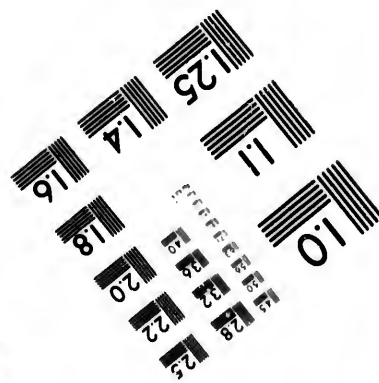
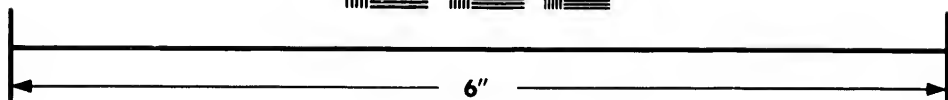
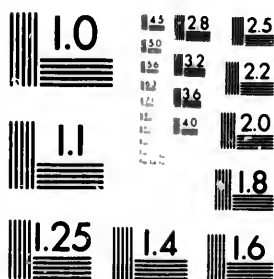


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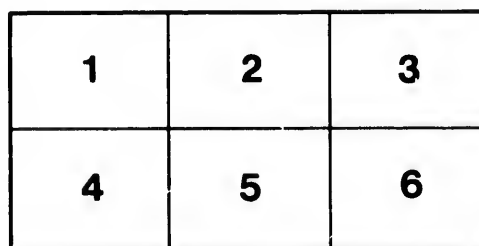
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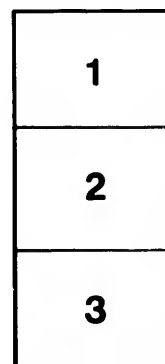
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*Supplement to "The Freeholder."*

# WORKINGMEN'S DEMONSTRATION

AT

Toronto, Thursday, May 30th, 1878.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. MR. MACKENZIE.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE, upon rising, was greeted with round after round of cheers. When they had ceased he said:

Mr. Chairman,—I am exceedingly obliged to yourself, to Mr. Lenox, and to the other gentlemen for the address which you have presented to me, and also for the remarks with which you, sir, have been kind enough to introduce me in stating the object for which this meeting was called. I assure you that I receive this token of the friendship and the political adherence of the workingmen of Toronto with greater pleasure than any event of my life has ever given me. (Cheers.) It has been represented that I failed in my duty as a member of the Administration in not giving effect to enactments which would have for their object the benefit of the workingman. Now, sir, I look upon this address, coming as it does from the workingmen, as emanating from the true source of political power, and as being a complete vindication of the Government in the course pursued in this country. (Cheers.) For whatever may be said by those who may be a step above the workingman in the social scale in this country, I hold it is the workingman who has made the country. It is the workingman who is to give the country power for the future, and to make it great in the eyes of the world. It is the workingman to whom we must all look, not merely for the fruits of mechanical pursuits common to cities and towns, but also for the cultivation of our fields, the clearing of our forests, the construction of our public works, and, in short, everything that gives character, power, and prosperity to a civilized country. I therefore feel all the greater pride in receiving this token of homage, not to myself, but to those principles of which I at present am only a representative, and I assure you that my colleagues in the Government, and my colleagues in public life in the Parliament of the country will abundantly appreciate the motives which have led the workingmen of this city to adopt this method of displaying his political power and vindicating his political character. You have alluded, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that there have been workingmen's gatherings in other parts of the country as well as in this city, with a view to manifesting their approval of the conduct in public life of the leader of the Opposition. Far be it from me to find any fault with this indication of the political opinions of certain sections of the workingmen. (Hear, hear!) I rather rejoice to know that there is that independence of thought and that independence of action which leads numbers of our fellow-citizens to take a view of political life and political men somewhat adverse to those which we hold ourselves. At the same time, I cannot but express some little surprise that any workingman who looks back to the history of the country, to the history of our race in the Motherland, should, by natural instinct, be a Conservative. (Cheers.) Sir, the power of the workingman is made manifest only when a country becomes civilized and powerful. The power of a workingman is nothing in a state of semi-barbarism,

The Tory party in England were but the followers or the successors of those who oppressed the workingman in times long gone by. (Cheers.) I say they were but the followers or successors of those who held the workingman in light esteem. If we look back to the history of the early ages of the Eastern monarchies, we find the workingman a slave. If we look back to the history of the country which affords us the earliest instance of a national civilization—such as it was—we find the monarch and the nobles of Egypt making their subjects toil to rear monuments, not to human industry, not to that industry which is productive, but merely monuments to the monarchs and to the pagan gods whom they worshipped; and in the building of the Egyptian pyramids and the vast temples of that land there was an amount of human life and human labour sacrificed which would have ten times completed the entire public works which this country has been endeavouring to carry forward to completion. (Interruption.) I am not at all surprised at the impatience of certain gentlemen. They know that the tide of public opinion is running against them. (Cheers.) They know that this magnificent demonstration sinks into insignificance anything that they have attempted. (Hear and cheers.) I was about to trace the history of the workingman from the time when he was the mere slave of the despot and the tyrant. In our own day efforts are made by strong Conservatives to induce the workingman to believe that they, and they alone, are his true friends, although it is impossible that any substantial sympathy can exist between a Conservative and the real workingman who subsists by the labour of his hands. (Cheers.) Well, sir, let me come down in the history of the world to countries which followed fast upon the footsteps of the Egyptians in the race for civilization. Let us consider what was the condition of the workingman in England itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Tory rule was at its height, when no labourer had any voice in the administration of affairs, when scarcely such a thing as popular representation in Parliament existed. Even in the days of the Commonwealth we find that the wage of the workingman was fixed by the Quarter-Sessions or the magistrates of the respective counties in England, and that, although they were termed freemen, they were really compelled to do the work of serfs. We find that during that period they were allowed simply such wages as would afford them the barest possible covering for their bodies, and the scantiest possible means of subsistence. And yet, sir, through all that long period of darkness and distress to the labouring man, he was compelled to serve the State, either in the public armies or in doing public works to an extent far in excess of any labour which the labouring men of this day perform when it is of a voluntary character, and performed at a fixed price bargained for by themselves. At the present day the conditions of labour are practically the same in Canada as in England. In both countries the arrangements with regard to it are now subject to conditions on which master and employee must of necessity agree. The labourer in Canada is, however, in a position a good deal superior, I think, in other respects to that of the labourer in England, because in Canada—in all the country places, at all events, and to a great extent in the cities also—every labouring man may, if he likes, have a home on soil owned as well as occupied by himself. (Cheers.) I was about to allude to laws of a restrictive character which have been enacted apparently for the protection of the workingman, but really in order to bring about the most evil results to every one of them. All laws which have a tendency to prevent the free exchange of labour, which make labour tributary to capital, which make the employer a mere serf to the employer, must of necessity affect injuriously the interests of the workingman. (A disorderly interruption here occurred, lasting for about five minutes; it was caused by an obstinate individual in the middle of the hall, who persisted in standing on his seat and acting in an eccentric fashion; he was ultimately, however, induced to sit down.) I was proceeding, sir, to remark upon the evil tendency of all restrictive laws—that is, laws which unnecessarily interfere with contracts between man and man. Precisely the same principle which affects contracts for labour affects contracts for any other commodity; and whatever deprives a man of the liberty to transfer his labour to the market he thinks best adapted to meet his wants, and to furnish him with the equivalent which his labour is intended to purchase, must of necessity have an injurious effect upon the public policy of a people subjected to such a system of laws. Those who lived during the time of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England—that great agitation against the last vestige of protection which cursed for so long the Mother Country—cannot but remember the deplorable state to which the population of England was reduced by this attempt to protect the farmer and the landlord at the expense of all the rest of the community. Sir, it is well known to every Englishman present who lived in England forty or fifty years ago, that at that time there was, instead of prosperity, as is commonly supposed, a condition of the utmost depression in the Mother Country. (A Voice.—“That’s so.”) As long as protective laws remained in force it was supposed that a certain class would be benefited, and that no other class would suffer any injury from them. It is, however, impossible to protect any particular interest, unless it be at the expense of other interests. (Hear, hear.) Now, sir, remember very well when John Bright, George Thompson, Richard Cobden, and other great

