercial condition of that country to-day teaches most impressively, by hard practice, what would take volumes from the most able pens to teach by theory.

\$6,000,000 worth of property destroyed in two days at Pittsburgh, Penn., by starving workmen.

Forty per cent. of the operatives in the New England States out of work, and living on charity; and the other 60 per cent. working on half-time.

Only one-third of the Iron-making capacity in use.

Twelve thousand Coal-miners in Pennsylvania idle and hungry.

Less than half the Glass-making capacity in use.

The charitable institutions in the large cities crowded to overflowing.

And all this in a country where the highest known tariff has existed for the last twelve years! Does any sane man believe that a further rise in the tariff would foster the "Perishing Industries?" I firmly believe that if a man hinted at such a policy in a public meeting in the States his life would be in danger, for, at last, general opinion seems to have taken a determined stand there. The working men who have toiled in the "protected" rolling mills for the last twelve years; those who have laboured in the "protected" coal mines; the ploughman, with his farm implements and his very necessities of life taxed from 35 to 250 per cent.—these toilers, these producers, now ask the question, "Where has the money gone? We have none, though we have done the work."

The question is easily answered: it is in the pocket of the monopolist.

AMERICAN SHIPPING.

Before the protective tariff went into operation in the United States that country was a very important carrier, and British tars were not a little jealous of the New York tea ships and the celebrated Baltimore clippers. So far back as 1857, American-built ships carried, in the foreign commerce of their country to and from all American ports, more than \$500,000,000 worth of merchandise, while foreign-built ships of all nations, carried a little over \$200,000,000. Twenty years pass by, and in 1877 American-built ships carry less than \$300,000,000, while foreign-built ships carry about \$300,000,000. In other words, the amount of merchandise carried in the foreign trade in American vessels has fallen off more than 40 per cent. in twenty years, while the carriage by foreign-built vessels has increased nearly four-fold in amount.

An examination of the statistical records of the United States shows an unequal distribution of the wealth of the nation under Protective

tariffs, whereas during periods of Free-trade or Low tariffs, labour has been justly remunerated.

Under Protection, the greatest sufferer is the farmer. It is, of course, an indisputable fact that American agriculture is, in all its branches,—corn-growing, cattle-grazing, rice, sugar, cotton, and tobacco planting, pre-eminently the “native industry” of the country, and it is the one which Congress has systematically discouraged, and which the monopolists of the Eastern States have been enabled, by their wealth, their superior organization, and their control of the lobbies at Washington, to plunder on a scale of infamous magnitude. The iniquitously unjust operation of Protection towards the agricultural classes will be obvious on a comparison of the numbers of persons engaged in the various departments of industry, as exhibited by the last census, showing the occupation of the American people to have been, at that time, as follows :—

Number engaged.	
In Agriculture.....	5,922,471
In Professional and Personal Services	2,684,793
In Trade and Transport.....	1,191,238
In Manufactures and Mining.....	2,214,679

But when we come to analyse these 2,214,679 persons, we find that they are divided into five classes. The first includes those whose labour requires no “plant” but merely simple tools or cheap appliances, and is composed chiefly of miners and fishermen. The second comprises blacksmiths, plasterers, plumbers, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, painters, &c. The third, cutlers, cabinet-makers, and highly-skilled artisans generally. The fourth, factory hands belonging to the especially protected interests ; and the fifth, persons engaged in assaying, smelting, calico printing, currying leather, meat packing, sugar refining, &c., many of them being dependent upon the agricultural interests for support. In the following table will be found the relative strength of these classes, and the proportions which their earnings bear to the value of the material upon which their labour is employed, as also to that of the gross product of their industry, together with other data of value in estimating the importance of the protected industries :—

CLASS.	Number of Hands.	Amount of Wages.	Amount of Materials.
1.....	160,691	\$ 73,438,952	\$ 14,418,908
2.....	110,504	35,689,883	67,850,482
3.....	388,924	167,118,533	183,643,034
4.....	1,453,056	541,078,362	1,529,537,058
5.....	101,504	31,734,815	707,361,378
Totals	2,214,679	849,060,545	2,502,710,860

CLASS.	Amount of Product.	Excess of Product over Materials.	Excess of Product over Wages and Materials.
	\$	\$	\$
1.....	143,133,692	128,717,784	55,278,832
2.....	154,692,177	86,841,695	51,151,812
3.....	535,487,704	351,914,670	181,826,037
4.....	2,701,440,948	1,171,003,891	630,825,528
5.....	841,005,063	133,643,685	101,908,870
Totals.....	4,375,762,584	1,873,051,724	1,023,991,079

