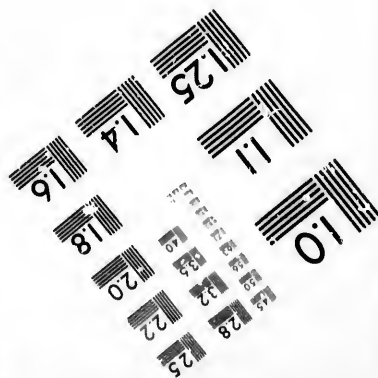
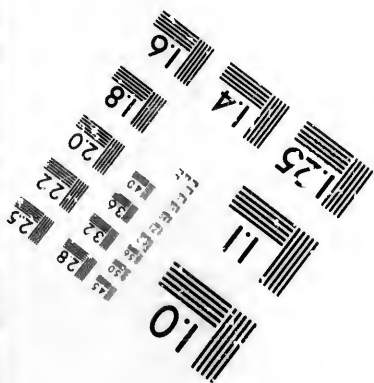
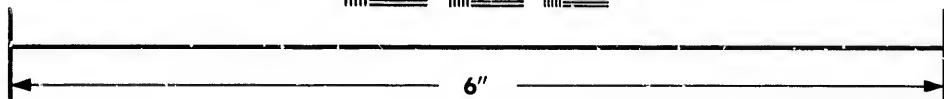
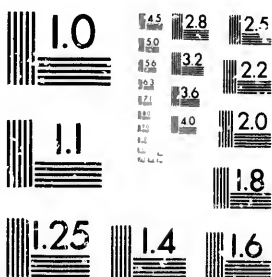


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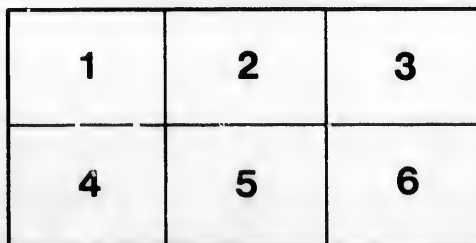
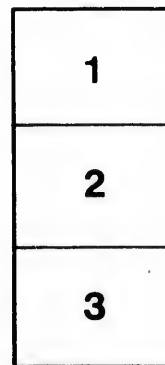
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Part

HOME INDUSTRIES.

CANADA'S NATIONAL POLICY.

Protection to Native Products.

DEVELOPMENT OF FIELD AND FACTORY.

Speeches by Leading Members of Parliament.

FREE TRADE THEORIES vs. NATIONAL PROSPERITY

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1876.

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PREFATORY.

A NATIONAL POLICY: THE DUTY OF THE HOUR

In re-producing the speeches on Protection and Tariff re-adjustment delivered during the recent Session of Parliament, the publisher hopes to stimulate an active enquiry upon the part of the public into a question of vital import to every taxpayer in the Dominion. Free Trade theories and Free Trade vagaries are of a character calculated to mislead the masses and prompt them in an evil hour to accept teachings and countenance a policy highly injudicious and fraught with grievous danger to the national welfare. Free traders in their speeches, lay special stress upon three axioms:

First (1). That Protection is a monopoly, benefitting the few at the expense of the many; making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Second (2). Free Trade is a sound doctrine because it propounds the policy that a nation should buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

Third (3). That Protection increases prices.

The first proposition that "Protection is a monopoly," is utterly at variance with facts—for there can be no monopolies where no restraint exists. Any manufacturer can build a factory and reap the fruits of his industry. Any farmer can till the soil and produce cereals, and reap the harvest from his broad acres. Such being the case, where is the monopoly? Again, if Free Trade makes rich men richer and poor men poorer—why for centuries did Protection flourish in Great Britain? Why to-day is Protection a rallying cry in Russia, the United States, and other countries? Simply because native industries were built up, wages increased, and contentment guaranteed under it. Simply because statesmen refuse to be misled by theorists and their fallacies, and because practical experience has proven the wisdom of fostering the industries and products of a nation; particularly a young nation forced to battle against the aggression of those countries which have already been developed and enriched by such policy. The second proposition, that a nation should *sell* dear and *buy* cheap, is as pretty as a rainbow, but fades so soon as the glittering generalities reflected by it are subjected to close scrutiny. Surely those who buy cheap must purchase from nations that sell cheap, and those who sell cheap must be doing what is in direct opposition to Free Trade ethics! Again, when desirous of selling dear, producers must first discover a

nation that is prepared to pay high prices—but as the Free Trade *doctrinaires* warn nations *not* to buy dear but *cheap*, where is the paradise to be discovered in which, first, we can sell dear, and next, buy cheap? The maxim is, buy cheap, sell dear—and yet Free Traders, by their own teachings, assert that every nation should sell dear if desirous of prospering—and buy cheap whilst all are vainly struggling to sell dear! And lastly, we are told that Protection increases prices. How so? Under the Tariff of 1842, enacted by Protectionists in the United States, the average price of pig iron in New York, from 1848 to 1846—during which time the annual national production rose from 230,000 tons in 1872 to 765,000 in 1846—was \$28.19—and under the exclusively revenue or Free Trade Tariff of 1846, the price—from 1847 to 1857 inclusive—was \$28.94, while during the years 1858 to 1856 inclusive—production in 1854 having fallen to 500,000 tons—THE PRICE AVERAGED \$34.20! Such facts are decidedly inconsistent with the assertion that Protection increases prices; they point in a direction the precise opposite, furnishing convincing evidence of the fallacious character of arguments advanced by Free Trade *doctrinaires*.

Protectionists ask no monopoly, crave no monopoly, plead for no State Bonus from the Public Exchequer. They demand that the Government shall levy discriminatory duties on foreign imports, the like of which are produced in the Dominion of Canada, granting no privileges to foreigners that such withhold from Canadians; only commencing to levy duties on articles produced in the home market after the means of collecting duties on foreign articles imported into the Dominion, and competing with our home products, have been exhausted, or at all events until the full measure of duties placed by foreign imposts upon Canadian productions has been reached and revenue still found insufficient to meet national expenditures. Protection too, is eminently a **FARMER'S QUESTION**, the workers in the Factory being the natural allies of those who develop the Field. In no spirit of ill feeling have these brief preface remarks been appended to this volume, the design being to create an interest in a subject that cannot be too often considered, or too closely investigated. The writer cannot but express regret that during the late discussion in the House of Commons, it was manifest that legislators and representatives of the people had given little attention to the great trade questions so vitally important to Canada. In a future volume, the entire question will be discussed from various points of view, and in the meantime the publisher can but urge the extensive circulation of the accompanying speeches.

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THE DESIRE FOR THE PEOPLE'S PROTECTION

THE TARIFF AND PROTECTION

The speeches gathered in this pamphlet were delivered during the last Session of Parliament, between February and April, 1876. In many respects it is to be regretted that some of the speakers did not enter more fully into the issues of Protection as opposed to Free Trade. However, many valuable statistics, and a succession of significant facts were adduced, well worthy of preservation, and of a character to stimulate those who—looking beyond political considerations, are sincerely desirous of furthering national progress—have heretofore given the subject attention.

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12

HOME INDUSTRIES.

THE QUESTION BEFORE THE PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES.

THE TARIFF AND PROTECTION.

[The accompanying speeches, by Mr. A. T. WOOD, of Hamilton, and Mr. JOHN MACDONALD, of Toronto, were delivered on Mr. MILLS' motion for a Committee of the House to enquire into the cause of the Financial Depression:—]

SPEECH BY MR. WOOD, M.P.

Mr. WOOD—I do not intend to discuss the question of the Tariff at present. I think the commercial men of this country have a right to be thankful to the hon. gentleman for the anxiety he is manifesting in their interest. If the hon. gentleman, instead of asking for a Committee, would go among the manufacturers of this country, he would get all the information he requires before the end of the session. If he goes to the hon. member for South Leeds and asks why his manufactory is closed, he would learn that the country is flooded with American manufactures, which are sold at prices that render competition impossible. If he goes to the hon. member for Cornwall and asks why the cotton factory there is idle, he will find that it is because they cannot compete with American cottons. Is the hon. gentleman aware that the Americans are sending furniture into Hamilton and other Canadian cities and having it auctioned for what it will bring? And this is not confined to furniture, but in almost every class of goods manufactured in the United States it is the same. I ask the hon. gentleman why it is, if that country has been protected to death, as he says it has, that its manufactures are taking the place of English goods? In 1872 we imported from the United States of cabinet-ware or furniture, \$122,070; in 1873, \$220,497; in 1874, \$311,476; and in 1875, \$328,536. And yet this does not represent the amount of furniture coming into the country. The increase

is not shown by the values, because there has been a large reduction in prices. A person going to the United States to buy furniture is given a certain price; but when he says "I want to take it to Canada," the manufacturer will take off 25 per cent. I am speaking now simply of the importations from the United States. The imports of cotton into Canada in 1872 amounted to \$525,799; in 1873, to \$491,809; in 1874, \$906,894; and in 1875, to \$1,350,308—showing that the manufacturers of the United States, protected as they have been, are able to drive their English competitors out of our markets, aided though the latter have been by large capital and the best machinery. How can we expect, with our infant manufacturers, to compete with them? Are we to be told by hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House that we must import all our goods and not manufacture what we can for ourselves? Have we got no patriotism? Shall we drive our manufacturing population away from the country to find work in the United States? In the articles of spades, shovels, etc., which the hon. member for Leeds is engaged in, we imported from the United States in 1872, \$56,000; 1873, \$64,547; 1874, \$80,494, and in 1875, \$114,115, showing a continual increase. In fact the American manufacturers are doing everything they can to crush out of existence our manufacturing industries. In manufactures of wood we imported from the United States, \$273,890 in 1872; \$395,367 in 1873, and \$454,582 in 1874. In spikes, nails and brads, \$55,693 in 1872; \$113,092 in 1873; \$139,442 in 1874, and \$232,390 in 1875. In stoves and all other iron castings, \$149,364 in 1872; \$275,665 in 1873, and \$360,503 in 1874. In manufactures of hardware—and I am now referring to Ontario only—we imported in 1872 from

England, \$1,719,000; from the United States, \$1,350,000; in 1873, from England, \$1,917,000; from the United States \$1,663,000; in 1874, from England, \$1,527,442; from the United States, \$2,043,179; in 1875, from England, \$1,527,000; from the United States, \$2,201,000. So here we have evidence of the utility of protection, which enables the United States to manufacture so cheaply as to drive our English goods from this country. In bar-iron, Ontario imported from England \$175,324; from the United States, \$438,738. In the article of pig-iron, Ontario imported from England only 266 tons, valued at \$6,758, while from the United States we received 20,000 tons, worth \$502,345. There are other articles I might enumerate, but I wish to refer to the balance of trade which the hon. member for Bothwell spoke of. From his description of the subject, we must come to the conclusion that the more a person spends the richer he is. I would like to read an extract from the pen of one of the ablest men of his day—the late Horace Greeley—who understood this question thoroughly. This is not a hundred years old, like the extract read by the hon. member from Bothwell. It is as follows:

“But the fact that there is such a balance is put beyond doubt by the rates of exchange, the movement of specie and stocks, and the negotiation of loans. If we were paying Europe in our products (including California gold) for the goods we are buying of her, we should not be sending stocks to London for sale at the rate of millions per month, and sending agents thither to negotiate the sale of Railway bonds, State bonds, County or City bonds, and every possible manufacture of paper, which implies payment with interest by-and-by for foreign products eaten, drunk and worn out by our people to-day. The correctness of the statement is undeniable, that as a people, we are running rapidly and heavily in debt to Europe, and mortgaging the earnings of our children to pay it off. And the excuse that we are building railroads, &c., does not avail us. Europe is also building railroads; Great Britain is chequered with them; but she does not owe their cost to the capitalists of other countries, because her people produce more than they consume, sell more than they buy, as ours do not. We have labour enough standing idle from month to month, and anxiously looking for employment to make all the iron, cloth, wares, &c., for which we are running giddily in debt to foreign capitalists; yet our Free-Trade policy tends to keep that labour idle and run our country deeper and deeper in debt for the fabrics we ought to produce. Can this be right?”

I shall not trouble the House any further with remarks on this subject. When the question of protection *per se* comes up, as I presume it will on the tariff, I think the hon. gentlemen on this side of the House will be prepared to discuss it on its merits.

SPEECH BY MR. JOHN MACDONALD, M.P.

Mr. MACDONALD (Toronto)—I was a good deal amused, Mr. Speaker, by the remarks of the hon. member for Welland. He said this was a House in which the interests of all were to be protected, and yet, in the same breath, he announced himself as a Free-Trader—which means the extinguishment of all the capital that every manufacturer has invested in the country. I intend in the discussion of this question to keep in my mind simultaneously three thoughts—the manufacturer, the consumer, and the revenue, and if I do fairness to the one I am bound to do equal fairness to the other. It is perhaps due to the House that I should say a word or two as the hon. member for Bothwell did me the honour to ask me to sit on the Committee. It is some years since I sat in this House, and I must confess that from last time to this, I have not been reading the debates, or looking up parliamentary figures. But certain Blue Books have been placed on the table since I entered the House this time, from which I have collected certain figures and have endeavoured to reach rational conclusions. I find that in 1868 the imports from all sources amounted to \$73,459,644, and five years afterwards those imports had grown to \$128,000,000. Is there any cause for enquiry with such an exhibit as that?

If I am rightly informed the increase in the population, as taken in the decennial census of 1871, was about 12 per cent. I have here, then, a lapse of five years only. Now, if I assume for the purpose of putting this case before the House that the increase during the next decade will be 15 per cent., we have then an increase in these five years of seven and a half per cent., an increase of imports of 75 per cent. No country in the world but Canada could have stood such

an enormous strain, and no better proof of the wonderful elasticity of the country could be produced than it could maintain such a strain without injury to its credit. Several gentlemen who have preceded me have stated that American goods have been slaughtered in this country. That may be right. I don't pretend to express an opinion about branches of trade that I know nothing about, but I have reason to believe that American and other manufactures are not slaughtered in this country. My reason for making this statement is this: that the large houses of the United States publish their prices, no man, no matter what his wealth or influence, or what country he comes from, can buy them cheaper than the price list. In certain places in the United States goods are sold cash before delivery. The fact is that silently there is a work going on that has been unobserved. Any man that takes the trouble to carefully look at that the following figures will be astonished at the result. Take from 1872 to 1875, and the result is startling:

Comparative statement of the imports into Canada from Great Britain and the United States, for the financial years 1872-3, and 1874-5:—

	1872-3.	1874-5.
Cigars—	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Great Britain,	\$ 37,378	\$ 20,732
United States,	164,221	204,757
Meats of various kinds—		
Great Britain,	1,584	5,785
United States,	909,535	1,776,485
Cabinet Ware—		
Great Britain,	19,808	18,981
United States,	122,070	326,536
Coach and Harness Furniture—		
Great Britain,	50,941	45,425
United States,	89,365	96,834
Lard—		
Great Britain,	2,328	74
United States,	36,027	335,401
China Ware—		
Great Britain,	531,397	496,788
United States,	29,970	43,417

Gunpowder—

Great Britain,	40,127	33,563
United States,	18,372	29,585

Hardware, Spades, Shovels, &c.—

Great Britain,	31,398	37,208
United States,	56,659	114,115

Spikes, Nails, Brads, &c.—

Great Britain,	94,015	66,036
United States,	55,693	232,590

Manufactures of Iron—

Great Britain,	1,719,629	1,517,913
United States,	1,350,509	2,201,446

Leather—

Great Britain,	195,382	119,830
United States,	103,208	127,901

Sheep, Calf, Chamois Skins—

Great Britain,	23,972	95,965
United States,	18,592	47,460

Manufactures of Marble—

Great Britain,	19,344	22,090
United States,	27,459	60,238

Manufactures of Leather—

Great Britain,	241,688	202,589
United States,	67,349	100,459

Boots and Shoes—

Great Britain,	142,709	68,954
United States,	122,359	178,803

Harness and Saddlery—

Great Britain,	21,958	24,980
United States,	23,958	53,083

Manufactures of Wood—

Great Britain,	9,611	12,005
United States,	273,890	424,624

Paper—

Great Britain,	196,916	188,114
United States,	91,399	243,825

Here are facts I wish to bring before the House, that while the importations from Great Britain have been steadily declining, those from the United States have been steadily increasing. Take the time between 1872 and 1875, and imports from Great Britain have decreased three millions, while the imports from the United States have increased fifteen millions. Go further back and take the imports from 1868, and you will find that the increase of imports from the

United States during that period is nearly twenty-two millions. These quotations are very significant I don't pretend to say what they point to. No gentleman in this House, or in the country, no matter what his commercial ability is, can tell what they point to. I can only say if the same facilities for obtaining money were afforded in the United States, that are afforded in Great Britain, these figures would be so changed in six months, that they would astound every man on the floor of this House. When the time comes for this debate I shall be able to show the causes which have led to this wonderful excess of importations. I hold that the slaughter has come from Great Britain; I hold that the over production has been due to the cheapness of credit obtained in Great Britain; I hold that it is the excess of the goods of Great Britain thrown on our markets that has paralyzed our manufactures, and that the depression of trade has not been the result of the tariff, but of the injudicious use of credit and lack of business ability, while it shall be my duty to do everything that I think right for the manufacturers to have, and for the manufacturers to ask, I will also hold it to be my duty to guard the interests of the consumer and pay due deference to the revenue of the country, and to the suitable protection of these energetic men who have invested their means to develop the resources of the country. I think if we were to utilize the markets in the British Islands in the West Indies we would have another outlet for our surplus manufactures.

SPEECH BY MR. D. FORD JONES.

D. FORD JONES—I think this motion is the most extraordinary one I have ever listened to. I don't know what we have been brought here for if it is to be allowed by the Government. It is a virtual admission by occupants of the treasury benches that they have not during recess paid that attention to a subject of grave national importance that we would expect and that the country will demand from Her Majesty's Ministers. (Cheers.) I don't know what these honorable gentlemen have been doing for the last year,

or what the Blue Books mean, if they require this information. As a manufacturer of twenty-five years standing, I think I may be allowed to make a few remarks with regard to the policy which has been brought into this debate, not that I believe this to be the correct time to do so. This discussion should take place on the Budget, but since it has not, I may be allowed to say something on the subject. The debate has been forced upon the House by the honorable member for Bothwell's motion that a commission be appointed to tell Ministers what it was their bounden duty to know before meeting this House. This country should have some fixed policy, instead of a tariff which changes from time to time. I do not understand what the rulers of this country have been about, not only for the last two years, but for the last twenty years, in not having fixed a tariff to promote our industries. Can you expect capitalists in a land like this, with a comparatively small population, scattered along the lines of a country ten times as populous, to establish manufactures, when one year the tariff may be twenty and the next fifteen per cent.? We have heard honorable gentlemen rise in this House and speak for half an hour, and when they sat down we could not tell whether they were free traders or protectionists. It is this incidental protection which has left this country in its present position. It has been said, why should the people of Canada put their hands into their pockets and pay the manufacturers a certain sum of money? I ask do these gentlemen think the manufacturers are beggars? Do they see us petitioning this House for relief? The request comes from the Dominion Board of Trade, not one-third of which is composed of manufacturers: The others are wholesale merchants, farmers, and business men generally; men free from crotchets and peculiar trade views—not mere political economists founding their opinions upon flimsy theories or prejudiced dogmas; men, in fact, who, looking far into the future and looking back into the past, have arrived at a conclusion founded upon deliberate and matured consideration. The truth is, our interests must all be blended in one. The honorable member for North York says "if a poll were taken to-morrow in Ontario and Quebec on

"this question, the verdict would be in favor of free trade." I believe the result would be very different, and that the gentlemen on the treasury benches who are free traders would be ousted. I represent a farming constituency with 25,000 inhabitants, and though the *Globe* warns those who represent the farmers in this House against declaring themselves adverse to free trade, I say I am a protectionist, I stand here to advocate a national policy, and a tariff which will not be changed from year to year, as may be thought necessary by those who favor incidental protection. The man who opposed me in my election, when he saw how the wind blew, trimmed his sails accordingly, and said he was a Protectionist; but notwithstanding this policy—of course I say nothing against him personally—I carried the election in a constituency, which the *Globe* and other papers in sympathy with it, contended was, as containing a farming population, opposed to protection. We must all, however, be blended into one, and adopt a system which will make all prosperous. It has been said by the hon. member for Bothwell, that "the protective principals in other countries is not beneficial," but I suppose the hon. member wishes to "lack down" on the word "principle." He is a little theoretical, but what we need is more practical and less theoretical legislation. I would ask him to glance at the old world in a practical way and he will find that England, under protection, grew to the power, station, and might she has attained, while on the Continent, France, under the same principal, has paid an extraordinary indemnity in connection with the Franco-German war. Again, come nearer home, and what do we see? The United States may not be flourishing at present, but she has passed through a terrific struggle in which everything was exhausted; she is endeavoring to come back to a specie basis; and yet in the face of all her difficulties, with a high protective tariff in a great many staple articles, she is underselling the whole world beside. As has been so forcibly stated by the hon. members for Hamilton and Montreal West, she is doing so in cotton, hardware, woollens, and in the staples of iron and steel. I am obliged to use great deal of steel, which for the past twenty-five years I

have purchased in England, and still I am forced to go to the United States for a portion of the steel I require. It is an acknowledged fact that great Sheffield manufacturers cannot supply steel and iron at the same price as Americans. One of the oldest of these houses on November 1st, 1875, writes me; "We see that American fork steel is now much reduced in price; in fact, lower than we can afford to sell it for, at present." This shows, sir, that though they make a specialty of bar steel, and though the houses have been established for centuries, it is acknowledged that in connection with such a staple, even Sheffield itself, under the great free trade principles of Great Britain, the Americans are able to undersell in a British Colony; and not only is this the case in this article, but in many others, such as iron, cotton, woollen goods, &c. Now, how do our neighbors manage their affairs? Do not they give every facility for the prosecution of enterprise in their country? With regard to their bonded system—

Mr. MILLS—I would like to know what that is?

Mr. JONES—Yes, possibly the honorable member for Bothwell would. I do not believe that he does know.

Under their bonded system they import from Sweden and Norway large quantities of iron roughly manufactured, upon which a very heavy rate of duty (45 per cent.) may be levied. It is bonded, and may be rolled into sheets, strips, or bars—into any shape required. They allow this to be done in bond, when the articles are exported to this or any other country, utilizing their labor for the benefit of their farmers and the population generally. So with the drawback system. Regarding every article manufactured in the United States, when sent here, the duties levied on the component parts are returned. I can make a dozen of shovels as cheaply as they can be turned out in any other country, and I ship them to British Columbia in the face of the San Francisco market; and a great American firm, which makes the enormous quantity of four hundred dozen of shovels a day, when they ship them to the Dominion are paid back the duties received

on such exports, obtaining, in fact, \$1 per dozen—actually a fair profit. What have we done during the last twenty years? We have quarrelled amongst ourselves when we should have looked at the great interests of the country. I do not care what party is in power; so long as they are faithful and true to our flag, and so long as they act justly and rightly on the floor of this House, they shall have my true and loyal support. The people of the Dominion can no longer be blinded by party cries and misled by party cries into countenancing wrong-doing or unpatriotic conduct upon the part of any Government, and the sooner members of Parliament and occupants of the Treasury Bench were cognizant of this fact the better would it be for the country. (Applause.) Again, I would ask, Who pays the great proportion of our duties? You would imagine that the farmers did so, judging from the remarks made in this House; but I contend that this is not the fact: they are not the great consumers, but the great producers. If they buy luxuries, they must pay for them like other people. They produce home-made coats, such as I wear here to-day (applause), and flax, woollens, hides, and everything they require; but they do not pay taxes in proportion to the other sections of the population—the laborers, the mechanics, the merchant princes, the millionaires, &c. If we only build up our manufacturing industries, and do not shut our eyes to the fact that we have forty millions of people on the other side of the line, with a barricade against us which will never be opened, we will adopt a proper policy. We have been looking for a chance during the past ten or fifteen years. I remember, in 1865, that I walked down from the back seats in the Parliament in Quebec to the Right Honorable member for Kingston (the Reciprocity Treaty had been abolished), and said: "I think that this is a good time to prepare a tariff which will 'build up our industries.'" What did the honorable gentleman say? "Wait a little. Wait a year or two; we will 'get back reciprocity.'" It has been waiting from that day to this; and you will be waiting many a long day before you get it from these high-minded merchants of the United States. They have

kicked and cuffed and knocked us about in every way, from pillar to post, and have laughed at us in their sleeves; in fact, virtually announced that we are a nation of fools! Talk of retaliation, and the consequent irritation some think it would produce amongst the Americans. Why, when we adopt a defensive policy, they will awaken to a sense of their position, and begin to think a little of us, and perhaps be forced to admit that we are business men. How have they treated us during the last ten or fifteen years? Have they done what is right, true, or just? Have they carried out the Washington Treaty in regard to our canals? Do they not charge a duty in regard to fish oils, as well as in that paltry matter of lobster tins? We are similarly situated, as far as manufacturing powers are concerned, to the United States—indeed, I think we are better situated. In the Eastern States—in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maine—they have good water power, but no coal or iron. Yet the East is the great manufacturing centre of the country. How are we situated? In the Lower Provinces—in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—we have, as at Boston, connection with the sea, and coal and iron lying side by side; and I believe with a proper system, with a true national policy persisted in for ten or fifteen years, instead of the dilly-dallying policy now pursued, we could manufacture as cheap and make the country greater in proportion to its population, as the United States. The high-mindedness of the people across the line, which has been so often talked about, was exemplified yesterday by the hon. member for Montreal West, when referring to the orders given by manufacturers there to sell at any price so long as Canadian and English goods were driven out of the market. I can mention here an instance of their efforts to under-sell us which came under my own observation. In a hardware shop in Detroit I saw an article selling at \$9 gold, which they were delivering at the windor to Canadian merchants at \$7.20. When I travel, Sir, I blush for my country, which has had railroads for twenty-five years, and still imports rails, locomotives, axles, cranks, and all other things needed. In the Dominion now we have but one small locomotive Co'y at Kingston, which

is kept alive by a sop thrown to it now and then—these sops being few and far between; for we find that even refunds upon locomotives, manufactured in a foreign country, have been granted to the Great Western Railway by the present Administration. (Cheers.) If a sound policy had been pursued, millions of dollars for wages in this industry would have been diffused throughout the country. But the effect of the policy adopted by the Government has been to cripple the railroad; manufacturing, mercantile, mechanical, and farming interests; for I hold that they are blended together, and that when one flourishes the other flourishes, and *vice versa*. (Applause.) The hon. member for Bothwell said he did not see why a duty should be placed on agricultural products. I don't think there should be a duty on rye, oats, wheat, and perhaps upon flour, because we raise good wheat and can manufacture flour to compete with other countries. But, in this connection, we must remember that the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railroads will deliver a cargo of flour from Michigan to Montreal or Halifax as cheap as they will to Toronto, Oshawa, or Whitby. This should be remedied by the legislation which was promised last year in the Railway Committee. The matter should be regulated by *pro rata* rates—there should be no difference. On the article of corn I think there should be a duty. (Hear, hear.) We grow a considerable quantity in the Western country, but not sufficient for the distilleries, in whose interest the duty of ten cents a bushel was taken off. If we were to have a protective tariff we might have to pay a little more than we do now for some things; but I don't see why we should not have the same patriotism and desire for the advancement of our country as the United States have. See what love they have for their country! They bear the duty placed on those things; but what is the consequence? In many articles they are under-selling us. And I ask the honorable gentleman if, seeing that the United States can under-sell the world, whether it would be any disadvantage to the consumers here to have a high protective duty? I believe in a fixed policy which will build up our industries. (Cheers.) We should encourage our

trade with the West Indies, and have a line of steamers to effect an exchange of products. But what has been the policy with regard to the West Indies? Our sugar refining trade is closed by a duty of 25 per cent. on the raw material. I say if we would build up this country let us carry out our solemn contract in regard to the Pacific Railway. We have borrowed money on the faith of it from the British Government, to whom we are pledged for its construction. It may not be built in ten, fifteen, or even twenty years, but let us do what we can. Do not let it be said that we, as a nation, upon the very threshold of union, violated an engagement, broke through an agreement, or attempted to do that which must prove disastrous in the end. A Canadian's word given in the House of Parliament should be kept to the letter; and there is nothing to prevent our making such arrangements as will ultimately prove beneficial and satisfactory to the country at large. (Hear, hear.) Our canals meet the requirements of our own trade for the present. Let us drop unnecessary works in which we are expending large sums. It may cause outcry here and there, but the country will be the gainer. The people of British Columbia do not insist on the completion of the railroad in ten years so long as we can show an earnest desire to construct it as fast as possible. Let us build that road in advance of settlement, as is done in the United States, and it will give employment to the men who are loitering about our streets, and prosperity to every interest in the Dominion. I believe that is the true policy of this country; and I would not like to say what I believe will be the consequence to this country if it is not carried out. I appeal to honorable members on both sides of the House to think twice ere repudiating a national policy. Delays are dangerous, but doubly dangerous at the present time, as the nation desires once for all a settlement of the vexed question of its fiscal policy. Those gentlemen upon the Treasury Benches, if they forgot Canada and Canada's interests, would find people of all classes forgetting them whensoever they appealed to constituencies for approval of their legislation.—The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged applause.

