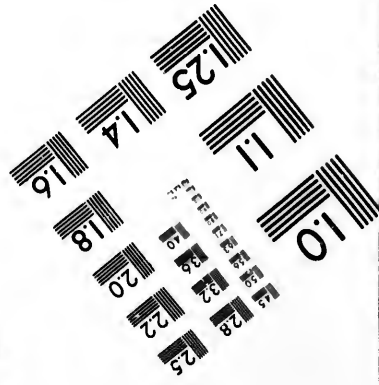
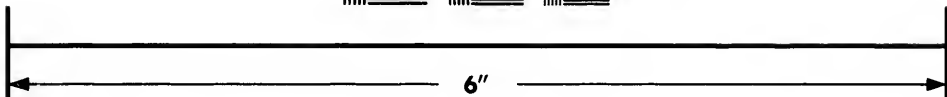
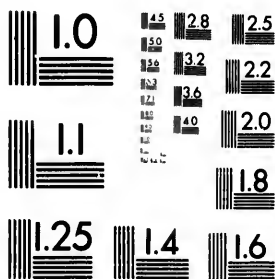


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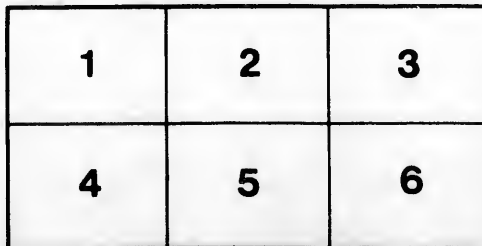
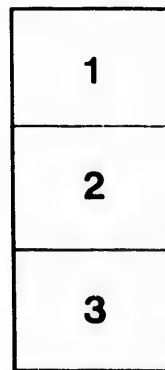
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THE TARIFF.

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

April 1st, 1879,

BY

HON. D. MILLS, M. P.

(From the Official Report of the Debates.)

Mr. MILLS: It is not my intention to answer the observations addressed by the speaker who has just preceded me. I may, however, say, with regard to the hon. member's expressed surprise, that hon. gentlemen on this side of the House, who went to the country on a revenue tariff, expressed themselves in opposition to the system of Protection which these gentlemen had seen proper to dignify by the title of the National Policy. I was returned to this House as an exponent of the principles of Free-trade, as far as our circumstances will permit us to adopt that policy, and I would be recreant to my own convictions of public duty, and to the views of those who saw proper to support me, if I were to adopt the views and support the policy of the Government, simply because they had secured a majority at the elections. I have a very great respect for the system of popular government. I have no doubt whatever that it is decidedly the best, not only for the people of this country, but for every people who are sufficiently advanced, morally and intellectually, to give it a fair and independent trial. I never supposed that the system of

popular government was a system of political infallibility—that the majority were always right and the minority always wrong. If a Government were composed of a select few, if the standard of qualification for the electors were greatly raised, so that we had experts as electors, more advanced opinions might be adopted than with a broader franchise; but the system of popular government was itself a powerful educator, and even should the people occasionally go wrong, and the Government be less efficient than a Government under a more arbitrary or a more restricted system, I would still prefer the present, as it was the one which contributed most largely to the moral and intellectual progress of the people. It was better that we should occasionally go wrong—that we should occasionally blunder, than to go always right by force or by coercion. I am not going to discuss the question of an irredeemable paper currency. The hon. the Finance Minister has not put that forth as one of the principles involved in the so-called National Policy. I do not know whether the hon. gentleman has

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subscribed to the views of the Speaker of the Senate and of some of his supporters behind him, who hold that it is possible for a Government, by mere Act of Parliament, to give value to paper; that all that is necessary to make a nation wealthy is to employ an engraver, and use a paper mill. It had been well observed many years ago by a distinguished English statesman, Mr. Pultney, that the leaders of a Government were like the heads of snakes,—propelled onward by the tail,—and although the Government may not subscribe to the paper currency views of some of their supporters, if hon. gentlemen behind the Treasury benches could accumulate sufficient amount of force, they might propel the hon. gentlemen who occupied them in that particular direction. Like many hon. gentlemen who have preceded me, I regard this as a very grave question. I cannot congratulate hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches on the fulfilment of their promises. The most important of these pledges cannot be kept. The hon. the leader of the Government promised the people of the Maritime Provinces that there should be no increase of the tariff, no additional taxation. Has that promise been kept? The word of the hon. gentleman was pawned, and it has not been redeemed. It has, in fact, been forfeited. This is, on the whole, a thirty-five per cent. tariff. Last summer when a Western journal, the *Advertiser*, charged the hon. gentleman with proposing what we now have before us, what did he say? Why, that "it was an absurd falsehood; neither at London nor elsewhere had he gone beyond his motion in Parliament; that he had never proposed an increase, but only a readjustment of the tariff." How were these words understood by the people of New Brunswick? How are they now being kept? In the Toronto Amphitheatre, that arena where the intellectual gladiators of the Tory party assembled, the hon. gentleman also appeared, and declared himself in favour of the free importation of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and silk. The loss of four and three quarter millions to the revenue was to be made up by better times, and the consumption of more whisky. Has this pledge been kept? The hon. gentleman has a majority in this House—which he

calls a mechanical majority—why, then, does he not remit these taxes? why does he not keep this promise to the workingmen? We heard a great deal here last year about a free breakfast table. How has this hope of the poor man been realised? How earnestly you have laboured to fulfil this pledge! Look at what you have done for the labourer! You tax his cooking stove, you tax his kettle, you tax his fire, you tax his table, you tax his chair, you tax his table linen, you tax the dishes upon the table, you tax his tea, you tax his coffee, you tax his sugar, you tax his salt, you tax his bread, you tax his meat, and when he returns thanks to his Maker, what is it for? Why, that your tax has not yet been extended to the pump and to the hen-house. This is the way you have kept your promise to the poor about a free breakfast table. What now do you tell him? "Why, bless you, my dear sir, you do not know what is good for you. Do you not know that the way to make you prosperous is to take the money out of your pocket? People are made rich by what they pay. You have been well nigh ruined by getting too much for your money. Cheap tea and cheap sugar, cheap coal and cheap furniture, cheap food and cheap clothing have well nigh made you a beggar. They are infinitely worse than the cheap labour of the 'Heathen Chinee,' or any other man who may come hither from abroad. Here is our remedy: 'Be ye warmed, clothed and filled, not by means of coal, cotton, and food, but by a tax of thirty-five per cent. on what you consume.'" I am sure the workingman will understand this. The Finance Minister explains his new system of political economy in this way. He says: "My friends, the Conservative party understand what is best in this matter, but they do the contrary. I do not belong to that wild and visionary class of theorists called political economists. I am a practical statesman, and must look at things as they are. You know that human nature is perverse; that men know what is right, yet they are inclined to do the opposite. We, on this side, all know that Canada is a sacrifice market. The foreign producer pays a part of the price of our cottons, and the United States Government tax their own people, and take the money from the National Treas-