CLASS.	Dollars of Wages to \$100 of Product.	Dollars of Material in \$100 of Product.	Dollars of Wages and Materials in \$100 Product.	Gross Product per Capita.	Product per Capita, deducting Materials.
	%	%	%	\$	\$
1.....	51 30	10 07	61 37	843 51	758 84
2.....	23 07	43 86	66 93	1,400 00	758 87
3.....	31 20	34 28	65 48	1,376 84	954 92
4.....	20 29	56 02	76 91	1,859 10	806 51
5.....	3 77	84 10	87 87	8,285 44	1,316 64
Totals ..	19 40	57 19	76 59	1,937 80	843 32

Now, as the Superintendent of the Census points out, here is Class 1, with a gross reputed product of \$143,000,000, yielding a net product only of \$5,000,000 less than that of Class 5, which has \$841,000,000, while the wages paid in Class 1 exceed those paid in Class 5 by 131 per cent.; the latter making a clear addition to the wealth of the country equal to 96 per cent. of the net product of the former, while it actually pays twice as much in wages. As every one knows, the Protectionists everywhere profess to be the friends of the workingman. It is the interests of the wage-earning classes that are to be protected by special legislation, and we have seen in Canada how easy it is to gull them with this plausible pretence. But let any intelligent man analyse the tables given above—tables published by a Protectionist Administration in the United States—and unless he be wilfully blind he cannot fail to see (1) that the supposed protection is confined exclusively to the industries embraced in Classes 4 and 5, and employing 1,554,560 persons; and (2), that these are the very industries into which machinery enters most largely, where capital is most powerful, and wages constitute the smallest factor in the sum total of results. What follows from such a state of things cannot be better described than in the language of a New York paper:—

“The workingman of low degree, in these circumstances, becomes more and more a machine, more and more a part of the other machinery in fact; and, necessarily, as the demands upon his intelligence

decrease, as the demands upon him for exercise of choice or judgment grow fewer and fewer, so likewise must his per capita of wages suffer reduction. This is the natural tendency of our times, but why we should legislate especially to hasten it, and then call that legislation protection to the workingman, is something which passes comprehension."

Consider for a moment the diversified faculties and potential activities of any ordinary human mind, and then reflect upon the folly of allowing nearly the whole of these to lie waste, while the entire mental activity of the individual is concentrated upon such a mechanical employment, for example, as that of pegging the sole of a boot; can we wonder at minds which are thus hindered of their legitimate development flying to drink, physical violence, and crime for stimulation and employment? And the Legislature of the United States has offered artificial inducements for people to neglect native, healthful, and remunerative industries for those which are exotic, unhealthy, and tend alike to the physical and mental impoverishment of the factory hand, who becomes a mere human machine! It will be seen from the figures quoted above that the protected classes in the United States are, in round numbers, a million and a half; and that the classes which are preyed upon number nearly ten millions and a half, nearly six millions of whom are engaged in agriculture. Let us now see how protection operates towards the latter. We will first of all look at the American farmer as a producer. Three or four years ago the Free Trade League of New York, availing itself of one of Sidney Smith's humorously ingenious ideas, published a broadsheet called the *People's Pictorial Taxpayer*. It gave a graphic account of what the unfortunate husbandman in the West and South pays in the shape of toll to the privileged banditti who own the woollen and cotton mills, the iron foundries and mills, the salt pans, and coal and iron mines in the East and Midland States. I give the statement unabridged:—

	Per cent.
The farmer rises in the morning and puts on his flannel shirt, taxed	65
His trousers, taxed	60
His silk vest, taxed	60
His coat, cloth, taxed	60
Buttons, taxed	40
Lining, taxed	60
Padding, taxed	150
Draws on his boots, taxed	35
Sits down to his breakfast from a plate, taxed	45
With knives and forks taxed	35
Reads a newspaper, paper taxed	20
With ink, taxed	35
And type, taxed	25
Puts on his slouch hat, taxed	70
Hitches his horses, shod with nails taxed	67
To a plough, taxed	45
With trace chains, taxed	100
And harness, taxed	35
He goes to the village shop and buys his wife a handkerchief, taxed	35
Shawl (I suppose woollen), taxed	200
Silk for a dress, taxed	60

Hat, taxed	40
Stockings (I suppose worsted), taxed	75
Boots, taxed	35
Silk cravat, taxed	60
Silk umbrella, taxed	60
Needles, taxed	25
Thread, taxed	75
Pins, taxed	35
Gloves, taxed	50
Steel pens, taxed	70
Rice, taxed	82
Sop. p. taxed	70
Candles, taxed	40
Starch, taxed	50
Paint, taxed	25