[The following speech was delivered by Mr. A. T. Wood, M. P., upon an amendment moved by Mr. De Cosmos, declaring for a revised protective tariff—the motion being afterwards withdrawn in deference to the wishes of the House. Mr. Mills' motion was afterwards agreed to, having been amended so as to include besides manufacturing, the mining, shipping, and lumbering interests:—]

Mr. WOOD said—I had no idea when this discussion commenced, it would take the wide range that it has done. I did not think that the question of protection, pure and simple, was to be discussed. The amendment of the hon. member for Victoria brings the issue squarely before the House this evening. The question is one of great importance to this country and deserves the most careful consideration of every hon. member present. In discussing it we must be careful to keep in mind that protection is not what Free-Traders would wish us to believe, namely—purely in the interests of the manufacturer, and that he only is to be benefited by an increase of the tariff. If the advantages to be derived were simply to benefit one class of the community at the expense of all the rest—I for one would not be found in my present position. It is because I am convinced that protection to our infant industries is in the interest of all classes of the community that I am and have been for many years, an humble but earnest advocate of its adoption. The great problem of employment for the masses is one that has caused much anxiety to able and experienced statesmen in other lands; and I regret to say, that up to the present no real solution has been found, and as Canada grows older and increases in population she, too, will have to meet the difficulty, and prevent, if possible, such scenes as have been witnessed in Birmingham, Manchester and other large towns of England and on the Continent where the working classes were clamouring for work or bread. You are aware, Sir, that for many months all branches of trade have been suffering severely, the manufacturing interest particularly. Many of the factories have been running on short time, or closed up completely, thereby, throwing out of employment thousands of industrious mechanics and

artisans, who, for want of work during the present winter, have been compelled to ask relief from charitable institutions in order to keep themselves and families from starvation. Such a state of things should not exist in a young and vigorous country like Canada, and I venture to say it would not exist to so great an extent if the Government would only courageously meet the difficulty and deal with it as it ought to do. I am not one of those, Mr. Speaker, who like the hon. member for Kingston charge the present Administration with being the cause of all the suffering and distress that is now felt throughout the country, nor am I prepared to say that any legislation that could take place would completely cure every case of wretchedness to be found in the land. But, Sir, if we point out in a clear and intelligent manner some of the causes of the present distress amongst the mechanics, artisans and labourers particularly, and then if the Government refuses to remove them, if in its power, I venture to predict that the country will hold them to a strict account. But I have faith that the gentlemen charged with the responsibility of conducting the affairs of this country are equal to the occasion, and that they will take hold and deal vigorously with it in such a way as to give satisfaction to the country at large. It is a well-known fact that for two years past the Americans have been flooding this country with their surplus stocks, selling them at prices that make it impossible for our people to compete against and get cost for their goods. They sell irrespective of cost, in order to raise money for some pressing necessity, and by so doing they are enabled to keep their factories in constant operation. They know quite well that in consequence of their high tariff our manufacturers cannot retaliate. Could we reach the American markets with the same facility that they reach ours, the present practice of underselling would not be resorted to. But as we are completely shut out of the States, the American manufacturers can keep their prices well up at home, sell to this country 15 to 25 per cent. less than they will do to their own people, and at the same time not reduce the price on their average productions more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent., which is a small matter to them

when they can take away our gold in payment which should go into the pockets of our own people for goods made at home. They are at the same time destroying our manufacturing industries, and will be able at some future day to recoup themselves at our expense by charging us what they please when all competition has been crushed out. The question how to be considered is how can legislation alter the present state of affairs? Will any action that the Government can take be such as would give employment to the thousands of industrious mechanics and labourers now suffering for want of work, and at the same time prevent our manufacturing industries from being completely ruined by the unequal competition that is forced on them by our foreign rivals? I think the answer to this question is one that could easily be given by every gentleman in this House who has given the present depressed state of the country any consideration whatever. It is the answer expected from the Government by the people of this country, and, if given, will put in motion numbers of factories that have stood idle for months, affording relief to thousands of artisans that have been suffering for weeks, and impart new life and energy to all classes of the community. The answer is: Simply increase the tariff $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on such articles as can be manufactured in this country to advantage, admitting at the same time all raw material that we do not possess ourselves, at the lowest possible rate of duty. Such a course will secure our home market for the productions of our own people both of the factory and of the farm. There is a strong feeling amongst many of our people that we should assimilate our tariff to that of the United States, so far as that country is concerned, and to advance it very slightly to England and other countries. Personally I would willingly adopt this course, as it is from the Americans we received the greatest injury. But I question the policy of such a course. The United States is the very best market for our barley, cattle, lumber and other productions of the farm and forest, which might be completely shut out of that country if we undertook to legislate against them particularly; and, while I contend that we have the right to do so, I am convinced that it would

not be in our interest to take that course. They could trouble us in many ways that would work against our mercantile and railway interests, which are now to some extent depending on them. The bonding system that gives us access to the sea-board at all times might be done away with. Some of our largest railway corporations are depending on them for the through traffic that keeps them afloat; and any action on our part that would give them an excuse for stopping any of these privileges would be unwise. If we take their tariff as a basis for ours and treat all nations alike, then the Americans can have no cause of complaint. It is now a settled fact that we are not to have reciprocity with the States. Let us therefore adopt such a tariff as will make us independent of such a treaty—a tariff that will build up all over this country large manufacturing centres, with a population that will consume the produce of the farmer. We will not then have to beg for a reciprocity treaty which would enable us to supply New England with cheap bread, while she is manufacturing for us the very goods we ought to make for ourselves. "Import the labor and not the product of his labor," should be the motto of this country. To place the producer and consumer side by side should be the aim of every true Canadian. By doing so a vast amount of wealth, as well as of unproductive labor, would be saved to the country.

As matters now stand, our manufacturers have no chance to compete with the Americans. Our hands are tied, while our American rivals are at perfect liberty to strike us when and where they please. The fences round our pastures are almost level with the ground, while theirs are built seven rails high, and the gates constantly locked and guarded. They have no difficulty in getting into our green fields, but we scarcely dare look over their fences. The American Custom officers throw every obstacle in the way of exporting goods into their country. The competition is unreasonable. They are possessed of large capital, the best of machinery, and long experience, and, to crown all, a prohibitory tariff; whilst we, as manufacturers, are but of yesterday, with little capital, less experience, and almost a free-trade tariff. But if

we had our own markets, for a very few years, until our feet were firmly established, I am quite sure that with our industry, energy and economy, we would not be afraid to compete with them in any market. The advocates of free-trade say that it is unfair to tax them for the benefit of a few manufacturers, some of whom have grown rich under the present tariff. They wish to buy their goods where they can get them the cheapest, and to sell in the dearest market. This is just what the advocates of protection claim that that system will do for the country. I deny that protection means an increase of price to the consumer, but the very opposite. Protection will secure competition amongst our own manufacturers, and this will secure fair and reasonable prices, which few object to pay. For instance, when the duty on boots and shoes was 25 per cent. we did not import a single pair. The country was well supplied. No one was ever heard to complain of high prices. Home competition secured this, and the duty might just as well have been 100 per cent. as 25 per cent. for prices would have been the same to the consumers. I contend, therefore, if three-fourths of the goods that are now imported, that we could make for ourselves, were excluded from the country, the consumer would not pay a cent more for his requirements in ordinary times. Protection means much more than all this. It will secure the influx of a large amount of foreign capital for manufacturing purposes that would never reach us as long as our present free-trade tariff exists. Is this not a complete answer to those who say that an increase of duties means an increase of price to the consumer? The point I wish to make is, that while the farming community secures better prices in the home market where there is a large manufacturing population, they buy at prices equally as low, if not lower than the same can be imported in consequence of internal competition. Admit, for arguments sake, that we would have to pay more for what we have to purchase. If protection gives us constant employment and fair wages, we will be able to procure what we want even at the advanced price. While, as we now stand, with free trade for all the world, we are

not able to procure a day's work. Of what use are the very cheapest goods to us if we have not the means to purchase them? Would you not rather pay high prices, and be able to secure what you want, than have low prices without the means of so doing? If I, as a mechanic, am earning \$2 per day under protection, and have to pay 10 per cent. more for such goods as I require, am I not better off than if offered the same goods at 20 per cent. less, but on account of free-trade, was unable to get work at any price, and I cannot earn even a dollar a day to provide such things as I require for my family? I think that all will admit that high prices, good wages, and constant work are much preferable to low prices and no work. Mr. Speaker, so long as we are subject to such ruinous competition, we will see want and distress amongst our own manufacturing population, as there is a determined effort on the part of our American neighbors to crush out all opposition, even at the sacrifice of their profits for a few years, the hope of recouping themselves when all opposition has ceased to exist, which will soon be the case at our present rate of progress. They will then secure such prices as will repay them for any loss they now sustain. Our people are struggling manfully to maintain their existence. Many of the large mills are barely paying expenses in the hope that the Government will consider the position they are placed in and come to the rescue. Take a single instance, which which is one out of many that could be named. The Dundas cotton Mills, with a capital of \$100,000, employ about 400 people, and pay out a large amount of wages monthly, most of which is spent in the town and neighborhood in procuring supplies for the operatives and their families. This mill has not paid a cent of dividend to its stockholders for months, as they have made up their minds to fight the Americans as long as they have a dollar, in order to retain their customers. If they do not get relief very soon by an increase in the tariff, the mill must close. Then 400 people will be thrown out of employment, the large amount of wages paid monthly will cease to circulate, and the operatives and those dependent on them will have to seek for work in a country

whose Government takes good care that the manufacturing industries of its people are not interferred with by the influx of the surplus stocks of outsiders.

There are four or five cotton mills in the Dominion, with a capital of \$2,000,000, employing 1,600 hands, paying \$300,000 per year, and the value of goods they produce amounting to \$1,500,000 per annum. Not one of these mills is paying a cent to the stockholders, nor even putting into a sinking fund a single dollar for repairs. The consequence will be, that unless a change takes place very soon, every wheel will be worn out in the next few years, and every spindle will cease to revolve, as no person will think of putting fresh capital in for the purpose of sinking it. The Americans will then have the trade to themselves, and our free-trade friends will find out to their cost how cheap they can purchase cotton in the future. The Americans are beating England in almost every market of the Old World, and even invading Manchester itself with the production of their looms; and if they can do this so successfully there how can Canada, in her present condition, be expected to cope with them? Nothing but a considerable increase in the tariff and that fixed for a number of years, can save the manufacturing industries of this country from being crushed out of existence. The American tariff has secured to the American people their own market and freedom from outside competition, and their manufacturers are so firmly established that to-day they are driving free-trade England out of many of the markets where she at one time was the only source of supply. Take as a sample the market—pig iron—a large portion of which is now imported from the United States. All used to come from England three years ago. In bar-iron more than one-half of the imports into Ontario are from the States. Three years ago there was scarcely a bar from that country; all came from England; and this is the country Free Traders declare is protected to death. So far as I can see, there is not any sign of death taking place at an early date.

Mr. GORDON—Will the hon. gentleman give his authority in regard to that matter?

Mr. WOOD—I refer the hon. gentle-

man to the trade and navigation returns. If the hon. gentleman knows where to turn, he will find the statement I vouch for its correctness. What use, I ask, is there in spending thousands of dollars every year to induce immigrants to come to this country unless some effort is made to give them employment? All that reach our shores are not suitable for farm labor. If we wish to build up a nation, we must have diversity of employment. No country can ever become rich, prosperous and populous simply as a nation of farmers and shop-keepers. How have the New England States with their rocks and mountains and unproductive soil, become so rich and powerful? Not surely by confining themselves to farming operations. It is their manufacturing enterprise that has placed them in the position they are to-day. Let us look at the capital invested in Massachusetts since the year 1850 and see how it has increased in twenty years, with the amount of wages paid out; the value of the raw materials used, and the value of finished goods produced in the years 1850, 1860 and 1870.

	1850.		1860.		1870.	
	\$	per cent.	\$	per cent.	\$	per cent.
Capital Invested.....	86,940,292	50	132,792,327	75	231,677,862	75
Wages paid.....	41,954,736	36	56,860,913	107	115,051,886	107
Value of Raw material do	85,856,771	57	135,053,721	147	334,413,982	147
do Finished Goods	157,743,994	61	255,545,992	117	553,912,568	117
Avg. Wages & annum.	236	11	262	61	422	422
No. of Hands Employ'd	177,461	217,421	279,380

—This same State invested in Cottons, Woollens and Boots and Shoes alone in 1870.—

	Cotton.	Woollens.	Boots and Shoes.
Capital Invested.....	\$42,153,175 00	\$20,622,440 00	\$19,559,738 00
Wages Paid Out.....	12,914,023 00	7,296,733 00	21,265,283 00
Value of Raw Material do	35,447,617 00	24,866,118 00	51,363,406 00
do Finished Goods	56,285,680 00	39,489,242 00	88,393,583 00
Hands Employed.....	41,455	20,551	54,831

The total value of property of all kinds, real and personal, in this State, in 1870, was \$2,132,148,741.00. The population is 1,457,351. Compare this with the wealth of the same number in this country, where farming receives the principal attention, and you will find that the balance is in favor of the people who turn their attention to manufacturing enterprise.

	Capital Invested.		Hands Employed.	Wages Paid.		Raw Material.		Value of Products.	
	\$	cts.		\$	cts.	\$	cts.	\$	cts.
In Ontario.....	37,874,010	00	87,281	21,115,710	00	65,184,504	00	114,706,799	00
Quebec.....	28,071,868	00	66,714	12,389,673	00	44,555,025	00	77,203,182	00
New Brunswick.....	5,976,176	00	18,352	3,869,380	00	9,431,760	00	17,367,587	00
Nova Scotia.....	6,041,966	00	15,535	3,176,266	00	5,806,257	00	12,338,105	00
Making a total of..	77,964,020	00	187,912	40,861,009	00	124,907,846	00	221,617,773	00

Massachusetts has 11½ per cent. less population than Ontario. She has 612 per cent. more capital invested in manufactures; pays out in wages 575 per cent. more than Ontario; paid for raw material, 514 per cent. more than Ontario; and the value of the finished productions is 483 per cent. more than Ontario. She employs 320 per cent. more

hands in manufacturing, and pays 72½ per cent. higher wages than Ontario. Massachusetts has 11½ per cent. more capital invested in cotton alone than Ontario has in all kinds of manufactures, and the value of the finished cotton is equal to half the value of all our productions. Woollens are in the same position as cottons, but with this exception, that the value of woollens is only 30 per cent. less than all Ontario's production. In boots and shoes there is about half the capital invested that there is in all the manufactures in Ontario. The value of finished work is only 30 per cent. less than all the Ontario manufactures, and pays 27½ per cent. more wages than is paid to all engaged in the manufactures in Ontario. Pennsylvania has a population of about 1 per cent. larger than the Dominion. She has invested in manufactures over 525 per cent. more than Canada, pays out 310 per cent. more wages, and the value of finished production is 325 per cent. more than all Canada. In iron alone there is just about as much capital invested as there is in all industries in the Dominion, paying only about 40 per cent. less wages than is paid in the Dominion for that purpose. The value of finished iron is only about 45 per cent. less than all the production of our factories together. The average earning of each operative engaged in manufacturing in Ontario in 1871, was \$245.00—just what was paid in 1850 in Massachusetts, 11 per cent. less than was paid in 1860, and about 72½ per cent. less than was paid in 1870 when the United States Census was taken. We are told that in protected countries like the States the profits to the manufacturers are enormous, and that they come directly out of the pockets of the consumer. Let us compare the returns on investments in manufacturing in the New England States, where they have protection, with Canada, where free-trade particularly exists, and we will find that protection actually reduces the cost to the consumer. In Canada, up to the time when the Americans began the slaughtering business, after setting apart 6 per cent. for interest on plant, and interest on working capital, the manufacturer got a larger profit by 6¼ per cent. than the protected manufacturer in New England got. The result is that where protection exists home competi-

Hands Employed..... 64,831
 20,551
 41,455

tion secures fair prices. But where free trade is the order, as in this country, people will not invest their means in manufactures, and competition does not exist, and the customer pays higher prices. This was the case up to 1872. Here we see the source from whence the wealth of Massachusetts is derived, because of her large manufacturing population. Land that our Canadian farmers would think dear at any price, brings from forty to sixty dollars per acre, because every article that can be raised brings a large price in the market created by the manufacturing interests scattered so thickly over the State. The capital invested in manufacturing in the State of New York in the years 1850, 1860, and 1870 was as follows: 1850—Capital invested, \$99,904,405; wages paid \$49,131,000; value of raw material, \$134,655,674; value of finished work, \$237,597,249; hands employed, 199,349. In 1860—Capital invested, \$172,875,652; wages paid, \$65,446,759; value of raw material, \$214,813,061; value of finished work, \$378,870,230; hands employed, 230,112. In 1870—Capital invested, \$366,994,320; wages paid, \$142,465,758; value of raw material, \$452,063,452; value of finished work, \$785,194,651; hands employed, 357,803. The capital invested in manufactures in Pennsylvania for the same period was: In 1850—Capital, \$94,473,810; wages paid, \$37,163,232; raw material, \$87,265,377; finished work, \$155,044,910; hands, 146,766. In 1860—Capital, \$190,055,904; wages paid, \$60,369,165; raw material, \$150,477,698; finished work, \$230,121,188; hands, 222,132. In 1870—Capital, \$406,821,845; wages, \$127,976,594; raw material, \$421,197,673; finished work, \$711,894,344; hands, 319,487. In 1870—iron only—Capital, \$78,668,802; wages, \$24,630,024; raw material, \$80,357,261; finished work, \$122,605,296; hands, 47,134. In Ohio, for the same period, the statistics are: 1850—Capital, \$20,019,538; wages, \$13,467,156; raw material, \$34,678,019; finished work, \$62,692,269; hands, 51,491. In 1860—Capital, \$57,295,303; wages, \$22,302,982; raw material, \$69,800,270; finished work, \$121,691,148; hands, 75,602. In 1870—Capital, \$141,923,964; wages, \$49,066,488; raw material, \$157,131,697; finished work, \$269,713,610; hands, 137,202. In 1870—iron only—Capital,

\$22,867,774; wages, \$7,905,101; raw material, \$20,852,520; finished work, \$35,625,157; hands, 14,943." We have here a large amount of the wealth of the States named, invested in manufacturing enterprise, which would not be the case if the country was not favoured with a protective system that prevents their country being made a slaughter market of by foreigners. What secured for England the position she now occupies in wealth and influence among the nations of the earth? Certainly not selling the produce of her cultivated farms, nor even the riches of her multitude of shop-keepers, but through the enterprise of her manufacturers, who forced their productions into every market in the world, securing vast stores of wealth for themselves and respect for the nation which they represented, and at the same time giving such an impetus to commerce as makes England today the first Marine Power in the world. Then again take Germany, France, Prussia, Belgium and other countries that might be mentioned, all thickly populated; are they supported by tilling the soil? Not by any means. In the countries mentioned every little hamlet, village, town and city is a busy hive of manufacturing industry, and to this fact alone they owe the position of influence and wealth that they now enjoy. All these countries early enjoyed a sound protective policy, and most of them continue it to this day. It is a fact that cannot be disputed that all countries that manufacture for themselves are, as a rule, rich and prosperous, while those countries that import to supply the home demand, are generally poor to what they would be if they manufactured and supplied their own wants. Canada, I regret to say, is in the position of being poor, because she imports much more than she manufactures, and will continue to do so until such a change is made in the tariff as will give confidence to capitalists to invest their means in manufacturing industries that will supply a much larger portion of the home demand than is done at present. If the Government will make the present $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. tariff 25 per cent.; and carefully revise the free list, as well as the other rates of duty now charged, and fix them permanently for a definite length of time, I venture to say that you will at once see such a change in the

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industrial affairs of this country as will astonish the most advanced Free-Trader. One thing more than another that prevents capital from being invested in manufactures in this country is the constant changes that are made in the tariff, and this fact enables those who are in some line of business to take advantage and charge higher prices than they would if the tariff was settled for a length of time, which would induce others to go into the same line of business and thus create competition.

Let us contemplate for a short time the position of some of those countries that have for various reasons adopted the system our opponents are so much in love with. I will ask the House to give me their attention while I read a few extracts from the pen of one of England's ablest writers on the question of protection, as to the effect of free-trade on the manufacturing interests of Ireland. The gentleman is Sergeant Byles, well known to the legal profession:

There is no novelty or strangeness in this suggestion of partial and temporary protection of infant Irish manufactures even against England. Enlightend and impartial foreigners have made it before. For example, the Baron Dupin, in France, and Mr. Webster, in the United States of America, have given it as their opinion that little good is to be expected without it, from any course of British legislation for Ireland. Nay, we have more than theory or authority to guide us. We have, in the past history of Ireland herself, actual experience both of the advantage of protecting Irish manufactures against English, and of the ruin attending the withdrawal of protection. Before the Union, Irish protecting duties existed on many English manufactures. Among others, there was a duty on English woollens; a duty on English calicoes and muslins, so high as to be nearly prohibitory; a duty on English silk. There were duties on English cotton yarn, cotton twist, and cotton manufactured goods. The Act of Union continued the duties on woollens and several other articles for twenty years. It continued the high duties on calicoes and muslins till 1808. They were then to be gradually reduced till they should fall to 10 per cent. in 1816, and nothing in 1821. The duties on cotton yarn and cotton twist were continued till 1808, and were then to be gradually reduced to nothing in 1816. The linen trade was encouraged by a Parliamentary grant, withdrawn in 1826. Now see the effects, first of protection, and, next, of its withdrawal, or, rather, a specimen of the effects. It has been stated by Dublin tradesmen acquainted with the facts that in 1800 they had 91 master woollen manufacturers, employing 4,918 hands. In 1840 the master manufacturers were 12, the hands 602.

Master wool-combers in 1800 were 30; hands 230. In 1834—Masters, 5; hands, 66. Carpet manufacturers, in 1800—Masters, 13; hands, 726. In 1841—Masters, 1; hands, —. Blanket manufacturers in Kilkenny, in 1800—Masters, 56; hands, 3,000. In 1822—Masters, 56; hands, 3,000. In 1832—Masters, 42; hands, 925. Broad silk loom weavers in Dublin, in 1800, at work, 2,500; in 1840, 250. Calico looms in Balbriggan, in 1799, in full work, 2,000; in 1841, 226. Flannel looms in the County of Wicklow, in 1800, 1,000; in 1841, not one. In the City of Cork:

	1800.	1834.
Braid weavers	1,000	40
Worsted weavers	2,000	90
Hosiery	300	28
Wool combers	700	110
Cotton weavers	2,000	210
Linen check weavers	600	none.

Cotton spinners, bleachers, calico printers, thousands employed, utterly extinct. The linen trade, protected and fostered till 1826, was not in those days confined to the North of Ireland. In Clonakilty, in the County of Cork, £1,200 a week were expended on the purchase of coarse linen webs so late as 1825. In Mayo, £111,000 were expended in purchasing the same species of web. In 1825 the sum of two millions and a half sterling were expended in Ireland in the purchase of coarse, unbleached, home-made webs. I am obliged for these specimens of them ruin of Irish industry to Mr. Butt, Q.C. at the Irish Bar, who informs me that they could be very much extended.

Another instance of the ruin that free trade works you will find in Turkey. Her commercial system is a very liberal one, no part of the vast dominion of the Sultan exhibits the good effects of his tariff. Distress and misery meet you in the face at every turn. No manufactures exist there on account of the Sultan's enlightened free trade views. Many of the Free Traders of England who hold the bonds and securities of that unhappy country would be rejoiced, I think, if the Sultan would turn Protectionist. Then we have Spain, Portugal and Mexico, all with a system of low tariff, but no manufactories. How do we find them progressing socially and financially? Will they compare in general intelligence and wealth with many other countries, with advantages far inferior to theirs in soil and climate, but who has the benefit of established manufactures conducted by intelligent, energetic mechanics and business men? One more example of the baneful effects of free trade, forced by England on a country that could not resist—the case of the Decca weavers of India—is almost too well known to need repetition. This in-

dustry that existed for generations, and prospered in that country, giving employment to thousands of its inhabitants, producing such articles as were required by the natives, and for want of a reasonable amount of protection, England, with her large capital and improved machinery, brought utter ruin on all engaged in the muslin trade. Many of the weavers died of starvation, and their families were scattered all over the country. I will ask your attention to a few extracts from the pen of Horace Greeley on this point; "I cite the memorable instance of the Decca weavers of India, as stated in Parliament by the distinguished Free Trader, Dr. Bowring:

"I hold, sir, in my hand the correspondence which has taken place between the Governor General of India and the East India Company, on the subject of the Decca hand-loom weavers. It is a melancholy story of misery, so far as they are concerned, and as striking an evidence of the wonderful progress of manufacturing industry in this country. Some years ago the East India Company annually received of the produce of the looms of India the amount of from six to eight millions of pieces of cotton goods. The demand gradually fell to somewhat more than one million, and has now nearly ceased altogether. In 1800, the United States took from India nearly eight hundred thousand pieces of cottons; in 1830, not four thousand. In 1800 one million of pieces were shipped to Portugal; in 1830, only twenty thousand. Terrible are the accounts, of the wretchedness of the poor India weavers, reduced to starvation. And what was the sole cause? The presence of the cheaper English manufactures—the production by the power-loom of the article which these unhappy Hindoos had been used for ages to make by their unimproved and hand-directed shuttles. Sir, it was impossible that they could go on weaving what no one would wear or buy. Numbers of them died of hunger; the remainder were, for the most part, transferred to other occupations, principally agricultural. Not to have changed their trade was inevitable starvation. And at this moment, sir, the Decca district is supplied with yarn and cotton cloth from the power-looms of England. The language of the Governor General is:

"European skill and machinery have superseded the produce of India. The court declare that they are at last obliged to abandon the only remaining portion of the trade in cotton manufactures in both Bengal and Madras, because, through the intervention of power-looms, the British goods have a decided advantage in quality and price. Cotton piece goods, for so many ages the staple manufacture of India, seems thus forever lost. The Decca muslins, celebrated over the whole world for their beauty and fineness, are also annihilated, from the same cause. And the present suffering to numerous

classes in India is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of commerce."