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men of that time had the far-seeing eye of statesmen to observe the disastrous influences which were sure to result within a comparatively short period if those laws were continued in existence. It is well known that for several years before the repeal of the Corn Laws was carried by a reluctant Legislature the people of the country were becoming most desperate. It is well known that revolution was breeding in the very heart of the British Empire. It is well known that starving thousands were patrolling the streets, cursed—cursed I say—by the demon of protection. And I shall be able to show before I am done the similarity which exists between that protective system and the system which some people would have prevail in this new country, where we are supposed to be in a position to sweep away all the abuses of the old land, to strike out a new line for ourselves, and to bring Canada and all it can influence into harmony with the policy of the Empire. (Cheers.) That policy is one which is eminently just to all men, as it makes no conditions that we shall pay taxes to any one but the State; and any system of protection that compels us not merely to pay taxes for the maintenance of the State and for the execution of its laws, but compels us also to pay a large taxation for the purpose of filling the pockets of some of our fellow citizens (hear, hear), is a most iniquitous system. It is unjust in principle, it is productive of the worst consequences in practice, even to those who may derive a temporary advantage from the enactment of protective laws. No one can possibly doubt that if they give a little passing attention to the subject. Now, sir, wages at the time that the Corn Laws were in force in England were at the very point of starvation. I recollect very well when the ordinary farm laborer had to be contented in Great Britain with about a shilling a day; I recollect also when some improvement was made that one shilling and sixpence a day was thought to be a good wage; I recollect when the hands employed by the agriculturists were thought to be well paid when they were getting £10 per annum and their board; and I recollect the time when mechanic, such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artificers, had to be content with from threepence to fourpence per hour. Now they think themselves ill paid if they do not have from eightpence to tenpence half-penny an hour in England. This shows how beneficial free-trade has been to the English mechanic and to the English laborer. Now, sir, at the present time the ordinary farm servant—the ploughman of the old land—can easily obtain £24 per annum and his board, which formerly, within the memory of many of those I am now addressing and within my own, he only obtained £10. What was the state of the workingman as to lodging, as to the means of raising a family in decency, as to the means of obtaining a fair education for his children? The restrictive laws which so long held the workingman in a state of comparative subjection left him also, as a general thing in England, without the means of education. It is true that in Scotland, and some parts of England and Ireland, there was a more liberal system of education, but I speak of the general character of the means throughout Great Britain that were then at the disposal of a man with a family for obtaining a fair elementary education for his children. All this, I say, was the result of an evil system of legislation, discriminating against labour, and in favour of the landlord and capitalist. At the time when Richard Cobden began his crusade against the Corn Laws it was firmly believed by every landlord that if those laws were repealed, if the people obtained cheap food, if bread were admitted free into England, the result would be the ruin of all who farmed and owned the soil. (A Voice—"What has that got to do with Canada?") I am illustrating from English history what would happen under a similar system in Canada; I am referring to a state of things from which we have happily escaped. The landlord, the great landowner, and the tenant farmer in England were alike mistaken in their impressions of what would occur after the repeal of the Corn Laws. They believed that universal disaster would overtake the agricultural interests. Instead of that, sir, from the time those injurious and unjust laws were repealed, agriculture in Great Britain took a fresh start; new life was infused into the pursuit of agriculture; there were better implements, better husbandry, new manures—everything possible was done to increase the productivity of the soil. The result was that the farmer produced much more than ever before, and instead of his commodities falling in price they steadily rose in value until at the present time in England you will have to pay at least a price twice as large for almost everything as was paid when Richard Cobden was agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, except cereals, which are more subject to competition with foreign grain. Rents are nearly double what they were at that period in England. Instead, therefore, of a repeal of these protective laws being an injury, it has really benefited, not merely the working classes and all who have to purchase their food, but also those who are immediately interested as the proprietors of lands and the tenants upon those lands; and at this moment we have the wonderful fact presented to us that as the whole population of England only fifty years ago believed that their existence as a nation depended upon having England for the Englishmen, so we now hear some people saying that we must have Canada for the Canadians. Sir, the very moment that the protectionist laws were repealed the country took a bound forward. It increased in wealth at the ratio of five or six times that at which it increased previously. (Hear and cheers.) The industrial classes at



once received better pay, the farmers became more prosperous, the manufacturers became more wealthy, and we had the most abundant proof on every hand of the material value of that system of legislation which we advocate in Canada under the name of a revenue tariff. We have in this country at the present moment no idea of having a system of free trade. No one has ever proposed that. What we have proposed is to have a tariff that will raise a revenue sufficient for the wants of the country, and not for anything else. On nearly all articles manufactured there is now an import duty which is so high as to be almost protectionist, and any further impost would result in a decreased revenue. But what the protectionist in principle wants is, that we should not only pay a tax to the State for the maintenance and execution of the laws but we should also pay a tax to be put in the pockets of either the agriculturist—if he can be protected, which I don't believe can be done—or of the manufacturer, if it is possible to protect him, as a continuous policy, and I shall show that this is utterly impossible. We may now compare very fairly the effect of restrictive laws in the neighbouring country with the effect of the tariff laws in this country, that is, compare the United States system with the Canadian system, and see how the results are worked out in the prosperity or adversity of either country. The people of the United States are akin in origin to ourselves; they are of the same blood and the same language; they possess the same inventive power, the same genius for conducting the Government of a free country; they are a people whose marvellous adaptation to everything that relates to human progress is most marked. They imagine themselves, indeed, to be far ahead of Britain and British dependencies in that respect. I do not admit that any superiority of the kind belongs to them (Hear, hear.) But I do assert at once that they are on a footing of perfect equality with us in that particular. (Hear, hear.) They have the same boundless capacity, and are on a footing of equality, to say the least, as to the means of making labour productive, and the production of all great natural resources which should make a people happy and prosperous. They are not oppressed by any tyrant, and they make their own laws. We are oppressed by no tyrant either; we meet here as free men to discuss the public affairs of a nation. (Cheers.) We meet here to consider those great principles which have for their object the greatest amount of human happiness, and for their ultimate result national grandeur, or if the laws should be unjust, national failure. I propose to examine a few of the effects of the laws of the United States, as compared with the effects of Canadian laws bearing upon human industry, and consequently upon human happiness. Those who have not studied United States polity or history may not be aware that the real protective era only commenced after 1860; for many years before that country had a purely revenue tariff. Occasionally before 1860 they levied duties which partook largely of the nature of a protective tariff; but in 1860, just about the time that the war broke out, manufacturers and others interested in particular speculations succeeded to a certain extent in getting a hold upon the legislative power and upon the Government of the country, and the result of that was the enactment of laws which levied duties that were prohibitory in their character, as it was utterly impossible for any foreign country to send articles into the United States which persons in the United States were capable of producing. The people of the United States were not, of course, able to exclude silk goods, certain qualities of woollen goods and some other articles which, owing to climate or other reasons, were beyond the power of even a prohibitory tariff to affect. Now we propose to show by actual facts that it was impossible for them to do two things at once in the manner that they thought they could, that is, by means of a prohibitory tariff to supply the entire home market with all the manufactured articles required, and at the same time send goods to foreign countries to compete in their markets. What is said by some of our manufacturers is this, "Give us enough protection to get our manufactures fairly established, and we will then be able to compete with foreigners and to maintain entire control of our home markets." Well, sir, let us look at the result of such a policy in the United States. After ten years of protection they succeeded in acquiring a pretty large amount of manufacturing power and productiveness. By the census of 1870 we learn that the goods manufactured in the United States amounted in value to \$4,232,525,000, or about, in round numbers, \$4,250,000,000. They had at this time arrived at the greatest degree of prosperity which they ever enjoyed, and, from thenceforward there was a steady decline. In 1876 the amount of their manufactured goods had fallen—that is, in four years—to the extent of \$732,000,000, the entire production being estimated at \$3,500,000,000, while the entire export of manufactured goods from the United States in 1876 was \$69,500,000, as nearly as possible only two per cent. of the entire amount of their total production, showing that they were utterly unable to compete in foreign markets with any considerable staple manufactures of the country. Now let us take one or two instances to illustrate the relative position of trade in the U.S. under different tariff systems. In 1876, the entire produce of her iron manufactures was, as near as may be, \$100,000,000. The total exports of that production amounted only to \$688,612, or eleven-sixteenth of one per cent. of the entire produce of their manufactures, and most of this amount even was sent out at a loss in consequence of the distressed