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ury to pay part of the price of the sugar consumed by our people ; and Reformers are blindly enticed on to their ruin by getting too much for their money. We Tories who know better, I am sorry to say, do the same thing. When you find out where you can get most dry goods or groceries for your money, there you foolishly go. You should go to the man who asks much and gives little. This may ruin him if he should find customers ; but I am not considering his case, but yours. We propose to put an end to this state of things by an Act of Parliament. We propose to impose taxes, not simply for revenue, but to check trade and commerce, and by this means 'diminish the volume of our imports from all parts of the world.' This is the doctrine proclaimed from the Treasury benches. How will this help the depressed trade ? How will it promote the prosperity of your shipowners ? The Finance Minister and his friends promised a home market for everything. If successful what became of the revenue ? The hon. gentleman complained of the balance of trade. Up to the 1st of July last there was a balance of \$266,000,000 against this country. Had the hon. gentleman brought himself to believe that this represented the indebtedness of the mercantile community of Canada, to the English and United States merchants, and manufacturers ? Men do not get credit in that way, for a long series of years for large sums beyond what they were able to pay for. The evil of over-trading was one that, if left alone, would correct itself. I could, without difficulty, show that the seeming balance against us, represents mainly the profits and earnings upon our commerce. I am opposed to this policy of restriction. I say to the Finance Minister that I do not agree with him. The people of this country are, in buying and selling, pursuing their own interests, and they ought not to be hindered or impeded in doing so. Each is seeking his own welfare in what he is doing. Why should he be restrained ? I think that each man is more likely to judge rightly than we are to judge rightly for him. If no one buys there will be nothing sold. We have a law empowering a court to take care of the estates of those who are incapable of taking care of

them. This tariff is a general commission of lunacy for the whole nation. A commission to keep people from ruining themselves by buying at too low a rate, and in the wrong market. Let me propose a compromise. I say to gentlemen opposite, you feel that you cannot trust yourselves in the conduct of your private affairs. We have no such misgiving. You take your own course as to your own affairs. You feel, without the interference of the State, that your folly or your perversity will surely make you go wrong. It may be so. We have no such weakness. Leave us free. We are ready and willing to take the risk. Enlarge the jurisdiction of Chancery, and empower it to exercise its jurisdiction on your behalf, that restraint upon your liberty and supervision of your private affairs, which you feel is necessary to your material prosperity ; but let us alone. I have said that this is but a mere instalment of the National Policy. The so-called National Policy professedly covered the whole ground. It dealt with every branch of industry. It promised to the capitalists a larger market and higher prices. It promised to the labourer constant employment and higher wages. It proposed to add to the wealth of all. This measure attempts but in part to fulfil these promises. What steps have you taken to prevent the market, to which the labourer brings his offer of toil, from being made a sacrifice market ? You promised that Canada should be kept for Canadians. This is the policy you broadly avowed. When do you propose to redeem this promise ? Or is this, like others, to be dishonoured ? As you are dealing with the manufacturer, so did you promise to deal with the workingman. You have prohibited the importation of British and United States goods in order that you might protect the home producer. Do you propose to prohibit the foreign labourer from coming in and bringing down the price of labour, or will you allow the labourer to remain unprotected ? Do you propose to keep this promise ? You know that the exclusion of foreign industrial products will not accomplish this result ? The condition of the workingmen of Lowell, Boston, Springfield, New York, Paterson, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, and other United States cities, conclusively settles

this. You know that protection to the manufacturer promises no certain reward to the labourer. You propose to take from him thirty-five dollars out of every hundred dollars that he spends on food, furniture, and clothing. How are you going to compensate him for this system of legalised blunder? Nothing has been established by a wider induction than this—that the cost of living may be increased without any increase of wages—increased frequently when wages are falling. Now, what is your policy of helping the working man? You dare not say to him that the price of labour is regulated by the law of supply and demand, and that you cannot prevent labour becoming cheap when it becomes abundant! You denied this. You called those who held to such theories, flies on the wheel. You belonged to a different class in political zoology. We ask you now to tell the House and the workingmen what you propose? This Parliament, you declared, could be made, in the hands of wise men, such as you yourselves modestly claimed to be, a benevolent institution for the relief of general distress, without any charge upon the National Treasury. I know, Mr. Speaker, that this is a part of the National Policy platform upon which gentlemen on that side stood at the last elections. It is a part about which they now do not care to hear. It is, no doubt, a disagreeable subject. It was most unhealthy food to give the poor man, but let me say to gentlemen on the Treasury benches, you gave it. You profited by its use, and now I ask you what do you propose to do? You brought crowds of labourers to the doors of Parliament last Session to demand work. You traded upon the misfortunes and the sufferings of the poor. You told the country that, if you were put upon those benches, you would untie your bag and exhibit your "ready relief." It is not yet forthcoming. When is it to be exhibited? It is, Sir, to me a matter of astonishment to find gentlemen still at large advocating the interposition of Parliament, not to remove the shackles of a darker age, but to impose new shackles upon industry, upon commerce, not for reasons of State, but to contribute to the production of wealth. Do hon. gentlemen propose to fix the price of

commodities by Act of Parliament? Do they propose to take into consideration the advantages or disadvantages of locality, and vary their protection accordingly? When I speak of gentlemen being at large, I did not mean to include the Minister of Finance. We know he is not. He may not have been confined, but he is, and has been, in the custody of a self-constituted national police. They have taken possession of him, and he sits here as their hostage, and as the exponent of their demands. They have put him and his colleagues where they are. They have made these hon. gentlemen officially what they are, and they are bound to perform the work assigned to them by their masters. This body is distinct from the Tory party. They will support Ministers just so long, and no longer, than it is their interest to do so. We know, Sir, the Tory party. They are, under the guardianship of the Premier, and are whatever he may desire them to be. They are his people, the goats of his pasture. They follow him. When he favours Free-trade, so do they. But they have instinctive preferences, and, when he proposes a Jingo policy, even though it be in a small way, they are specially pleased. It is true the hon. gentleman has a large majority in this House, but when we look at the electoral vote, we know that the hon. gentleman has not a large majority outside; we know that, upon the policy of Protection, the country is nearly equally divided. Nearly one-half have pronounced against the course which gentlemen opposite vaguely proposed to take. We see how far you have gone, and what you have still to undertake. I know, Sir, it has become fashionable on that side of the House to deride political economy. Smith and Mill, Cairnes and Fawcett are regarded as visionaries whom men of common sense, whom real statesmen, would never consult. Well, Sir, I am afraid but few of the men, who, in England have, for the past forty years, been regarded as statesmen would escape this ban. I look at the speeches of Huskisson, Villiers, C. P. Thompson, Sir James Graham, Sir Robert Peel, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Russell; and, in the discussion of financial subjects, I find them