He has given the question of free-trade and protection long and careful study. We have seen what free-trade has done for Ireland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Mexico and India. I think the most ardent admirer of the system would not like to see our Dominion reduced to the level of any one of these countries. We will now reverse the picture, and take a view of the position occupied by those countries where a carefully arranged tariff protects their home industries from being crushed out by the influx of the surplus stocks of outsiders, who sell their goods at what they can catch, irrespective of cost of production; and it is broadly stated by political economists, that protected manufactures are weak and sickly. I undertake to prove that is only such that are strong and healthy; and that wherever a judicious system of protection exists the country is generally rich and prosperous; its inhabitants producing and exporting to those free-trade countries that do not manufacture for themselves. Below I give what a well-known writer says on the subject:

But "protected manufactures are sickly," say English political economists. "A metaphorical expression this," replies a talented English writer, "constantly repeated, little contradicted, and, therefore, by the half-informed believed." Whatever a man hears or reads constantly without contradiction he is apt to believe. Sale, the translator of the Koran, by constantly poring over it is said to have become a Mahometan. But this proposition is so far from being true that a slight review of the history of any manufacturer disproves it. All great manufactures had their origin in the protective system. Take our own, the greatest and least sickly of any. All our own manufactures took their rise in a system of protective duties, so high as to amount to prohibitions. In addition to this, owing to the fearful hostilities that raged in Europe for nearly a quarter of a century before 1815 we enjoyed a further accidental monopoly of the manufacturing industry of the world. And this stringent protection has not only created manufactures, but created them where they would not naturally have existed in spite of the great natural disadvantages. Other nations have coal and iron ore as well as we. The United States are even richer in this respect. But other nations have also what we have not—they have native raw materials. It has been justly observed that Great Britain is singularly poor in the raw materials which constitute the basis of the greater portion of her manufacturing industry. We have no cotton, no silk, no fine wool. Even our best iron, for

the manufacturing of hardware, comes from Sweden; our oils, gums, colors, woods, from the ends of the earth.

Next to us in manufacturing industry is France. Her manufacturing industry, though still inferior to ours, has nevertheless, since the peace, augmented in an even greater ratio, but under strict and jealous protection.

After France comes Germany. Let any one, before the late struggle, have visited the countries embraced by the Zollverein. To say that protection has there produced manufacturing prosperity would be to beg the question. But one thing is certain, that exactly coincident in time and place with the most stringent protective laws has arisen a manufacturing industry and production of wealth, without an approach to a parallel in all the former history of Germany. On every side are seen rising mills, factories, workshops and warehouses, teeming with an industrious and busy population; and, so far from agriculture being neglected, it never made more rapid progress, to say nothing of the mining, metallurgical industry, which has also received the most astonishing impetus. Yet with us—the richest country in the world—the Zollverein, in proportion to the vast extent, multitudinous population and increasing wealth, has little trade. But, as she has protected herself from the influx of our manufactures, she has undoubtedly been growing richer and busier. Nay, hardware, the product of protected German industry, is actually finding its way into Birmingham itself, and articles of German manufacture are superseding articles of Birmingham make. The more protected are beginning to beat the less protected manufactures on their own ground. The Birmingham people have no power to retaliate. German tariffs take care of that. German thinkers, deeper and more independent than the English, have exposed the shallowness of those theories, which have turned the heads of our rulers. Princes, ministers, philosophers and people, are agreed to maintain the protection which has so abundantly justified their sagacity.

Look at Russia. Examine the protective and jealous tariff of that infant but colossal State; then contemplate its results. Take the testimony of that most unexceptionable witness, Mr. Cobden. He has recently visited the protected textile manufacturers of Russia which, but for protection, would never have had existence. And what does he say? That the Russians are to be our customers for cotton goods, and to take them in exchange for the boundless importations of corn from the Black Sea. Vain delusion! According to him these protected manufacturers, which should, in conformity with our received theories, have been sickly and stunted, are now so advanced and flourishing as to threaten a rivalry with Great Britain herself, and every branch of human industry and art is, by the same means, beginning to flourish and expand in an empire which, stretching from west to east, and from east to west again, in almost unbroken continuity around Europe, Asia and America, extends from Archangel nearly to Constantinople, embracing some of the finest climates and soils in the world, con-

nected and concentrated as they will soon become by its new iron highways. Within her borders are cherished and naturalized the productions of all lands. We have just seen in England specimens of the finest steel from native Russian iron, fabricated in Russia, not only into the swords, bayonets and lances of an overwhelming military power, but into table cutlery and tools, that you suppose to have been turned out at Birmingham and Sheffield; while the gold and silver plate, the diamonds, the jewellery, the exquisite silks, the gold and silver tissues and brocade, dispute the prize with Paris and Lyons. Storch, the political economist, once persuaded the Russian Government to give the free trade system a trial. It was tried. It dismally failed and was abandoned. All are now agreed that protection is the true policy of Russia, and all find that in Russia, as everywhere else, it is the sure road to prosperity and power.

Take now a small State—Belgium. In proportion to her area, her manufacturing industry is, perhaps, greater than that of any other country, not excepting the United Kingdom itself. But in Belgium not only has the protective system long flourished, but the protecting duties are now higher than ever. Belgium is the very paradise of protection. Nay, there is even a bounty on exportation. Superficial observers call it an absurd tax on the many for the benefit of the few. But those who know the facts of the case, and will be at the pains to trace its effects, and assert the liberty of independent judgment, find it the cheapest mode, in a season of great danger and difficulty, of supporting the apparent surplus of an immense population. Many who superciliously and arrogantly censured the King and Government of Belgium for this flagrant breach of their dry and barren rules, would now find greater difficulty in preserving that little and defenceless Kingdom, not only in peace but prosperity, amidst the storms of surrounding revolution. Here again, as elsewhere, protected manufacturing industry has overflowed on the soil. Land, by nature a mere sand, has actually become the most fertile in Europe, and supports a larger population than any other.

Do we need stronger arguments than these to convince us that if we are ever to take our place as a manufacturing country we must adopt a system of protection, that will prevent our manufacturers from being swamped before they get well and firmly established. In looking over the trade and navigation returns for 1874, I find that we imported \$39,961,654 more than we exported. For 1873, the balance against us was about the same amount, and so on, back to 1868; so that the total imports over exports, in seven years after Confederation, amounted to the enormous sum of \$154,866,212, and we are still continuing in the same course. Need I ask what

the result will be if we do not soon put on the breaks? The Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Johnston, takes the free-trade view of this state of things, and argues that the more we import the richer we are, and therefore the balance of trade is a myth. The logical conclusion of this argument is that a man earning \$2,000 per annum may spend \$2,500 and still he is getting richer all the time. Will any person credit this conclusion? I admit that for certain improvements, such as railway building, canal enlargement and such like expenditure, we may occasionally run in debt to England for a considerable amount without injury to ourselves. But if we are to continue, year after year, importing what we could make for ourselves and sending the gold which is the life blood of the country, to pay for it, we will soon find to our cost that the balance of trade is a reality. The question—where will the revenue come from if we put on a tariff that will enable our own people to compete with outsiders, under the present exceptional circumstances—is one that is often put by Free Traders in order to confound the advocate of protection. My answer is, that for some time to come our own manufacturers would not be able to supply all that would be required; and, therefore, with the advanced rate of duty the necessary amount of revenue would be raised, even if the imports should fall off materially; and when our own people were fully prepared to supply the home demand, the manufacturing population would have increased so much that their consumption of dutiable-paying goods, that could not be produced in this country, would be quite sufficient to supply any deficiency that might arise from the falling off of goods that we were making for ourselves. This is the case in other countries, and should be the same here. Free-traders point us to England, and say that she has advanced much more rapidly since she adopted free-trade than she did when she had a protective tariff; and that if we wish to prosper as she had done we must pursue the same course. I answer that the circumstances of the two countries are quite different. If Canada were in England's position she could do as England is now doing, and perhaps with profit. But when England was as Canada is, she

did what the advocates of protection say that Canada ought to do now—that is, increase the tariff in the interest of home manufacturers. And when Canada has accumulated anything like the wealth and experience that England and the States have done by manufacturing in place of exporting her raw materials and importing them back manufactured and fit for use, having lost the labour and profits which should have been in the hands of our own people, then perhaps she may try for a time the experience of free-trade. I think after a discussion of the whole matter, the conclusion will be that the Government will bring down a tariff which will give encouragement to our manufacturers. I do not ask them to place a Chinese Wall around this country and keep everybody out of it. If our manufacturers had fair play, they could compete with any country in the world. It is impossible for them without a protective tariff to resist the great experience and enormous wealth of foreign competitors. Some gentlemen in this House cannot believe that the Americans sell their goods here at less than cost, but I know, because I have tested it. I know that in our own goods they are flooding the market with their surplus production. The constituency which I represent is largely interested in the question, and I would be recreant to the trust confided in me if I did not raise my voice in favour of those people who are doing everything they can to compete fairly with the manufacturers of other countries. They are entitled to such encouragement as the Government can give them. If we pursue a policy of free-trade which some hon. members advocate, our factories will be closed and our artisans driven to other countries to find employment. We have large resources, and if we had a protective tariff, capitalists would be encouraged to come in and develop them.

[The following is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Æmilius Irving, M. P., Hamilton, in moving an amendment to the Finance Minister's motion, that the "House do go into Committee of Supply":—]

Well, sir, I will now proceed to propose a remedy, which I will define:—I would discriminate against those classes of foreign manufactures which come

into competition with the productions of Canada and the United Kingdom. When I have sat down some hon. gentlemen may reply—"We cannot adopt retaliatory duties." I have not used these words, and I do not propose to do so. The Americans have imposed a high tariff, and if there is an adjective proper to describe the policy we should pursue I would say that it is imitative. I would take a small leaf out of the American book, and if it be true that imitation is the sincerest flattery, we can so flatter the American eagle as to turn him into a very peacock. It is said that there is very great difficulty in the way of imposing discriminating tariffs owing to treaties that exist, and some eminent statesmen like Lord Burleigh walk across the stage and shake their heads; but I hope that this discussion will settle our right position, for no such difficulty has any existence; and if the Administration will not meet the demands of the country, we must have a Ministry occupying the front seats on the right of the Speaker which will do so. I have taken it upon myself to assert that in no treaty does any provision exist preventing any legislation such as we require by the Canadian Parliament. The Imperial instructions direct His Excellency the Governor General to withhold his assent from any Bill imposing differential duties; and the despatches and correspondence which have passed warn the Colonial Legislature against legislation in this connection, not owing to want of power or to treaty requirements, but being a difficult question, the Crown desires that no legislation may in any way interfere with the prevailing Imperial policy, with which the Colonial Parliament, it is assumed, can hardly be so well informed as to be able to deal with at all times with propriety. Therefore it is open to the Canadian Government at any time to enter into communication with the Imperial Cabinet in order to discuss a policy that may relieve this country from the difficulties with which it is at present surrounded. I am not content touching a matter of this importance to allow the House to remain under this impression solely because I have so stated. I will accordingly cite one or two public documents which deal with this question very distinctly. After the war of 1812, at the

Treaty of Ghent, Great Britain and the United States signed a convention of commerce in 1815, in which appear these few words, to which I beg to draw attention:—

"No higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the territories of His Britannic Majesty in Europe of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, and no higher or other duties shall be imposed on the importation into the United States of any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of His Britannic Majesty's territories in Europe, than are or shall be payable on like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of any other foreign country."

This provision, in distinct terms, limits this convention to trade relations between the United States and Great Britain in respect to all European productions; and in order to prevent any mistake this additional clause was added:

"The intercourse between the United States and His Britannic Majesty's possessions in the West Indies and on the continent of North America shall not be affected by any of the provisions of this Article, but each party shall remain in the complete possession of its rights."

This Treaty is as plain as words can make it. Such difficulty as has been represented does not exist, and I assure hon. gentlemen that no treaty has been made on the subject since. It is time, I think that the Imperial authorities should be consulted upon this subject. I hope that the day is not far distant when we may have a statesman on these Benches—I am not prepared to affirm that he is not there now—who, with a clear head and a bold pen, will send such a despatch across the Atlantic.

In these ideas there is no novelty; such was the policy of Canada up to 1847, when discriminatory duties prevailed throughout this country in favor of Great Britain as against all the world.

In 1852, at Quebec, Mr. Hincks made a similar proposition to that which I now advocate in language which is singularly applicable to the present state of things:

"Our policy towards the United States," he stated, "has been one of one concession. England had given to the people of that country most extraordinary advantages, and yet they refuse to us the paltry concession sought for. We abolished our differential duties and obtained nothing in return. We have given them the free use of our canals when they refuse to allow a Canadian vessel to pass

"through theirs; and now they want to obtain our fisheries and the navigation of the St Lawrence. Let us suppose that the differential duties which existed in 1846 were now in force, and he would ask whether any individual could be found who would now advocate their repeal unconditionally."

More follows to the same effect; but enough has been read to show hon. gentlemen that the policy in question has been on several occasions before the country, and I think the time has come when we should deal with it again.

Mr. Merritt in 1858, thus reported to the House of Assembly:—

"In 1847 in deference to opinions expressed in despatches of 1843, our duties on American manufactures were reduced from 12½ to 7½ per cent. and increased on British manufactures from 5 to 7½ per cent., the effect of this Act being to remove all discriminatory duties against the United States. Your Committee therefore earnestly recommend that that despatch of 1843 be withdrawn, leaving the legislature to regulate the duties on imports as heretofore under the Act of 1846 without restriction"

Further, Sir, I am highly gratified to observe that so recently as 1870, as the hon. member for Cumberland informed us the other night, he advocated this same policy. Now this question must be faced; it is not a question of parish politics, but one upon which the country desires information, and regarding which whenever questions relating to our trade and manufactures are discussed, it is suggested that discriminatory duties would meet the difficulty. I therefore hope that the Ministry will turn their attention to this question, and deal with it in such a way that a thrill of satisfaction will pass from one end of the country to the other, giving us another reason for being proud of the Canadian name.

I propose moving a resolution embodying the views I have stated, and having read it I will beg to draw the attention of the First Minister to one or two additional remarks. I move, seconded by my hon. colleague from Hamilton, that it be

"Resolved, That this House in maintaining the policy adopted by the present and past Governments in limiting the rate of duties upon the importation of those classes of articles which are produced in the country, to the extent required to meet the wants of the revenue, fully appreciates the national benefits arising from the degree of protection to the existing manufacturing industries of the Do-

minion afforded under that system, but observes with regret that the fluctuations in price, resulting from the uncertain condition of foreign markets, affecting the Canadian markets, and incapable of being foreseen by the Canadian manufacturers, exposes our manufacturing interests to unfair competition, and this House, while now ready to record its approval of the general policy of the present Administration, is nevertheless of opinion, that the said manufacturing interests deserve the continued fostering care of Parliament, and that the time has arrived when the Government of the Dominion should inform the Imperial Government that the Parliament of Canada deems it necessary to revive some of the features of a former policy by imposing differential duties; and to indicate, further, that in order to meet the difficulties against which Canadian manufactures are struggling, and in the general interests of the Canadian public, and to bring the British and foreign manufacturer on nearer terms of equality in the Canadian market, this House would be prepared to approve of any measure to be submitted to them by the Administration whereby a rate of not less than ten per cent. should be added to the existing import tariff against such articles of foreign production, of which the same classes are manufactured in the Dominion by way of difference to that extent in favour of the like classes of the production of the Mother Country."

MR. WORKMAN'S SPEECH.

Mr. WORKMAN—In arising to address a few remarks to the House I have to crave its indulgence, fearing I may, to some extent, trench upon personal grounds. I will not detain the House long if I can avoid it. Before entering upon a discussion of the question now before us I cannot but express my deep regret and mortification at the policy initiated by this House by the Finance Minister on Friday last. Since my arrival in Ottawa a great many deputations from my constituents in Montreal have visited this city, and I have had the pleasure, as it was my duty, to accompany these deputations to the different heads of departments and to put them in communication with the Ministers of Finance, Customs and others, in order that they might explain to the leaders of the Government their views in reference to this question of the tariff. I think I am correct in stating that the gentlemen composing these deputations formed a conviction from their intercourse with these heads of Departments that on the whole there would be some slight change in the tariff.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—Does the hon. gentleman mean to say that I or any other member of the Government made that statement to him or any other person?

Mr. WORKMAN—I say that those gentlemen, from their conversation with you and others, came to that conclusion. The hon. gentleman never directly stated so, but there is such a thing as an inferential conclusion. If the hon. gentleman stated directly and distinctly to those deputations, as he did on Friday last, (and here I wish to remark that he treated us courteously and not discourteously, as the newspapers had it,) that the policy of the Government was fixed and there was no use in their coming here, we would have understood our position and saved trouble and expense to these gentlemen and a good deal of inconvenience to myself. I mention this in order that I may be distinctly understood on that point.

When I had the honor of coming forward as a candidate for Montreal West I saw that the temper of the people and the tone of the public opinion ran strongly in favor of protection. I had always been to a moderate extent a Protectionist myself, but I confess that the prevailing sentiment was beyond the ideas I had previously formed on that question. I stated then, and I repeat it here, that if I had the honor to represent Montreal West on the floor of this House, I should advise and impress upon the Government by every means in my power to adopt a system of duties that would place us in a position to enable the struggling industries of this country to compete on fair grounds with those of the United States. Nay, sir, I went even further, and I stated that my convictions of what would be proper were, what I should term, a reciprocity duty. By that I meant the imposition of duties on all goods coming into Canada from the United States equal to the same rate of duties that that country charged upon similar goods going from Canada. That was what I stated, and I say now that I am prepared to advocate that doctrine. For the last ten or fifteen years I think we have been what I might term cringing to the United States. It is time that we should try to adopt a policy of our own and free ourselves from that thralldom. Therefore, I think

one of the most important steps in that direction would be the one I indicated at Montreal, and which I repeat here to-day. I remember well what Canada was 45 years ago, when I was a lad and went first to business. It was then pre-eminently a free trade country, and I would like to tell some of the hon. gentlemen who favor that policy now, what Canada was then. There was a duty of 2½ per cent. on goods coming from Great Britain, and specific and *ad valorem* duties on goods from foreign countries, but nearly all our imports were direct from the Mother Country. At that time our trade was very small indeed, and our shipping was still smaller.

Our duties were so light that we were frequently flooded with the overstocks from Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow. Although the number of merchants was very limited very few of them were able to survive this competition from England. Goods being admitted at 2½ per cent., and that duty being only indifferently levied, they were sold for what they would bring. The consequence was large and numerous bankruptcies. I remember well the condition of affairs from 1827 to 1837 under a free-trade policy, and in order that my free-trade friends around me may know a little about the condition of things then I will quote a few prices of leading staples of that day. I now refer principally to articles that the farmer produces and which are consumed in and around his own residence and in the towns near where he lives. From 1828 to 1830, the price of beef at Montreal was 2½ to 3½ cents per pound. To-day the same article sells at 12 to 18 cents, so that the farmer gets under a 17½ per cent. tariff nearly five times as much as he got then. Mutton was 20 to 25 cents a quarter. Now it sells in Montreal at 75 cents. Butter was 8 to 10 cents a pound; it now sells at 22 to 30 cents. Eggs were then 6 to 7 cents a dozen; they now bring 15 to 20 cents. Oats sold at 16 to 18 cents a bushel. One of my first speculations was a large purchase at 10 pence per bushel, on which I lost money. To-day oats sell at 40 to 50 cents. Firewood was then \$1.75 per cord, to-day it is \$7 to \$8. The price for sawing wood was 9 pence to 10 pence currency, that is 16 cents; to-day it is 50 cents. The

wages of a very good servant girl was \$1.50 per month; now good servants command readily \$7 to \$10. White pine, 80 feet average, sold at 5 cents; to-day it brings 25 to 30 cents. Rock elm brought 9 cents; to-day it brings 30 to 35 cents. What is it that has produced this great change in these staple articles, the produce of the farm and forest? I do not mean to say it is entirely to be attributed to our manufacturing establishments, but I say they have largely contributed to it. We have established a home market, and the farmer can find at his own door ready sale for his produce, at highly remunerative prices. At that time an axe cost the lumberman \$2.50 and he got a very inferior article. There was only one small axe manufactory in the country then; to-day the same article can be bought for 75 to 80 cents. The lumberman is now getting his axes for one-third the price he then paid, and receives four times as much for the products he sells. The same will apply to nearly all the articles, farmers and lumbermen use to-day. All the agricultural implements, spades, shovels, scythes, &c., were made in England and brought to Canada. They were of the worst possible quality and entirely unsuited to our wants, since then, during the last 25 years, small factories have been established and our industries have grown largely. They are now producing these same articles of a very superior quality—quite equal to those manufactured in the United States—and selling them to the farmers at the same prices, and in many instances at less than they paid for the inferior productions of Great Britain. This state of things has been brought about by incidental protection, but to-day our manufacturers are not prospering for reasons I have already stated in this House. Until two years ago they were prosperous, but since then we have had to meet competition from the neighbouring States, which has proved disastrous to a great number of them. If that competition were conducted on fair terms we would not object to it. If we in Canada were allowed the same access to their markets that they have to ours we would not complain. When our markets are full to repetition, when our factories are working at three-quarter time and are just in a position to make two ends meet,

if \$10,000 worth of goods from the United States were thrown on our markets, even that small quantity would produce disastrous results, and to my own positive experience it has done so.

Lower Canada is pre-eminently fitted for a manufacturing as well as an agricultural country. We have a very thrifty and economical population, but the policy of the Government hitherto has had a tendency to drive them out of the country. They have gone to the neighbouring Republic, so that to-day, if I have been correctly informed, there are 500,000 French-Canadians in the factories of New England alone. Why is it that these people leave us? There must be "something rotten in the State of Denmark."

I hope the Government will take this matter into consideration. I did hope they would have done so at this Session of Parliament, and that they would have submitted to us a tariff that would in some degree have met the well-understood wishes of the large manufacturing centres. I am almost afraid to express the amount of indignation and regret that pervades Montreal under the excitement caused by the Finance Minister's statement. My letters and telegrams are of the most stinging nature. Occupying the place I do here it is only right to the House that my constituents should understand the position I took on this question last Friday. I confess my deep mortification at the result of all the deputations that came here at my desire and on my prognostications. Feeling that I was bound to sustain here the doctrine I advocated in Montreal, when the hon. member for Cumberland was about to reply to the Minister of Finance, I walked across the floor of this House and asked him a question, telling him what my answer would be on the matter. That question was, whether he was prepared with a resolution to offer the House in opposition to the policy laid down by the Finance Minister.

The hon. gentlemen told me—I am not sure whether he said I was, or we were not prepared with a resolution at present; and that if he decided to submit such a resolution he would let me know. He has not done so. Therefore, I conclude that he is not so prepared. I drew that conclusion because I had no communication from the hon. gentleman

on the subject. On the contrary, instead of acting in such a manner as to have pleased me, grappling with the question in a straightforward and manly way, he entertained this House for a considerable time in quoting from my speeches in Montreal. I really was delighted to find that any of my utterances had attracted the attention of such a distinguished gentleman, who had actually gone to the trouble to keep in a scrap-book with these extracts from my stump orations, delivered at unguarded moments very often, and send them to the country as sentiments worthy of repetition. If the hon. gentleman publishes a second edition of that work I beg him to send me a copy.

I would have been gratified to a greater degree if the hon. gentleman had stated clearly and distinctly his views on protection, because that is the most pertinent question before us, to my mind. I listened with a great deal of attention, but, I confess, to deep disappointment, when I heard the hon. gentleman says that he was neither a Free-Trader nor a Protectionist; and that he was in favour of the great system known as the National Policy, one of its constitutions being, I believe, the imposition of a tax of fifty cents per ton on coal.

I did expect that my hon. friend from Hamilton would have drawn up a resolution of a sufficiently simple and striking nature to have secured a clear expression from this House on this question of protection; and in order that no misunderstanding may exist, and that I may place myself right with my constituents and this country, I propose to move an amendment to the amendment. I desire to know whether the majority opposes a protective policy or not, and if so, we will then be prepared to educate public opinion to such a point as to secure the return at the next election of a majority sustaining our views.

An Hon. Gentleman—Never!

Mr. WORKMAN—If we cannot do so then it will be useless further to discuss the question.

I move in amendment, seconded by the hon. member for Montreal Centre, that all the words after that be struck out, and that it be "*Resolved*, That this House deeply regrets to learn from the speech of the Hon. Minister of Finance

on Friday last, that the Government has not proposed to this House a policy of protection to our various and important manufacturing industries; and that the large amount of capital now invested in these industries, and their present depressed condition, render such a policy necessary to restore them to a condition of prosperity."

I submit this amendment with a great deal of deference. Before I sit down I would like to allude to another matter which perhaps has been one of the causes that has produced the existing distress, in the mercantile community at least—the amount of money deposited in different banks throughout the Dominion—banks which were not at the time fitted to become custodians of public money, or restore it when called upon. Receiving large sums in deposit it was necessary for them to find customers for it; and to my certain knowledge, in two instances—banks were so anxious to distribute this Government money—it was loaned to firms which soon became bankrupt. In one case \$179,000 were loaned to one establishment; that should never have received more than \$30,000 or \$40,000. In the other instance, a still weaker house, composed of very active and enterprising young men, whose cash capital did not exceed \$5,000, obtained \$212,000 discount; and I believe that at the date of their suspension the sum under discount amounted to \$197,000. The character of that paper being largely accommodation and partly forged was the most discouraging feature of the affair.

If to these banks had not been confided such large sums they would have been more careful as to its distribution and would have paid more attention in the selection of their customers; fewer men would have engaged in business and there would have been less competition; firms doing business in a legitimate way would not have been obliged to submit to undue—nay, to ruinous competition; for if the houses to which I have referred had obtained the sum to which they alone entitled—ten thousand dollars—they would not have been able to sacrifice goods in Western Canada, as they did to the great detriment of houses transacting their business in a proper manner. I mention this in order that the Government whenever it has a sur-

plus may take better care of it, discontinuing the policy followed in this regard during the last eighteen months.