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manufacturer being compelled to realize. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) This showed that they were utterly unable to compete in the markets of the world with English and other manufactures, who had no protection whatever to sustain them. Let us take again the woollen manufactures of the United States. They had a protection of something like 60 per cent. through the greater portion of the period from 1860 to 1876. The total amount of their produce in 1876 was \$134,000,000, while their exports only reached the figure of \$685,828, and at the same time they were compelled to admit woollen products from foreign countries that their protection did not enable them to manufacture themselves to the extent of \$47,676,065. In 1876 the United States manufacturers of clothing made altogether goods to the value of \$160,000,000, and they exported altogether \$579,595 worth, or almost exactly one-third of one per cent. of their total product. To such a state were the manufacturers of the United States reduced that they were utterly unable to send a particle almost of their whole product to foreign countries, while England and other countries which had either entire Free Trade or a Revenue Tariff, were able to send their goods to Asia, to the West Indies, to the South American Republics, to Africa, to the East Indies, and to almost every civilized nation on the globe, and completely to shut out the American manufacturer from the trade of the world. There are some before me who will also remember the restrictive laws which affected the ships of Great Britain. At one time within the memory of very many who are present England prevented any foreign ships from being brought into the country—prevented any foreign ships from carrying any portion of the produce of Great Britain coastwise. There is no doubt that whenever a protective system is adopted it will for a time increase the productions of a country—the manufactured products of a country, and in doing so will, if the sources of revenue are not dried up, induce a seeming prosperity—but I wish to argue this matter out, and I think I shall be able to show you that, although it will increase them for a time, it is only ultimately the cause of terrible wreck and ruin amongst the manufacturers who will have so greatly increased the production of the country. In the United States, when the tariff of 1861 was adopted, the entire value of the products in manufactures was about \$65 per head; but in 1870 in ten years of a protective system, the annual average had increased to about \$128 per head, or very nearly double of what it was in 1860—although a very considerable part of that annual value in 1870 is to be deducted in order to find the real ratio value of that day. The discount upon American money at that time was such as would reduce the average per capita from \$128 to as Mr. David Wells calculates, something between \$90 and \$100 per head; still it was an immense increase in the production of a country, and this same tendency to manufacture is always sure to increase much faster than the ratio of increase of population. For instance, in 1870 the number of cotton spindles in the United States was 7,114,000; but in 1874 it had increased to 9,415,383, or in the ratio of 33 per cent. during these four years, while the population had only increased 11 per cent. You will observe from this that the manufactures of the country were being produced faster than they could be consumed, and thus leading, as a matter of course, to one of two things—to compel the manufacturers to find a larger market, or not to make so many goods. They tried to obtain a larger market, but they failed, for the reason that it cost so much in the United States to produce what they were making. When they shipped their goods to other parts they were outsold by free trade England, and by other less progressive countries, and the result was that within a few years afterwards the producing capacity of the United States began seriously to retrograde, as the manufacturers were compelled, by want of a paying market, to suspend operations. Take the State of Pennsylvania alone, where there was an unlimited field for the production of iron. There were in that State in 1870 not less than 800 iron blast furnaces in operation. At the present time more than one-half of these blast furnaces are idle, and one hundred millions of capital sunk in that work is utterly unproductive. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) This shows that the protective system had brought on such an over-production that it became the ruin of the producers. They tried to reverse the laws of nature and commercial intercourse by seeking to sell where they refused to buy; they were happy for a few years spending the enormous sums borrowed for the war, but the money and the false system came to an end together. (Hear, hear.) And so it would be in Canada if we were all willing to tax ourselves over and above what was necessary for revenue purposes for the promotion of the interest of certain manufacturers; we would merely succeed in making a few manufacturers wealthy for a few years at the expense of the rest of the people, and so many would rush into business that the makers would produce more than could be sold. It would be produced at such an enormous cost that they would be unable to send any out of the country, and in such large quantities that we would be unable to use it in the country. In a short time, therefore, manufacturers would have to shut up their shops. Universal ruin to manufacturers themselves would be the inevitable result of thus gorging the market by an unhealthy system of production. We have here the fact, and I am now speaking from figures of an official character, that while the population of the United States increased from thirty-one millions in 1860 to forty-

five millions in 1876, for the sixteen years inclusive at a rate of about 46 per cent, the producing capacity, as I have already shown, increased during the same period in a much larger ratio. In 1876, after fifteen years of protection, the United States were not able to export goods to a greater extent than in 1860, without regard to the population, and their exportation relatively decreased in proportion to the population. The export of cotton piece goods in 1860 amounted to nearly \$11,000,000, but in 1876, with a population of nearly fifteen millions more, and with a protective system which is claimed by our protectionist friends to be the means of enriching a country, they were only able to export seven and three-quarter millions, an absolute decrease in the exportation of one of their staple manufactures of 25 per cent., besides the relative decrease as compared with the increase of the population. (Hear, hear.) Now, could any fact be more damning as to the influence of a protective system upon the trade of a country? (Hear, hear.) (A Voice—"That is not caused by protection.") Well, I can only say that all the political economists admit it is caused by protection, (cheers) I can only say that it is caused by something, and they have protection there while there is no protection in England, and no one pretends to assign any other reason for the unprecedented depression in a protected country. (A Voice—"What has free trade done for us?") We have never had free trade, and, therefore, you cannot tell what it has done for Canada. I have a list here of manufactured goods exported from the United States, embracing some of their principal staples, such as tobacco, iron, cotton piece goods, drugs, medicines, wearing apparel, glass, hats, paper, printing press, type, and many other things, and we find that in 1860 there were twenty-nine millions exported of these twenty or thirty articles in this list, and only the same amount in 1876, notwithstanding the increase in population. This shows the ruinous effect of a protective tariff. (Hear, hear.) Now I am not pretending for a moment to say that it would be desirable or possible for us to have what is known as a free trade system. The Government, of which I am a member, is accused of having a free trade policy, whereas the fact is that the necessities of our revenue compel us to impose a higher duty than was imposed by the previous Administration; in other words, we have 17½ per cent. when the late Administration had only 15 per cent. (Hear, hear.) I was about to speak of the exportation of certain articles of goods to one little State in South America, Venezuela, as an illustration. In 1870 the entire import and export trade amounted to \$3,345,000. The principal exports from Venezuela consist of coffee and raw hides. The United States had a large duty upon both of these articles, but in 1870 they admitted coffee free of duty into the United States, and they had hides free also, and the result was an immediate increase in the trade in these articles. In 1876 the imports alone from Venezuela were of the value of \$5,870,000, and the exports, \$3,424,000, or an increase of 260 per cent. as compared with 1870. Then in 1872 there was a still further proof of the beneficial effects of a reduction of duties from the protectionist standard. In 1870 the entire shipping trade with Venezuela, amounted to fifteen vessels of only 2,570 tons capacity, and employing only 109 hands. In 1876, after only four years of comparative free trade, the ships from the United States engaged in that trade amounted to 132, against 15 in the protectionist time, with 43,000 tons as against 2,500 in the same period, and employing 1,255 hands as against 109. Another still more conclusive argument, however, is to be found in the figures relating to the manufacture and the export of tanned leather. In 1872 hides were made free, and in that year the entire exports of tanned leather from the United States amounted to \$2,864,000, while in 1876, after four years of free trade in this one article, they had risen to \$7,940,000, or very nearly \$8,000,000, as against \$2,750,000 four years before. Nothing could show more clearly than this the beneficial effects of removing the restrictions from trade. Now, sir, one of the tests by which we are bound always to gauge the prosperity of a country is the amount of goods which it is able to sell to other countries, as well as the amount of goods its people are able to consume themselves. It is supposed, for instance, by many that Great Britain lives entirely by her foreign trade, while the most recent financial authorities in Britain compute the entire profit of British producers and capitalists at £1,400,000,000 per annum—that is, the profits arising from the interest derived from investments in railways and from foreign bonds, as well as the profits of the manufacturers in the country, and goods which are consumed in it; in other words, the income of the country. But the entire amount of the foreign trade—that is, the export of goods to foreign parts—last year was only £200,000,000 sterling, or exactly one-seventh part of the whole, and that figure included goods shipped which had been imported in a raw state. Mr. Baxter estimates the raw material re-exported at about £60,000,000. Now, sir, the United States exportation in 1875-6 altogether of domestic produce was \$525,582,247 gold worth, or an average *per capita* of \$13.80. Canada exported during that same year, with less than an eleventh of their population, \$72,491,437 worth, or an average rate of \$18.48 per head, against \$13.80 per head in the United States. (Cheers.) And to show that this was not at all an exceptional year, let us take the next year, viz., 1876-7, when the exports from Canada had somewhat decreased, and the exports from the United States had somewhat