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everywhere interspersed with quotations from Smith, Ricardo, and other writers upon political economy. They would be classed by gentlemen opposite among the visionary and speculative members whose habits of mind excluded them from the domain of practical statesmanship. I know, Sir, that hon. gentlemen on that side look with contemptuous pity on that deluded nation across the Atlantic, with which we are politically united. They turn away with loathing from the expository and argumentative statements made by those incompetent and imbecile men, such as Sir Robert Peel, Sir G. C. Lewis, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Gladstone, by whom the people of Great Britain have been blindly guided for a third of a century. These gentlemen declare they dislike political economy; that Butler understands questions of finance better than Gladstone, and that the political atmosphere of Washington is more invigorating than that at Westminster. We must not, upon the fiscal policy of this country, think for ourselves. That, Sir, would be presumptuous. Standing with our heads uncovered, we will not dissent from the superior wisdom of our august neighbours. They are wise. We will walk in their footsteps. We will imitate Congress. Whatever they do at Washington, at Ottawa we must do likewise. Gentlemen opposite mingle menace with worship, bluster with adulation. To this the Premier has educated his party. I congratulate him on his success. Let us see from what and to what the Tory party have been led. Sir, we all remember the great Civil War in the United States. We know, in one-half of that Republic, four millions of human beings were held as property. That war became a struggle for freedom upon the one side, and for oppression upon the other. The hon. leader and his party, true to their party instincts, took the side of the oppressors,—for what people or what cause ever had the sympathy of that party unless they or it were opposed to freedom and to progress? Every success of Southern arms was cheered. To emancipate the poor negro was regarded as a calamity. And above all things, and before all things, they desired that the mighty Republic, which had stood for ninety years a visible testimony

to the capacity of man for self-government, should be broken up. They were doomed to disappointment. The spirit of freedom was unchained by the execution of John Brown. It called all the North to arms, and the Northern volunteers marched to the battle field to the music of his name. The South was subdued. The Union was restored. Slavery perished. The cause of popular freedom triumphed. During the struggle of the Civil War high taxes were imposed. The spirit of avarice followed in the footsteps of the spirit of freedom. Abuses grew up. Oppressive monopolies were established. Rings were formed as powerful in the State as were the great barons of the mediæval period. There was now another system of servitude only less hateful than the one Providence had forced the nation to destroy. Well, Sir, this was something with which the Tory party could sympathise; and the Government, which fifteen years ago, was an object of insult, has committed a folly that has made it an object of worship. We see the Tory party, in changing the language of abuse and insult for the language of praise, have not travelled very far. Upon questions of trade and taxation our American neighbours lag far behind the statesmen of the United Kingdom. The hon. the Premier and his party dislike this onward march of Fatherland. It wearies them. It may be sweet to dream of the sea-girt isle; but on the whole they prefer the company of those in the rear. Their island home is far beyond the wave, and the profound thoughts, wise maxims and generous sentiments of her statesmen, which, for a time, were stumbling blocks, have now become foolishness to gentlemen opposite. They have fallen in with another people by the way, for whom they have learned to entertain the highest admiration. The hon. gentleman, in his educating process, has, in some respects, metamorphosed the Tory party. We remember the Tory of former years, who loudly proclaimed his resolution to stand by a united Empire at all hazards. He was a wholly different person from your Tory whose loyalty is measured by 35 per cent., your dealer in pinch-beck and the second-hand clothing of Congress, who is ready to stand by his own pocket if given a share of the contents of his

neighbour's pocket. It is true that he is still noisy. He still dislikes that any dissent from his leader's views should be tolerated. He still dislikes the trouble, the labour of seeking for truth, and he still cherishes an unrelenting animosity against whatever and whoever shakes his faith in the infallibility or public impeccability of his chief. Fortunate leader! Contented party! Unfortunate country! The hon. gentleman and his friends have taken a new departure. They have asked the people, for the first time as a matter of choice, to put them in a position of commercial antagonism to the Mother Country. There have been times when the Tory party confounded their interests with those of the Crown, and sought to bully the Sovereign's representative into becoming an instrument of injustice and oppression in their hands. There have been times when, in the heat of passion, they threatened the connection. But this is the first time that, while profiting by the free markets of the United Kingdom, they proposed a policy of prohibition in return. Hon. gentlemen had denounced the commercial policy of the United States as narrow, illiberal, grossly unfair to Canada. Be it so, I am not going to dispute the accuracy of this statement. Canada had not lent its credit to the United States. Canada incurred no expense to give security to the commerce and shipping of the United States. There is illiberality. There are very mistaken and shortsighted views of public policy exhibited towards other nations in the fiscal legislation of the United States, but there was not ingratitude. We can say to them no more than King Lear said to the storm; but England may say of us what King Lear said of his daughters. England has adopted a Free-trade policy. Her Government put no barriers in the way of your trade. Her people take millions every year of the products of your industry. They offer in exchange goods cheaper and better than you can make for yourselves, and how do you deal with them? You propose to erect fiscal barriers that will prove insuperable. You tax her iron, you tax her cutlery, you tax her calicoes; you tax her carpets, you tax her porcelain. It is true, if these goods are purchased, the tax is paid by the people

of this country. But they do not complain that you tax them. They understand the question too well to make such complaint. But they do complain that you made it impossible for your own people to buy from them. You say that for twelve years this country has been on its knees to the authorities at Washington. That you have been praying for more liberal trade relations with the United States. You have abased yourselves to no purpose. You now raise yourselves from the dust, and by the superior wisdom of your leader you are going to evolve from his head all that is necessary to make you great and wealthy, and also the means of making them your tributaries and dependents. This, we know, Sir, is the merest gasconade. But suppose it all true, you have been all wrong before. If Protection is a good thing, why did you seek for freer trade with them? What made you go on your knees to them? Why did you so earnestly strive for more unrestricted trade with a people whom you say sell you goods at ruinously low rates after their goods are burdened with costs of carriage and $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty? Not ruinously low to the producer, for you have gravely assured us that it is one of the elements of his prosperity, but ruinously low to the consumer. How strange is this gospel of Protection! This world of the Protectionist is a new world of thought. Twice two will not make four in it. Men are made wealthy by what they pay out. They are made poor by getting too much for their money. I again revert to this effort to secure reciprocity. Why did you seek more intimate trade relations? If Protection, as you say, is necessary to vary your industry; if a whole people are forever doomed to till the soil without Protection, why did you so long, so earnestly, so importunately, so unwisely, strive for Free-trade upon the basis of reciprocity, or upon any basis? Let me here read the motion of the Prime Minister when he was leader of the Opposition last year. The hon. gentleman's motion reads as follows: "That this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of the National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff would benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and the

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other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada being made a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an inter-provincial trade, and moving (as it ought to do) in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for the country, eventually, a reciprocity of trade." This, Sir, is the National Policy in the germ. We have before us a part of the monstrosity, after thirteen months' gestation, by the hon. leader of the Government. What does this mean? What does the hon. gentleman mean by fostering inter-provincial trade? For what reason is it to be fostered? If it is profitable, it does not require to be fostered. Self-interest will keep it alive. For what reason, then, is it to be fostered? Is it on grounds of public policy, wholly apart from economic reasons? I admit that inter-provincial trade, mutually advantageous to those who engage in it, is of great political importance. But the political importance of our inter-provincial trade is not diminished by Free-trade with our neighbours. If it is a political necessity that Ontario should use Nova Scotia coal, and that Nova Scotia should use Ontario flour, why do you wish to divert the coal trade to Boston and the flour trade to New York by a treaty of reciprocity? The fact is, the resolution is made up of mutually destructive propositions. If inter-provincial trade in all things produced in the Dominion is necessary, why should you seek a reciprocity of trade with our neighbours, when you know it will greatly diminish our inter-provincial trade? If Ontario ought, for reasons of State, or for occult reasons of political economy, hidden from Free-traders and Englishmen, but revealed to the Premier and those who follow him, to purchase Nova Scotia coal, why seek to bring about reciprocal Free-trade in coal? The resolution of last year affirms that Protection is necessary to stimulate and vary the industries of the country; that it is necessary to keep up inter-provincial trade; that both are