The Finance Minister will be greatly deceived in his calculations concerning the receipts of Customs duties during the next six months. I consider that they will be less by 25 or 30 per cent., because I well know what a degree of depression exists throughout every branch of trade. Had the hon. gentleman asked for the imposition of an additional $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the tariff, it would have given a wonderful stimulus to the commerce of the country; and in lieu of being a burden, as has been pretended, disastrous to the lumbermen and farmers, I am prepared to prove that it would have been a decided advantage to the trade of the Dominion; and that the lumberman, the farmer and the mechanic would have in consequence occupied a wonderfully improved position. The present prostration will continue for some time longer. I know that our country is full of vitality and energy, and that it will recover its prosperity; but if the Government are not prepared to extend a helping hand to our industries, then I am prepared to support any resolution coming from hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House which will place this question fairly and squarely before the country.

[Mr. Workman's amendment having been ruled out of order on the ground that an amendment to the amendment to a motion to go into Committee of Supply was out of order, he gave notice that on the first opportunity he would offer it to the House.]

MR. JOHN MACDONALD'S SPEECH.

Mr. MACDONALD (Centre Toronto) —A few remarks may be expected from me on this subject. Three days of the time of this House have been spent in the discussion of matters relating to the financial depression of the country. A Committee was asked to investigate it, though to my mind, and in the opinion of a great many others, the causes were perfectly plain; and, I think that when this Committee has collected all possible information, it will have a very unappreciable effect. The country has simply

been passing through a crisis, which will again be followed by others, for every country has crises as regular as the seasons, though at greater distances. No country has even risen to greatness without passing, not only through its crisis, but its crises, and the neighboring country to which reference has been made, and which has reached to such a point of manufacturing perfection, has passed through a variety of crises. The eminent manufacturers of that country who have rolled up colossal fortunes, have built them on the wrecks of those who have preceded them. The resolution which was moved for the appointment of the Committee took another turn, and the amendment was moved that there should be a Committee to consider the depressed manufacturing interests. That Committee is sitting now, and that Committee has come to this House and asked for a short-hand writer, and I have no doubt they intend to do a large amount of business. And yet we have the strange anomaly of a Committee sitting to consider the depressed condition of the manufacturing interests of the Dominion, and the Government adopting a policy which affords no help to the manufacturing interests. I promised upon another occasion, when I last addressed the House, that I would refer to some of the causes which have brought this crisis about. I stated that among these was the cheap credit of England, but I have perhaps failed to impress on some of the members of this House the extent to which this evil exists. Starting from the threshold, we have the young men of the country coming to the cities, as the last census exhibits, despising the labor of the field and seeking in the larger cities mercantile callings; and so long as that disgust—shall I call it—of labor, and tilling the soil exists, we shall have the same results. Here, then, is the source of the evil. They come to the city, and they easily obtain goods, the parties from whom they obtain credit having themselves easily obtained it. Notably, the export trade of Great Britain to this continent has been gradually leaving her, and her merchants have been taking with her customers in this country greater risks than they otherwise would have done. The Goods from Great Britain are sent out to this country not

only to the man who buys them, but they are consigned to other parties and thrown on the market irrespective of value, and I appeal to this House if this country has a consuming power for fifty millions of dollars worth of goods, and a hundred millions are thrown on it, is it not apparent that every industry must be depressed? Let me give one illustration. In the city of Montreal a very short time ago one concern, I was told, failed for a million and a quarter of dollars. That concern, I understand, had very little difficulty in arranging with their creditors in Great Britain at ten cents on the dollar. It is not a difficult thing to understand that a million and a quarter of dollars worth of goods thrown on a small market under such dishonest circumstances affects it considerably. Credit is so cheap in England that the same firm while settling for ten cents on the dollar was making arrangements for renewing their stock again to demoralize the market as they had done before. Speaking of the ease with which goods are obtained, so anxious are British merchants to throw them on the market that stocks bought in December are dated in the month of March. You have thus three clear months, and beginning with that they then obtain a credit of six months, which makes it nine months; then they have very little difficulty in obtaining a renewal for one-half, which makes a credit of nearly twelve months. The slaughter does not come from the United States. I was quite clear on that matter when in this House I made the statement the other day, but since then I wrote to two firms in the United States the following questions:

Question.—Are goods sold to Canada by United States manufacturers or commission men, lower than to the people of the United States?

Answer.—No; our prices and terms are the same to all buyers, whether from Canada, United States, or elsewhere.

Question.—Can you give any reliable information as to the probable increase which has taken place in the sale of dry goods by the United States to Canada during the past year?

Answer.—We cannot. In our opinion the quantity is very materially increased over previous years, but to what extent we cannot say with any accuracy. Your

Custom Houses' statistics would show this.

Question.—It is claimed that goods are sold regardless of price, and at indefinite time, by the United States merchants to Canadians, &c.

Answer.—This is not true as applied to manufacturers or selling agents, but, undoubtedly, to a certain extent, jobbers who have "runners" throughout Canada and the United States, do much to demoralize prices and terms, as you fully understand, but this applies the same to the United States as to Canada.

I will point to the fact that in the large cities of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, the agents of English houses have their offices, for which they do not pay more than £35 or £40 a year. They contribute nothing to the municipal expenses of the cities in which they are placed, while they sell as many goods as any wholesale merchants in any of these large cities, who have either to build their warehouses or rent them, employ clerks, and maintain expensive establishments. This is a very great grievance, but I do not speak of it in this House to bring any measures to correct it, as it will correct itself. It is one of the many plans by which English houses seek to disseminate their wares through the country.

Then another feature that has brought not only this but previous crisis about, has been the establishment of mercantile agencies in Canada. This may appear a very strange statement indeed, but the day was when a man who went to travel with goods required to be an intelligent man; the day was when a man who went to introduce his goods into the country required not only vim, but culture and intelligence. Now a little memorandum book is put into the hands of agents, and A B and C are said to be the men who are to be called on. It would not matter so much if but a few were instructed to call upon these men, but all of the 1,500 travellers in Canada receive the same instructions, and the result is that if the man is not bad they make him bad in a very short time, by crowding on him more goods than he can use. I have in my hand a letter from a house which sells in the course of the year as many goods as the Dominion of Canada imports from Great Britain altogether, and it will be satis-

factory that this firm endorses the statement I have ventured to make in this House. They say:—

“We have been aware that the subject to which you refer would be brought before your body for consideration at your present meeting, and we are very glad to receive your communication, in order that, so far as we are able, we may correct any misapprehensions which exist regarding the trade between the United States and the Provinces.

“Answering your questions in the order in which they are propounded, we beg to say that we presume we are sending more American goods into the Provinces than any other house connected with the trade, and we can most emphatically state, that at no time and under no circumstances have our goods been sold to your merchants at lower prices than those which we received from merchants doing business in our own States; on the contrary, all buyers of merchandise of us, whether from the Canadas or from the most remote sections of our own country, are in every respect treated alike as regards the sale to them of our goods.

“In this connection we would suggest that our terms are confined strictly to our customers' credit of sixty days on what are called domestic goods, viz: sheetings, shirtings and prints, while the foreign goods that we sell throughout the Provinces or throughout the States are based on a credit of four months.

“As an instance of how closely we hold to these terms, a proposition was made us within the past few days by a house doing business in Canada, of known standing and respectability, to purchase a considerable amount of our domestic goods, provided we would sell them on a credit of four months, adding interest for the extra sixty days of time, which we promptly declined, simply because it was a longer credit than we are willing to grant on such goods. This instance, we think, is a fair illustration of the manner and time at which American goods are being sold to Provincial merchants. We wish we could advise you clearly and definitely regarding the increase of the trade in dry goods between the United States and the Canadas, but this is a question rather to be determined by your Custom House records than by any estimates which can be formed here. Our own trade with the Provinces during 1875 was increased moderately over that of 1874, but it has not grown to be an element in our sales of sufficient importance to be especially noted.”

I shall not detain the House by reading the balance of the letter, but it is a very suggestive proof to my mind of the statement I have made. I have received since then further confirmation of the statement—the settlement of the affairs of a wholesale house that has just gone into insolvency. Its liabilities, direct and indirect, are a quarter of a million. I know that it did a large American trade, but the amount of American liabilities represented in that

quarter of a million is only two thousand dollars. The Americans have discounted in their sales all possible loss; they have brought everything as nearly as possible to a cash basis. They sell goods at a very short time, and if payment is not made they cut off the customer—this is an instance. I venture to make this statement, that that thing will go on, and that while the imports from Great Britain will steadily decrease, those from the United States will as steadily increase, unless you build up barriers against them, and such barriers as I cannot defend. Unless you build up such barriers before another eight years elapse you will find that the trade with the United States, amounting to \$50,000,000 to-day, will reach a volume of not less than \$100,000,000. The reasons are so numerous that a little reflection will show how apparent this is. The United States are 3,000 miles nearer us than Great Britain. Canadian merchants can telegraph to New York to-day, and in three days receive their parcels. In a few days more they are sold out, and have duplicated and triplicated their transaction before they could get returns from England. It is useless to shut our eyes to the change that is going on between this country and the United States. Coming down to the Budget Speech of the hon. gentleman, I desire to state that there are several things in it which it would be folly for this House to do other than approve. And there are some things to which I shall take objection. For instance, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact—I am speaking from memory—that some \$4,000,000 has been spent upon what are called “minor works,” that \$2,000,000 has been paid on account of Prince Edward Island; and if I remember right, and the hon. gentleman will correct me if I am wrong—in reference to the St. Lawrence there were \$2,000,000 more; and that since the hon. gentlemen assumed the position they now hold they have paid the sum of \$32,800,000. It would be idle for me or any member of the House to state that this is not a matter for congratulation. But I was disappointed, and there will be others who are disappointed that the manufacturing interest did not receive the consideration to which it was entitled in the Budget Speech. The hon. gentleman

said he could not legislate for one-twentieth to the exclusion of nineteen-twentieths. I hold that to be a fallacy, because I claim that the one-twentieth have just as much right to be legislated for as the nineteen-twentieths. We have heard a great deal about a high protective policy; but I don't know where the agitation came from; I certainly have not heard it. I came down to this House unpledged to vote for protection or anything else. My constituents have confidence in my judgment; at any rate they sent me here to do and say what I like, and I shall say just what I please and when I please. I came down here with the desire that every industry that was languishing, and that it could be demonstrated that it was so languishing, was entitled to an amount of protection that would help it without injury to the consumer, and I was prepared to prove that the native competition would have kept down the price to the consumer, and that it would not have excluded American products, because I hold that the moment you exclude the manufacturer from suitable rivalry you destroy his energies.

Hon. Gentlemen—Hear! hear!

Mr. MACDONALD—Gentlemen say "hear, hear"—but the moment you expose him to terrible odds you crush him out. I say I do not desire to see American goods excluded from this market. I want the consumer to have the fullest possible benefit, and I want the manufacturers to have "foemen worthy of their steel." But I have been endeavouring to look at the temper of the House. I find here the representatives of seven provinces, whose interests are dissimilar. I find the great agricultural and manufacturing province of the West; at the same time I find one whose interests lie immediately in shipping, and one of my hon. friends comes from a long distance where that long, untrodden path is between, and the "sea of mountains intercept us; and so on with the other provinces. I find what is desired by one is opposed by another; I claim that the views I held on this matter are exceedingly reasonable, and ought to commend themselves to the good sense and good judgment of every member of the House.

My hon. friend who preceded me spoke rather warmly, and the remark was made that the representatives of the

Maritime Provinces waited upon the Minister of Finance and depressed their views. I don't say whether they did so or not. But I say if they did, I don't think it was wisdom. The day will come when they will want their own interests looked after, and I should be very sorry were the members representing Ontario to go to the Finance Minister, or any other member of the Ministry, and oppose anything that gentlemen from British Columbia, the Maritime Provinces or Manitoba, could demonstrate was not only for their good, but for the benefit of the whole Dominion.

I want to notice what I thought was fallacy in the Budget Speech. The Finance Minister spoke of the very great shrinkage in value as having been a source of wealth by enabling people to buy a larger amount of goods for a lower price. The hon. gentleman should remember that a shrinkage in value also represents a shrinkage in the pocket of the operative, and it would be far better for him to get a higher price for his labour and pay a little more for his dwelling-house and for his goods.

There is a point, however, that I have not heard introduced by any preceding speaker, and it is one for which I wish to give the Government the credit they deserve, inasmuch as it is to my mind a gleam of hope for the future. I mean this: That while there has been a large falling off in imports, and while that decrease has necessarily diminished their revenue, that in that very falling off I see the first gleam of light. It is an evidence that men are gathering wisdom, and that they have commenced the policy of retrenchment and that may be regarded as a bright gleam of hope for the future. I am quite willing also to give them credit for the fact that while their increased expenditure is \$176,000, they have effected reductions amounting to \$3,250,000, being a decrease of nearly \$2,500,000. There are many other matters of which I had intended to speak, but I am afraid that I may have wearied the House. There is one point, however, which I wish to note before I sit down. The Hon. Finance Minister says in his speech, "that in a new country like this there is force in protecting our manufactures." I accept that as an evidence that he admits the force of their claims. I will just say that frequent alterations

in the tariff are dangerous—that crude and undigested alterations are dangerous—that I fear that if this House were asked at this moment to change the tariff, as I should have liked to see the hon. gentleman propose to change it, it would involve a certain amount of danger. I hope during the recess the Finance Minister will take into consideration the interest of every manufacturer.

[Mr. Irving's amendment was negatived by a vote of 173 nays to 3 yeas—the yeas being Wood, Irving, and Devlin.]

[The following is a portion of a speech delivered by Mr. B. Devlin, M. P., for Centre Montreal—on the 29th of February—on Mr. Workman's amendment:—]

Mr. DEVLIN—But the Right Hon. Leader of the Opposition has not spoken yet, and I wait with some degree of anxiety for that hon. gentleman's speech upon this important question. It has been stated that the hon. gentleman informed a deputation that his platform was a Protection platform; if that be true I await with anxiety his endorsement in this House of that statement; and I say now if he is prepared to put himself forward as the advocate of the manufacturing interests of this Dominion, he will find the members for Montreal prepared to follow his lead in that particular matter. The question under the consideration of this House is one of vast importance to the country, but I regret to say the opinions of an overwhelming majority of this House is against those who advocate the imposition of higher duties than those which we have at present. I can understand the embarrassing position in which the Government find themselves in this matter. The hon. gentleman from the Maritime Provinces, it has been said, have called upon the Finance Minister and the Leader of the Government and intimated to them that if any change was made in the tariff they might rely upon opposition from these Provinces. I hope this is not true, for if it were it would prove that Confederation could not after all produce the happy results we were lead to anticipate would flow from it. It would be a most painful position for Ontario, Quebec, and the

Western Provinces, to be placed in by any attempt of this kind, to force legislation on the Government of the country by the threat "If you don't give us all we want, we are prepared, regardless of all consequences, to record our votes against you, and drive you from the Treasury Benches." In Montreal and other manufacturing centres the strongest possible hopes were entertained that the tariff would be increased. I believe the hon. member for Montreal West is to-day responsible, and is held responsible to some extent in Montreal for the loss which the merchants of that city have sustained by reason of the course pursued by the Government at the present moment. The hon. gentleman has on the occasion of public meetings in Montreal held out certain inducements to the persons who were then assembled, which led them to believe that some change in the tariff would be made; that change has not been made, and the hon. gentleman no doubt finds himself in a very embarrassing position. If he had it in his power no doubt he would make such a change as would satisfy his friends in Montreal West. Protection has not been afforded to the manufacturers of the Dominion, and all they can do is to record their protest against the policy of the Government. If the population of this country is to be increased the manufacturers must be afforded greater protection. No more powerful argument in favor of such a policy can be adduced than the fact that while we in the Dominion who are paying out large sums of money annually to encourage immigration to our shores, our own people, skilled in the language and industries of the country and accustomed to its climate, are leaving for the United States, where they can find employment, while the ships are bringing hundreds upon hundreds of strangers into the Dominion at the same time. There must be something radically wrong, and there is something radically wrong in the Government of the country when such a state of affairs can exist. Look at our position to-day; look into the great metropolitan city of the Dominion and see the condition of her artisans, labourers and others who have now many of them to depend upon the soup kitchens and the charity of the citizens of Montreal to save them from

starvation. Similar distress exists in other cities of the Dominion and what is the cause? Surely there must be something wrong in the Government when, with all our national advantages and the wonderful products of our soil, thousands of workmen are in a state of destitution. It is all very well for hon. gentlemen to entertain free trade opinions and give expression to them in this House, but they will have very little weight with men who have wives and children who are starving, and are told to wait and suffer a little more until the policy of the Finance Minister had been more fully developed. Free-Traders say protection is all very well for Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton; it may be very convenient for those who live in the cities in Canada; protection may be an argument for them, we sympathise with them; but if we become Protectionists what becomes of the agricultural classes. Everyone knows that it is to protection England owes her commercial prosperity and present commercial greatness. Hon. gentlemen have said the protection argument may meet very well the views of Montreal, but rub out Montreal from the map, follow it up by extinguishing Toronto and the other cities, and then what becomes of the great Dominion? I take it for granted there is not a man residing in Canada and not an hon. gentleman in this House who is not proud of Montreal. I take it there is not a man in Montreal who is not proud of Toronto, and of every other city in the Dominion, and I say if you abolish the industries that give vitality to these cities, you strike a blow at the life of the Dominion itself. My hon. friend, the member for Norfolk, made a very able speech; but when he arose to address the house I had something of the same feeling as when the hon. member from Cumberland rose. I thought the hon. member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) was a strong Protectionist. After he had logically shown that protection was needed in this country, and that the manufacturing interests were not sufficiently encouraged, suddenly a change came over him and he reversed the picture. In doing so he reminded me of that eminent Scotch advocate, who being engaged to prosecute in a certain trial, in a fit of absent-mindedness, delivered an

eloquent speech for his opponents side. When, however, his client intimated that he was speaking on the wrong side, he turned the tables by saying, "That is exactly what my opponents will say;" and then demolished the argument he had previously made. The speech of the hon. member reminds me of that circumstance. After addressing the House in favour of protection, he concluded by proclaiming himself a Free-Trader. But what is the most remarkable is, that three days ago the hon. gentleman declared that an increase of 2½ per cent. was necessary. To-day he expresses himself perfectly satisfied with the soundness of the Finance Minister's policy. In the course of his speech the hon. gentleman said if we adopted a retaliatory policy against the United States we would offend that nation; that their industries are depressed, but that the days of prosperity are not far distant; and that they will recuperate in a very short time. That may be all true, but do we live in fear of the United States in this country? Has our legislation to be shaped in accordance with the will of its people? I apprehend not. There is not a man in this country who would consent to occupy a position of that kind. Considerations of that kind should not for one moment enter into our adoption of a policy. If our policy is just and can be recommended we ought to legislate accordingly, irrespective of what other countries may think or do.

The manufacturers of this Dominion, I contend, are entitled to greater protection than is accorded them now. They asked to be placed on an equal footing with the United States, which was a fair request. That country numbers forty-four millions; we are but four millions, and if we are to compete with them, there is no reason why it should be under other than equal conditions. When they close their markets against us we should retaliate by closing our markets against them.

[On the 7th of March the adjourned debate upon the motion that "The Speaker do now leave the chair for the House to go again into Committee of Supply," Mr. Workman moved the amendment of which he had previously given notice.]

SPEECH BY SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD ON MR.
WORKMAN'S MOTION.

Protection to Native Industries.

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD, after a few preliminary remarks, said :

Sir, I believe, that the manufacturing interests of this country, in their present state of depression, require the adoption of a policy similar to that announced authoritatively as it were by the hon. gentleman in Montreal. I also think that the agricultural interests of Canada requires and calls for the protection, which is spoken of; but, Sir, because this resolution only goes half way, that is the reason why I should vote against it. I shall be in favour of the resolution of my hon. friend from Montreal West, and I shall endeavour hereafter, when I have the opportunity to extend the resolution in the direction I have indicated. This resolution I shall read at once as a notice to my hon. friends opposite and the country of what I intend to propose. When the opportunity offers, during the course of the present Session, I shall move, "That it be resolved, that this House regrets that His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the re-adjustment of the tariff, which will not only tend to alleviate the stagnation of business, deplored in the speech from the Throne, but also afford encouragement and protection to the struggling manufacturers, and industries as well as the agricultural productions of the country."

This is the resolution, Mr. Speaker, which if I had the good fortune to have preceded my hon. friend from Montreal West, I would have moved, and which I intend to propose hereafter.

Now, Sir, at this late hour, and after the long speeches already made, I do not intend to enter into any long series of remarks on the great theories of free trade and protection; but one thing is very remarkable—that in all this discussion, and in all various discussions which have taken place since the beginning of the Session, hon. members, or some of them, think that free-trade is political economy. Political economy in a great science; and a tentative science as yet experimental—a science

which embraces in connection with the political system, in the wildest terms, all that concerns the material progress and prosperity of a nation and of all nations. Free-trade is a very subordinate branch of it, but it is a branch; it has been elevated, and it was raised in the time of Cobden, owing to the great success of free trade in bread, almost to be a religion, and since his death it almost seems that it has been degraded to a superstition; but, Sir, free trade, as has been said again and again *ad nauseam*, must be reciprocal. Free trade, free intercourse between nations, means what the word expresses; it does not signify that one nation must bind the other to that phrase, without regard to disturbing causes, or the situation of the nation itself, or of foreign nations, or the difference of tariff. Free trade does not mean that a country, under all circumstances, must open its doors to all nations, no matter what their customs may be, no matter what their financial system may be, and without exercising any judgment, or using any guard, or employing any protection with regard to the country itself; this is not the opinion of any really great Political Economist. This view is perhaps held by the minor lights of the Manchester School; but the great Political Economists have always admitted the existence of disturbing causes, and have always held that there are other things as important, and more important to a nation, than the mere aggregation of wealth, and the supremacy of free trade or protection. The collective interests of a nation must be considered. They are various, and a nation must stand on its own ground. Theorists, with regard to free trade, have laboured under a misapprehension, and have advocated a false science, opposed to the protection of the industries of a country under any circumstances. Now, that is not the opinion, as we all know, of John Stuart Mill. His celebrated passage, in his book, which has been so often quoted, I will quote again. It has been repeated by him in the last edition of his book in the same words that it was in the first. His position has been attacked; I myself have heard it assailed by political economists in the Political Economy Club, in England; but his man, superior, as we have been informed by the hon.

member for Welland, to Adam Smith, lays down in this work, which he leaves as his legacy, the principle that there are circumstances connected with the manufacturing interests of a nation which not only excuse, but justify protection.

Mr. YOUNG—Two years ago when the question was up with regard to beet-root sugar, I quoted that very statement of Mills. My right hon. friend declared that on second thoughts, and on the advice of his friends, Mr. Mills had withdrawn that passage from his book.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. gentleman must be mistaken. If he turns up the last edition of this book he will find it there. The hon. gentleman is altogether wrong. This is the passage:—

“The only case in which, on mere principles of political economy, protecting duties can be defensible, is when they are imposed temporarily (especially in a young and rising nation) in hope of naturalizing a foreign industry in itself, perfectly suitable to the circumstances of the country. The superiority of one country over another in a branch of production often arises only from having begun it sooner. There may be no inherent advantage on one part, or disadvantage on the other, but only a present superiority of acquired skill and experience. A country which has this skill and experience yet to acquire, may in other respects be better adapted to the production than those which were earlier in the field, and besides, it is a just remark of Mr. Rac, that nothing has a greater tendency to promote improvements in any branch of production than its trial under a new set of conditions. But it cannot be expected that individuals should at their own risk, or rather to their certain loss, introduce a new manufacture and bear the burthen of carrying it until the producers have been educated up to the level of those with whom the processes are traditional. A protecting duty, continued for a reasonable time, will sometimes be the most convenient mode in which the nation can tax itself for the support of such an experiment. But this protection should be confined to cases in which their is good ground of assurance that the industry which it fosters will after a time be able to dispense with it; nor should the domestic producers ever be allowed to expect that it will be continued to them beyond the time necessary for a fair trial of what they are capable of accomplishing.”

This is the principle hid down by Mill, the leader of the modern school of political economy in England, a Free-Trader in the best sense of the word. I say this extract I have now read applies to the circumstances of Canada. We are a young country, just emerging from

the first struggles with the forest. We have but little realized capital as yet; the manufactures of the country, with a few small exceptions, having scarcely taken root. They are lying alongside of a country which has had the advantage pointed out by Mr. Mill, of having commenced first. The manufactures of the United States have been going on for a long period of time, and large amounts of capital have been realized: all these things we have to fight, in addition to the fact of our industries being in their infancy, and the other disturbing influences not alluded to by Mr. Mill, which add to the reasons why our manufactures have the same right to be encouraged that the child has to look to the parent for guidance until able to walk alone. Mr. Mills, the Free-Trader, goes much further than many gentlemen in this House who will vote against the resolution. He does not speak of a revenue tariff which would afford incidental protection to our manufacturers as being justifiable, but he lays down the broad principle to encourage native industries; if they are fitted for the circumstances of the climate, soil and people of a country, protection ought to be given, and is justified on the true principles of political economy.