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increased, in consequence of their indebtedness in foreign countries. A huge amount of exports is not always a true measure of the prosperity of a country; on the contrary, it may be a true indication of its commercial distress. A farmer who is deeply in debt is often under the necessity of providing for that debt by selling more of his stock than he can well part with, and to that extent he diminishes the productive power of his farm; for instance, if he tries to do with five horses what he requires six to do properly, in order that he may sell the sixth to pay interest on a debt, he indeed shows a greater amount of sales in the year, but it is at the expense of his prosperity. Well, sir, the United States during the year ending June 30, 1877, exported of domestic products, in gold value, \$589,620,224 worth, or at an average per head of \$12.65; Canada exported during that year—and you all remember that the year 1876-7 was one of most unexampled depression, unexampled at least since the year 1857—the very worst year we had—to the amount of \$68,030,546, or an average of \$17.30 per head, being in excess of the United States exports at the rate of \$5.46 per head. (Cheers.) (A voice—) How much did we buy?" We bought nothing we have not been able to pay for. (Hear, hear.) I have a table here showing the entire exports of manufactured goods from the year 1860 to the year 1876 from the United States. They exported in that year, when they had only a revenue tariff such as we have now—that is in 1860—with a population of little over thirty-one millions, \$316,242,423, or as nearly as possible \$10 per head. Now, it was asserted that with protection to enable manufacturers to accomplish a complete establishment of their business, the production of the country would be so increased that they would be able to flood foreign markets with their produce. Well, sir, what was the result? In 1870, after ten years of a protection period, the exports of manufactured goods had decreased to \$7.67 per head, so that as protection advanced the exports of goods decreased, and it was only after 1871, when a serious and continuous stagnation of business set in, and the manufactures of the United States were compelled to sell at any prices which could be realized—when they were compelled to sell in order to pay their debts and prevent their manufacturing and mills being shut up—that there was a slight rally in the ratio of the export of manufactured goods. And even in 1876, when they were sending goods into this country and into other countries at prices far below their value, it only reached \$11.60, while in free Canada in that same year we exceeded them by \$6.88 per head. (Cheers.) But I do not forget that I am addressing workmen. I do not forget that I have risen to the position I now occupy from the ranks of the workingman. I have done my full share of the hard work of this world. (Cheers.) But I would be sorry indeed to see amongst my fellow-countrymen such an absence of thought and intelligence as would induce them to adopt a system which could only result in idleness and serfdom. (Cheers.) What does it matter to you workmen whether you are in subjection to some tyrant who does out to you what he pleases as wages, or whether you are under the tyranny of laws which prevent you buying where you please and selling where you like? (Cheers.) That is the point we have to come to. What was the condition of the workingman during this period of which I have striven to give you a brief history, illustrated by figures which cannot be controverted? Sir, the workingman's wages undoubtedly rose, and taking the average wages of about twenty classes of artisans, embracing all engaged in the building trade, and all engaged in the leading manufactures, the wages rose about 60 per cent. from 1860 to 1873; that is, the man who was getting a dollar in 1860 in the United States daily wages, was getting \$1 60 a day in 1873. Now, sir, this fact simply stated would seem to bear out the proposition that protection is beneficial to the labouring man. But, sir, with the rate of wages the price of materials rose in a still higher ratio. (Hear, hear.) Rents rose in a still higher ratio; everything that it was necessary for the workingman to have—everything that was conducive to his health and livelihood—rose in the proportion of 92 per cent. as against the 60 per cent. that wages rose. (Hear, hear.) It does not matter to you or me whether our wages are a dollar or a shilling, if the price of commodities correspond. Why, sir, 150 years ago a shilling would go further in England than two will now, and it took \$1 92 to buy what only \$1 60 was given to purchase, the labouring man, as you will see, was in 1873 32 per cent. worse off than he was before the protection era commenced. But what is the state of matters now? From 1870 down to 1877 there has been a steady decline in wages in the United States, and at this moment the United States labourer and artisan gets less wages than the Canadian labourer and artisan—positively less in amount, and very far less in the purchasing power of that amount. If you desire to protect a particular industry, you must either protect all other industries at the same time, or you take a course unjust to the people; and, if you protect all industries alike, that means raising prices universally, but not making the people one whit better. If, for instance, I have to go to the butcher and pay him 15 cents for what I bought before for ten, what does it benefit me if my wages are 25 cents an hour more? Depend upon it, the best policy for any country is one under which you raise simply the amount of taxes that is necessary to carry on the affairs of the State; not one which requires the community to pay taxes to any member of it, but one which



makes the country as cheap a country as you can live in. (Hear, hear.) For it is where there is a cheap livelihood for the workingman that the workingman is the most prosperous. Sir, these gentlemen speak loudly about protecting our industries. What does protecting our industries mean? They talk, sir, about being the friends of the workingman—those who are thus clamouring to get you to put your necks in the noose, and to accept a policy which would be utterly fatal to your happiness and prosperity, and to the welfare and prosperity of the country, of which every workingman is a unit. (Cheers.) Now, sir, let us take a glance at the effect of even the existing tariff upon the productions of the country. You are aware that boots and shoes are made extensively in Canada, and you are also aware that the duty upon that article is 17½ per cent. So far as we are able to tell, the census of 1871 being taken as the authority, the value of the boots and shoes manufactured in Canada in 1870 was \$16,133,638. Now, sir, in 1876-7 there were imported into Canada altogether of boots and shoes of every kind only \$302,671 worth, or less than the fiftieth part of the total manufacture of the country. But then we actually exported from the country in that year \$196,710 worth of boots and shoes, leaving a difference of only \$105,961 between our imports and exports of that article. Now, how much is this do you think, among the entire population of the country? It is the merest possible fraction, or exactly two cents and sixty-five hundredths of a cent per head. (Hear, hear.) Then we will take the article of household furniture—and I feel particularly interested in that item in the City of Toronto, because a well-known old friend of mine, a manufacturer of furniture, is now in the field as a political candidate, and I am sure that Mr. Hay will give me credit for sincerity when I state that I would be sorry to say one word which would jar upon his feelings in speaking of any matter affecting the political position of himself or his friends. But, sir, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that Mr. Hay has been a most prosperous manufacturer, and he is not ashamed to ask us to pay him more. We find that the entire product of the country in the year 1870—and it has very much increased since—is put at something over \$3,506,000 in furniture; and the imports of furniture for last year amounted to \$283,930, while we exported \$143,506 worth, leaving a total difference between our exports of furniture and our imports of \$140,384—or as near as possible 3½ cents per head. (Hear, hear.) And yet, sir, Mr. Hay assumes that we are ruining his business, because we don't give him more than 17½ per cent. of protection. For every dollar's worth of goods that he manufactures the country pays him 17½ cents premium, and yet he wants more, although the entire consumption of the country is almost wholly manufactured in Canada. No matter what duty may be imposed, special articles will always be imported for particular uses. Let us consider other branches—the stove trade, for instance. Any of you who know who the stovemakers of Canada are, any of you who choose to visit the vast establishments of Mr. Gurney and other manufacturers, will be slow to believe that they are pursuing a very ruinous trade. I recollect that, in 1874, when the tariff was revised, having repeated interviews with many of those manufacturers. They wanted a higher duty to save themselves the trouble of applying their brains to find out means of improving the machinery for the carrying on of their manufactories, and they wished for protection to enable them to send out what would be an inferior article at an increased cost to the people. Now, I say that the position of Mr. Hay and Mr. Gurney, and, generally speaking, of the manufacturers of the country is not one of isolation from profit. When I find that men who commenced life much less than half a century ago now count their gains and their properties by hundreds of thousands, I am slow to believe that the business that they have been following is a ruinous one. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) With regard to the manufacture of boots and shoes, I have the word of some of the manufacturers of those articles that they do not want any more protection, so that trading dishonest politicians are only using the names of these manufacturers under a false assumption. (Voice: "Not a bit!") I am aware that some large manufacturers have, within the last few years, failed in business, but they did not fail because their proper business was not paying. If the manufacturer invests in real estate when it is at \$1 a foot, and has to sell it afterwards at fifty or sixty cents a foot, and fails in his boot and shoe trade in consequence, his failure is not to be attributed to the difficulties surrounding his manufacturing trade, but to neglecting his own line of business to follow one he knows nothing about. I am speaking, sir, with the knowledge of individuals; I know the facts, and I could put my fingers upon the names of gentlemen whose experiences I have just indicated. There is not at this moment a boot and shoe maker who will be able to show to the country—it is impossible to show it—that he is not well paid for his capital. It cannot be otherwise, because out of the entire consumption of the country in boots and shoes we don't import more than one fifty-third, or one fifty-fourth part, and that shows that they are able to derive profit from their business. I do not at all mean to say that it would not be possible to enact laws to make us pay more for our boots and shoes than we are paying now, and to make the manufacturers of boots and shoes better off; that could easily be done, but it would merely benefit the manufacturer, being at the same time a heavy tax upon all the rest of the people, though ultimately sure to