necessary to national unity and to diversified industry. So far your course is consistent, your aim intelligible, but you intimate your desire to eventually secure a reciprocity of trade, not with all the world, but with the United States. And what is to be the effect of this ultimate blessing? According to the doctrine of this resolution, it is to stop the growth of manufactures and diminish inter-provincial trade. Hon. gentlemen will find that they have surpassed the public expectation. I say to these hon. gentlemen, you pointed out to the people of Canada what an illiberal policy the Congress of the United States had pursued towards this country; you aroused their indignation; you told them that they paid some millions of dollars yearly into the United States treasury. The majority had too much sense to believe you; but—no matter what the consequence might be—they were ready to retaliate because they were offended at the unwise and illiberal course which Congress had pursued. They favoured retaliation, but they were not converts to the policy of Protection. We, Sir, took a different view. We were not disposed to engage in a Japanese duel with them, because we knew well that it was greatly against the interest of the people of this country, and we preferred being the victims, rather than the instruments, of public folly. Our part was the part of honest men, and I rest contented, notwithstanding the taunts of hon. gentlemen opposite, being perfectly confident, when passion has subsided, what the public judgment will be. But I say, Sir, to these gentlemen upon the Treasury benches, and to those behind them, you have exceeded your authority, you have fallen short of your promises. Much that you promised you have not undertaken. Much that you have undertaken you dared not have promised. You profited by the indignation that you aroused against the United States. You won by it. It was a foul success. How have you used it? Why, Sir, to make war on the commerce of the United Kingdom. You told the farmers that you favoured reciprocity (although we knew the contrary)—that you did not want a one-sided reciprocity. Why, then, do you level the shafts of your malignant policy against the commerce of the British Islands? Why do you

make our trade with them a one-sided reciprocity? You know that this is a part of your policy that you concealed—that you denied; for we told the people that the instruments of gain into whose hands you had fallen would lead you irresistibly forward into a policy of the deepest consequence. But you vehemently protested your innocence. That policy is now upon us. The Finance Minister informed the House that, under the system of taxation adopted, a large portion of the taxes were to be raised upon imports from the United States. He said that this was the proper course to pursue. He said that this House would not object to taking a larger proportion of the additional taxation out of the people of the United States than out of the United Kingdom. Why? Because the people of England receive everything we send them without taxation. In my opinion the hon. gentleman, by this scheme, taxes neither. He proposes to burden most heavily the people of Canada. It's we, and not they of England, or of the United States, who will have these taxes to pay. Yes, Sir, and millions more, for I shall show that by this fell measure many millions will be taken from the pockets of the people that will never reach the public treasury. This measure imposes a tax upon the entire trade of the country—domestic and foreign. But I deny that the hon. gentleman has, by this measure, placed his burdens mainly upon our trade with the United States. Let me, for a moment, examine the scheme of taxation here submitted for our approval. The hon. gentlemen, I suppose, does not claim the tax imposed upon wheat, flour, corn and oats, which are re-shipped for the European market. These taxes, if paid, are to be returned, and if hon. gentlemen are right, most improperly returned to the exporter. There may be serious impediments in the way of trade, but they are not sources of public revenue; and, therefore, must be left wholly out of the calculation. On the quantity of brandy imported last year the present tariff will impose \$84,173 additional taxation. Of this sum, \$23,018 will fall upon English and \$1,162 upon United States trade. Upon gin you impose an additional tax of \$42,400, \$12,800 of which falls upon

English trade, and \$247 upon the trade with our neighbours. Upon whisky, \$13,800 additional taxation, of which \$12,800 will fall upon the trade with England, and \$1,000 upon that with the United States. At your proposed rate of taxation, we would have paid on iron and other metals imported from the United States last year, \$100,000, instead of \$16,500; and upon similar imports from England \$655,000, instead of \$86,000. You would have imposed upon metallic imports from the United States \$83,500 additional taxes, and upon metallic imports from England \$569,000—nearly twenty-five per cent. of the whole sum that you propose to raise. Last year you collected a Customs tax of \$108,500 upon woollen goods imported from the United States. You, at the same time, collected \$1,416,000 upon woollen goods imported from the United Kingdom. You have changed a tariff of 17½ per cent. into a tariff varying from 20 per cent. to nearly 40 per cent. You have scrupulously provided that the best goods shall pay the smallest tax. I assume that you did this in the interest of the workman, since you have proceeded upon the theory that it is the man who is most burdened that is most benefited. As you have put these burdens on, not to meet the public necessities, but to promote the private interests of the population, it is plain that you have not overlooked the poor man, the widow, and the orphan. You have carefully provided that they shall feel the weight of your paternal hand. I find that if we should import from England and the United States under the new tariff the same quantities of woollen goods that we did last year under the old, that \$57,000 of additional taxation would fall upon the imports from the United States, and \$614,000 upon woollens imported from the Mother Country. Let me now, Sir, refer to the tax upon cotton goods. Last year we collected upon cottons imported from the British Isles a tax of \$770,549, and upon cottons imported from the United States \$470,185. Under the proposed tariff you would have imposed upon the same goods from England \$1,491,000, and upon those from the United States \$828,000. How, then, does your tariff stand so far?

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English imports pay of the additional taxation upon strong liquors, brandy, gin, rum and whisky.....	\$ 50,000
Upon metals.....	569,000
Upon woollens.....	614,000
Upon cottons.....	720,451

Making a total of.....\$1,953,451

When you foot up the additional tax upon these same classes of imports from the United States, you have a very different result upon them :

The additional tax would be, on	
liquors.....	\$ 2,500
Upon metals.....	83,500
Upon woollens.....	57,000
Upon cottons.....	358,000

Making a total of.....\$501,000

I need not pursue this part of the subject further. I have said enough to show this House and the country that the new burden does not fall mainly upon our commerce with the United States. The hand of the Finance Minister is raised, like the hand of Ishmael, against all who have the temerity to trade with us ; but the chief blow is aimed at the parent State. Last year, Sir, we imported into Canada raw materials—products of various kinds—to the amount of \$31,423,000. Under the present tariff upwards of two-thirds in value of these free imports would have been subject to taxation. But why not the whole ? Why not tax raw cotton ? We object because we think it adds to the price ; but you hold the contrary. Why, then, do you not compel the southern planter to pay something on the cotton wool ? Upon this there will be nothing to remit. You know that much of these imports which you pretend to tax really do not enter into consumption, but are manufactured, or partially manufactured, and sent abroad ; the money collected upon them on the plan proposed, will be returned to the parties by whom it is paid. From much the hon. gentleman expects no revenue. Why, then, does he impose the tax to the great injury of commerce ? The Minister of Finance and his colleagues have entered upon a policy that will produce untold mischiefs to the prosperity of this country. We imported last year cotton to the value of \$7,104,517. Upon that we paid \$1,248,000 duty. The new