But we hear hon. gentlemen say it is not for the interest of the manufacturers themselves to have protection. It would create monopolies, and monopolies bring on apathy and lethargy. If Mr. Mills thought it was not in the interest of the manufacturers to protect them, he would not have said so in the passage I have read. He holds it out for the purpose of encouraging infant manufacturers in their struggling state, and lays it down that it is not only excusable and defensible, but justifiable. He thought reasonable protection would be for the benefit of the manufacturers themselves; but in this country we are not called upon to break our heads upon theories. We know perfectly well in the circumstances of this Dominion, a young country extending from sea to sea, almost without bounds, that the development and improvement of our resources, the great works that will be undertaken by the country, will for long after we who are here will be no more, call for a large revenue. If this be true, as a matter of course in the adjustment of the tariff

taxation should be so imposed as to do the least harm and the most good. We cannot have in a young and comparatively poor country like this, direct taxation. We have handed that source of revenue over to the Local Legislatures and municipalities. When you take our local rates and the certainty that in the not distant future the Local Legislatures must resort to direct taxation, you will see that source of revenue will not afford hopes of our being able to resort to it. We must trust to our customs, therefore, as the principal source of our future revenue. Now, what can be more reasonable than to so adjust the tariff for revenue purposes that it will enable us to meet our engagements, and to develop our resources, the duties falling upon the articles we ourselves are capable of producing. The Government which I was a member since 1854 pursued the same course. They laid down as a principle, that the taxation should be adjusted in such a way as to be as little burdensome as possible upon the people, and be placed on those articles which we can profitably produce ourselves. That policy was laid down strongly by my colleague at that time, the present Hon. Sir Alex. Galt. He laid down for us the principle of a national policy, that we should consider our own interests only, and that in an adjustment of the tariff we should endeavour to foster all these various industries of which I have spoken. We steadily adhered in practice to that principle. Sometimes when the principle of free trade or a cry for a reduction of the pressure of taxation arose we had to yield. We were overborne occasionally, and had to make some step backward, but on the whole, we held steadily to the principle and carried it out as strongly and uniformly as we could. We were forced at one time to reduce the tariff to a considerable extent; at another time, not long ago, we took up the national policy, which has been made a matter of ridicule, and carried it, certainly not by a large vote. With a very short sighted policy on the part of the manufacturers of Canada that national policy was opposed by them. If they had known their interest they would not have joined in the attack made upon it, and if they have, to a certain degree, had it recoil on their heads, it is because they opposed it so blindly. I believed then,

and I believe now, that the two must go hand in hand—that you cannot sever them. I believe it is the interest of the agriculturist to have a certain market at his own door. I believe it is not in the interest of the great agricultural community, to be forced to look to a foreign market altogether for the sources of their prosperity and for their purchasers. I believe no nation has ever heretofore, or will ever hereafter, rise to any eminence in civilization, the arts and sciences, or prosperity of any kind, unless it honours agriculture and encourage manufacture. To be sure, we heard from the Finance Minister—a gentleman whose parliamentary courtesy is only exceeded by his financial ability—that it would have the effect of driving people from the country into the town. It is not every man can be or likes to be a farmer, and the man who is unwillingly made one will always be a failure. There is no life in the world in my estimation more happy and enviable than a farmer's, under the circumstances in which he is placed in Canada. It is a pleasant independent life, bringing domestic happiness and all that the expression implies, but still, all men are not to be farmers. There is the man of constructive genius, who feels that his function in life is to become an artisan or mechanic, to enter into a trade or some of the other various pursuits. These aspirations of the young men of the country are not to be checked or discouraged. On the contrary, that country is the best and will be most prosperous where every man has the utmost freedom to choose that mode of life, and exercise the abilities God has given him freely and without limit. It would be almost pedantic to refer to the hose of antiquity, but looking at all those which have been civilized in the earliest history, sacred or profane, you will find that wherever a nation has emerged from barbarism they have built up great cities. So it is in modern times; look at the Hanseatic towns, the commercial cities of Italy and the Lower Countries. But it is said, as a reason why we should not encourage manufactures, that it has a tendency to induce young men to leave the country and go into the towns. Why, the policy of the Government will not keep the young men chained as serfs of the soil in our land. Their policy will not send them

into our towns, but into the towns of the United States, where they encourage all kinds of mechanical pursuits. We have heard a great deal about this "Chinese wall." As I said a little while ago, the principle of protection to a moderate extent is justifiable, and the true principle of political economy. If you build this wall it will be like a dam which backs up the water of a stream until it overflows the country and does a great deal of mischief, but if the dam is raised so as to allow a moderate part of the water to go over, that water can be used for fertilizing, manufacturing, and for other good purposes. Therefore, the proposition I would hold up is simply that the dam should be raised high enough not to retain the water altogether, for that would ravage the country instead of doing it a service, but that we allow a certain amount of the stream to percolate over.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—Do you want to dam protection.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—Mr. Speaker, if you were a magistrate I would take up the hon. gentleman for swearing. But I tell the hon. Finance Minister that he admitted there was such a thing as a slaughter market, and he had too much reason to believe our market was occasionally used for that purpose. Now, our manufacturers may be interfered with by this slaughter process from other sources, as has been argued. When there is a depression of trade in the neighbouring country, goods must be sold; that happens also in our own country. We see frequently in time of great depression, similar to the present, when merchants are becoming insolvent, every kind of goods thrown upon the market, and slaughtered, so to speak, to the great injury of solvent traders. That cannot be avoided, and it has the compensatory advantage of giving cheap goods to the purchasers. But it gives no real compensating advantage for the permanent real injury that is done to the trade of the country by the ruin of those merchants, and by the want of confidence thus induced by the spread of ruin, for the actual insolvent whose goods are slaughtered will make other insolvents. But while we cannot avoid that, and it is greatly to be regretted that we cannot do so, we can, to a great extent, regulate our trade so

as to protect our dealers against the depression which exists in the neighbouring country. When it happens that there is a forced sale of stocks in that country, in consequence of which the honest trader is compelled either to shut up his shop, or enter into competition with insolvent estates, it is possible so to regulate the tariff as to protect our own people. But besides the evil of making this country a slaughter market, there is another very serious one of sending goods into this country for the purpose of bringing down prices here, injuring our manufacturers, and driving them out of the market, and afterwards getting control of the market. It is said that such a thing never happened. Why, do we not see it happening in our own country? Have we not seen, for instance, one steamboat line trying to drive off another steamboat line for the sake of getting a monopoly? Did we not see the Syracuse salt manufacturers sending in their salt some years ago for the avowed purpose of destroying our infant salt works? Do we not see at this moment the ruinous competition of two cables from Europe to Canada? Do we not see the Anglo-American Company trying to sweep out the Direct? Do we not know that in England, railways are run against each other at ruinous rates, for the purpose of getting control of trade? We have the Iron Masters Association of England, and the Iron Masters Association of Pittsburgh in the United States, both of which act as one man; and therefore it is not strange that persons in the United States or elsewhere might think it to their interest to crowd our market with their goods, for the purpose of destroying our infant manufactures. If this is permitted to go on, the confidence of our manufacturers in their own success is destroyed, and their capital once lost, it may be years and years before that confidence can be restored and that capital replaced. In the mean time, we shall be forced to take the goods of the foreign manufacturers at their prices.

We are informed in the Speech from the Throne that there is stagnation in trade. We are informed, also, that this has arisen, not from any fault of our own, but in consequence of the depression in trade that has taken place in the neighboring country. That is the state-

ment which his Excellency the Governor-General was advised by the hon. gentlemen opposite to make to this House, and if it be true, I say that if there ever was a time when it is lawful, or allowable, or wise, or expedient for a Government to interfere, now is that time. Besides, the general principle which I have been advocating, that our manufactures, being in infaney, require encouragement till they grow to majority, there is this particular exigency to be considered. There is an avowed and admitted stagnation; there is an avowed and admitted depression in trade; and when this is put along with the principle I have just mentioned, I say that if there ever were circumstances in which the Government would be justified in coming to the assistance of those engaged in trade, they exist now. In the first place, our manufactures are in their infancy; in the second place, there is a great depression; and in the third place, there is an admitted deficiency in the revenue. All these reasons combine to show that the Government—a paternal Government, which is the boast of the hon. gentlemen opposite that they are—should intervene to alleviate the misery (because it amounts to misery) which now exists in this country, and to protect our credit. As to what the deficiency may be we cannot tell. Strange to say, the Finance Minister, in the long and able speech which he made, did not state that, although it was the purpose of that speech to state what he estimated the revenue to be, what he estimated the expenditure to be, and what the deficiency was to be, if there was to be any deficiency. I ask any hon. gentlemen who heard that speech, if he can tell me now what the deficiency is to be on the 1st of July next. We are told that a system of economy is to be followed, but how, can this House tell whether those economies will be sufficient unless the hon. gentlemen tells us what the deficiency will be? For the hon. gentlemen not to tell us was like performing the play of "Hamlet" with Hamlet left out. I can only account for his omitting to give us that information on the supposition that his speech was prepared for delivery before the Government changed their intention of bringing down an alteration in the tariff. I

have heard it stated—I think my hon. friend the Minister of Justice stated it the other day—that the Government had had no intention of altering the tariff. Well, of course, my hon. friend would not have stated that if it were not true. It may be perfectly true that the Government did not reduce the charge to an Order in Council, and that they did not submit it to the Governor General. I assume that the hon. gentleman therefore thought himself justified in making that statement; but on the whole the circumstances show that the intention of the Government—or at all events that the intention of the leading members and the head of the Government—was to bring down some alteration in the tariff, and an alteration in the direction of protection to our manufacturers. Why, the member for Montreal West stated in his place that certainly the deputations which waited on the members of the Government on their invitation left them with the impression on their minds that there was going to be an alteration. Every one of those parties who communicated on the subject with hon. gentlemen opposite, left them with the firm belief that an increase in the tariff would be announced; and I have no doubt that when the member for Montreal West made a statement to that effect in Montreal, and afterwards told us here he was too busy in considering the question of the tariff to sit on the Committee of my hon. friend from Bothwell, he must have thought he had received sufficient information to warrant him, as a public man and as a trader, in making that announcement. Some of those gentlemen, too, whom I saw up here the other day from Montreal, one of them I was told was a leading Grit, said it was an insult to them. We have been asked, he said, in Montreal, to make some suggestions about the alterations in the tariff, and we interested ourselves in that subject, and if the Government had had no intention of making an alteration in the tariff, why did they give us the trouble of addressing ourselves to such a task? Why ask us to go into the question of the tariff at all? Why ask the hon. member for Montreal West to go and study the matter, if the Government had not come to the conclusion to make any alteration? Why should hon.

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gentlemen have allowed it to go abroad that they intended to make a change, to the great injury of the trade of the country, for it is a fact that the slightest hint of that kind disturbs the public confidence, and works instantaneous and direct mischief? As I intend to make it my duty to ask this House, if I am spared, to accept the resolution I have already read, I shall not occupy the House at this late hour any longer, but just to say this, that in this matter the Government lost a great opportunity. The country at one time believed, it still believes, and always will believe, that the Government had made up their minds, until a few days ago, to avail themselves of it. Men who can put this and that together, and who can draw inferences from facts, thought it was the intention of the Government, in some way or other, to come forward with a measure of relief. These gentlemen from Montreal said they were received with great courtesy by the hon. gentlemen at the head of the Government, and he led them to believe that he was only prevented by the pressure of his friends in Parliament, and the fear of not being supported by them, from bringing in such a measure. Now, I can scarcely believe that a pressure of that kind would have induced them to change their fixed policy. There are only two solutions to the question why they have acted as they have. One is this,—that my hon. friend the Premier desires to please the gentlemen from the Maritime Provinces by a return to the free-trade principles which he enunciated in Scotland. He was hampered on the one side by free trade pledges which he made at Dundee and elsewhere, and he was hampered, on the other hand, by promises made to his friends in this country and by the supposed necessity of electing my hon. friend from Montreal West. He was also hampered by his Sarnia speech. He had a choice of difficulties. He was a Free Trader in Scotland, and a Protectionist in Montreal. Therefore, my hon. friend was exceedingly glad to have this pressure brought to bear upon him, and he returned to his first love—his Dundee love. He threw over my hon. friend from Montreal West, and made him the scapegoat, and sacrificed him and his friends. Perhaps there might be another

object—that when the Hon. Premier came to look at the difficulties of the tariff he got frightened. He remembered the horrible mess the Finance Minister made of it the Session before last, and his unsuccessful attempt to deal with the various articles; and my hon. friend—joining perhaps in his secret heart in that want of confidence which everybody expressed in the Finance Minister's ability to make a sufferable, decent policy—was able to say to his colleagues, "Well, you see, these Maritime people won't vote for us, and this will be a good way of getting out of the scrape." And so notwithstanding all the previous labours of the different Boards of Trade, and of the people of Montreal and elsewhere who were invited to express themselves as to the alteration of the tariff, and notwithstanding the expectations held out by my hon. friend from Montreal West, everything is thrown over, and here we are back where we were last summer. The hon. gentleman opposite has lost a great opportunity. The country would have been grateful if he had come forward with a measure for its relief, and I believe he might have expected the hearty support of hon. gentlemen on this side.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE — Hear! hear!

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—My hon. friend smiles ironically. Perhaps the hon. gentleman, judging from the manner in which he acted when in Opposition, cannot conceive it possible that any party rising superior to the prospect of a party triumph, could sacrifice party considerations for the good of the country. This is, however, the principal which actuates us upon this side. I am as strong a party man as my hon. friend, and will go as far for party as he; and parties can, and ought to, fight and have their struggles, triumphs and defeats, so long as the country is not made the victim and does not suffer. But I say that that party is unworthy to retain the confidence of the people who, in their desire for victory, forgets the country. That is not the principle which actuates us on this side, and I hope it will never actuate us. Surely there is a wide enough field to fight political battles and urge political principles without injuring the country.

My hon. friend must have felt in his own heart that he might have expected the strong support of this side to any reasonable proposition that could have been made for an incidental tariff to protect our manufacturers and give them some aid, some alleviation, comfort and assistance in this time of distress.

The manufacturers of this country have been hoping against hope. Some have been working half-time, some have been working three-quarters time, and some have scarcely been keeping their doors open, hoping and believing they would get assistance; and now at this last moment, just as they thought the time of relief was coming, just when their tether was strained to the utmost, when they were keeping on their work people—after having spent all their own money—by their credit and by pledging their resources, in the hope and belief that they were going to get assistance from the Government, no aid was given. The disappointment was dreadful, and there was deep indignation—crises not loud but deep—at this heartless policy which led them, up to the very last moment to expect relief, and at the last moment, owing to some apprehended difficulty which, if faced manfully, would have disappeared, they were disappointed, and the manufacturers and those who depended upon them, the working people and their families, were left in a state of suspense, and now almost in a state of despair. But not only are the manufacturers—who had a right to expect that they would be assisted—not only are they driven to despair by the callous timidity of the Government, but the merchants in every city and town in the Dominion, who thought and believed, from the assurances of the Government, from the inferences they drew, that there would be an alteration in the tariff, pledged their credit in order to get their goods out of bond, and that is a great addition to the commercial suffering, depression and stagnation which exists in the country.

This Government had an opportunity which may never offer itself again. Notwithstanding their very many faults which have ripened to maturity in a very short time, if they had come forward with a measure of the kind I indicate, and which was indicated by my hon. friend, and by the motion I had the

honor to read just now, the country would have condoned all their offences, and given them plenary absolution for all their sins of omission. They would have spoken with renewed confidence, and held their position, and we would have been left in the cold shades of Opposition year after year. They would retain the confidence of the country by having come forward, in the time of need, commercial stagnation, ruin and misery, to the rescue. It is no compensation to us that this mistake, this gravest error of the hon. gentleman opposite, will redound to the advantage of the Opposition. I know and feel that it is no compensation to us that the party to which I belong are very many steps nearer a return to power than they were a week ago, in consequence of the Government having adopted this policy. It is no consolation to us. It were infinitely better that the Government should have been sustained for years, if they had come forward at this time of trouble to the relief of the country, the relief of the manufacturers, the operatives and their starving families.

I have spoken principally about manufacturers, as the resolution of my hon. friend is confined to the protection of that interest. I am sure it can be shown that the agricultural interests have the same rights as the manufacturing and the same claim on this House. Although not a farmer myself, nor the representative of a rural constituency, from the position I hold I am overlaiden with correspondence from rural constituents and from the farmers of the country—men whom I know to be farmers and not amateurs—real, hardy, intelligent sons of the soil. They all point in one direction—that the farmers are now awakening to their claim, partly from sentiment, I admit, but partly from a sense of injustice, and that they will no longer suffer Canada to be flooded with American agricultural products, whilst our productions are literally excluded from crossing their borders.

[Mr. Workman's amendment was defeated. Yeas, 64; Nays, 119. The following being the division:—]

YEAS—Messieurs,

Baby,	Bowell,
Benoit,	Brooks,
Bl. In,	Brouse,
Blanchet,	Brown,

Cr
Ca
Ch
Co
Cu
De
Do
Dr
Du
Fa
Fo
Fl
Fr
Ga
Gi
Ha
Hu
Ir
Je
Jo
Ki
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Ap
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Cameron (Victoria),
 Caron,
 Cimon,
 Colby,
 Cuthbert,
 DeCosmos,
 Desjardins,
 Devlin,
 Domville,
 Dugas,
 Farrow,
 Ferguson,
 Flesher,
 Fraser,
 Gaudet,
 Gill,
 Haggart,
 Harwood,
 Hurteau,
 Irving,
 Jetté,
 Jones (Leeds),
 Kirkpatrick,
 Langevin,
 Lanthier,
 Little,
 Macdonald (Cornwall),
 Macdonald (Kingston),
 Macdonald (Toronto),
 McDonald (C. Breton),
 McDougall (Three Riv.),
 Macmillan,
 McCallum,
 McQuade,
 Musson,
 Mitchell,
 Monteith,
 Montplaisir,
 Mousseau,
 Palmer,
 Pinsonneault,
 Platt,
 Plumb,
 Pope,
 Robison,
 Robaillie,
 Ronleau,
 Stephenson,
 Tupper,
 Wallace (Norfolk),
 White (Hastings),
 White (Renfrew),
 Wood,
 Workman,
 Macdonald (Ottawa),
 Wright (Pontiac)—64.

NAVS—Messieurs,

Appleby,
 Archibald,
 Aylmer,
 Bain,
 Bannatyne,
 Barthe,
 Béchard,
 Bernier,
 Bertram,
 Biggar,
 Blake,
 Borden,
 Borron,
 Burrassa,
 Bowman,
 Boyer,
 Buell,
 Bunster,
 Burk,
 Burpee (St. John),
 Burpee (Sunbury),
 Cameron (Ontario),
 Carmichael,
 Cartwright,
 Casey,
 Casgrain,
 Cauchon,
 Charlton,
 Cheval,
 Christie,
 Church,
 Cockburn,
 Coffin,
 Cook,
 Costigan,
 Coupal,
 Cunningham,
 Davies,
 Dawson,
 Deloraine,
 De St. Georges,
 De Verber,
 Dymond,
 Ferris,
 Fiset,
 Fleming,
 Flynn,
 Forbes,
 Fréchette,
 Galbraith,
 Gibson,
 Gillies,
 Gillmor,
 Gordon,
 Goudge,
 Greenway,
 Hagar,
 Higinbotham,
 Holton,
 Horton,
 Huntington,
 Jones (Halifax),
 Kerr,
 Killam,
 Kirk,
 Laflamme,
 Laird,
 Lajoie,
 Landarkin,
 Langlois,
 Laurier,
 Macdonnell (Inverness),
 MacDougall (Eglin),
 McKay (Cape Breton),
 Mackenzie,
 McCraney,
 McGregor,
 McIntyre,
 McIsaac,
 McLeod,

McNab,
 McTeale,
 Mills,
 Norris,
 Oliver,
 Paterson,
 Pelletier,
 Perry,
 Pettes,
 Pickard,
 Pozer,
 Ruy,
 Richard,
 Ross (Durham),
 Ross (Prince Edward),
 Ryan,
 Rymal,
 Scatcherd,
 Sriver,
 Shibley,
 Short,
 Sinclair,
 Skinner,
 Smith (Peel),
 Smith (Selkirk),
 Smith (Westmoreland),
 Snider,
 Stirton,
 St. Jean,
 Taschereau,
 Thibaudeau,
 Thompson (Haldimand),
 Thomson (Welland),
 Tremaine,
 Tröw,
 Vail,
 Wallace (Albert),
 Yeo,
 Young—119

[On the 10th of March the House was again moved into Committee of Supply.]

SECOND SPEECH BY SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD.

Protection from the Agricultural Standpoint.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD, after expressing a fear that the Government majority would vote down any resolution having for its effect the principle of protection, continued:—

I should like to say a few words about the agriculturists, because the previous discussions were principally on the manufacturing interests. I shall not assert on their part that they come here in *forma pauperis*, or that they are suffering from distress or pecuniary difficulty. I am not going to say anything of the kind; no man could truthfully say that the farmers cannot live in comfort or happiness under the present tariff. But the question is this, whether they have not a right under the circumstances to such an alteration of the tariff as will place them on the same footing with their neighbours on the other side of the line.

Let us look back at the circumstances of this country before the Reciprocity Treaty was granted. There was a cry in the old Province of Canada, in Upper and Lower Canada, for a treaty with the United States which would enable the free interchange of the natural products of the two countries. For years and years it was pressed upon the Government of the day, which in turn pressed it upon Her Majesty's Government, and

the latter upon the United States. That agitation was commenced under Mr. Baldwin's Reform Administration, continued under Mr. Hincks' Administration, and finally under the Administration of Sir Allen Macnab, of which I was a member. But during that Administration we never claimed any credit for the negotiation. Our part in its consummation was a mere formal one. The treaty had been made, concluded and perfected before we had anything to say about it. So beneficial to the country was this measure in promoting the interests of the farmers that the Government paid £20,000 and more for the expenses of its negotiation. There was such an increase in the prosperity of the country in consequence of that treaty that the greatest apprehension of ruin fell upon us on its cancellation. We were anxiously looking forward for relief, and every effort was made by the Canadian and Imperial Governments to effect a renewal, and every possible concession was made, consistent with self-respect, and perhaps that border was overleaped in our anxiety to effect that object. When the American Government refused to renew the Treaty it was a great blow to the various agricultural interests, but the gloomy apprehensions of ruin were happily not realized. Blessed with a fertile soil and a good climate, they survived and overcame the great losses which fell upon the country in consequence of the cutting off of that great source of trade—that constant and valuable market. There were three reasons why the renewal was refused. One was a feeling of hostility, perhaps a natural one to some extent, in consequence of heart-burnings arising between the mother country and the United States, on account of the unhappy events of the civil war. This feeling of hostility towards England and her dependencies was one moving cause why the treaty was not renewed. The second cause was an unfounded idea that shutting out our farmers and the mass of the people from the profitable trade they had enjoyed for the previous ten years would force them to favour annexation, to cast in our lot with the United States, and thereby obtain a free market. The last cause was that the American farmers along the frontier, the producers of the various natural products of the United States,

declared it was for their interest and good that we should be excluded from their markets. I will not yield to my hon. friend the Premier in my respect for the intelligence and common sense of the farming population. I believe as reading and thoughtful men, and as men who understand their own interests, they are equal to any other class of the community. If the agriculturists of the United States say that Canadian products should be excluded from the American markets, surely it is not unjust or unwise for our farmers to say: "If you show hostility towards the Government to which we adhere, or any desire to keep your market to yourselves to influence you, we will be quite justified in adopting the same course in regard to you." It is a natural and a true feeling, and one belonging to humanity, that fair play is bonnie play.

To be sure, if it can be shown that the adoption of that policy would be injurious to our farmers we ought not to pursue it; but I cannot understand the statement of those gentlemen who say that it would be injurious in one breath and tell us in the next that we have a surplus of agricultural products to sell. If we have a surplus, what harm could excluding the Americans from our markets do? But it was said by some hon. gentlemen: "But we import very largely from the United States, and it is good for our carrying trade to have American vessels passing through our waters and canals." It is perfectly true that this is a great advantage, but it is a different question altogether. The putting of a duty upon the agricultural products of the United States will not injure this trade, unless we chose to shut down our canals. But, it is said: "We buy Indian corn; they grow it cheaper in the United States." I believe they do grow cheaper, in the case of Indian corn; if you put a very small duty on it, it can still be brought in to be used by the people of this country. It is only or chiefly required for our distillers; and thus not only would a very considerable revenue be created, especially in a time like the present, when we have a deficiency in our revenue, but at the same time it would encourage the growth of coarse grains by our farmers; and as long as we have distillers, I think even my hon. friend from South Ontario will

admit that our farmers ought to ob. in a good price for their rye, peas and other coarse grains used in distilling liquor, as well as the Americans. (Voice—What about barley?)

The hon. gentleman says what about barley. We do sell our barley to the United States, and we do pay a duty on it.

Hon. Gentlemen—No! No!

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—We sell our barley to the United States, and it is subject to a duty of 15 cents on the bushel, but our farmers export barley, notwithstanding, and if we put on 15cts. on every bushel coming in this country, it will not diminish by a single bushel the barley we sell to the United States—not if we put on, 5 cents or 25 cents or 100 cents.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—It would not increase what they send to us either.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—It is of importance, and of growing importance to this country, that we should encourage and protect the growth of coarse grains in the Dominion. It is as evident as can be that the market for our wheat and flour in Europe is diminishing and will continue to diminish. We have new rivals in the production of bread-stuffs, and Canada cannot hold her own against them. We have not only to fight against the United States, but all Europe. Before the Crimean war but little wheat and flour came to the English market from Russia, except *via* the Baltic and the countries bordering on the Black Sea. Although Russia, especially the south part of Russia, was one of the finest wheat growing countries in the world, there were no means of bringing out the crops of the country and sending them to a foreign market, and it was the same in Hungary, in consequence of the want of railroads. Since the Crimean war, that part of Europe has been covered with a net work of railways, and being produced more cheaply, the agriculturists of Europe will compete more and more in the Liverpool market, and will force our farmers into the channels to find markets, and to raise other crops to suit them. That is additional reason why we should encourage the growth of coarse grains, and foster manufactures that will create a consumption for all our farmers can rise. It is not denied, as far as wheat and flour are concerned, that the prices of these two articles are

governed very much, though not always, by the price in Liverpool; but it is otherwise with all other agricultural produce which Canada raises. The price of wheat and flour will be governed here more and more by the European markets.

Mr. MILLS—We ship peas and oats to Europe.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I have known peas and oats to be shipped from Europe to Canada. It has been urged that our farmers do not look upon this subject with favour; that they are indifferent to it. We heard the other night, the hon. member for Brant on that matter, and he said next year we would have one hundred thousand farmers petitioning for reciprocity of tariff with the United States. From the information I have received from agricultural constituencies, the farmers of the country are in favor of treating the Americans as they treat us; and as they resolve to keep us out of their market, that we should adopt the same policy, and encourage in every way possible the increase of the manufacturing population, where we would have a safe and certain market, a market at our own doors, a market not depending upon the various exigencies that foreign trade is liable to. The farming population are fully alive to that, and Mr. Speaker, a proof of it was given the other night, by an hon. gentleman in this House, that for the purpose of encouraging manufacturers in this country the farmers voluntarily put a tax upon themselves to grant bonuses of large sums of money to encourage manufacturing industries in their midst. It is conclusive proof that the people of the country are in favour of, and are willing to tax themselves to encourage manufacturers; and if we can foster manufacturers by putting a tax on foreign produce, they will be equally if not more in favour of that mode of encouragement than by taxing themselves to give bonuses.

Now, with respect to putting a duty upon American agricultural products, or raising of the tariff for the encouragement of manufacturers, it is said it is a retaliatory policy, an unworthy policy, and it will excite the hostility of the United States.

Mr. Speaker, we have played that conciliatory game long enough; we

have had it *ad nauseam*; we have almost exceeded our moral self respect in our anxiety to obtain reciprocity with the United States. They cannot complain, they have no right to complain, if we treat them as they treat us; they have better sense; they know they have no right to complain if we conceive it is to our own interest to treat them as they treat us, and mete out to them just what they mete out to us. But it is said that is the old Tory style of doing business; that was the course of infant political economy or before political economy existed. That argument was brought up in this House. It was said such a policy was only advocated by the old ciste school of political economy before the modern school prevailed; that a retaliatory policy ought not to be maintained. I then pointed to the course taken by Canning, the founder of the modern school of political economy, the master at whose feet Huskinson was educated and whose principles Huskinson carried out. And what did Canning do? His financial principles were well known; the course he took against the Government of the Netherlands when they put on the duty on English shipping was defined in a poetical despatch to Sir Chas. Bagot, which was as follows:

"In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
I giving too little and asking too much,
With equal advantage the French are content,
So we'll clap on Dutch bottoms a twenty per cent."

And they put it on. (Laughter.)

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—There was another celebrated agriculturist who was advised in the same direction—Job.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I know nothing about *Jobs*. We should not, of course, to use the old proverb, cut off our noses to spite our faces; and if we believe a protective policy is going to be an injury to us we ought not to adopt it. But it will be found the farmers of Canada will argue, when the question comes to be discussed around their own firesides, and with their neighbours, and at the hustings; that they will agree to the proposition I now make, that the United States should be dealt with as they deal with us, and we would be craven if from fear of offending our neighbours we took any other alternative. If they do not grant us reciprocity in trade, we can give them

reciprocity in tariff. It is not our interest that we should adopt blindly and servilely the same rate of tariff they have adopted towards us. I believe that with respect to agricultural products a reasonable tariff might be imposed. Notwithstanding the duty on Indian corn some years ago, a considerable amount of it was imported to use with the coarse grain of our farmers for distillery purposes, and that grain paying a duty gave a substantial addition to the revenue of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—No.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The Hon. Finance Minister resided for a time in the vicinity of a large distillery near Kingston, and I know that very large sums were paid for duty on Indian corn that was brought in there for the purpose of mixing with the coarse grains of our own farmers.