Gets a ballot, and votes for protection under the old flag, for which he is taxed 100 per cent. And all these burdens are imposed for the protection of native industry! When the Commissioner who represented the Government of Sweden at the Exposition in Vienna visited Philadelphia some time ago, to make arrangements for his country's products at the Centennial Exposition, nothing amazed him so much as the fiscal condition of the United States, and the direct contradiction which it offered to the reported intelligence of the American people. On this gentleman, Mr. C. Juhlin Dannfelt, being asked by some leading men in New York what the effect of the Exposition would be on Sweden and on his compatriots in the United States, he replied in terms embodying as clear and concise a condemnation of protection as could well be uttered; and as it is so germane to the subject of this communication, I make no apology for quoting his report of the system. He says:—

"I do not know that the Swedish settlers in America will make any effort to join with us in our endeavour. I hardly think they will, as many of them are farmers off in Minnesota, and have little to show. I have been surprised to find how high the prices of many articles are with you compared with our cheap prices in Europe. We every year import from the United States between two and three thousand mowers and reapers, and are glad to get them, but you do not buy again our smaller agricultural implements, ploughs, etc., which we can make in the best manner, at prices at from one-half to one-third what I find is paid here to-day. This is a great burden on the farmers, of whom you have so many. You see they are made to pay high for their tools, and when they wish to sell their crops they must take the lowest price, as they must compete against the cheap markets of Europe.

"You make them buy high and sell cheap, robbing them twice at once.

"The body of the people—the farmers—are the great losers, as the manufacturers keep the prices up by keeping other tools than their own away from their home customers. I think this is a very foolish policy, and the exhibition of products and articles from our country with explanations of prices and all that, will do much to break down this division line now drawn between us, which only does harm and mischief to both peoples. Trade would increase immensely between the two countries if free trade was allowed by both."

Here is the whole truth of the matter in a nutshell. Protection

compels six millions of American farmers to buy high and sell cheap, thus robbing them twice at once. And the scale upon which this robbery is effected, is one of gigantic magnitude. No Roman pro-consul, no Verres in the height of his power and in the fullest exercise of his unbridled rapacity, ever plundered subject provinces to anything like the extent to which the privileged manufacturers of the Atlantic States have been authorized by Congress to pillage the cultivators of the soil in all parts of the American Union. As regards the South alone, it has been stated, on excellent authority, that the planters paid tribute to the North between 1821 and 1850, to the extent of \$375,000,000; this representing the proceeds of the sale of their produce abroad, which were confiscated in the shape of customs duties on the commodities received in return; duties levied under the authority of the protective tariffs at the various ports of entry, and paid into the Treasury at Washington.

Some estimate may be formed of the magnitude of the present confiscation by the American Government of the agriculturists' produce, on glancing at the chief items of export under this head in 1874. They were these:—

	VALUE.
Live animals.....	\$3,310,388 00
Breadstuffs	161,198,864 00
Raw cotton.....	221,223,580 00
Fruits.....	994,162 00
Furs.....	3,334,365 00
Hides and skins.....	2,560,382 00
Oils.....	43,121,607 00
Oil cake.....	4,099,360 00
Provisions.....	78,229,010 00
Resin and turpentine.....	3,046,431 00
Seeds.....	675,357 00
Sugar.....	1,057,334 00
Molasses.....	569,972 00
Hops.....	27,973 00
Tallow.....	8,135,320 00
Tobacco leaf.....	30,399,181 00
Total.....	\$561,983,286 00

Here we have a total of \$561,983,286, or say, £112,000,000 sterling representing the value of the agricultural produce sent abroad in a single year, and paid for by foreign commodities. But when these reach an American port, the Government steps in, and in the name of protection confiscates at least one-third of them. For this is what it amounts to when *ad valorem* duties averaging something like 50 per cent. are imposed. Supposing these duties were paid in kind, and that a western farmer imported two bales of blankets in exchange for a given quantity of wheat, he would have to export so much additional grain as would procure him a third bale of blankets, which would be handed over to the Custom-house officer in compliance with the provisions of a tariff enacted at the instance, and in the interest, of certain wealthy woollen manufacturers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and elsewhere.