tariff will add \$1,100,000 more. Then, we manufacture in Canada about 26,000,000 yards of cotton. The tariff will advance the price of this home production by not less than \$270,000. The cotton that now coats the wholesale dealers \$10,000,000 will cost them, under the new tariff, \$11,400,000. If we suppose that the population retained the same power of purchasing under the new tariff that they possessed under the old, they would not be able to purchase as much cotton as before by nearly 15,000,000 of yards, or 18½ yards less to every family of the Dominion. Your measure is not one to clothe the naked, but to denude the poor. But this, Sir, by no means represents what must be the actual results. This measure re-distributes annually the profits upon industry. It will diminish the profits of not less than 70 per cent. of the population by not less than 15 per cent. You are inflicting a double wrong upon the poorest part of the people. You increase the cost of what they have to buy. You largely diminish the amount of their earnings. Take the case of the young mechanic who just begins housekeeping. You now tax him from 30c. to \$1 a yard upon his carpet. You tax him 30 per cent. upon his stoves for Messrs. Gurney, and 30 per cent. upon his porcelain for some one else. He buys his furniture, for which he pays \$300, and he discovers that \$105 of this sum is tribute money, that, by this tariff, he is compelled to pay to the hon member for Centre Toronto. How will he regard this Parliament, which has proved itself a stepmother to him ? Do you think, when he sees the palatial mansions of these pensioners of the State, and when he learns of the immense fortunes that have in this way been secured to those whose names are in your golden book, that he will not regard property as robbery ? You have upwards of 40,000 carpenters upon whose tools, food and clothing, you propose to lay a duty of at least 20 per cent., what compensation have you given them ? Their wives and children, for whom they must provide, number 160,000 ; how are you helping them ? It is not in your power to give them any help. To them your policy is worse than the policy of the "fly on the wheel." You can do nothing for them. You are

doing much that is to their detriment. Let us see, Sir, what the Finance Minister does for the blacksmiths of Canada. In 1871 there were 15,694. Now there cannot be less than 20,000. They represent a population of 100,000 souls. What have you done for these people? You have taxed their tools 30 per cent.; you have taxed their steel 10 per cent.; you have taxed their iron $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; you have taxed their horse shoe nails 30 per cent.; you have taxed their coal 50c. per ton; you have taxed their bread and meat; everything they wear; you have taxed all they use to make their houses decent and their families comfortable. There is not one of them whose burdens will not be increased by at least fifty dollars a year. What have you done for them? Why, you have sent your agents to scour the United Kingdom and the Continent to find others to come out and settle down beside them, and compete with them to keep down their charges. Is this your policy of Canada for the Canadians? Is this the way you keep your promise to these 20,000 people, and the 80,000 women and children depending upon them? Why is this system of extortion and robbery to be practised upon them? Why, Sir, the reason is obvious. It is that some half-dozen speculators, greedy of gain, may produce a small quantity of very dear iron. They are the poor wretches to whom you have listened, and for whose welfare you have shown your tender regard. Do you think the mechanics will not understand you? You propose to help the farmer by taxing the farm produce of the United States, which is imported into this country. What is this but another act of your injustice—your folly! I hope, Sir, to be able to make plain to this House, and the country, that what you proposed may do much mischief, but can do no good. When you have a fair foreign trade well established, the productions from abroad of a similar kind sent into your market will always do much more good than harm. You prevent waste both in labour and carriage. In many cases, vessels can bring return cargoes of breadstuffs from Boston or New York, at but little cost to the consumer. Now you make it a choice between paying the tax or incurring the expense of a

long drive to some distant railway station. You propose not to recognise, but to waste labour and capital. The untaxed trade gave to the consumer a greater liberty of choice. They, from superior facilities of transit, lessen the cost to the consumer; they tend to open new markets for the surplus products of your country. Permit me to illustrate this principle by our trade as it has been. Last year we imported into Canada 7,387,477 bushels of corn from the United States, at 47c. a bushel. We used about 1,000,000 of bushels for purposes of distillation, upon which there was paid to the forwarder 6c. a bushel. We consumed for the purpose of stock-feeding 2,400,000 bushels, upon which the freights and charges were 8c. a bushel; and we shipped abroad 3,987,600 bushels, upon which the freights and profits were 38c. a bushel. The prices quoted as the value at the place of shipment in Canada, is 67c., and the ocean freight 18c. Now let me point out to you the whole effect of this transaction. You have, first, 1,000,000 bushels of corn upon which the profits and earnings amount to \$60,000; it is made into 3,500,000 gallons of whiskey, which you tax \$3,800,000. I do not speak of this business as contributing itself to the production of wealth. The farmers used 2,400,000 bushels, upon which they pay \$196,000 for freights and profits to the forwarders and dealers, and 3,987,600 bushels are sent abroad, upon which the earnings and profits amounted to \$1,515,288. In other words, for these 7,387,000 bushels of foreign corn, our dealers paid \$3,481,172, and received \$5,252,460—a difference of \$1,771,288. But this by no means represents the whole of the earnings and profits of the forwarder. If our farmers did not consume this corn they would consume some other kind of grain, the product of their farms, having a greater market value, but no greater value for the purpose of stock-breeding. Whether the corn sets free peas or barley, depends upon the market value of each. Whichever has the greatest market value for the time being will be most largely displaced, for the substitution of corn for either is a matter of profit. Last year we exported 2,420,000 bushels of peas for \$1,984,000.

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Now, as we imported for stock-feeding 2,400,000 bushels of corn, we were enabled to export 2,400,000 bushels of peas, that would otherwise have been retained in the country for farm consumption. The corn costs the forwarder 47c. It costs the farmer 8c. more, or 55c., so that the corn used by the farmers cost them \$1,344,000. The peas sold for \$1,967,000, or \$623,000 more than was paid for an equal quantity of corn. The forwarder received his 18c. a bushel ocean freight on these 2,400,000 bushels of peas, the same as if he had carried directly through the corn that the farmer took in exchange. Upon these he receives \$432,000. How, then, does this matter ultimately stand? The forwarder earns \$2,209,288, and the farmers gain \$632,000; in all there are \$2,832,288 gained or earned by Canadians by their being allowed to deal without restraint in United States corn. This trade gives our vessels 200,000 tons of freight to carry from the Detroit River to Liverpool. In 1878 we imported 2,160,000 bushels of oats at 30c., and exported 2,430,000 at 43c. The latter were exported from Prince Edward Island, and the former were brought into Western Ontario. The 13c. a bushel difference are due to freights and an eastern market. A large portion of the oats imported were ground into oatmeal and sent to the European market. A very small proportion was consumed in Canada. If oats and corn were not produced more largely in the west, it was simply because the farmers could more profitably employ their land, labour and capital. In carrying these imported oats to Europe the sum of \$280,000 is earned yearly, and this would be sacrificed under this policy, which is seriously against the interests of both farmers and shipowners. You propose to restrain this trade and turn it away from Canada, and you propose to secure for your merchantmen one-sixtieth the tonnage from China to Montreal which they already have from China to New York. These people are not calling out for restrictions upon other people's freedom. They ask for no special favour at your hands. Is not the capital they have invested in ship-building well invested? Does it not serve to diversify labour? Are not the masters and their hardy and adventurous men as

well employed for the country as those who are in the workshops and in the factories? Look at the consequence of their employment. See your ship-yards with their workmen. Look at your lumbermen in the forest. Whether they labour or starve depends upon the prosperity of your commerce. I speak for the capitalist who has put his money in your ships—that you shall not deny him the privilege of freely earning what he can. I speak for the ship-builder in your ship yards, and for the mariner who goes down to the sea, that you shall not deny them the liberty to toil. They want to be let alone. Your paternal policy will be as fatal to them as the tunic of Nessus was to Hercules. You may talk of free ships and cheap and untaxed material for ships, as if you had a special interest in their prosperity. Why, if taxation confers special blessings upon those upon whom it falls, do you deny the shipowner the privilege of sharing it? You profess special regard for his welfare, while you have deliberately set yourself to work to destroy the commerce upon which his prosperity depends. Your taxation may destroy, but it never can protect. Let me, for a moment, invite the attention of the House to the grain trade for the past three years. Our imports and exports were as follows:—

IMPORTS, 30TH JUNE, 1875, TO 30TH JUNE, 1878.