Respecting my resolution, I claim for it grave consideration, as being of the greatest importance. If ever the Government had any intention of dealing with the tariff at all that now is the proper time. The Hon. Finance Minister tells us there is to be a deficiency. He has not told us how much, but he will, no doubt, tell us to-night what the amount will be. It ought to be a considerable one, or should not be dealt with so seriously as it has been by that hon. gentleman. The retrenchment promised us must either be in the cost of administering the ordinary affairs of the Government, or in the prosecution of the public works for which appropriations are made. I cannot presume that the Government will retrench in the ordinary administration of public affairs, so as to injure the efficiency of that administration. I presume they have not in the retrenchments they allege to have made in that branch of the public service impaired its efficiency; and if they have not, that retrenchment should have taken place whether there was a deficiency or not. So I take it that retrenchment in that direction can be of very little consequence, and in fact that there has been no retrenchment at all.

On comparing the estimates of last year with those of this year, I find those for the administration of public affairs are largely increased. The hon. gentleman has not retrenched in the

administration of public affairs. Then if the retrenchment on which the Government relies is not mere cheese-paring, it could only be in ceasing to prosecute the public works for which appropriations have been made by Parliament. I think that is a most lamentable state of affairs. This country can, in my opinion, well afford to prosecute these works.

At the present time, owing to the depressed state of the country, the people are working only half time in the different manufactories. There is a great deal of suffering among the working classes, and substantial relief would be given to them by these great works being proceeded with. Now, Sir, why are these works not proceeded with?

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—What works?

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—I am arguing that the retrenchment by which the Government hope to meet the deficiency must be either in the expenses of administration of affairs, or in ceasing to prosecute the public works. The Minister of Finance, has not shown in what way that retrenchment is to be effected. With regard to my first supposition, if the retrenchment could be made without diminishing the efficiency of the Department, it ought to be made in any case. The only other source of retrenchment is by not prosecuting the public works. My hon. friends laughed a good deal at the expression, "Incidental protection." They say it is a contradiction of terms. It is not so. It will be admitted, I think, by my hon. friend from Bothwell, that the increase of tariff from 15 to 17½ per cent, was a revenue increase imposed for the purpose of raising \$3,000,000. It was a revenue tariff, but was it not incidental protection to our manufacturers to the extent of 2½ per cent. It raised a revenue of \$3,000,000, and incidentally protected our manufacturers to that extent, and I would venture to say that if the Government had come down with what was understood to be their original policy—an increase of the tariff to 20 per cent.—it would have caused a substantial increase in the revenue and have been an additional protection on our manufactures to that extent. It is true you may go beyond the proper

limit in taxation. You may tax so high as to diminish consumption, and thereby not effect the purpose you desire, the more expensive you make an article, the greater the tendency to diminish consumption. But if you go to a certain point you increase the revenue and protect the interest of the manufacturer of the articles on which the increased duty is put. You may not get a revenue in proportion to the increase of duty, still there will be a positive increase, though not to the same extent, and by having that increased duty you give confidence to the manufacturer. You increase the wealth of the manufacturer and the prosperity of the working classes, and you enable them thereby to consume other dutiable articles that will more than make up any loss that may be experienced by the increase of duty, provided that increase will not be of such an extent as to be prohibitory and destroy the collection of the duty for revenue purposes. I think we have a right to protect our manufacturers, from this country being made a sacrifice market. It is no matter whether it is made a sacrifice market from the effect of depression in the neighbouring country, which will bring about a shrinkage of values and a sacrifice of property, or whether it is made a slaughter market by trades union combinations in the United States. Whichever may be the case they are sending goods into the Canadian market with the avowed purpose of crushing our native manufactures.

Mr. HOLTON—What a misfortune.

Sir JOHN A. MACDONALD—The hon. member for Chateauguay says what a misfortune. Yes, Sir, it is a misfortune. Every shrinkage of values is an injury to the community. If in this town 20 or 30 merchants fail, and if their stocks are thrown on the market as bankrupt stocks, the consumer will derive a temporary advantage. But it is only a temporary gain, for there is a real loss to the community. An injury is caused to the solvent merchants who are unable to contend against the sacrifice prices at which such bankrupt stocks are thrown on the market, they, too, become embarrassed; the circle of bankruptcy is increased, and a general state of stagna-

tion and commercial depression brought on. The other day we heard a gentleman in the House read extracts from the *Chicago Tribune*, pointing out the awful consequences that would result to Canada if we adopted the American system. It is not my intention to defend the wisdom of American financiers. The Americans are a great and prosperous nation. They know what they are about, and one can scarcely believe that a self-governing and educated people are carrying out such an utterly ruinous system as that which has been spoken of. It is not my business to defend their financial policy, but I certainly want to quote a United States paper as an authority to show that it would not ruin us if we kept American manufacturers out of our markets. But let me read the American authority on that point. The article is taken from the *North American Review*, and published in the *American Manufacturer*. It is as follows:—

"In a letter now before us to a friend in this city, from a man of the highest standing in the scientific world of Sweden, the writer, speaking of certain reciprocity propositions recently received from Germany, says that they are wholly unlikely to be accepted, as they would do more harm than 'the French treaty has already done.' Of that sort of trade, he continues, 'we have already had enough.' So, too, says Anseria, English journalists advising us 'that she stands ready, at the earliest permitted moment, to announce the whole reciprocity system; and the wool growers of Hungary being even now engaged in an earnest effort at bringing about some arrangement with Australian woollen manufacturers similar to that which has here existed for some years past. Belgium adheres to protection, and the most distinguished of her teachers, M. Laveleye, has just now astonished his free trade friends by a renunciation of the doctrines of their economic school. Italy follows suit, the *Manchester Guardian* assuring its readers that 'the Italian Government is endeavoring to impose a tariff so highly protective in its terms that one is almost led to wonder whether the Italian people are not forgetting their own history, and the *London Economist* describing the Italian prospect as a complete return to the protectionist system.' Germany moves in the same direction, a letter now on our table advising an American correspondent that 'the current in the direction of increased protection is now setting more strongly than at any time in the past.' Turkish statesmen, as we learn from the *Levant Herald*, are awaking to the fact that to the absence of protection has been due the present ruinous condition of the country, and that without a total change of policy no change for the better can be looked for. Russia, after having for a

time modified her protective system, has since returned to it with renewed energy, and now stands among the foremost of protective nations, determined that not only shall the needs of her own people be supplied from domestic factories and furnaces, but that by means of the numerous railroads now in progress they shall be enabled to contend successfully with Britain for all the markets of Central Asia, and even, as we now are told, for that of Western China.

"France, consistently protective throughout the whole of the present century, rejoices in a foreign commerce that grows more steadily and rapidly than that of any other country in the world; and in a prosperity so undisturbed by the present almost universal commercial crisis that she has been but now described by a British journalist as bearing to all appearance 'a charmed life.' India, with her almost nominal wages and but slight protection, is now entering into vigorous competition with the textile manufactures of Britain, and promises soon to supply the home demand for that railroad iron for which she has been thus far so entirely dependent on British ironmasters. Australia becomes from year to year more earnest in her adherence to a protective policy, and the day approaches when Canada must inevitably follow in the same direction. Among ourselves the advantages of a great home market becomes from day to day more clearly obvious to our farmers and planters, and the day seems not far distant when the headquarters of protection will be found among the mills and furnaces of Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee. That such is the universal tendency of the present moment is admitted by the *London Telegraph*, which now reluctantly acknowledges that 'in spite of prophecies and smooth words, and the lifted voices of miscalculating friends, the world, since the repeal of the corn laws, has gone on in its old bad way; that is to say in a way adverse to that policy which looked to the establishment in Britain of the one and only 'workshop of the world.'

"Where may now outside of the Cobden Club be found the home of British free trade policy and doctrine? Scarcely even in Britain, whose markets are being supplied with the products of low priced foreign labour, and to such an extent as to have deprived thousands, tens of thousands of British working men of the means of obtaining bread for their wives and children.

"Thirty years since they were told that with free trade in corn, and free admission of the manufactured products of the world at large, there would come the 'cheap loaf,' and perfect harmony between employers and employed; the result of such measures now exhibiting itself in the facts that discord seems almost universal; that the *Contemporary Review*, speaking of and for Great Britain, assures its readers that 'there is no reasonable doubt that in no other civilized part of the world are there so many deaths traceable to starvation as in this country,' and that those of the *London Hour* are simultaneously assured that 'we cannot look in any one single direction without being made aware of the positive and absolute failure of free trade as carried out by England. Our manufacturers

suffer, our exports suffer, our shipping suffers, the social and physical condition of our people suffers, our character and honor suffers, and yet there is a political party in England that still maintains that this ruinous policy must be adhered to. . . . Political leaders of this stamp little dream in what direction the thoughts of the whole trading community are being forced; by the results of modern Liberal legislation; they little dream of the difficulties almost every man in business has to contend against under free trade and unlimited competition; they little dream that, although there is no popular action as yet, there is a universal conviction that the whole commercial policy of the Liberal statesmen of England must be revised, or the suffering and losses of the people will get beyond recovery.

“Having studied carefully the facts we have thus presented, our readers, as we think, can scarcely fail to arrive with us at the conclusion that that British free trade system which looked to giving to the manufacturers of Britain a complete control of the commerce of the world, now totters to its fall, and that its acceptance by other nations must at no distant day take its place among the most remarkable delusions of the past.”

This is an article from an American newspaper, quoting from several English authorities, but I will call the attention of the House to a short note in the *Westminster Review*. It is written on the necessity of paying off the national debt while they are rich, and before they become poor. Remember the *Westminster Review* is the organ of free trade, the organ of Cobdenism, and of Mr. Bright, a consistent supporter of everything liberal in religion, in politics, and in finance. Says the *Westminster Review*:

“We shall not be considered premature; we hope, in pointing out danger in this direction when we read in the public prints that tires are being delivered in the neighborhood of Sheffield at prices far lower than those at which they can be produced there—that American calico is sent for sale to Manchester at thirteen pence a pound, while the same quality cannot be produced there under thirteen pence halfpenny—that a Halifax carpet firm have removed a large portion of their machinery to the United States, where they hoped to turn out their goods more quickly and more profitably—that English black silks have given place to those of France, Prussia, and the Lower Rhine—that Basle has seriously crippled the ribbon trade of Coventry—that the English silk velvet trade is quite smothered out, our velvets now coming from Crefeld in Rhenish Russia—that in the trimming department of our warehouses everything—buttons, braids, trimming and headed trimming, and a thousand other articles—is of almost exclusively German manufacture, and displays a style and finish superior to anything we can produce—that in low woolen shawls of a

certain kind, the Germans give better value than the English; while in their tissue shawls the French excel the Scotch—that of useful goods, even when originated here, samples are sent abroad and are imitated and improved upon in such a manner as to displace the patterns—that in fancy dress the best woolen goods are of French manufacture, coming from Roubaix; their beauty of colour and softness of texture excelling the English ones—that beautiful and artistic fabrics, resembling sealskin and dogskin and other fanciful articles which come from Berlin, are used here for ladies' cloaks—that while common and inferior cloths are bought at Leeds, the finer kinds come from Germany and Belgium—that in brocaded silks, from which neckties are made, Germany has displaced Macclesfield, while German brace webs take the place of those supplied by Leicester—that in fancy handkerchiefs for ladies' neckties the French article is preferred to that made at Paisley or Glasgow—that the silk coverings for umbrellas and parasols are invariably of foreign production in fine, that in many departments of trade our supremacy has been not merely threatened but done away with.”

These are the results of years and years of free trade in England and opening up her markets with the world—she having previously built up enormous establishments and concentrated capital, having a large mass of population engaged in manufacturing, with coal and iron side by side, with all the advantages free-trade was bringing them; and still these foreign countries which have adopted a different policy, and which have not been seduced by the precepts of England, but still keep up protective duties or tariffs which afford incidental protection, are not only competing with her in the markets of the world, but at her own door. This is a striking fact, and it is already prophesied that in ten years, some say much less than that, those who clamored for free-trade and free bread had got them, when they find they are losing their own markets, will agitate for a return, not to anything like prohibition, but to such a revenue tariff as will give them fair play in their competition with other nations.

There is no hope that this country will receive aid from the present Government after the solemn declarations the hon. gentlemen opposite have made and allowed to be made. We have no expectation they will reverse their policy, that our manufacturers will be protected, that our mining interests will be developed or our farmers placed on the same footing as those of the United States, by any action of the hon. gentlemen oppo-

site. There is no hope in this House; and therefore we must appeal by this resolution, which I am going to place in your hand, from the Government and their followers, to the sober second thought of the country.

I move "that the Speaker do not now leave the chair, but that it be resolved that this House regrets His Excellency the Governor-General has not been advised to recommend to Parliament a measure for the readjustment of the tariff, which would not only aid in alleviating the stagnation of business deplored in the gracious speech from the throne, but would also afford fitting encouragement and protection to the struggling manufactures and industries, as well as to the agricultural products of the country

SPEECH BY MR. MASSON, M. P. FOR
TERREBONNE.

Mr. MASSON—I have seen by the remarks of the Hon. Finance Minister and of the Premier that there have been difficulties in the Government in bringing their tariff policy before the House. I have seen it by the answers of the Finance Minister himself. He has taken the position which we on this side of the House heartily concur in when he says: "In framing a tariff we must so frame it that the industrial interests of the country shall be considered." Well, Sir, this is the principle which we all admit on this side of the House, and I tell the hon. gentleman he is at direct issue with the Premier on this question, for the idea of the First Minister is that in framing the tariff we should consider the interests of the trade with foreign countries, and not the manufacturing interests of this country. I can prove it by the speeches of the hon. gentleman in England last summer, where he told his hearers that his policy was the great free-trade policy; that his tariff would be so framed that the commercial interest between England and Canada would be increased instead of fostering our manufactures, as the Finance Minister says. Here are the words of the First Minister on that occasion:

"I need not assure you, or any one here, of the anxious desire of the people of Canada to cultivate the most exten-

sive trade relations with every part of the world, but especially with the great centres of trade in this country. (Applause.) And while we are compelled by the necessity of revenue to impose a very considerable duty upon goods entering into the country, we shall always feel bound so to distribute that taxation as to promote as far as possible the interests of the trade relations that are existing between civilized countries."

That is not the only contradiction we find on that side. When the Prime Minister came back to Canada he thought it would not do in a country like ours to make free-trade speeches such as he delivered in England and Scotland. He modified his remarks, and at Sarnia his speech was an advocacy of what you may call an incidental protection policy, but the Finance Minister will not accept an incidental protection policy, or what Mr. Galt calls a modified free-trade policy.

I think this system of trade should be considered entirely above all sectional spirit or feeling, and I intend to discuss it in that way; I may be allowed, as I have heard members coming from different parts of the Dominion expressing the views of their constituents on that subject, state what are the views of the rural constituency which I represent in Quebec. It has been said that the farmers are opposed to protection; but I represent a rural constituency, and the House will remember I have presented petitions here signed by the farmers of both shades of political opinions in my county, asking for a protective tariff not only for manufacturers, but also for the agricultural interests. These petitions stated that as long as we had a country on our borders that would exclude our manufactures and agricultural products, it was the bounden duty of the Government to provide such a policy as would give us protection against the United States. As I have before stated that petition was signed by persons of different political opinions, and I will tell the House that these Liberals who signed that petition, have not, as some of the members of this House have done, changed their policy when party purposes required it, but they are ready to stand by these principles and ask protection from this Government or from any other Government that may be in

power. They feel that the interests of the manufacturers and agriculturalists are identical; they feel that agriculture will succeed better if they have manufacturing towns and villages scattered over the country creating a home consumption and a market where they can sell all the small products of the farm that they can raise to advantage. Ask any farmer if he prefers to have his farm near a great city like Montreal rather than thirty miles from it, and he will at once answer that he prefers to have it near the market. They believe that by protection every water power in the country will be utilized for manufacturing purposes, that it will create a demand for labour and supply a home market, saving the cost of transport on their produce to a foreign country.

It has been said by the hon. gentleman, the Finance Minister, that the bonus system to manufacturers by municipalities has been a complete failure. I know that in the small town where I live the inhabitants would be a unit in favour of giving a bonus to manufacturers who would come and settle there if protected from foreign competition. They will willingly exempt manufactures from municipal taxation for ten or fifteen years if a tariff of twenty to twenty-five per cent. is adopted. They are not of the opinion that the consumer will pay the whole of their twenty per cent; they believe that the fact of imposing that duty will have the effect of partly excluding foreign manufacturers and put our own in a position to compete among themselves and thereby cut down the prices to a reasonable figure if the trade is at all profitable.

They do not believe as it has been asserted during this debate, that by increasing the duties on some articles which can be produced here, we impose a tax or a burden on the people. The estimates brought in by the Finance Minister, constitute the burden on the people, the tariff is solely a means of distributing that burden once imposed. They may be wrong, but it is their opinion, and I will now tell this House how these ideas were formed. The farmers know very well what their interests are in Quebec as well as in any other province, but on questions of this kind they sometimes require to be educated to what is their real interest; and do

you know who are some of the great educators of our population in Lower Canada on the question of free-trade and protection? They were the Liberals of Quebec who, in the elections of 1872, denounced the late administration on not giving sufficient protection to the trade of the country, and in the election of 1874 held out as a great inducement for the support of the present Government that they would give protection to our industries. The great national party in Lower Canada which was to enter into an alliance with the dead party of Canada first in Ontario was favoured for several reasons, and first of all because they distrusted their old leaders and they considered a new policy was absolutely necessary, as their countrymen were expatriating themselves and going to the United States to find employment in the manufacturing districts. The platform and policy of that party was protection to our native industries. But something occurred. There was a gentleman in that party who was very much respected; in fact, he was the Nestor of the party. I allude to the hon. member for Chateauguay. That gentleman held free-trade principles, and it was absolutely necessary that the party should agree among themselves. The way they managed it was this: they agreed that they should not in speaking mention the word "protection" at all, nor could they put the word on their platform though retaining protection views. The hon. member for Drummond and Arthabaska and others, when they delivered speeches did not mention the word "protection," but they said: "We must encourage our home industries."

I will read a speech from the great Liberal Leader in Quebec, Mr. Joly, in 1872, delivered when he was laying the foundation of the National party. He was speaking of the expatriation of the French population of Lower Canada, and said:

"I will tell you the reason why we have chosen that name. You must have seen in the House, and in the papers, that to attract a considerable immigration, an immigration advantageous to the country, it is necessary to encourage industry by all means possible. Everybody understands that our young men would not leave the country if they found here sufficient

"not to indulge in luxuries, but to provide for their food and clothing."

These were the ideas of the party, but there was a little difficulty in the way; they said there is an objection to that, for if we carry out the protection policy in concert with our American friends on the other side of the line, we shall get into trouble with England, so they invented another policy what they called a branch of the National policy, not political independence, but commercial independence of England, a Zollverein with the United States, and thereby create a most stringent protection against Great Britain. Mr. Speaker, I have the speech of another hon. gentleman, one of the leading members of the Liberal party, a gentleman who has made a most able speech in this House—I mean the hon. member for Megantic. Last year that hon. gentleman delivered a most eloquent speech in which he said that protection was absolutely necessary for our country; yet we all know how the hon. gentleman voted this year. I wish to read to you a quotation from his speech, delivered after the verification introduced by the Finance Minister raising the duties to 17½ per cent were known to the Public.

He said, "He regretted he could not endorse the tariff of the minister of Finance. . . . Instead of taxing tea and coffee, the articles we cannot produce, the Finance Minister should have placed his duties on articles which could have been manufactured among us, in which case not only would a revenue be secured, but our manufactures would have that protection which they needed.

He especially dwelt on protection to our agricultural products, which were essential to the opening up of our country, and was the prelude to our embarking, as we should do, in manufactures. He combatted the arguments of the member for Bothwell; and with regard to the position of the United States, held that without protection it would never have been the country it to-day is."

These are the educators of the people of the Province of Quebec! But that is not all, let us see what the Liberal press of Lower Canada—that great engine which spreads ideas throughout the world, and which sometimes educates

people against their will. The *L'Evenement*, reproducing with approbation an article of another paper, says upon this subject:—

"What we require is a commercial policy thoroughly established and permanent, moderately protective with a guarantee that it will not be changed for a dozen years. Then we can invest with confidence our capital in the different sorts of industry suitable for this country. We would no longer import any of the articles you manufacture here. It would be absurd to cultivate pine apple as an article of commerce, and we should not permit our iron ore to be sent to the United States to be returned in the shape of manufactured articles." The *National*, the organ of the new National party, has had many articles on the subject, and has instructed the people so often in regard to this subject, that it is not necessary for me to cite them to you. I shall now quote to you an article of great influence which was published in the *Bien Public*, a few months ago, which is as follows:

"The resolutions adopted at a large meeting of manufacturers that has taken place lately in Toronto, ask for the tariff to be raised to 20 per cent. on all goods coming from England and Ireland that can be manufactured in Canada, and that on all articles coming from the United States and other countries Canada should impose equal duties to those imposed on Canadian products going into the United States and other foreign countries. We accept these resolutions, and do not hesitate to say that that should be the programme of every Government having at heart the prosperity of the country. It is this that everybody requires except certain political men who sacrifice practice to theory. The hon. Mr. Mackenzie has happily said the tariff should be modified in the Canadian interest, and we are sure he will keep his word."

Now, Sir, it will probably be said that these gentlemen are in favour of protection, but that they believed 17½ per cent. was enough. I have shown the member for Megantic did not believe 17½ was enough, and I can tell those gentlemen that if they wish to protect the manufacturing industry of the country they must impose such duties as would protect the manufacturer in a proper way, and enable him to compete with the foreign manufacturer. If this is not done the tariff will be a mere burden on the people of the country. In 1872, the manufacturers have been heard and a Committee of the House of Commons

then reported unanimously that a 20 per cent. tariff was required.

An attempt has been made both here and elsewhere to create the impression that the Conservative press and party were responsible for the present uneasiness in the public mind relating to the tariff, under pretence that of late, we had raised up the mind of the manufacturers, mechanics and laborers, to the expectation of a change, but the country knows well that the Conservative party is not responsible for the disappointment that exists to-day. The Liberal party is, and my hon. friend the Prime Minister is primarily responsible for the whole thing. He is responsible on account of his changed tone since he came back from England, for raising the hopes of merchants which have been thwarted. The member for Montreal West also took great responsibility on himself when he asserted to the people of Montreal that we would have protection, and he is bound to tell the people of Montreal the grounds on which he based his assertion by means of which he secured the confidence of his constituents.

The hon. member for Chateauguay also largely contributed to raise the expectations of the people of Montreal and of the whole Dominion, when, supporting Mr. Workman as a protectionist, he assured them that the tariff would be revised, and numerous anomalies corrected. The Finance Minister himself seems to have so far contributed to the general belief of a change, that the whole public were taken by surprise at the announcement a contrary policy. In the face of the present situation what had the Government done? The Hon. Finance Minister admitted that there was great depression in the country, but stated that it was not so great as the depression of 1857. He also admitted that the manufacturers were suffering, and gave as his reason for this the fact that the Canadian market had become the slaughter market for United States goods. He admitted more than that—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! no!

Mr. MASSON—He admitted there was a deficit; and instead of indicating the proper way to remedy this deficit; to stop our market from being flooded with American goods, the hon. gentleman stands still and says the situation must cure itself. He says he will not

interfere with the tariff, because the depression is monetary, and will disappear in a few years. The only way to relieve the present depression is that which should suggest itself to every public man, and which is hinted at by Sir A. T. Galt in his letter to Mr. Ferrier; namely, the pushing forward of the public works we are bound to construct. I admit if you go into public works which are not required, of course it would be wrong; but if the Government believed this crisis was momentary, it was their duty to have increased the estimates for the public works so that the labouring classes might have been provided with work and reduce if necessary the expenditure on those items which are more immediately under their control, such as departmental expenses which are running up very high. The result of their policy will be to drive our labourers as well as our mechanics away from the country.

It has been said that the existing depression is not of so serious a nature as that which existed in 1857. Then we had a Conservative Government in power, and a statesman at the head of the finances of the nation second to none in the Dominion. What was the action of the Government under those circumstances? The revenue from Customs of the country had fallen off from \$4,675,000 in 1854 to \$3,365,000 in 1858, and was not sufficient for the wants of the country. The Government remodelled the tariff, raising it to twenty per cent. And the result was a considerable increase in the revenue. By the year 1859-60, that revenue was raised \$4,556,000, and the following year, 1860-1 it was \$4,760,000, notwithstanding the predictions of extreme free-traders who, then as well as to-day, pretended that an increased tariff, by excluding imports, would reduce the revenue. Results are, however, better than theory, and if the Government adopted the same means to-day they would get the same result. A strong opposition was offered to the action of the Government by English capitalists, in England, who pretended that the colonies should be nothing else but a market for their manufactures. Sir Alexander Galt in response to the opposition of the English capitalists, said that we were not making a tariff detrimental

to English manufacturers, but that we were making one irrespective of England, and to meet our requirements.

Similar Opposition was offered on the part of the United States, and a similar answer was returned to the opposition from that quarter. What does Sir A. T. Galt now say of the tariff of 1859? By that tariff, the interests of the country had been enhanced, our manufactures created, and the great grievances of the Americans against it was that it fostered the interests of the country and ruined the manufacturing interests of the frontier towns in the United States. In reference to this subject, it was said in 1862:—

“The injury this inflicted upon our people is avowed by the Hon. A. T. Galt, the Financial Minister of Canada, to be ‘no subject’ of regret to the Canadian Government. The tariff of which Mr. Galt speaks with so much complacency extinguished the trade of our frontier cities with Canada in their own manufactures. Many manufacturing establishments on our side dismissed their workmen, and were closed; and many were removed to Canada in order to avoid the payment of duty on their productions. It can create no surprise that much indignation was excited, without exception, in all those cities on the Canadian frontier, which are daily and hourly witnesses of the one-sided nature of our dealings with Canada in the products of American labour.”

Then referring to Buffalo, it goes on to say:—

“Many of her citizens and those of Rochester also have been compelled by the Canadian tariffs to leave their homes and remove their families to Canada.”

Now, I ask if all this is not better than piling up figures and discussing things from a purely theoretical point of view, as my hon. friend from Bothwell will probably do in a few moments.

The conservatives have been reproached because they did not give protection themselves. I have shown the only protective tariff we have had in Canada was framed by them. Since that time, Confederation has taken place. The people of the Lower Provinces were accustomed to a lower tariff, and we were told under the new system our affairs would be so managed that we would have plenty of money in our treasury. The people of the Maritime Provinces were not willing to consent to any increase of duty.

Mr. JONES (Halifax)—Hear! hear!

Mr. MASSON—The hon. gentleman

says “hear, hear.” I remember having heard him state in a previous debate, that there had been at confederation no expectation of the necessity to raise the taxes to build a Pacific Railway, and such works; but I want him to understand that if we have a deficit to-day it is not due as he stated to the Pacific Railway, because there is not an inch of it built. Two years ago we had to raise \$3,000,000 and we have a deficit again. We have had to build the Intercolonial Railway; and if we wish, in order to meet the requirements of the Lower Provinces, and the pressing demands of their members, to extend a railway to Louisburg, build St. Peter’s Canal, to deepen their harbours, build lighthouses, and to construct the Baie Verte Canal—if they want money expended among themselves they must help us to raise it. I mistake the spirit of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick if they will not do so.