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result in injury to the manufacturers. Take another illustration. You have heard of the ruinous effects of a protective policy upon the cotton mills of the United States. In 1874-5, the first year of our existing tariff, the entire importation of bleached and unbleached cottons into Canada was \$2,553,475; during the last financial year the entire importation of the same class of goods was \$1,308,361. Now, I happen to know that manufacturers of cotton are able to make a fair profit—a better profit than manufacturers of many other kinds of goods in the country at the present moment. Here is a proof of it:—Our wholesale dealers have been able to purchase in the home market cheaper than they could import, and pay seventeen and a-half cents per dollar duty in addition. This shows that these manufacturers have a fair degree of prosperity. It may be quite true that it would be desirable to see them and all other classes in the country make a better profit than they have been able to do, but so long as they reap a reasonable profit in times of general trade depression no one has fair grounds of complaint. Now, the entire importation of cotton goods in 1874-5 was a shade under \$10,000,000, while the entire importation in 1877 was only a shade over \$7,750,000, or a decrease of nearly \$2,250,000. In most cases when manufacturers of cotton or woollen goods have gone under, it is because they have not conducted their business properly, because there has been an attempt made by some of the manufacturers to run on several lines of goods at the same time instead of giving their attention to one. We know that many manufacturers who have failed in the country have made blunders both as to their motive power and the location of their works, and in many other respects which we have not time to consider, blunders which successful manufacturers escape; but we cannot see because people were unsuccessful in creating or locating their manufactories, or in conducting them afterwards, that the country is bound to pay for their want of skill, or their persistence in pursuing a course in commencing their works which every practical man would condemn. (Hear, hear.) (A Voice:—“What proportion of cotton came from the United States?”) I cannot tell exactly where it was imported from, but that is of no consequence. There is one class of cotton goods imported from England, another from the United States, and another class is manufactured chiefly in Canada. You will find that foreign manufacturers of cotton goods produce a kind of article which it will not pay our own people to make, because they would have to spend the same amount of labour on an inferior class of goods that they now expend on superior goods. I merely give the results of the trade in vindication of the position I have taken—that the tariff we have is a very reasonable tariff for all manufactures, and a somewhat onerous one in the prices which it involves to all the consumers. It cannot be denied that if consumers of this country pay 17½ cents for every dollar's worth they purchase, they pay very high indeed for the protection to the manufacturer of every single class of goods in this country. (Hear, hear.) Now, sir, I may say that if the United States is to be taken as a fair example of a country having a protective system—and it must be, for it is the only English speaking country in the world—the only country, I may say, of any kind which has deliberately adopted as a matter of principle a protective tariff—the result is the destruction of their manufactures, the closing of their mills, indeed the failure of many of their manufacturers. But it is said “Look at the number of failures in Canada.” Canada must, no doubt, suffer in common with all countries at a time when trade is severely depressed over the whole world, but during the first quarter of the present year the failures in the United States were \$84,000,000, as against \$69,000,090 in 1876; while we had of failures during the last three months, nine millions against 7½ millions in 1876—showing the proportion of failures with the United States was at least as large as the proportion of failures in Canada. Now it is stated on the other hand that the United States manufacturers are, to a great extent, dependent upon foreign capital, and that their failures are caused by a lack of capital in the country. This is a great mistake, and it is shown to be a mistake by this fact—that you can get money in New York at the present time upon good security at three to five per cent., and we know that the United States have within the last nine months sold to their own citizens nearly 100,000,000 of bonds which only yield an interest of four per cent. The fact is that the utter failure of the manufactures of the country to pay dividends to their stockholders has induced the capitalists of that country to withhold the abundant capital which they possess from investment in that way; and they are investing it in any way which will bring to them a reasonable amount of interest, combined with absolute security against loss. Now, sir, let us look at the total imports and exports of different classes of goods into this country. Taking the products of the mine, we had in 1877 a total importation of \$4,387,605 and an exportation of \$3,698,958. Of the importation of products of the mine, the chief item—the item which comprises almost the whole amount—was coal. The importation was 972,692 tons, with a valuation of \$3,660,000. Now, I would like to know from my friend, Mr. Hay, if he is favourable to a tax upon coal—(Hear, hear)—if he believes, or if any one believes, that a tax upon the coal which we use to light our household fires, to keep our manufactories going, and run our railways and steamers, is likely to benefit the industries of this country? (“No,

no.") In addition to this, it is known that coal is a prime necessity for our great railways, thereby facilitating and cheapening the transport of the productions of the country from the interior to the seaboard, and it would, therefore, in this case, be one of the most serious mistakes that could be made to tax this mineral product. No, sir, it is not contended that it would benefit the country, and no Ministry that ever lives will dare to impose a tax upon one of the first necessities of life. (Great cheering.) Another principal item is that of salt. Of that article we imported last year three millions of bushels. Now we have vast deposits of salt in Canada, and it would no doubt be beneficial to the Ontario salt producers to prohibit the importation of salt, which comes to the Maritime Provinces almost entirely from England. But, on the other hand, to do this would be to deprive our fishermen of the means of cheaply preserving the product of their industry; and when I say that our exports of fish last year amounted to \$5,874,360, you will see that to impose such a duty as would prevent the import of salt would only be ruining one interest by promoting another interest. Salt, with our fishermen and meat curers, is a raw material. Of products of the forest there were imported into Canada last year \$1,326,078 worth, and we exported to the amount of \$22,665,587. Does anyone believe—can anyone in his senses believe—that we could raise the price of lumber to the lumber dealer by imposing a duty upon an article that we practically do not import at all? (what is imported is in special qualities, such as walnut and mahogany to Mr. Robert Hay, and some common lumber for the convenience of localities near the frontier having none of their own.) The thing would be impossible. Then let us take animals and their produce. Of those we imported last year, to the amount, altogether, of about six millions and a-half in round numbers, while we exported fifteen and a-half millions, showing that we were able to export two and a-half times the amount we imported, and showing also that almost our whole imports of animals and their products were merely brought into the country for the sake of re-exportation at the other end of the country; and to let you see how ludicrous is the proposal to put a protective duty on animals and their products, I have but to mention that while there were exported 159,573 sheep last year from Ontario to the United States, we only imported seven sheep altogether from that country. (Laughter.) And yet the protectionist wants to tax these seven sheep to as great an extent as the Americans tax our 159 and odd thousands. (Laughter.) This is the way they propose that we should enrich ourselves. Of agricultural products, that is, grain and breadstuffs generally, we imported last year—and everyone will remember that was a very bad year, that it was one of the worst years we ever had—sixteen millions and a-half in round numbers of dollars worth. But then we exported of them, even in that bad year, 19,000,000 dollars worth in round numbers, showing that it would be impossible by any tax to give the farmer a larger price for his produce than he now receives. Let us assume for a moment that by taxing foreign grain or flour we could keep it out of this country, is it possible that the workmen of Toronto would ask us to tax the bread they eat? ("No, no.") Yet, sir, that is exactly what the leaders of the Conservative party are asking us to do. They say that if flour was taxed it would raise the price to the miller, but if it did raise the price it would be done at the expense of the poor man who has to purchase it. (Hear, hear.) Sir John Macdonald stated in his speech in the Eastern Townships that if we happened to have a deficient harvest our own producers should reap the advantage of such prices as could be imposed by the levying of a duty on foreign breadstuffs. That is, that our buyers of bread should be compelled to pay high prices or starve. Let us shut out these foreign products and get as much as we can, by consuming our own, and that is equivalent to saying that as a matter of public policy it is right to tax the very bread which the poor man eats, the coal he burns, and the oil he consumes. (Hear, hear.) I now give you an extract from a return which was not published to show what the result of last year's harvest was—the first good harvest we have had for some years, though not so productive a one as we expected to reap. For the nine months ending the 31st of March we imported altogether \$11,074,465 worth of the products of the farm—that is of grain and flour—and we exported during the same period \$20,857,017 worth, or very nearly \$10,000,000 more than we imported. Now, sir, what was this used for? We imported it as a matter of trade, and that trade gives employment to our vessels and steamships. We have five distinct lines of steamships sailing from the port of Montreal to the European ports, while the United States, with forty-eight millions of people, are able to maintain only one line consisting of but four steamships. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers; A Voice—"Would a duty stop that trade?") I hear a gentleman enquire if a duty would stop that trade. Undoubtedly it would. The placing of a duty on grain and flour is much like a man who has made a road to facilitate travel between the place where he lives and the town where he does his marketing, and then, for fear he should get there too easily, after the road is graded and levelled, he goes to work and cuts three or four ditches across it. (Hear, hear.) These people are afraid that our capitalists who establish the steamship lines which take the products of the Western States through Canada to the ocean, should be able to take these products, as well as our own, too easily; and they would have us to