	Bushels.	Value.	Value per bushel.
Wheat.....	16,059,916	\$17,425,274	\$1.08½
Corn.....	19,281,717	10,150,861	52½
Barley.....	703,350	390,449	50
Peas and beans.	27,342	51,531	1.66
Oats.....	4,479,918	1,470,689	33
	30,552,273	\$29,488,804	

EXPORTS, '75-'78.

Wheat.....	21,317,728	\$26,149,974	\$1.22½
Corn.....	10,117,814	6,709,369	66½
Peas....	6,644,395	5,541,420	83½
Oats.....	9,071,236	3,843,820	42½
Barley.....	24,298,698	16,689,693	68
	71,446,371	\$58,884,281	

EARNINGS—LAND AND RIVER TRANSPORT.

	Quantity.	
Wheat.....	16,059,945	at 14½c = \$2,288,841
Corn.....	10,117,814	at 13½c = 1,382,767
Barley.....	703,350	at 18 c = 126,603
Oats.....	4,479,918	at 9½c = 215,892
Peas.....	6,644,395	at 6 c = 398,663

38,005,423

\$4,412,466

	<i>Ocean Bushels. freight.</i>	
	38,005,423	18c \$6,840,976
Total freights '75-'78.		11,252,442

If, Sir, the House will consider how largely our own products are set free for the foreign market, the carrying of which is wholly in our own hands, we will see how much we have gained. We would have shipped across the Atlantic about 31,000,000 bushels of agricultural products, instead of 71,450,000 bushels, and the ocean freights earned would have been \$5,800,000, instead of \$12,300,000. We import from the United States about 15,000,000 of bushels of grain annually. Except the corn used for purposes of distillation, it all goes abroad or sets free some product of this country, which takes its place as ocean freight. The average annual surplus of agricultural products at the cities upon the lakes for the last four years has been 66,000,000 bushels of wheat, 5,000,000 barrels of flour, and 65,000,000 bushels of corn. That is from the United States cities of the St. Lawrence—for the lakes are but a part of this great river—153,000,000 bushels of wheat and corn are carried to the European markets. By whom is this to be done? At one time you thought it was a wise course to put forward an effort to secure this mighty trade of nearly five millions of tons of freight yearly. You ran into debt to obtain the money to enlarge your canals, in order that you might secure this trade. You are paying yearly the interest upon this money. How have you succeeded? You have carried one bushel in seventeen of the wheat, and this you did mainly through the agency of your millers. Apart from these, you have done nothing. They have given additional freights to your railways, and to your shipping. They have given employment to your coopers. They have given better prices to your farmers, because they have been enabled to make a better article of flour than they could from the Canadian wheat alone. You say here that this is hurtful, and in order to cripple the business you tax it. You know this tax does no good, and great harm. It does not advance the price of wheat or flour one cent. The United States tried it, and had it been successful neither their wheat nor their flour would have

been brought here. Men do not buy in a dear market to sell in a cheap one. Why then do you persist in ruining the trade to keep up the delusion of your being the farmer's friend? If your tax comes out of the producer, why do you remit duty to your millers when they export the produce they have imported? You forbid the cooper and the carrier to buy the article upon which his labour has been expended, and by which his wages have been earned, and you do this to give the idle employment, [the] employed better wages, and the capitalist larger profits! But we see, in this case, how it produces the very reverse of what you promised. And what about your canals and the carrying trade? You see how great it is. You see how little you have secured; upon that little you now propose a war of extermination. Is this wise? Why then did you burden the people with the canal debt? Was the hope drunk in which you then dressed yourself? Has it slept since, and is the scheme you now present your sober, second thought? I do not think the public will long agree with you. I am consoled by thinking so, for I regard this tariff on economic grounds, on general grounds of public policy, and on social and moral grounds, as the greatest calamity that has ever befallen this country. I pass on, Sir, to another feature of this tariff—that connected with the sugar trade. I find that the changes in the tariff are very far from being in the interest of the people of this country. It will give them an inferior article at a higher price. It will largely diminish the revenue from sugar. The tariff which has been superseded was framed by Sir John Rose in 1868. It remained in force for ten years. A slight reduction was made in April, 1875, upon the lower grades of raw sugar—25c. per hundred pounds. The duty imposed upon sugars imported into the United States are remitted when the sugar is re-exported. It is precisely the same to us or to any others who purchase it as if no such duty had ever been imposed. The quantity of sugar imported into the United States is very large. The quantity exported is very small. They import about 1,500,000,000 pounds annually. They export to this country about 45,000,000 pounds, and to

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all other countries not much more. Of the 1,500,000,000 of pounds imported, not more than 80,000,000 are exported—about one pound in twenty. It will be seen from this statement how very slightly, indeed, any excess of drawback that it would be possible to give could affect the general prosperity of the refiner. I pointed out to the House in 1876 the only way in which it was possible to receive a bounty at all by importing superior grades of raw sugars, degraded according to the coloured standard by the use of aniline dyes. In so far as the duty upon sugar is regulated by the colour, it is always capable of being diminished by the introduction of dyed sugars. A sugar dealer going from Canada or the United States to the West Indian sugar market, and finding very dark sugars offered for sale, some of which are very dark on account of their impurity, and some because they have been coloured, will buy whichever proves most profitable. In calculating the probable profit from each, the questions of duty and remission of duty become elements in the calculation. Now, there was a chance of paying less, and receiving more upon sugar re-exported under a tariff based upon the Dutch standard. A larger quantity of superior refined sugars were made from those coloured sugars, and for a time some bonus was secured upon a part of what was re-exported. But the small percentage of exports shows that this applied to but a small quantity of United States refined sugars. The people of the United States have imported, for some years, about 1,500,000,000 of pounds of sugar, and their exports amount to about 90,000,000 of pounds. Their tariff, as I have already said, induced their refiners to import superior low sugars to refine for exportation, and we had accordingly received from the United States refined sugars of a very high quality. This is the conclusion to which we have been led from the probabilities of the case. Let us here again refer to them. The American tariff is based, to the extent of 37½ per cent., upon the Dutch standard. The dyed sugars are of a very high quality intrinsically, containing from 95 to 98 per cent. of crystallisable sugar. They contained but little glucose and very

little ash. They, being coloured, paid in part the duty of a low standard, and received, as a drawback, the duty they would have paid if undyed, and when tested they were found to contain nothing but pure cane sugar. So far then as the consumer was concerned, it was his interest to obtain the United States refined sugar. Now, what is to be the effect of this tariff? It would be simply this: to exclude every pound of sugar from our markets, except the lowest grades of raw sugars from the West Indies or South America. Last year we imported sugar—he left melado, molasses and syrups out of consideration—to the value of \$5,982,078, which paid a tax amounting to \$2,515,655, being about forty-two per cent. *ad valorem*. What we imported below number 9, Dutch standard, paid a duty equal to 39 per cent. *ad valorem*, which showed that the assertion that the lower grades of sugar, under the former tariff, paid a higher duty upon value than those of a superior quality, is not well founded. What I now wish to point out to the House is, that this tariff is especially arranged against the consumer, and against the interests of commerce, but in the interest of the refiner and the refiners alone. Let me take in the first case, the American refined sugars. These averaged, last year, \$6.26 per hundred pounds, say 6¼c. a pound. The account under the new tariff will stand as follows:—

100 pounds.....	\$6 25
U. S. Custom tax.....	3 16
1 cent per pound specific tax.....	1 09
35 per cent.....	3 29

Total cost, freight and charges excluded, is..... \$10 54

Under the old tariff the cost would have been.....	\$6 25
1 cent per pound specific duty.....	1 00
25 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i>	1 56

The total cost..... \$8 81
 or \$1.73 less than under the new tariff.
 This would be additional tax paid upon United States sugars, or upon any sugars of the same quality.