A protective tariff has not been needed very badly until now. We have had the civil war and high priced labour in the United States as a protection in the past; we have had a full treasury, and there was no deficit until the hon. gentlemen opposite came into power. There is no better proof of this than the fact that the Committee appointed in 1872 to investigate the question of protection, reported that the manufacturers of the country were not on the whole in an unsatisfactory condition. Nevertheless, they thought a tariff of 20 per cent. would better enable them to build up their industries. If a tariff of twenty per cent. was necessary then, where there was no such depression as we have now, I ask if we do not require it far more to-day? The greatest enemies of incidental protection or modified free-trade for this country are not the American or English manufacturers, but the abstract-theory gentlemen who have formed their opinions in England, and fancy we should, under different circumstances adopt a free-trade policy here. As far as our manufactures are concerned, we are in our infancy, and require protection. As long as countries are situated in different conditions, so long will we have different systems of political economy. If I were in England I would be a Free-Trader, and I would advise the Colonies to confine

themselves to the production of the raw material; to send them to the mother country to be worked up there, and returned to the colonists with the bill of cost for transportation both ways, and the cost of manufacture. I would advise that as the best plan to enrich their manufacturers and people, but I admit it would be very questionable policy for the colony. But the very reason for which the Free-Traders of England, in their own interest, advise us to adopt a free-trade policy should induce us to be Protectionists. The very fact that hon. gentlemen opposite are driven to defend their policy by quoting from American authorities, is a proof we need protection. The policy of the conservative Party, as laid down by the right hon. member for Kingston, is to so remodel our tariff as to give to our rising manufactures that protection to which they are entitled, and we are ready to go before the country and put that in contradistinction to the policy of the Premier who said in England we should so adjust our tariff as to foster the trade relations with England and foreign countries.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY M. MOUSSEAU, M. P.

M. MOUSSEAU—After some general remarks with reference to the utterances of M. Laurier and M. Richard, whom he charged with inconsistency in propounding Free Trade theories, continued:—It is impossible to apply to the United States the doctrines or theories which are suitable to England, and *vice versa*; nor can we apply to France the doctrines which are adapted to Great Britain. It is also impossible that the doctrines of these three great countries can be applied to Prussia, Russia or Austria, and much less to a new country like ours. The reproaches the members of the opposite party have uttered against the Conservative leaders—I speak more particularly with reference to my hon. friends from Quebec—on this question of protection have not the slightest foundation, and for two reasons: in the first place it was impossible for a long time to speak of protection, because our country had been left without power, without strength, without resources, and without the capi-

tal necessary for its proper development; and it was natural that England in her turn sought to keep the colonies from developing their industries to her disadvantage. With that object a great number of Governors received private instructions urging them strongly to retard the too rapid growth of colonial industries. But when we became somewhat powerful and prosperous, England said to us, "now that you are strong enough, you can take care of yourselves." And when she did so the corollary was that we received the full right to arrange our own taxation. In 1859 the movement commenced for the readjustment of the tariff on a protection basis. This wise step in the right direction was abandoned, as the hon. member for Terrebonne so clearly explained, in 1867, at the period of Confederation, to please the Maritime Provinces.

Permit me, at this point, to say to these friends from the Maritime Provinces that no Province in the Confederation was so liberal and so generous to them as Quebec on the occasion of the agitation for better terms. Everybody will remember what passed, and what violent opposition—the word is Parliamentary as well as correct—was raised to that proposition by the Reform party, led by the hon. gentleman who now leads the Government, and this opposition was so strong and so factious that better terms could not have been voted if it had not been for the majority given by the Province of Quebec.

This action kept our good friends in the Lower Provinces from preventing the consolidation of Confederation, originated by our great statesman. We do not ask for thanks in politics, for our own interests rather than friendly sentiments govern our political actions. The gentlemen of Upper Canada stated at the time with regard to the efforts of the then Opposition:—"You believe you have done a great thing with reference to better terms, but you have placed Confederation on the verge of revolution. The French Canadian peasants have exhibited enough intelligence to save the country even at the expense of an augmentation of their taxation." This is what a distinguished gentleman, whom I could name, says. I will not, however, refer to him by name, as he has retired from political

life. Some speakers who have preceded me, cite the examples of France and England, but the prosperity of one has been ascribed to protection, and of the other to free-trade. This is exactly what I said a few minutes ago—in this Dominion, which is altogether under peculiar circumstances, which have nothing in common with these other great countries, these theories do not apply; gentlemen come into this House filled with the doctrines and principles in vogue in older countries, and which are not at all suited to our own. I say more, the science of free trade is altogether erroneous, and this system cannot by any means be universally applied with benefit. I heard the other day the hon. member for Montreal West tell us that protection in this country commenced in 1847-48, but the hon. member was quite astray there. This country has almost always had the advantage of enormous protection in favour of our agriculturists, due to the policy of England. Lower Canada at that time exported and sold grain at very high prices, and the French Canadian attained a greater degree of prosperity in proportion to the population than they now possess. What occurred later? The repeal of the Corn Laws. With the construction of great public works we received grain at Montreal from the Great West, and since we constructed our canals, notably the first, Chambly, grain was exported to the United States at great profit. Still later we had the benefits of the protection system, so that I can say that it was almost constant. We have had illustrations drawn from the state of things in England and France, and it is alleged that the nations have enriched themselves and reached the high degree of prosperity which they at present enjoy by means of free-trade. On the contrary, before they adopted free-trade principles, they had a system of protection to the extent, in certain particulars, not only of 20, 30 or 50 but even 100 per cent. France has made enormous sacrifices in order to protect her industries. They talk of the treaty of 1860 as having been a great step on the part of France towards free-trade, but the hon. gentlemen who make those statements are completely in error, for there is a list of products on which duties averaging 25 per cent. are levied

and another list averging 30 per cent. Under the operation of this system the progress made has been so favourable that a large number of articles of steel which they had hitherto imported from England are now manufactured in France and exported to England. So it is with regard to the same kind of industry in the United States at this day. They said, "we have coal and iron ore, as we have in this country—and consequently why should we not establish among ourselves steel and iron industries to as great an extent as in England?" What has been the result. Within a few months the system perfectly succeeded, and they not only make their own iron and steel in enormous quantities, by imposing heavy duties against foreign manufactures, but they compete with England successfully in her own market. The hon. members have cited the opinions of many political economists, but there is a gentleman who now occupies a distinguished position in this connection. The gentleman I refer to is Mons. Thiers, who drew France from the frightful disasters into which Napoleon plunged her. Under M. Thiers France paid off six millions of her indemnity in two years. What does the great statesman say in this regard? Here is his statement:

"I understand that hesitation is shown respecting the development of certain industries in the country; but what I do not comprehend is that when they are developed, they let them perish.

"We are told that we wish an industry *en serre chaude*. Which are the nations that have endeavoured to develop their labouring interests? They are free and intelligent peoples.

"When a foreigner brings them a product they seek to imitate it; and nations which lack this desire are the indolent peoples of the East. Intelligent and free nations strive to appropriate to themselves the products which foreigners bring into their territories."

The example of England is constantly cited. This is the example which this great and intelligent nation has given us: During the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries the Brabancons possessed fine woollen industries. England, which received these said, as soon as she woke up to her position: "With my wool these goods are made. I have the labour, the intelligence and the raw material, and this is foreign labour which is supplying my wants." She

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accordingly kept her wools, established her own manufactures, and then began the great prosperity of England. Is that barbarism? Did England soon abandon this system? Only a few years ago, merely for the purpose of securing flourishing linen industries, did she not adopt protective tariffs, forbid the exportation of the machinery, and give premiums to the Irish peasants, in order to encourage the cultivation of flax? History shows that not America alone has adopted tariffs in order to develop native industries; but English colonies, Canada and Australia, have had recourse to the most vigorous protective policy against even their mother country, in order to establish their industries on a firm basis. India herself, with a colony of 500,000 Englishmen settled on her territory, has framed tariffs to encourage manufactures; and Mr. Wentworth Dilke repeats, in connection with this fact, the words which Western America pronounces with pride: "An agricultural should become a manufacturing people. Something else is necessary—beside the flourishing seaports of New York and Boston, the prosperous interior cities of Cincinnati and Chicago; and to obtain these, it is necessary through a protective system to exclude foreign products." And, nevertheless, Mr. Wentworth Dilke is a Free-Trader in England, for he understands that what is suitable for one country is not suitable for all; and that free-trade is not the law of the world.

SPEECH BY MR. C. C. COLBY, M. P.

Protection from the Farmers Standpoint.

Mr. COLBY said he desired to express what he believed to be the sentiment of the farmers on this subject. It was very properly stated by the hon. member for Glengarry that agriculture was the paramount and predominating interest in the country, all others being largely subsidiary to that absorbing interest, and that any fiscal policy not in the interests of agriculture ought not to commend itself to the favour of the public men of this country. His hon. friend from Grenville, Brouse, a few days since had called the attention of the House to the

large quantity of Canadian agricultural produce that was exported to the United States. That gentleman's opportunity for observation was very good, living, as he did, at a most important shipping port. He regretted the hon. gentleman did not prosecute his inquiry further, so that he could have explained to the House the cause, in his judgment, of that large exportation.

Why was it that New England and New York absorbed so largely the agricultural products of the States which composed New England and of the West, as well as the surplus products of this country before and during the period of reciprocity and now? The answer was quite obvious—they possessed a large consuming industrial population. How did this happen—was it a mere matter of accident? He affirmed—and moment's reflection would convince every hon. member, and every thinking man in Canada—that it was the result of a long and deliberate policy on the part of the very able and sagacious public men who had controlled their interests for many years. Long ago, Daniel Webster, in the Senate of the United States, announced the policy of protection for manufactures and agricultural products, for woollen fabrics and wool, and from that day until the time when Justin Morrill initiated the iron-clad Morrill tariff, New England did not want able, far-seeing and sagacious men who had a proper appreciation of New England's true interests to advocate the same policy. We saw the results; they prospered under this policy. In New England they were quite incapable of producing like the Western and Southern States, large quantities of wheat, cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, &c., for export. The farmers raised a class of products which must be consumed within the country itself; there was no market abroad for their coarse grains, beef, and the produce of their pastures and meadows. These statesmen accordingly saw that a home market must be created, and deliberately set themselves to work to make it. The results were as brilliant as they had wisely anticipated; they succeeded; a home market was created; the agriculturists prospered; great industries were built up, enormous capital being accumulated was sent into the South and West to construct railways, and stimulate

industries; and all this was the effect of a system arranged with reference to the peculiar conditions of that section of the United States localities. Was it not well that our public men should consider these facts? How did this protective policy affect the New England agriculturalists? It was notably true that in their manufacturing towns and cities their farm produce sold at higher rates than were obtained in any other part of the continent; and did they pay higher for what they purchased than others have done?

Hon. Gentlemen—Yes.

Mr. COLBY—Hon. gentlemen said yes, if so, notwithstanding all their domestic taxes and our 17½ per cent. duty, how could they ship so large a quantity of their manufactured products to Canada? It was a matter susceptible of the most exact verification that the New England farmer sold at higher and bought at lower rates than the agriculturalists of any other portion of America. If such a policy followed by such results had proved to be good for that section, why could it not also apply to the agricultural districts of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Eastern Ontario, which were merely the northward extension of New England and New York. Here were to be found the same conditions of soil and climate, and the same products, the same facilities for success in manufacturing enterprises, and the same magnificent water-powers. He did not speak for the producers of the South or West, or even for the wheat-growers of Ontario, but for the districts mentioned, whose staples were fitted for domestic consumption and not export. This was the special idea with which Quebec entered into Confederation, having fine water-powers, mines, lumbering and a people tractable and easily taught industrial pursuits. She foresaw that when our Great North-West was settled, she would occupy in the Dominion a position similar to that which New England holds in the United States. We could not force any industry, whether agricultural or manufacturing, which was not congenial for us; they in Quebec, in the Lower Provinces and in Eastern Ontario, could not become a wheat-exporting people; why not then work concurrently with nature? We should adapt our policy to the country;

if we departed from such a course, we would do violence to nature, and in lieu of aiding and further developing the prosperity of our country, we would retard its progress, and do our people injury. He attached very great significance to this point, and he invited particular attention to its consideration: Suppose that all the industries of New England and New York were to-day blotted out of existence, to be at no future period revived, and that the manufacturing centre instead of being located on the sea-board, was removed to the valley of the Mississippi, he asked, what could be the hope and the prospect of the eastern part of this continent as an agricultural country?

What could we raise of produce that we could send to any market of the world to feed a population remote from us? The very supposition of the case shows to any person who will give it a moment's consideration that if agriculture can be made profitable on the east side of this continent, pursued against the disadvantages of climate, it can only be made possible and profitable by having a large consuming population in our midst to use the products of the country. He did not speak in favour of extreme protection, but he believed that if a policy of moderate protection would do for us what has been accomplished in New England where protection has been the rule for many years, the day of its adoption would be the best day for the farmers they ever saw. But it might be said we cannot become a New England; there is not sufficient market for our manufacturers. Well, there was very little market for New England manufactures before that policy was instituted. Give us our own market and that is a starting point; but are there no markets abroad? Why should not we compete with the world in the West Indies and other non-manufacturing countries? The world is open to us; there are millions of people to be clothed and supplied with the products of industry. Is there any reason why we should not reap the harvest? It is an ambition which should be encouraged.

AGRICULTURAL PROTECTION.

He had been very much surprised to be from certain high and influential quarters in the House a sneer thrown at who ever seemed to suggest anything

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in the direction of giving protection to the farmers of this country. That had been the case from the time that a certain hon. member proposed a committee to consider the condition of the agricultural interests down to this part of the debate. Ho (Mr. Colby) very well recollected that the first time he addressed the Parliament of this country in 1868, it was on a subject which concerned the farmers of this country. On that occasion he had asked for a certain degree of protection to the farmers, a duty upon hops. He had urged the matter with great zeal, and made use of the expression so often quoted in this debate, "reciprocity in tariffs if we cannot have free trade." After considerable effort the Government of the day conceded the point; and he knew the course he had pursued met with the hearty approval not only of his own constituents but also of the farmers in adjoining counties and elsewhere, and that many had derived great benefit thereby. They were very grateful indeed for the protection which had been given them, not only to himself personally but to the Government which conceded it. The hon. member for Grenville the other night asserted that only three sheep had been imported into Ontario last year. On referring to the blue book and looking over the tables of imports and exports of farming products not the produce of Canada, he found the following figures:—

Total Quantity Imported.	Value.
Butter	\$ 49,050
Cheese	20,159
Lard and Tallow	357,700
Meats	1,940,494
Malt	23,690
Cider	7,435
Horses	59,202
Horned Cattle	105,605
Swine	813,153
Sheep	18,677
Fruits (green)	301,838
Hay, Straw and Bran	20,168
Seeds	164,698
Vegetables	89,382
Trees, Plants and Shrubs	125,040
Flax, hemp and tow (undressed)	367,893
Flax Seed	10,534
Grain, other than Wheat and Corn	191,215
Flour and Meal, not Wheat and Rye	620,171
Wool	1,375,484
	<u>\$6,603,588</u>

This did not include flour of wheat and

rye, Indian corn or wheat. And how much of the same products did he find exported from Canada, not the growth and produce of this country? The following were the figures:—

Bacon	\$175,160
Beef	18,915
Butter	12,803
Cheese	26,756
Fruit s	10,481
Horses	1,300
Meats	126,434
Peas	24,536
Pork	51,022
Vegetables	498
Lard	452,904
Tallow	145,979
"	25,202
	<u>\$624,085</u>

Mr. YOUNG—Oh, no!

Mr. COLBY said if the figures in the Blue Book were incorrect it was not his fault. It they were correct, they showed that we imported for consumption in this country something like \$5,000,000 of farm products. If it were true that our neighbours who, as a deliberate policy, excluded us from their markets, sent in here untaxed this large amount, or anything like it, a *wrong was done to the farmers of Canada, and this question should not be sneered out of the House or trifled with.*

But he would go further and say, even if there were at present no large amount of imports from the United States for consumption in this country, the time has now arrived when a policy should be laid down in the interest of our farmers. Competition with our agriculturalists in our own markets is imminent from the great producing regions of the West. If it is not on us to-day, it is coming, and very shortly. Let any one travel through the great States of the West and North-West, as he had done during the last two or three years, and see their boundless capacity for production, and he would be convinced of it. Our Ontario and Quebec farmers are woolgrowers to-day, but how long will they be wool sellers without protection? The time is not far distant when wool from Texas, Colorado and those immense agricultural regions will be coming into our markets and underselling the wool produced in Canada.

It was a simple question whether our farmers were to be driven from the

agricultural industry of wool raising, or whether we should adopt the policy of excluding American wools, except upon the payment of a high rate of duty. The multitudes of sheep which were now being raised upon the immenso plains of Texas and Colorado, would stock our mills to the exclusion of our own wool, unless they were hindered. It was calculated that wool could be produced there at the rate of from 10 cents to 12½ cents per pound. With the advantage of these immense feeding grounds, where there was ample pasturage, and a climate of such a character that sheep required no shelter, how long could we compete with western wool. If it was not to-day, it would be only a year or two years, when, if our farmers wanted the benefit of selling their own wool in their own markets, we must make our American friends pay tribute on all that they send to our markets. Some hon. gentlemen, on speaking of the wool trade of the past, said that low prices would not affect us at all, as our long combing wools were a specialty, not grown to any extent in the United States; but he begged to assure his hon. friends from Ontario, that the Ontario long wool business was a matter of short duration, for, to his own knowledge, that thing was as well understood on the other side of the line as it was here to-day, and there were sections on the American side where they were going very largely into this long wool raising. This business would increase, so that in two or three years further, the Americans would not take even combing wool from Canada, on the terms of paying a high duty on it. The Americans were a shrewd, observant people, and when they saw that a certain class of wool was required by the manufacturers in that country they were quick enough to perceive that there was no natural obstacle in the way of the raising of that product in the Northern States, and that it was better to raise wool that would fetch 50 cents per pound, than wool that would only bring 25 cents per pound. They were now paying attention to the breeding of Costwolds, Leicesters, and long-woolled sheep in the United States, for the purpose of preventing the Ontario wool grower from coming into their markets with their combing wools. It was so with

other products. Gentlemen from Ontario congratulated themselves on the high prices they were receiving for their dairy products; but he would say to gentlemen interested in these dairy products, that the great North-West has also found out the fact, that butter and cheese can be profitably exported to Liverpool as well as grain; and in his last visit to the West, he was surprised to find cheese factories springing up in localities where, a few years ago, that industry was unthought of. Look at the facilities that had of late years been effected in railroad transportation for agricultural produce, and the reduced rates which had been obtained by organized farmers, or grangers, in the United States, and consider how long would it be before Texas and Kansas beaves were brought down by rail to the Toronto and Montreal markets, to undersell our native cattle unless we were prepared to meet them with some obstruction on the frontier? Our true policy was to foster our agricultural industries, and build up a home market where we can sell these articles which could not bear transportation to a foreign market, and such as we cannot profitably produce for export; a local market where we could sell our vegetables, fruits, coarse grains, poultry and eggs, our butter, beef, cheese and wool, at higher prices than anywhere else. He would say, in conclusion, that it would be well for us to take a leaf from the New England book. If it was sound policy in them to build up home markets, the same policy might be good for us. He would remind the House that great industries could not be built up in a moment. We could not build up great industries or successful manufactures any more than the farmers of the country could change the staple productions of their farms in a day. It was the duty, then, of every member of this house to exercise prudent forethought, and endeavour to inaugurate such a policy, before the evil day was upon us, as would protect us from impending danger, and build us up as an agricultural and manufacturing people. He was surprised on listening to some of the remarks from the members from the Maritime Provinces. One would suppose that these gentlemen were all shipowners, or interested in the ship-

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ping trade; that there were no agricultural, mining, or manufacturing industries in the Provinces they represent. He had been under the impression that there were some mining resources and some farmers in the Lower Provinces, but one would suppose from speeches made that they were the last places in the world which would be benefited by a large industrial and mining population. There was an incalculable treasure locked up in our mines, and he thought it was the duty of the Government who had charge of the destinies of Canada, to encourage its development. We wanted a vigorous policy, we wanted a positive policy, an objective policy, a national policy, the tendency of which would be to unlock the wealth of our mines, stimulate our industries, develop our resources, and defend us from unfair and injurious foreign competition.

SPEECH BY HON. C. TUPPER.

Hon. C. TUPPER, after a few preliminary remarks, said that the hon. gentleman who told the House yesterday that the honour, prosperity and future of Canada depended upon giving him supplies that would avert a deficit, now sat stolidly by and allowed the Government to succumb to the influences which had been brought to bear upon them at the eleventh hour—permitted this enormous deficit to strike down and ruin the credit of the country. What did the hon. gentleman say in a speech that he (Mr. Tupper) held in his hands. That we would have had a deficit; that our credit would have been practically broken; that we would have had a repetition of the disgraceful condition in which this country found itself during the year 1866, when Canadian five per cents were quoted on the London market at 75 or 76 cents on the dollar; and the Canadian Minister of Finance, standing in his place, was obliged to rise and tell the House that he was unable to borrow money in London on the credit of Canada at eight per cent.

Did the hon. gentleman wish to restore this state of things, and put Canada in the position he had indicated. The hon. gentleman had told the House

that if he was not given three millions, when he did not need a dollar, such would have been the result; and yet the hon. gentleman, when by his own showing a four millions deficit would exist on the 1st of next July, was prepared to hold on to office and abandon the settled policy of the country, going back on the pledge given by the first Minister of the Crown, throwing away his own public character and disregarding the declarations made to the people of Canada at the bidding of gentleman who said that they would not consent to any addition to the tariff. He was informed that the hon. gentleman's tariff resolutions were printed; so far was he from not having—as the hon. gentleman had intimated on the previous night—even considered the representations made by the different sections of the country.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I beg to tell the hon. gentleman that whoever told him so, stated a wilful and deliberate falsehood.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER replied that under these circumstances he was obliged to accept this averment; but he would add that he had reason to believe that his statement was correct. Nevertheless, if it were not they ought to have been printed—if good faith had been kept between the First Minister and the Canadian people, and between them and the Finance Minister, who had pledged his reputation as a man that no deficit should exist, because it was so utterly disastrous and ruinous to a country in the condition of Canada. One of the hon. members from Prince Edward Island—Kings County, he believed,—took credit for the pressure he and his friends had brought to bear on the Finance Minister at the last hour. What did he find in a paper of Charlottetown, which was the organ of the Minister of the Interior? A telegram; and if the hon. gentleman wished to see the authority for the belief the people entertained in this regard he should look at the journal, the property of one of his own colleagues. And this telegram sent from Ottawa declared that the Finance Minister desired to meet the deficit by the imposition of new duties, but that the Government had been pressed by a deputation from the Maritime Provinces which expressed its hostility to any such measure. The hon. gentleman had inserted in the gracious

Speech from the Throne the statement that the depression of trade was such as to require the attention of the House, and they had prepared a policy which was consistent with their pledges, but at the eleventh hour, this has been abandoned, and all they offered to the country was a protective policy with regard to the Treasury Benches alone. He had said that any person in favor of a Reciprocity Treaty must expect to obtain it by one means alone, and that would be by adopting the policy he years ago had advocated, when he was met by the same declaration that he had heard during this debate. As a Canadian he could not listen to them without a blush, and he had no hesitation in saying that no man in Canada should hear without shame the assertion that our position was so utterly humiliating and at the mercy of the United States, that we dare not follow a policy which we considered to be in our interests. A Canadian who did not blush for such an admission, was unworthy of the free institutions which we enjoyed. He was proud to be a Canadian, but this pride would become abject humility, if we were obliged to accept the policy of self-abasement, the Ministerialists proclaimed to the world had to be followed, and if we could not adopt the fiscal system we believed the interests of Canada required at our hands; if we were forced to abase ourselves at the feet of our neighbors, and if they could dictate on what terms trade could be carried on between the two countries. He would not go into the question of slaughter markets; but the facts were known. While the products of Canada were met by a hostile and prohibitive tariff, we occupied a position which enabled the Americans to come in, destroy, and cripple, and break down all our industries. The hon. gentleman told us to be careful about what we did, and to speak with bated breath lest these great neighbors of ours might hear us, and sacrifice and destroy our interests.

Canada possessed the rights and privileges of a free country, and her Parliament could legislate in her own behalf, irrespective of the dictation of her neighbors. We were bound to deal with these questions in a true and national spirit of national policy. He had advocated these views previously; and one of the ablest members in the House at

the time controverted them, enunciating the same doctrines to which he had just previously listened with such pain and dissatisfaction. But what were the opinions which that gentleman to-day held? He referred to Sir Alexander T. Galt, who, as everybody knew had been foremost in propounding the principle that the true policy of Canada was not to excite by retaliatory measures, and the adoption of a hostile tariff, any ill-feeling on the other side—that all difficulties should be smoothed away, and all made serene, in order to bring about reciprocal trade in this way; and what was his position to-day? After six years of patient waiting for the success of his own plan, he had adopted the views he (Mr. Tupper) had advocated in their entirety. That gentleman was now satisfied that the only true policy for Canada was to legislate, as far as regarded the United States, in the same selfish spirit in which they legislated with reference to us; and that in this manner, and in this manner alone, could we hope to attain any great future for this Canada of ours.

What had the hon. gentleman who had just sat down told the House?—that 600,000 tons of coal had come into Canada during the past year without the imposition upon it of a farthing of duty; and why should not this article pay duty as well as the clothing we wore, or any other article of consumption? Canada possessed the most magnificent coal mines on this continent; and why was it that our mining interests should not be included in this resolution as one of the most struggling industries to be found at present in Canada? The hon. member for Bothwell had revealed the secret; while this interest, in which twelve millions of capital were invested, was stagnant and paralyzed, and while the deepest suffering in consequence prevailed, what were we doing? Receiving with open arms from the United States, which excluded our products by a duty of 75 cents per ton, coal to the extent of 600,000 tons, on which not a farthing of duty was paid. Would a contra-impost be a sectional tax? The Finance Minister knew that in his own tariff he had proposed a tax of \$1 per ton on ships, but because he was unable to carry it he reduced it to twenty cents. He (Mr. Tupper) could point to a pro-

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duct in Ontario on which 150 per cent. was paid by the people of the Maritime Provinces—the article was petroleum.

Hon. Mr. CARTWRIGHT—I did not put a tax on it.

Hon. Mr. TUPPER enquired whether a tariff carried through the House by the hon. gentleman was his own or not. The hon. gentleman had undertaken to change and remodel it, and therefore he was responsible for it. 150 per cent. was levied on petroleum, an article which was the exclusive product of Ontario—

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE—No! No!

Hon. Mr. TUPPER stated that the duty on Petroleum was fifteen cents per gallon, and the hon. gentleman was aware that it was produced in the United States for something like ten cents per gallon. The people of Ontario did not pay the duty because it was obtained in their midst, but it was more convenient for the Lower Provinces to import it from the United States. He did not say that this course was politic or impolitic, but it did not answer for gentlemen who maintained such a tariff to say that, when coal was produced in Nova Scotia, the people of this Dominion must buy it from a foreign country to the extent of 600,000 tons without paying a farthing of duty.