place Custom House Officers at Windsor and Sarnia, and on the Welland Canal, and at the outlets to the ocean, who should say to these shippers: "You shall not use our avenues of trade unless you also use our Customhouses, and give bonds to us that the vessels will be returned." They would have us place obstacles in the way of a trade that employs thousands of our sailors and artisans every year. No greater act of madness could be perpetrated at a time when we are expending \$30,000,000 in perfecting and making complete our system of canal navigation, than to go to work and erect a huge fence along our boundary line and thus prevent these foreigners from giving us their trade. The Americans ruined their foreign trade by adopting the protective system, and we are invited to follow their example! If they mean by a protective system that we are to restrict our trade; that we are to live by ourselves without commercial intercourse with the outer world, then, sir, I can understand what these gentlemen mean when they speak of Canada for the Canadians. They might as well say that that well-known gentleman, Mr. Robinson Crusoe, kept the Island of Juan Fernández for himself. (Loud laughter and cheers.) In fact, sir, the very idea of protection is embodied in Robinson Crusoe building his own house, and with a knife made out of bone, whittling a weed out of which he made cloth, and with needles of bone stitching it into articles of clothing. That was protection to home industries with a vengeance; and, most undoubtedly, Robinson Crusoe was the leader of the Protectionist party of the Island of Juan Fernández at that time. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Let any one of our protectionist friends of this day and generation who are so fond of impossible theories, go and live on an island as Mr. Robinson Crusoe did, and thus practice what they so ardently preach. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) I not only believe in having Canada for the Canadians, but in the United States, South America, the West Indies, and our share of the European and Australasian trade. (Loud cheers.) By the exertions of the present Administration we have managed during the last year, by a judicious exhibition of what Canadian industry can do under a revenue tariff—to show the people of Australasia that we can make better agricultural implements, carriages, edge tools, and other articles, and build better ships than they can; and within the first six months after the Exhibition closed we had exported nearly half a million dollars worth of our goods to that region. (Cheers.) But these gentlemen want us to use all these ships ourselves; they insist on us, as Canadians, consuming all the Canadians make; they will not allow us to sell unless we can find a nation so foolish as to buy our goods on our terms and sell theirs on our terms also. Now, sir, you cannot possibly buy just as you please and sell just as you please. The man who trades must sell before he can buy. Look at the folly of the United States in this respect. There are three articles, and only three, I think, that their tariff absolutely prohibits the importation of, and they are spurious coin, obscene prints and ships. (Loud laughter.) They class them together as the three articles which they will not allow on any account to come into the country. All those who have been in the United States know that a great deal of spurious coin is imported, nevertheless, and many indecent prints, but they don't seem to think very much about it. But from the time that that country adopted its present navigation laws there has never been a ship imported into the United States. They passed these laws nearly one hundred years ago, when they used to wear the old slouched hats and small knee breeches of the Puritans, and they seem to have forgotten that the world has progressed since that time. And what is the result of their foolish policy? At the present moment there are leaving the ports of the United States for Europe nearly 150 steamships laden with the produce of the country, and every one of them but four are sailing under foreign flags. (Hear, hear.) Now, it is not that the Americans are deficient in mechanical effort or skill. As a people they are able to make as good ships as the British are. The best proof of that is given in the fact that before England repealed her navigation laws, when they were pursuing the old and restrictive system as well as the United States, the latter were then on equal terms with Britain, and were fast gaining on the United Kingdom shipping. I do not know the precise difference between them, but my impression—speaking from recollection—is that at the time these laws were repealed the United States were not more than from half a million to a million tons behind the entire tonnage of the British merchant navy. To-day Great Britain has over eight million tons of shipping. And the United States have no more than they had twenty years ago—(Hear, hear.)—and Canada, with four millions of people, and with a seaboard that may be said to be confined to Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, is fast overhauling the United States, and if they persist in maintaining their restrictive system it will undoubtedly be the case that Canada—small population and weak in developed resources as she is—will succeed in doing so. (Cheers.) I am quite sure of one thing, and I believe you are, too; and that is that our friends the conservative leaders do not mean what their speeches seem to indicate on this question. I know it is not possible for any Government that could come into power in this country to adopt a protectionist policy, for if you cease to raise a revenue by an impost on articles imported for use into the country you must raise it in some other way. Now, the man that goes before



the people and asserts that it would be for the welfare of the country that such duties should be imposed as are of a protective character must admit two things. He must admit, in the first place, that the object is to stop the foreign trade from coming into the country, for if he does not he will not enlarge the market of our manufactures. If he stops these goods from coming into the country, he must admit that he also stops the duties which are levied on these goods. The first time you hear one of these gentlemen speaking of imposing protective duties, ask him how he proposes to raise a revenue. (Hear, hear.) It must be patent to the minds of every one of you that the effect of a protective policy would be, in the first place, to destroy our revenue, and in the next place to raise the price of everything the workingmen consume; and when I say workingmen, I embrace the entire farming population, and nineteen-twentieths of the inhabitants of the great cities—in short nearly all our population. We have here no great aristocratic power, no great land owners apart from those who are practically workingmen. We are all workingmen, and we have all to bear our share of the burdens imposed upon us; we have no royal road to wealth—no means of access to a mine of wealth, which would enable us to pay the amount of taxation required; and I venture my reputation, whatever it may be worth, as one who has studied the affairs of the State, that there is not a man at this moment in the Dominion of Canada in the Opposition ranks who will propound a policy by means of which we can prohibit foreign goods and raise a revenue at the same time; and if they can propound such a policy they are cleverer men than I take them to be. (Cheers.) But I believe that the cry of protection is simply a delusive one to accomplish a present purpose. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The Opposition have utterly failed to establish one single charge which their newspapers and their speakers have in the most cowardly manner insinuated against the Government, and, knowing that they could not establish any charge which would alienate the confidence of the electors, they raise the cry of protection. But let the elections once be over (hear, hear), then, sir, you will find that Providence has come to their aid, and given them a good harvest, as they will say, or something else will be said to happen. "The country is not in the same condition now that it was when these men were in. Protection then did seem to be necessary, but we think, upon the whole, we can get on very comfortably as we are without it." (Hear, hear, and laughter.) A personal friend of mine in the city of Montreal, who is a very strong protectionist, was arguing the question with me one day, when I said to him, "Now, Mr. G., will you tell me where you are to get your revenue after you get protection?" He could not tell me. "Well," I said, "you must levy direct taxation; you must send your collectors around to collect from every man his share of the taxation. Now tell me, Mr. G., how long would a Ministry live in Quebec if they adopted that policy?" "Well, I suppose," he said, "about twenty-four hours, if Parliament were sitting"—(laughter and cheers)—and that is the truth; their existence would not be much longer. Now, sir, in discussing public matters, we must have some respect to reason. There is no objection to the Tories, if they desire it, having a cry to go to the elections with, but let them take care that it does not involve consequences so serious as those which I have been discussing to-night. But, sir, it may give them the opportunity to act the part of demagogues, and that is to act politically a dishonest and disreputable part. Why, what did one of the gentlemen, Dr. Tupper, say when we proposed to add a two-and-a-half per cent. to the tariff in 1874 for the purpose of obtaining revenue enough to meet the wants of the country? He denounced it with the most intense vigour, declaring that he opposed it because it was entering the thin edge of the wedge of protection, (hear, hear, and laughter), which we would undoubtedly drive into its head at the first opportunity. That, sir, was what he thought immediately after the election. Last year was a year immediately preceding another election, and, therefore, he forgot the horror that he had of the wedge of Protection in 1874 in his desire to have some political standard which he could float with a degree of respectability above his head in the coming contest. (Cheers and laughter.) That is simply what this protection cry means. There is nothing more in it. It is as hollow as it is possible for it to be, and nothing that can be said will ever induce the thoughtful political man to swerve from the opinion of every English statesman at the present day. I do not know an English statesman at this moment who would go back on the policy which the majority in Great Britain were wedded to fifty years ago. One of the most remarkable speeches made on the subject lately was that of Sir Stafford Northcote, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. He pointed out in one of his country speeches a year and a-half ago that no person made a greater mistake than to imagine that it was now possible for any great party, or any party at all, in Great Britain, to advocate a return to a system which, during its existence, had retarded the progress of the country, and against a system which now so effectually promotes its industries and general prosperity. Now, sir, their theory reduced to a very few words is this—in a time of commercial depression, which we all admit to exist in a time when men are poor, the true way to make them rich is to make them pay more taxes. (Hear, and laughter.) That is the panacea that is prescribed for all the ills which the country is suffering. It carries absurdity on its face. Nothing could be more ridiculous to a thoughtful