Mr. TILLEY: You stated we would not get our sugar from the United States.

Mr. MILLS: I do not think we will in legitimate trade. I am of opinion that the hon. the Finance Minister will discover by and by that the people along the border will consume sugar that, some how or other, does not appear in the Custom House returns. Now, the moment a refinery is started, the importation of United States sugars would be at an end. Take English and Scotch sugars:

They average per 100 pounds.....	\$5 20
Specific dut,	1 00
35 per cent. <i>ad valorem</i>	1 82
Total.....	\$8 02

As against \$7.50 under the old tariff, being an increase of duty of 52c. on every hundred pounds.

Mr. TILLEY: We do not collect it from England that way.

Mr. MILLS: The hon. gentleman collects a tax on all imported sugars.

Mr. TILLEY: There is no duty in England.

Mr. MILLS: I speak of the tax here. Would the hon. gentleman contend that this advance of 52c. a hundred in the price of English and Scotch sugars would not bring sugars refined in Canada up to the price that would barely exclude foreign sugars to a price above that which sugars now command in the Canadian markets? The moment refineries were started in Canada, these sugars would be as effectively excluded as those of the United States. Let me call your attention to the operation of this tariff upon the better class of raw sugars. Since sugars have ceased to be refined in Canada, our West Indian imports have been mostly of this class, and they have cost:

Per 100 pounds.....	\$4 36
1c. per pound specific duty.....	1 00
<i>Ad valorem</i>	1 30

Making a total value of.....\$6 66

These higher grades of raw sugar will also be shut out of the Canadian market. Now, I have before me the prices of three cargoes of sugar purchased in Cuba this year, and they are as follows:—10th March, 812,900 pounds gross, 716,353 nett, \$18,226.86 = \$2.54; 24th January, 389,742 pounds gross, 342,973 nett,

\$8,145.60 = \$2.37; 3rd March, 226,600 pounds gross, 199,408 nett, \$5,047.51 = \$2.53. Now, if we take \$2.50 as the average price of ordinary refining sugar, we have this result:

100 pounds.....	\$2 50
Specific duty.....	50
<i>Ad valorem</i>	75

Making a total value of.....\$3 75

I assume that the freights will not vary much. What results, then, have we? We have these sugars imported, less the freights, at \$3.75. The refiner has then to cover the cost of refining and waste the following sums:—As against United States sugars, \$6.79; as against English and Scotch, \$4.27; as against superior raw sugars, \$2.91. If \$3 per hundred pounds were paid, we would have:

100 pounds.....	\$3 00
Specific duty.....	50
<i>Ad valorem</i>	90
	<hr/> \$4 40

And if you suppose the price paid would reach the high sum of \$3.50 a hundred, the tax would only amount to \$1.55. Would the hon. gentleman say that this will not at once call into existence establishments for refining sugar in this country, and if it does, what must be the effect upon the revenue? In 1875, we collected upon every hundred pounds imported from the United States \$2.26; from Great Britain, \$2.25; from the West Indies, \$1.80. In 1876, we collected from the United States, \$2.11; from Great Britain, \$2.12; from the West Indies, \$1.67. During these two years the Montreal refinery was in operation, and a large portion of the West India sugar was of low grade. In 1877, we collected upon every hundred pounds of sugar from the United States, \$2.43; from Great Britain, \$2.28; and from the West Indies, \$2.02. Last year we collected \$2.19 per hundred upon West Indian sugars; \$2.26 per hundred upon English and Scotch sugars; and \$2.54 per hundred upon United States sugars. Your duties averaged \$2.39 upon all you imported. You propose a very much higher tax, which will result in what? Why, within a few months in bringing down your revenue to \$1.25 per hundred, or, at most, \$1.55. Now, this sum upon 120,000,000 of pounds of sugar

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gives a revenue of from \$1,500,000 to \$1,860,000. Well, this is a very serious inroad upon the revenue. How does it affect the consumer? I think I can show hon. gentlemen that it must largely increase the price to him. If they took the Trade and Navigation Returns for 1878, they would find that \$3,490,878 pounds were imported for consumption at \$5.79 per hundred pounds. Under the old tariff there was collected upon this sugar a customs tax of \$2,289,540. Under the new tariff this sugar would have paid \$2,735,543—an excess of \$445,703. There was also imported 10,624,336 pounds of sugar, upon which there was paid, under the old tariff, \$209,066, but upon which the new tariff would have imposed a duty of \$286,857—an excess of \$77,791. Upon all the sugars imported last year the new tariff would have imposed upwards of \$550,000 more than the old. If we take, then, these two classes of sugars, we find that they comprise 104,115,214 pounds, costing \$8,436,149, that is the increased price with the duties added. I have omitted all estimates for freight, assuming that these will be much the same in both cases. Under the new tariff, the cost would have been \$8,988,149. Now the inferior raw sugar, necessary to produce this same quantity, will cost in the West Indies \$2,780,000, and the duty will amount to \$1,450,000. Cost and duty amounts to \$4,200,000, leaving a margin to cover the cost of refining and the excess of the cost of transportation of \$4,788,000. What is, then, to prevent refiners in this country asking this sum? You have had an active competition among importers in your markets. You have been told that you have bought American sugars below their actual cost. You cannot expect to get foreign refined sugars for much less than you have purchased them heretofore. The tax paid will be greater. It is only necessary for your refiners to keep a shade below the figures I have mentioned, and your door is closed against refined sugars from Glasgow and from New York. There is no industry giving so little employment to labour. If we refined as efficiently as in England, 266 men would refine all the sugar consumed in Canada. I have no hesitation in saying that in the sugar

trade we should consider nothing but the interests of the consumer and the public revenue. Under this tariff you have done neither. You have excluded the best sugars of every class, whether raw or refined. You have made special provisions for refining here inferior yellow sugars. You have specially provided that your people shall have an inferior article at a high rate, and you have provided for dividends of 10 per cent. a month upon capital invested in the business. Redpath's refinery at Montreal will, if put in operation, refine 60,000,000 pounds a year. Its capacity may be easily doubled. With your limited market, you provide for a monopoly. The hon. member for Stanstead last year undertook to defend himself from the charge of inconsistency for taking an anti-Protectionist view in the matter of coal oil refining. How did he do it? Why, he told us that, whenever Protection produced monopoly, it was mischievous, and ought not to be granted. He knows that this tariff will create a refining monopoly, and I trust he will be prepared to vote on this as he voted upon coal oil refining. This is a tariff to make a few very rich and the many very poor. Better extend your list of pensioners, and leave your trade unfettered. Why do you not imitate the oligarchy of the old republic of Venice—let them write their names in the golden book, and draw their money direct from the National Treasury? This tariff does not favour Free-trade, but it does favour freebooting. The hon. member for Centre Toronto is no doubt pleased with the tariff, but he will remember now that, whenever he receives \$100,000 for furniture under the new tariff, he has \$35,000 that rightfully belongs to someone else. What an agreeable thing it will be to know that your debtors will feel that the only way that they can be even with you is by cheating you out of 35 per cent. of what they have promised to pay. The Finance Minister has, in the tariff he has submitted, leaving out all grain but corn, increased the taxation upon the present amount of imports by nearly \$7,500,000, which, added to the existing tariff, amounted to \$22,300,000. But the Finance Minister expects to produce such a diminution of imports as will reduce this this sum by \$5,400,000, a diminution of