Could the hon. gentleman give him any reason why this was not a legitimate article of taxation the same as anything else in this country? At any rate he was ready to accept a duty on flour for this reason. If we were ever to follow the example of the United States, who had built up by her commercial policy a great internal trade, we must adopt a similar policy. It would be wise even to subsidize a line of steamers to carry coal and other products from Nova Scotia to Ontario, and transport flour and other products in return. While it would yield some revenue it would stimulate interprovincial trade. Such a policy would be worthy of this country and its people.

Hon. gentlemen who claimed credit for having formed this policy, admitted that protective duties build up great cities, but they complain that it takes the population from the country. They say, "sweep away the large cities of Canada and the country will be as good as ever." The man who believed the

great commercial centres of the Dominion could be swept away without spreading devastation throughout the country had yet to learn the alphabet of the progress of nations. He pitied the man who could look at Montreal or Toronto without feeling they were places of which Canadians might justly be proud. The Finance Minister seemed to deplore the fact that any man could be induced to do anything except remain at the tail of the plough. The hon. gentleman seemed to think these great centres of wealth, refinement, talent and education, were not worthy of a moment's consideration. Canada was in this position—her industries were inseparably interwoven with each other, and he defied anyone to injure one without injuring the whole.

The policy of the late Government when they found they had more money than they required, was to make tea and coffee free, but left the protective duties unchanged, which was the true policy. He was prepared to go to the fishing hamlets of the Maritime Provinces and submit to them if they were not prepared, for the sake of getting tea and coffee free of duty, and their own industry fostered to pay something on flour. It was a disgrace to this country that we did not furnish flour to all the people of the Lower Provinces from the granaries of Ontario.

He had the pleasure of finding that the doctrines he had propounded six years ago, and which met with such hostility from the most experienced public men in this country, were now endorsed in all their entirety. The hon. member for Halifax said such a policy would alienate England, but it would be perfectly right and just for Canada to discriminate in favour of the mother country. Our products instead of being met by a hostile tariff were received freely and it would be wise and fair and would be attended with the best results to promote intercourse between the two countries.

He contended that the true policy of this country was to offer inducements to capitalists to invest their money in the Dominion, that industries might be built up in our midst. For want of such a policy one great interest had been driven out of this country, carrying all its capital with it to New York. We were losing capital, and we were losing what

was more valuable—men. We were spending our money freely in bringing immigrants to settle here, but the want of manufacturing industries had driven a quarter of million of people from Lower Canada across the border, and no doubt they had increased to half a million by this time.

He asked whether the statement of Mr. Howland, that 400,000 men from the western section of this country were now to be found scattered over the western and middle States of the neighbouring republic, was not worthy of consideration. A policy that would repatriate our country with these loyal and enterprising men, was a policy that Canada must adopt if she wished to do anything but hold a stationary position or to retrograde from her former prosperity.

The late Government had adopted a tariff that was as high as was necessary in the condition of the country at that time, to raise the revenue that was required. When reductions were made it was by taking the duty off tea and coffee, and placing on the free list articles which were required by our manufacturers as raw material. The 2½ per cent. increase for which hon. gentleman opposite claimed credit was not commensurate with the change in the labour market of this continent. While they apparently gave protection with one hand, they swept it away with the other, by taking out of the free list articles required in our manufactures, and that accounted to a great extent for the changed condition of our manufacturing industries.

The Finance Minister claimed credit for pursuing a policy of retrenchment, and asserted that it caused umbrage. Any gentleman who could take umbrage at the retrenchment policy of the Government was very sensitive. What was this retrenchment policy the Hon. Minister of Finance had brought forth? At all events he had pleaded in extenuation that it is a very little one! The hon. member for South Ontario almost shed tears of gratitude over him for having reduced the militia expenditure nearly \$400,000 but instead of reduction, the fact was the House was asked to vote in reality more than the late Government had expended in 1873-4. Was that the kind of economy that should meet

with an overflow of gratitude! He would ask him if he had not a little gratitude for the Government that really expended less on that service in 1873-74 than he had asked the House to vote on the same service. It was an insult to the House for the Government to claim credit for retrenchment or economy. They asked the House to vote \$5,483,684 more for the expenditure of 1874-75 than had been expended in 1873-74. They made a pretence of economy by asking the House to vote \$3,000,00 they did not require, and finding they could not spend the money they ask for less now, and call it economy. The late Government spent during the last fiscal year they were in power \$19,174,641, while the expenditure of the present Government last year was \$23,713,071, which was \$4,438,430 more than the expenditure of the late Government during 1872-73. The estimates for the coming year are \$3,708,172 more than the expenditure for 1873-74. Hon. gentlemen opposite would have to find some other grounds than those of pretended economy and retrenchment to sustain them. If the industries of this country were to be given fair play, an entirely different policy would have to be adopted with regard to Manitoba and British Columbia. They were most deeply interested in the policy propounded in the resolution. The large deficit which would exist by July would strike a fatal blow at the credit of Canada, and put the country in a condition which, according to the Finance Minister, would prevent it from obtaining money for less than 8 per cent. No one would suppose that a railway from Lake Superior to Red River would be constructed by Canada with money borrowed at 8 per cent. interest. The hon. gentleman by allowing a great deficit to stare the country in the face would effectually strike down the credit of the country. The hon. member for South Ontario says we are wasting time—that we cannot expect to change the majority of sixty-four sustaining the Government. In agitating this question then they were appealing to the country and not to the members of the House, who regarded the interests of the people as subservient to party. It is true the hon. gentleman might have majority of sixty-four with which to vote them down, but they

could not forget that that majority, two years ago, was more than one hundred Let his hon. friend, the First Minister, look across the House at the seat occupied by the member for North Victoria and he would find where he had an able and intelligent friend and supporter sitting one short year ago, sat to-day an able and intelligent opponent of the Government. Let him cast his eye on the county of Berthier, and he would observe that where one short year ago he could elect a representative in the Ministerial interest by acclamation, an able and intelligent representative of the people of the county, in opposition to the Administration, had been returned by a majority of 270. Let him glance at the County of South Norfolk. He (Mr. Tupper) did not wish to hurt the hon. gentleman's feelings, by reminding him of strenuous efforts he had made to defeat the present representative of this constituency, and he would simply say this—that in this, one of the finest agricultural counties in the whole of this great Province of Ontario, which had by a majority of 90, two years ago sent a member to sustain the Government, had recently reversed its policy, and by a majority of 158 elected one of the most pronounced opponents the Administration had on that side of the House. Let the First Minister turn his attention to Two Mountains, and he would find that where he had a member elected by acclamation two years ago, one short year ago his candidate was defeated by a majority of 127. The hon. gentleman who now filled this seat had been bitterly assailed in the House, and taken at a disadvantage; but was he returned by a paltry majority? No,—but through the united support of every man of every stripe of politics in the country. He (Mr. Tupper) knew nothing of the matter to which allusion had been made in the House; but if the hon. gentleman require a character, this election by acclamation, under such circumstances, was sufficient for the purpose. Again, in the city of London a majority of 61 in favor of the Government had at the first opportunity, after a fair and generous trial had been given the Administration, but turned into a majority of 123 against them. Then if the First Minister went to Bellechase, where he had a majority of 581

two years ago, he would see that a majority of 255 had been recently registered against him. In South Huron a majority of 84 of two years ago had dwindled into insignificance, and a gentleman who had for many years borne the banner of Conservatism in the county and fought in the Conservative interests, had not only rescued it out of the hands of his opponents, but come to the House elected by acclamation. In Chambly County, a majority of 104 in favor of the Government two years ago, had been turned in favor of his hon. friend behind him, this county's able representative, to 150 against it; in East Toronto 130 of a majority for a supporter of the Government, on the earliest occasion which represented itself, had been changed to a majority of 414 against it. In Dorchester, where, after an extremely violent contest two years ago, his hon. friend behind him had been returned by a poor 21, this hon. gentleman had recently been borne back triumphantly into the halls of the Legislature by a majority which was swelled to 466. In West Toronto a majority of 240 two years ago in favor of the Administration had been turned to a majority of 352 against it; in Charlevoix, a strong hold of the Government, which was supposed to be a Ministerial close-pocket borough, the candidate who had 276 of a majority only two years ago, had been defeated by his former able colleague, now at his side, the Opposition Candidate, with the handsome majority of 211. He (Mr. Tupper) would say as little of North Renfrew as possible. Although it was carried by the Opposition candidate, his hon. friend had had his revenge. He (Mr. Tupper) had been there pitted against a gentleman whose physique was so incomparably greater than his own, weak as the hon. gentleman's cause was, that he had never recovered from the result of that three day's duel; and in this county a majority of 48 for the Government of the day a year ago had been turned into a majority of 242 for the present member.

SPEECH BY MR. J. B. PLUMB, M.P.

Mr. PLUMB was surprised to hear an hon. gentleman opposite say there was no use in discussing this question any longer—that there was such a large ma-

majority against the amendment that no arguments would have any effect in changing their votes. Now, if the only fact brought out in this debate had been the discovery that we import so largely of farm products from the United States, it was worth while to continue it and to discuss the advisability of taxing such imports. He had voted for the resolution of the hon. member for Montreal West, but he saw it did not go far enough and he was glad that another had been brought in which recognized other interests. One argument against this resolution was that those who supported it sought to persuade members of this House to impose a high tariff. He had never heard anyone argue in favour of such a policy. Some hon. gentlemen had spoken in favour of a retaliatory tariff; but he did not think there were ready for that. What had been contended for was a recast of the present tariff that it might be so regulated as to give the greatest benefit to home industries, and that the anomalies, in regard to taxing raw material, might be corrected. Nobody denied the fact that our manufacturing and mining interests are depressed, and if it was possible to assist them it should be done. He denied there was any insincerity on the part of those who supported this amendment. They would prove their good faith by their votes. It had also been said that so small a portion of the community was engaged in manufacturing, and so large a part of the population would suffer from a protective policy, that it should not be adopted; but it must be remembered that what affects any considerable class must affect the whole people. Hon. gentlemen opposite had asserted that those who suffered for want of protection should read certain authorities on free-trade. It was a strange way to pacify starving people to tell them to read free-trade literature. It was not the manufacturer himself who suffered; but his employes and their families who could not find work. This House had heard something of such distress, but he predicted they would hear more before next summer. The agricultural interest needed a protection which would give it a steady market not affected by the fluctuations of other markets. An eloquent gentleman on the other side of the House, who had made an excel-

lent Protectionist speech, drew the conclusion that he must vote against any measure for protection, because, he said, agriculture was the main-spring of our prosperity. He (Mr. Plumb) admitted that, and if anything could be done to aid the farming interest, everyone in this House ought to be ready to support such a measure. On the frontier, where he resided, they resided, they had for a long time access to the American markets. During the war in the United States all our products brought high prices there; now our neighbours are our competitors. They taxed our products in the following style:—Beef and pork, 1c. per lb.; hams and bacon, 2c. per lb.; cheese, 4c. per lb.; wheat, 20c. per bushel; butter, 4c. per lb.; lard, 2c. per lb.; rye and barley, 15c. per bushel; Indian corn, 10c. per bushel; oats, 10c. per bushel; rye flour, 10 per cent.; potatoes, 15c. per bushel; vegetables, 10 per cent. *ad valorem*; flour, 20 per cent. It had been said by the hon. member for South Ontario that protection would injure our millers. That need not be the case if grain to be manufactured into flour by them be admitted in bond, and that they did not think so would be seen by the following petition:

"The Petition of the Dominion Millers Association.

"Humbly Sheweth:

"That your petitioners, in the interest of the millers of Canada, numbering upwards of twelve hundred persons, having in the aggregate thirteen millions of dollars invested in the manufacture of flour in the Dominion of Canada, submit:

"That the interests of your petitioners, and the prosperity of the agriculturists, and of those engaged in the manufacture and export of the agricultural produce of Canada, are greatly prejudiced and injured by the marked inequality between the terms upon which cereal products are permitted to be imported into the United States from Canada, and those on which similar products are admitted into Canada from the United States; and your petitioners humbly submit that the free admission into the Dominion of grain and flour from the United States, while heavy discriminating duties are levied by the latter country upon similar products coming from Canada, is an injustice to the farmers and millers of this country.

"And your petitioners further submit, that while the charges, trouble and delays involved in bonding grain and flour of Canadian growth or manufacture, form a grave impediment to trade therein between the inland and seaboard Provinces of the Dominion, in the absence of

any corresponding restriction on the importation into the latter Provinces of grain and flour grown or manufactured in the United States, a decided preference is created in favour of foreign over native produce, to the discouragement and diminution of inter-provincial trade, and consequently to the detriment of the political as well as of the commercial interests of the Dominion.

"And your petitioners therefore humbly pray that duties corresponding to those levied by the United States upon agricultural produce grown or manufactured in Canada, may be imposed upon similar imports from the United States, and that a drawback may be allowed upon the export of foreign grain when manufactured in Canada."

He thought that this was a sufficient answer to what had been stated by the hon. member for South Ontario with regard to the millers.

The Government had told us that they found no necessity for recasting the tariff. A very large balance was undoubtedly held to the credit of the Administration by Canadian banks, but this represented a debt—not a surplus. It had been borrowed for certain purposes, on certain pledges, and for those alone could it be expended. It was not intended to tide over difficulties and provide against deficits. He had been very sorry to observe in the economies of which they have heard so much—but which were only economies when compared with the profuse expenditure of the Government during last year and the year before—a reduction of \$400,000 in the estimates for the Militia Department. He was aware that the hon. member for South Ontario had extreme views on this subject, but he doubted greatly whether the majority of the people of Canada agreed with that hon. gentleman on this point. He could hardly believe that this hon. gentleman's arguments had induced the Government to make this reduction. The whole apparent retrenchment of which the Government boasted was simply reduction of expenditures for the current year as compared with the extravagance of the last and would prove to be no ultimate saving at all. They were told that so small a portion of the people were engaged in manufactures that it was unfair to tax the great portion of the community which constituted the remainder. He desired, however, to show that the manufacturing industries of the Dominion of Canada in 1871 were: Capital invested (cents omitted), \$77,964,020;

value of manufactures, \$221,617,773; wages paid, \$40,851,000; hands employed, 187,942. This shows that about 5½ per cent. of the population were engaged in manufactures, and allowing that the wages of each operator sustained three individuals on an average, it would appear that about fifteen per cent; of the whole population are depending upon manufacturers for the necessaries of life. Each operator produced on an average \$1,179, and received in wages for so doing \$212, or 18 per cent. of the production. The manufacturing class amounts to 44 per cent. of the agricultural class, or nearly one-half, and their wages for labour, \$40,851,000, would have purchased the total cereal products of the Dominion in 1871. The products of their labour may be estimated at 75 per cent. more. The value of raw material used was \$125,907,841, leaving \$65,709,927, for wages and profit. Now, if the manufacturing interest was in the prosperous condition it might be, there would be no necessity for four hundred thousand young Canadians seeking work and wages in the neighbouring Republic. Canada would have been in a very different position to-day if the native industries had been properly fostered. He believed that a small tax on bituminous coal would be a source of great advantage to Nova Scotia, inasmuch as it would enable that Province to supply Ontario, as far West as Toronto, with coal. What they wanted really was a national policy. He depreciated the Pacific Railway policy of the Government, asserting that if they had undertaken to build the road as was first intended, it would have given confidence to our population and have proved a great boon to the country by giving work to a large number of people, adding that a system of protection might have been adopted in connection with that policy, which enable the iron for the road to be furnished from Canadian mines. A great deal had been said about the prosperity a free-trade policy had conferred upon England, but he could not discover any analogy between the conditions of the two countries. England was in a very different situation when free-trade was adopted from that of Canada at the present time, and much of her sudden prosperity arose from the increase of railways. He was satisfied

that free-trade would be ruinous to the trade of this country.

The vote was then taken upon Sir John A. Macdonald's motion—with the following result:—

YEAS :

Messieurs

Baby,	McDonald (C. Breton),
Benoit,	McDougall (T. Rivers),
Blanchet,	McKay (Colchester),
Bowell,	Macmillan,
Bunster,	McCallum,
Cameron (Cardwell)	McGreevy,
Caron,	Masson,
Cimon,	Mitchell,
Colby,	Monteith,
Costigan,	Montplaisir,
Currier,	Mousseau,
Cuthbert,	Norris,
Daoust,	Orton,
De Cosmos,	Ouimet,
Desjardins,	Palmer,
Devlin,	Pinsonneault,
Dewdney,	Platt,
Donahue,	Plumb,
Dugas,	Pope,
Farrow,	Robinson,
Ferguson,	Robitaille,
Flesher,	Rochester,
Fraser,	Rouleau,
Gaudet,	Schultz,
Gill,	Short,
Haggart,	Stephenson,
Harwood,	Thompson (Cariboo)
Hurteau,	Tupper,
Irving,	Wallace (Norfolk)
Jones (Leeds)	White (Hastings)
Kirkpatrick,	White (Renfrew)
Langevin,	Wood,
Lanthier,	Workman,
Little,	Wright (Ottawa)
Macdonald (Cornwall)	Wright (Pontiac)—70

NAYS :

Messieurs

Appleby,	Jones, (Halifax)
Archibald,	Kerr,
Aylmer,	Killam,
Bain,	Kirk,
Barthe,	Laird,
Béchar,	Lajoie,
Bernier,	Landerkin,
Bertram,	Langlois,
Biggar,	Laurier,
Blackburn,	McDonnall (Inverness)

Blake,	Macdougall (Elgin)
Boden,	McDougall (Renfrew)
Borrou,	MacKay (Cape Breton)
Bourrosa,	MacKenzie,
Bowman,	McCraney,
Boyer,	McGregor,
Brouse,	McIntyre,
Buell,	McIsaac,
Burk,	McLeod,
Burpee, (St. John)	McNab,
Burpee, (Sunbury)	Metcalfe,
Cameron, (Ontario)	Mills,
Carmichael,	Moffat,
Cartwright,	Oliver,
Casey,	Paterson,
Casgrain,	Pelletier,
Cauchon,	Perry,
Cheval,	Pettes,
Christie,	Pickard,
Chureh,	Pouliot,
Coffin,	Power,
Cook,	Pozer,
Coupal,	Ray,
Cunningham,	Richard,
Davies,	Roscoe,
Dawson,	Ross (Durham)
Delorme,	Ross (Middlesex)
De St. Georges,	Ryan,
DeVeber,	Rymal,
Dymond,	Scatchard,
Ferris,	Seriver,
Fiset,	Shibley,
Fleming,	Sinclair,
Flynn,	Skinner,
Forbes,	Smith (Peel)
Fréchette,	Smith (Selkirk)
Galbraith,	Smith (Westmoreland)
Gibson,	Sinder,
Gillies,	Stirton,
Gillmour,	St. Jean,
Gordon,	Taschereau,
Goudge,	Thompson (Haldimand)
Greenway,	Thomson (Welland)
Hagar,	Tremain,
Hall,	Trow,
Higinbotham,	Vail,
Horton,	Yeo,
Huntington,	Young.—116.

The following gentlemen "paired," Sir John A. Macdonald having been called to Kingston, in consequence of a relative's serious illness.

YEAS :

Messieurs

Cameron (Victoria),
McQuade,
Brooks,
Brown,
MacDonald (Sir John).

NAYS :

Messieurs

Ross (Prince Edward),
Cockburn,
Wallace (Albert)
Lafamme,
Holton.

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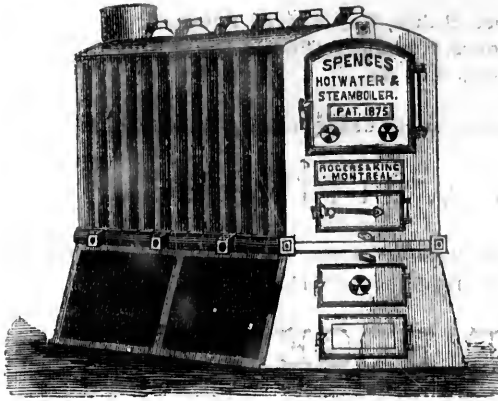
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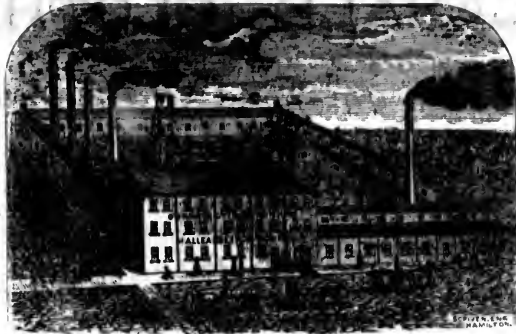
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THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE
PROMINENT WEEKLY JOURNALS IN ONTARIO.

NAME.	WHERE PUBLISHED.	COUNTY.
BRUCE HERALD.....	Walkerton.....	Bruce.
PLAINDEALER.....	Prescott.....	Grenville.
COURIER.....	Newmarket.....	York.
STANDARD.....	Dundas.....	Wentworth.
REPORTER.....	Cornwall.....	Cornwall.
TIMES.....	St. Thomas.....	Elgin.
PLANET, WEEKLY AND TRY-WEEKLY..	Chatham.....	Kent.
CANADIAN.....	Sarnia.....	Lambton.
DESPATCH.....	Strathroy.....	Middlesex.
COURIER.....	Morrisburg.....	Dundas.
TIMES.....	Woodstock.....	Oxford.
NEWS.....	Milton.....	Halton.
GAZETTE.....	Dunville.....	Monck.
BRITISH CANADIAN.....	Simcoe.....	Norfolk.
HERALD.....	Stratford.....	Perth.
ADVOCATE.....	Mitchell.....	"
STANDARD.....	Pembroke.....	Renfrew.
REPORTER.....	Galt.....	Waterloo.
GRAND RIVER SACHEM.....	Caledonia.....	Haldimand.
STANDARD.....	Napanee.....	Lennox.
TIMES.....	Windsor.....	Essex.
REVIEW.....	Kincardine.....	Bruce.
STAR.....	Goderich.....	Huron.
TIMES.....	Port Hope.....	Durham.
TRIBUNE.....	Ingersoll.....	Oxford.
PACKET.....	Orillia.....	N. Simcoe.
VICTORIA WARDER.....	Lindsay.....	Victoria.
SUN.....	Orangeville.....	Halton.
GAZETTE.....	Pictou.....	Prince Edward.
TELEGRAPH.....	Welland.....	Welland.
TIMES.....	Owen Sound.....	Grey.
COMET.....	".....	"
ENTERPRISE.....	Collingwood.....	Simcoe.
NORTHERN ADVOCATE.....	Barrie.....	"
CHRONICLE.....	Whitby.....	Ontario.
WEST DURHAM NEWS.....	Bowmanville.....	Durham.
VINDICATOR.....	Oshawa.....	Ontario.
TIMES.....	Windsor.....	Essex.
SENTINEL.....	Cobourg.....	Northumberland.
REVIEW.....	Peterboro'.....	Peterboro'
MONITOR.....	Brookville.....	Leeds.
ECHO.....	Amherstburg.....	Essex.
ARGUS.....	Otterville.....	Oxford.
CENTRAL CANADIAN.....	Carleton Place.....	Lanark.
EXPOSITOR.....	Perth.....	"
CONSERVATOR.....	Brampton.....	Peel.

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MAIL.....	Toronto.	COURIER.....	Brantford.
LEADER.....	"	HERALD.....	Guelph.
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HERALD.....	"	STAR.....	"
SPECTATOR.....	Hamilton.	HERALD.....	Halifax.
CITIZEN.....	Ottawa.	REPORTER.....	"
NEWS.....	Kingston.	JOURNAL.....	St. Catharines
INTELLIGENCER.....	Belleville.	REVIEW.....	" " "

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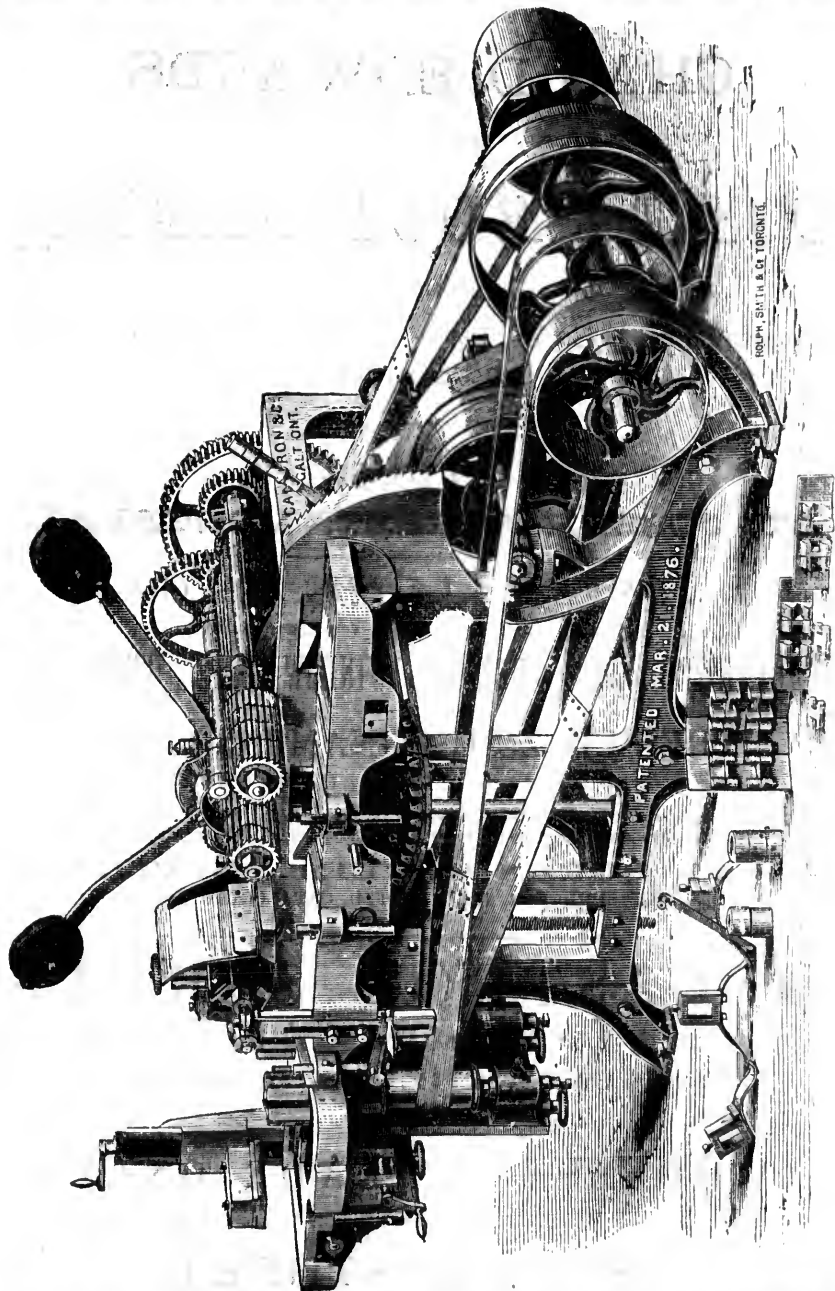
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