man than a statement that we can make ourselves rich by taxing the commodities which we make and wear. If you tax the shoemaker's goods for the benefit of the linen draper or the tailor, you must tax the tailor and the linen draper to compensate the shoemaker, and then you will be so much the poorer by the sum that it takes to put this system into operation. (Cries of "Time, time.") In pursuing the course we have taken, we have had every national and social consideration on our side. We are able to point out clearly and conclusively from the record of the United States for the last seventeen years, and from the record of England from the time that she adopted her revenue tariff policy, the prosperity of the one and the universal wreck and ruin of the other. (Hear, hear.) Canada stands on this Continent upon a better footing as to geographical and physical considerations than the United States, yet I say that every class in our community is immensely more prosperous at this moment than the same class in the United States. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) You will find on all our public works at the present moment—on the new works on the Welland Canal—that at least one-half, if not two-thirds, of all the men employed there are Americans, who have come over because they were unable to find work on their own side of the line. (Hear, hear.) You will find also that throughout the whole of the United States there are thousands upon thousands of idle men who are passing through the country creating a state of terrorism which has had no example in that country or in England, simply because the protectionist has ruined its trade, and there are millions of people out of employment—a burden upon the rest of the country. It has depressed their agricultural industry and limited their power to buy goods from the manufacturer. All these goods are made in such a way, and at such a cost, that they cannot be exported to foreign countries. But, sir, as Canadians, should we take any pride in the policy of the Empire to which we belong? As a loyal Canadian I think our plan is politically to keep on all-fours with the rest of the Empire, to keep our policy in harmony with that of the Mother Country in trade and in everything else where it is possible for us to act in unity with her. But these men—these Tory leaders who claim continually to be the very salt of the earth as to loyalty—to be the means of preserving this country to British connection—who are constantly denouncing myself or some of my associates in our political ranks with being tainted with disloyalty to the Empire—why, sir, these are the men who seem to pay the slightest regard to the policy of the British Empire—that policy which has carried the English ship and the English flag to every port of the world—that policy which has carried British commerce, the British name and British civilization to the remotest parts of the earth. (Loud cheers.) Some years ago most of the public men of Canada exerted themselves to procure a close union of the British American Provinces. That Confederation we accomplished, and we hope, sir, to preserve a similar close alliance—if not with the same system of representation—at all events, an alliance in our legislative actions, if not in our legislative authority—which will harmonize with the British system; and we will see the whole of the Colonies of the Empire which are girdling the earth working together as a confederated body, setting at defiance the tyrants of the earth, and setting also at defiance the evil systems of commercial economy and commercial policy which would, if carried out, result in bringing us back to the state from which we only emerged fifty or sixty years ago with considerable difficulty. Sir, I prophesy further, that the United States of America within the next five years will go back to the policy in existence before 1860. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) There is now no possibility of escape from that course for the people of the United States. They have, by their protective policy, brought ruin upon themselves. They have by their refusal to admit ships into the country, given British vessels the greater portion of the carrying trade of the country. And even though they yet build many fine sailing vessels, foreign ships last year carried seventy-two per cent. of the trade of their great seaport, New York, leaving only 28 per cent. of the trade of their principal port to be carried in American bottoms to foreign countries. Now sir, I have heard occasional remarks in different parts of the audience, from a few gentlemen who have chosen to come here to disturb the meeting, with reference to steel rails, with reference to the Neebing Hotel, and with reference to one or two other small matters. Let me say this, what I have stated at almost every meeting I have attended, that the only accusation that they can bring against the present Administration is one simply of want of prudence in purchasing rails in advance of the time when they were required. Now, sir, I don't believe that we purchased them too soon; but I say now, as I have said on other occasions, that all the rails we bought we bought by open tender, whereas the rails they bought were purchased through a relative of one of themselves, to whom they paid a commission of two and-one-half per cent., and who cheated the Government of Canada by charging them \$20,000, that we know of, more than he paid the manufacturer; and this person got his two and a-half per cent. even upon that. (Cheers.) Upon a light-ship that was purchased we found that the amount paid this same person was more by \$3,000 or \$4,000 than was paid by him to the builder; we have the judgment of the Court for that. Then at the very time that we were buying rails by