about \$22,000,000. How does the hon. gentleman expect to accomplish this? There is but one way—by producing goods at home like those excluded by the tariff. Now, as these have not been produced under a tariff giving a protection of $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it is obvious they will sell for the natural price plus the tariff, or very nearly this much, so that the hon. gentleman will succeed in adding, by this Customs tax, not less than seven and a half millions of dollars, although, but a small portion of it will find its way into the Public Treasury. A few years ago, in addressing this House upon a like question, I pointed out what an enormous tax the people of this country were paying beyond the sum received into the Public Treasury. There is much to be said in favour of indirect taxes if properly levied. They are paid when convenient, and when the consumer has the means; but, they should be confined either to articles not produced in the country, or, if this is found impossible, they should be met by a corresponding excise duty. I do not say that this is possible at this moment, but I do say that, besides the tax that the hon. gentleman succeeds in taking from the people, not less than \$20,000,000 yearly will pass from the pockets of those to whom it rightfully belongs to a small number of the population, whom hon. gentlemen upon the Treasury benches have taken under their special favour. Mr. Mill has been quoted in favour of Protection. Mr. Mill admits that so long as Protection is necessary, the country is sustaining a loss. He favours it for a limited time, until the necessary skill may be required. Longer it is not to be continued. Not one of his conditions here exist. Do gentlemen opposite admit that while this system continues that the country loses? Do they admit that this is a burden upon the industry of the people, to be endured for the benefits to come? I say to the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches, that you are never tired telling us how great and prosperous Protection has made the United States; how they are driving the products of British skill and British industry out of, not only the markets of the world, but out of their own. What are the facts? I will take the two most advanced industries of the United States—the manu-

ture of cotton and of iron. From 1866 to 1875, inclusive, the iron manufactories of the United Kingdom, sold to the people of the United States \$248,318,243, notwithstanding they had a protective duty of not less than 60 per cent. What are the facts as to the cotton trade? Let me read the United States imports of cotton goods from England, and her exports to all the world:

	<i>Imports from England.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>
1865	\$ 7,324,438	\$3,451,501
1866	27,652,413	1,781,175
1867	22,817,923	4,608,235
1868	11,928,461	4,871,054
1869	16,474,036	5,874,222
1870	18,645,518	3,787,282
1871	24,790,648	3,556,136
1872	29,855,924	2,303,330
1873	29,752,116	2,947,528
1874	23,572,610	3,095,840
1875	22,790,377	4,071,882
1876	18,042,727	7,722,978
	\$253,647,250	\$48,074,223

This did not look as if the Protection of the United States was triumphing over the Free-trade of the United Kingdom. Hon. gentlemen seemed never to weary of repeating the preposterous theory that a Protective system was necessary to diversify industry, and prepare a country for Free-trade. They might as well argue that we should begin our astronomical studies by believing in astrology. During the three years ending 1842, England exported nearly 84,777,886 yards of linen; during the three years ending 1874, she exported nearly 316,808,525 yards. During the first of these periods, she exported yearly 760,181,073 yards of cotton; during the second period she exported yearly 3,543,679,647 yards. The exports of woollen goods increased more than four fold; and a progress equally wonderful was made in every branch of manufacturing industry. I know, Sir, there are gentlemen who seem afraid that this country will be without a diversified industry, unless a system of Protection is adopted. I do not subscribe to this view; it is founded upon totally erroneous views of the production of wealth, and the growth of a diversified industry. I do not desire that isolation from the rest of mankind which Protectionists call independence. I feel sure it would not contribute to our material prosperity, or to our mental enlightenment. I cannot do

better than to quote from a speech made by Lord Palmerston, thirty-six years ago, on a similar subject: Lord Palmerston said, "But, Sir, there are larger grounds on which this doctrine ought to be repudiated by this House. Why is the earth on which we live divided into zones and climates? Why, I ask, do different countries yield different productions to people experiencing similar wants? Why are they intersected with mighty rivers—the natural highways of nations? Why are the lands the most distant from each other brought into contact by that very ocean which seems to divide them? Why, Sir, it is that man may be dependent upon man. It is that the exchange of commodities may be accompanied by the extension and diffusion of knowledge, by the interchange of mutual benefits, engendering mutual kind feelings, multiplying and confirming friendly relations. It is that commerce may freely go forth leading civilisation with the one hand and peace with the other, to render mankind happier, wiser, better. Sir, this is the dispensation of Providence; this is the decree of that power which created and disposes the universe; but in the face of it, with arrogant presumptuous folly, the dealer in restrictive duties fly, fettering the inborn energies of man, and setting up their miserable legislation instead of the great standing laws of nature. Sir, I am convinced, whatever may be the result of this night's debate, that reason will prove more powerful than error. I am satisfied that the truth is strong enough to sweep away the cobwebs of fallacy, by which it is attempted to entangle it." But it is not more certain that day succeeds the night than it is certain that the dishonest and barbarous policy upon which we have this Session entered will be overthrown. Look at France before the Revolution. Society was segregated into orders. The rich ground down the poor. Those who possessed most of the nation's wealth were wholly exempt from taxation. Carlyle has drawn a vivid picture of the state of society; of the attempts to grow rich by acts of Parliament; of the visionary schemes of the practical men. We know how the privileged classes—those who ruled—strove to turn the people into beasts of burden, and they became

beasts of prey that devoured their adversaries, and distributed their estates. Why? Because heaven is not mocked; what men sow that shall they also reap. Property, through privilege, had become robbery, and the robber was despoiled. What was the history of the United Kingdom from 1815 to 1845? Was it not the history of the folly of a Government interfering with the industries of its people? Factories closed, workmen idle, poorhouses filled with wretches, cities filled with rioters, jails filled with criminals: the cries of suffering, and the shouts of sedition heard in every part of the United Kingdom. Sir, it is the business of statesmen to profit by the experience of other people, and to avert similar calamities from their own. Look at the people of the United States. Oppressing their fellow-men, they would not believe that Providence would execute the vengeance that justice willed against oppression. The punishment came—five years of Civil War. The waste of life, industry and capital was enormous—more than was ever gained by the unpaid labour of the slave. Another abuse—that of Protection—has taken its place. It has brought in its train mischiefs, industrial, moral and political, of enormous magnitude. It has centralised wealth. It has plundered the poor. It has doomed thousands of the most industrious to a cheerless life of severe toil, with no prospect, but increasing poverty with increasing years. This is but another phase of injustice and oppression, which is doomed to perish by quiet means—possibly, by violence, if necessary. Will the cause of justice and humanity triumph? What is now overtaking them will certainly befall you. There is a power in the world, says Matthew Arnold, which makes for righteousness. Against this power you have set your faces, and you have attempted to found your system of taxation and the industrial pursuits of your population in a system of injustice. It cannot endure. It ever has been so—it must continue to be so—to the last syllable of recorded time, that every such effort is but the continuance of those follies, which, after much disaster, peacefully or by revolution, a progressive people will certainly destroy.