To exhibit this more clearly, I have appended the prices of a few articles of agricultural produce in 1860 and 1870 respectively, as these

figures will show how protection robs the American farmer by increasing his expenditure and diminishing his increase :—

	1860.	1870.	Decrease per cent.
Western wheat flour, per brl.....	\$5 29	\$4 02	24
Michigan wheat per bushel	1 50	1 28	14
Hay, shipping, per 100 lbs.....	1 19	70 ¹ / ₂	36
Hides, per lb.....	24 ¹ / ₂	22 ¹ / ₂	10
Tobacco, Kentucky, per lb.....	12	10 ¹ / ₂	10
Wool, Saxony, per lb.....	54c @ 58c	38c @ 45c	26
Wool, No. 1 pulled, per lb.....	28c @ 30c	20c @ 24c	24

These prices, I may add, are taken from the United States Treasury reports. Let us now look at the value of agricultural produce at the two periods, as measured by its purchasing power against manufactured commodities. In the following table is shown what a given quantity of produce could procure, by way of barter, in 1860 and 1870 respectively :—

	1860.	1870.
	Would buy	
100 bushels of Western Corn.....	23 brls corn meal	22 brls.
100 lbs. of hides.....	13 1-7 prs. men's boots	6 ¹ / ₂ prs.
100 lbs. of Kentucky tobacco	50 lbs. man'fd. tobacco	22 lbs.
100 bushels corn.....	5 ¹ / ₂ brls. mess pork	3 ¹ / ₂ brls.
100 lbs. Saxony wool.....	37 ¹ / ₂ yds. cloth	24 yds.
100 lbs. merino fleeces.....	14 ¹ / ₂ pairs blankets	8 ¹ / ₂ prs.
100 lbs. common wool	41 ¹ / ₂ yds. carpet	35 ¹ / ₂ yds.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied *ad libitum*, but no man of ordinary intelligence will require to be assured that a fiscal system which raises the cost of manufactured articles and of all imports fifty per cent., for the benefit of a million and a half of people employed in mills, mines, and factories, cannot fail to be disastrous to four times that number engaged in the cultivation of the soil, and who annually export produce of the value of \$561,983,286. Indeed, it would be difficult to find terms strong enough to employ in condemnation of so iniquitous a state of things in the United States, or of the conduct of those who advocate and defend similar acts of spoliation in Canada. Three-fourths of the produce of American industry are derived from the cultivation of the soil, and yet all the great interests comprehended under the general head of husbandry have been compelled to witness the confiscation of a large proportion of the fruits of their labour by the most stupendous system of legalised robbery which was ever devised by inordinate selfishness and established by audacious corruption. "Under high tariffs," observes an American writer, "certain pet interests have been invested with the tape-worm's faculty of feeding upon the vitals of all other industries; and while under this infliction our industry as a whole has suffered, these favoured interests have grown, like the tape-worm, not in self-sustaining vigour, but only in useless length and destructive voracity."

Reviewing the history of agricultural prices in the last half century we find, as might rationally be expected, that the prosperity of the

farmer, the planter, and the grazier always rose in proportion as the tariffs were lowered and fell as they were raised, and he obtained the best price for his produce when the fixed system approximated most closely to free trade, and when, therefore, trade was briskest, employment most plentiful, and consumption at its maximum. In proof of which, I call attention, to the following table, giving the average prices of five important articles of agricultural production at the six periods named :—

	Wheat.	Cotton.	Corn.	Butter.	Cheese.
1825-32... Protection	110 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	62	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1833-42.. Compromise Tariff	135 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	77 $\frac{1}{2}$	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
1843-46... Protection	102	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1847-50. Non-Protection	126	9	68 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1851-54... Do	144	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1855-60... Do	169	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$

If any man wants to know the effect of high tariffs on agricultural produce, let him study the last return given here, and he will see that the notion of Protection being a benefit to the agriculturist is a delusion.

EUROPEAN OPINION AND FACTS.

Hear what Mr. Shaw Le Fevre, M. P., one of the most intelligent men in the British Parliament, said only a few months since :—