public competition at \$54.60, delivered in Canada, we were receiving deliveries at \$85 of rails that were bought by them. (Cheers.) Now, with regard to the Neebing Hotel, the price paid for this famous hostelry was about \$5,300, if I recollect aright; and all the charge is, that the valuers of the Government valued it too high. Well, I don't know whether they did or not, but if they did, the Government is not to blame. We appointed a Conservative as one of the valuers, joining with him one of our own friends; these gentlemen valued the structure; and yet this is one of the great issues that the Tory party have to go to the elections on—that \$200 or \$300 too much was paid for that Neebing Hotel. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) We found on the other hand that the leader of the Opposition gave one of his friends \$2,500 for nothing (hear, hear) out of the public purse, and we have never got anything for it up to the present time. And yet they have the effrontery to come forward and say that we paid too much through our valuers by \$200 or \$300 for this hotel. We do not hear these gentlemen say that we had kept the secret service fund in our possession. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We never defrauded the Government out of money that was due to the country by a Railway Corporation which was controlled by a political ring. (Hear, hear.) And yet these people attempt to make a cry out of such matters as I have referred to. Why, sir, it is the merest trifling with the workingmen. (Hear, hear, and interruptions.) These gentlemen know as well as I do that the attempt to prevent my having a hearing will assist in securing them one of the worst defeats a party ever sustained. (Long continued and repeated cheering.) And as to their wretched attempts to constitute themselves the friends of the workingman (laughter), that is a now-found friendship. They have suddenly become desperately anxious about the poor workingman (hear, hear and laughter,) and they proclaim themselves his friend in a very patronizing kind of way. Sir, the workingmen need none of their patronage, for the workingmen of this country are able to befriend themselves. (Cheers.) I recollect the day sir, when I first took part in the political struggles of Canada. The workingman was prevented by Tory rule from having a vote of any sort. I recollect that in later times only those who were freeholders were allowed to vote. I recollect, sir, that the poor man, if he voted at all in our large counties, had to travel sometimes one hundred miles, because his vote had to be cast in the county town; and the result of this was that the poor man could not get there to vote, or did so at great expense, and consequently it was an easy matter to carry an election without ensuring a real representation of the people. But the Liberal Party gave self-government to the country. (Long continued and repeated cheers.) The Liberal party fought the battle of responsible Government. The Liberal party gave us Municipal institutions, and thereby laid the foundation of a system of self-government, which for artistic excellence has not its counterpart in the whole wide world. (Cheers.) Why, sir, what did one of the great Tory leaders say of these Municipal institutions? He denounced them as "Sucking Republics," and as a scheme that was to lead this country into a position that would make it impossible for it to remain in connection with the British Empire; that to give the people that power of self-government which Municipal institutions are calculated to confer upon them would be to make them Republicans hostile to British connection. They could not, and would not, trust the people until the efforts of the Liberals compelled them, and now they are the "friends of the workingman." Before that time our Tory rulers, the Family Compact, entrusted the expenditure of all the money spent in the districts where we have our Municipal system now to men appointed by themselves, and these officials expended it any way they pleased. They appointed their Returning officers in the same way. What have we done, sir? We have enfranchised the workingman; we have perfected our municipal system; we have adopted a scheme of taxation which is uniform; and we have brought our responsible Government to a state of the utmost completeness. All this is owing to the efforts—to the vigorous efforts—to the battle fought by the Liberals half a century ago. (Cheers.) Sir, who does not remember the day when these same friends of the workingmen shut the doors of our University against him? No one could go to that University unless he became a subscriber to the Thirty-nine Articles and became a member of the Church of England. It was monopolized by this one denomination, and the seventh of our land was devoted to the establishment of a dominant Church by the Tory party. It was by the vigorous determination and the persevering efforts of the Liberal party, a vast number of whom belong to that same Church, that the power was wrested from a single denomination, and that the University was opened to every man and upon such terms that the humblest son of the humblest workingman may find his way to the position which I now occupy. (Cheers.) I observe you have the motto up here to-night "Alexander Mackenzie, a first-class mechanic." Do you think it would have been possible for an class mechanic in the days of the Family Compact to have been in that position. (Cheers.) The Tories assume with James I., from whom they seem to have all descended—(laughter)—for they are all apparently, in political ethics, about as imbecile as he was—a divine right to rule. I saw not long ago in a Tory paper an accusation made against myself that I was allowing the poor workingman to be robbed of his wages by contractors. What are the facts? One of our con-

tractors on the Ottawa River failed to carry out his contract. I withheld enough money from him to enable me to pay between \$8000 and \$10,000 to the poor workingmen who were in his employ, and who, but for that action of the Government, would have been left without a cent. (Cheers.) We initiated a system of letting public works by contract, under which contractors were compelled to give security to the Government for the execution of their undertakings, either upon real estate or in the shape of deposits of money or other securities. Well, sir, one who gave such security broke down on one of the canal contracts the other day; one of his sub contractors walked off with \$12,000 of money the contractor obtained from the Government, leaving only \$5,000 or \$6,000 in our hands, and owing \$30,000 to the workingmen. As it happened, we had \$14,000 in our hands as security, and we were able to despatch one of our clerks to Montreal from whom everyone of those workingmen received his pay. (Cheers.) These men and newspapers who make such accusations know also that I compelled some contractors on the public works to terminate a system some of them had of paying their men by giving them orders for goods—the old truck system—and to pay them every week or fortnight in cash the whole of their wages. Nevertheless I am branded by those people as an opponent of the workingman; and those who were so much in former days the enemies of the workingmen, they, forsooth, are the friends of the workingmen! They patronize the workingman and take him under their care, and if the workingman will only shut his eyes and open his mouth he will see what he will get. (Cheers and laughter.) The institutions of this country are eminently favourable to the production of a class of workingmen without its equal in any other country of the world. Under the able management of the Local Governments, our educational system has been perfected to such a degree that it is now confessedly the foremost system of education in the world. (Cheers.) Our youth can go from the primary schools to the graded schools, from them to the Collegiate Institutes or Grammar Schools, and from those to the Universities, at a smaller cost than in any other country on the face of the earth. (Cheers.) Our land system is free. We want no protection in it. Any man of ordinary intelligence can go to the statute-book and make out a deed for his land for himself if he likes—though I am bound to say it would be better for him to employ a lawyer to prevent mistakes (Laughter)—so simple is our mode of conveying lands. One of the excellencies of this system is that our workingmen—our farmers, our farm labourers, and a very large portion of our mechanics—have a hold upon the soil; and there can be no real thorough independence of a people in any nation unless they are able to control the possession of the soil. (Cheers.) We know that in what after all might be designated historically the model republic of the world—that is the Swiss Confederation—during many centuries, while their power of self-government was cropping up now and then, the land was held by a comparatively small number of proprietors, and up to a very late period in the history of the Confederation the land-holders were able to control the legislation of the respective cantons, and to secure the supremacy of themselves as rulers. It might occasionally happen, as in some of the Greek republics, that some person should assume under the guise of a governor what was really a dictatorship, or an oligarchy was established, but whether the one or the other the secret of their power lay in the fact that they commanded the soil of the country. Here it is impossible under our system of sub-division, under our system of assessment and taxation, to have any great landed estates, or to have a system of tenancy which would militate against the ascendancy of the people. I have only to say, in conclusion, that it is a matter of little importance to me personally whether I should be defeated or sustained, but it is a matter of vast importance to the interests of the country that the Liberal party to which I belong should be sustained. It is of vast importance to the industrial interests of the country that they should not be murdered, and that the workingmen should not be ruined by a protective policy (hear, hear, and cheers), and I appeal to the workingmen of this city, who, after all, will control the franchise in the city to vindicate their position by supporting those who gave the workingmen the practical and social status which at the present time they hold in Canada. (Loud cheers.) I beg now to thank again the vast majority of this immense audience for listening to me so patiently (renewed cheers), and I also, thank the handful of persons who have been indecently trying to disturb the meeting because I know that their conduct to-night will tell in favour of the Liberal party as much as if the meeting were unanimous. (Hear, and cheers.) I shall never cease while I live and hold a position in the political world to feel grateful to the workingmen of Toronto for the magnificent welcome which they have given me on this, my visit to their city, and I trust that the enthusiasm, the good feeling, and the good taste which they have shown will be rendered still more manifest by their again returning my friend, Mr. Macdonald, to Parliament, and by their placing at the head of the poll the other Liberal candidates in the city of Toronto.

At the conclusion of Mr. Mackenzie's speech, which lasted three hours, almost the entire audience rose to their feet and continued for some time to wave their hats and give a succession of such loud and hearty cheers as have seldom been heard in Toronto.



The Hon. Mr. MOWAT, who was received with prolonged cheering, then addressed the meeting, after which

Mr. GEORGE VENNEL moved a vote of thanks to the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, coupled with the name of the Hon. Mr. Mowat, for the addresses which they had delivered. He regretted the disturbances which a few individuals had been making, but assured the honourable visitor that the noises did not come from any representatives of the working classes, but from those whose interests were entirely antagonistic. The workmen of Toronto attended the meeting to listen in a quiet and orderly manner to the address, and they had done so. They desired to be instructed, and they were instructed. The public press had exposed the trick which had been attempted to be played; but like the type on the bogus ticket, it was too thin. (Cheers.) As workmen they intended to advance workmen's arguments in favour of the revenue tariff, and would invite workmen to discuss the question with them. He concluded by saying that he had no doubt that by the time the general elections took place the majority of those who were so noisy that evening would have been converted to sound Liberal principles. (Cheers.)

Mr. OAKLEY in a few appropriate remarks seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put and declared unanimously carried.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE briefly responded, saying that proud as he was of the honour which had been conferred upon him; he would feel prouder if in a few weeks time or a few months Mr. John Macdonald and all the liberal candidates in this city were elected. This was the second time he had had the honour of addressing a Toronto audience; and he assured the interrupters it would not be the last. (Cheers.) for he intended to make a business of it before he was done. (Cheers.)

The meeting separated after giving three cheers each for the Queen, and the Hon. Messrs. Mackenzie, Mowat, Brown and the Chairman, and it was remarkable that, so well trained were the noisy handful of Tories to hoot in response to any cheering, that, in consistency with their lip-service loyalty, they hooted when three cheers were given for the Queen.

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