Vast efforts have been made by interested trades to induce their Government to retrace their policy, and to adopt a more Protectionist programme in future negotiations. For this purpose combinations were formed. The iron manufacturers of North Germany; the cotton, woollen, and iron manufacturers of France; those of Austria and Italy, were all engaged in agitation for increased protection. It therefore behoved freetraders to do their best not merely to spread their views further and to make some advance in the new treaties, but even to retain the ground which they had already won. At the present time, though we have not seen a conclusion to the negotiations, we are better able to judge of the strength of the Protectionist party in Europe. A Commission has been for some time past sitting in France upon the subject of the Commercial Treaties, and from what I hear of its proceedings I am able to say that the Protectionists will not succeed in reversing the policy of the treaty of 1860, though they may prevent any further advance in the direction of Free Trade. The same may now be predicted of Italy. The Protectionists, though lately victorious in Austria proper, have been checkmated in Hungary, and it is probable that the general policy of that Empire will be determined by considerations favourable to Free Trade. In Germany the iron manufacturers have been completely defeated. A short time ago the Government carried a bill against their most violent opposition, for abolishing the duty on iron, iron manufactures, machinery, and railway engines, on the first of next year. Though I have subsequently seen a statement in the papers that the Government has consented to postpone this total abolition for two more years. While, however, the efforts of reactionary manufacturers have been unsuccessful in obtaining a return to Protection, they will, it is believed, with the exception I have named, succeed in preventing any further advance to Free Trade. They will be able to maintain the *status quo* of the treaties of 1870. Those treaties, I need hardly say, are very far from securing a system of perfect Free Trade. So far as this country was concerned we abandoned almost every vestige of protective duty, but in France and the other Treaty Powers, although the prohibitive system previously in force was abandoned, duties were left upon nearly all manufactured articles, which are still a very serious drawback to trade.

A careful comparison drawn between the two colonies of Victoria and New South Wales the first of which adopted a very protective system, and the other a very free trade system—shows that on this very point the freetraders have the advantage. (Cheers.) In proportion to its population and wealth, New South Wales has a greater number of manufacturers in those very industries most protected in Victoria. In the case of Sweden, the same result is shown. The fact is, that under a system of free trade, the growth of industries and manufactures is spontaneous and robust; they are born of the wants of the people, and they are not fostered into existence by an artificial process. On the other hand, under a system of protection, industries taught from their earliest existence not to trust

to their own exertions, but to rely upon Protection, are always weakly bantlings. They are ever calling for more protection and higher duties, rather than endeavouring, by renewed exertions and by adapting themselves to the tastes and wants of their customers, to meet competition on equal terms. A trade is thus created with interests and hopes antagonistic to those of the rest of the community. It becomes a kind of vested interest. It creates around it a circle of dependent interests, all associated for the same object of maintaining Protection, and of taxing the community for their sakes; and long after the time when under the most extreme view the industries, having passed through the period of infancy, should walk without assistance, they still succeed in imposing upon their fellow-citizens the obligation of supporting them. With reference to Europe, I will only add that although the results of our commercial treaties have been very great, they fall far short of what they would be were there perfect free trade. The countries in the north of Europe—Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, have generally adopted of late years more liberal tariffs than the other Powers of Europe. Comparing the results, and omitting Holland, the great part of whose trade with us is a transit trade, I find that since 1859 our trade with the three countries with the more liberal tariff has increased 300 per cent, and that both export and import trades have increased in the same ratio. With the four countries with less liberal tariffs, France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, our trade has increased about 100 per cent,—our imports therefrom have increased 150 per cent and our exports only 75 per cent. Our trade with the Channel Islands, which is perfectly free, amounts to £20 per head of the population of these industrious islands; our trade with Belgium, under a liberal tariff, to £8 10s. per head; our trade with France amounts to only £2 per head. Our trade with France has increased from a total of 26 millions in 1859 to 73 millions in 1876. But in 1859 our exports and imports with France nearly balanced one another. In 1876 the imports from France were nearly double our exports to her—viz, 46 millions to 27. In other words, while the exports to France have doubled since 1859, our imports from that country have quadrupled, showing that the treaty has had infinitely greater effect upon our import trade from France than upon our exports. It is the result of almost perfect freedom of trade on one side of the Channel. I am not one of those who attach any importance to the balance of trade with a particular country, nor would I advocate a policy of retaliation founded on this difference. The import trade is relatively as valuable to us as the export trade. We must pay for these imports by exports elsewhere, but I do not hesitate to say that our export trade to France and to Europe generally is vastly less than it might be; and if there were equal and perfect freedom on both sides of the Channel and between the various countries of Europe trade would be developed and increased to a degree of which we have little conception or example. (Cheers.) Lastly, it is to perfect free trade, and to a great increase of commercial relations between the European States, that alone we can look for any antidote to the strong military feeling which now infects the whole of Europe.

The writer maintains that Canada is prospering in all her industries, and that her manufactures are established on a sound basis. Trade is as free as speech or religion. **WE ARE FREE TO BUY WHERE WE CAN BUY CHEAPEST, AND TO SELL WHERE WE CAN SELL FOR THE MOST MONEY.** The wealth of the country is fairly distributed among all classes. But if we were to heed the moanings of the Conservative Press, Canada would appear the veritable Gehenna, a place of death and bones, stricken with the barrenness of eternal desolation, where nothing can exist but a coterie of demagogues.

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