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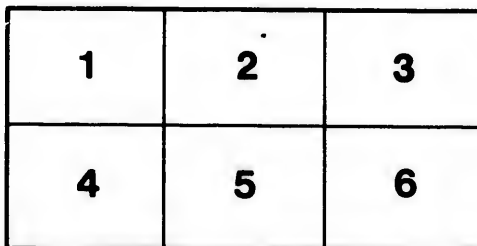
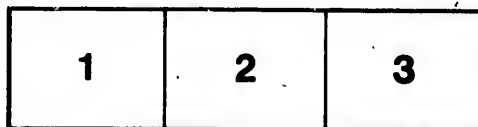
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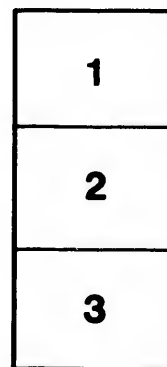
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**MR. GALT'S RETROGRADE MOVEMENT ;—THE OBJECT OF THE FOLLOWING BEING TO SHEW THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF A HOMELY OR PATRIOTIC, AND PERMANENT POLICY FOR CANADA.**

(CIRCULAR TO THE MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT.)

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,

Quebec, 1st May, 1860.

SIR,—

I take the liberty to solicit your attention to a very important matter. I have opportunities, possessed by few of you, of knowing the extent of the actual distress now existing in the Province, in consequence of the scarcity of Money and Employment, and of the paralysis creeping over its energies, from the feeling that neither the government nor the opposition recognize the People's Employment to be the first question in politics, and that to which all others ought to give way. But if, as I believe, more than three-fourths of both Houses of Parliament, and as large a proportion of the present, as well as of the late government, recognize the above great truth, and see Employment for the People to be the great object of politics, why cannot we get it constitutionally declared?

It appears to me that the present proposal of the government, to take off the duty on books of 10 per cent. (put on only last year), which practically is just PROTECTION TO UNITED STATES PUBLISHERS, calls loudly for this subject being now brought up, as being a complete subversion of the principle we contend for; and I take the liberty to bring before you Resolutions which would assert our common views, in case Mr. Galt unfortunately should persist in refusing to except Books WHICH ACTUALLY ARE PRINTED IN THE PROVINCE.

**RESOLUTIONS.**

1. That the frequent changes and alterations respecting the amount of duties of Customs have the effect of preventing capital, foreign or Canadian, being employed in the creating and maintaining of our native industry.

2. That it is contrary to sound policy to discourage the publishing, within the Province, of School Books, and to prevent the only mode of securing uniformity in the teaching of our private as well as our public Schools, and a national Canadian education and sentiment.

3. That there ought to be a distinction drawn between Books which we do print and which we do not print, the latter being a fit article to add to the list of articles, such as Tea, Sugar, &c., which we cannot grow or manufacture, and on which there ought, therefore, to be no duty, except for revenue.

4. That, generally, we ought not to reduce the duty on articles which we can manufacture, except the Americans reciprocate with us in the particular article.

5. That the Employment of the Province is invaded, and Annexation of Canada to the United States made more the interest of Canadians, by the course of the Imperial parliament and authorities—the Free Trade legislation of the Imperial parliament in 1846 having left the Canadian farmer in a position to be greatly benefitted by annexation which would give him the American market as well as the English market for his productions; and the late interference of the Imperial authorities regarding the Canadian Tariff, and especially in regard to Books, making it the interest of the manufacturer to go to the United States, as by doing so he gets the American as well as the Canadian market *free from duty*.

6. That the danger to the farmer has been only temporarily averted by the Americans having yielded to Canadians *reciprocity in natural productions*, and that the danger to both can only be permanently averted by one of two courses—by Canada joining the United States in a Zollverein, similar to the German Zollverein, thus extending to all articles the present principle of reciprocity,—or by the creation, by ourselves, of a Home Market for the Canadian farmer, through our encouraging a manufacturing population in Canada, it being known that, in case of our doing this, a large proportion of the manufacturing population of the United States (who are chiefly British subjects) would speedily return to the province.

7. That the latter (the creating a Home Market for the Canadian Farmer, is the only course Canada can at present take independently, and that by decidedly adopting this as a permanent policy, we shall gradually be preparing the Province for adopting the former policy, so soon as the Americans will agree to it.

I will only add that, I feel so strongly the immediate and vital importance of this subject, that I would support any party, whether in the Government or Opposition, that would adopt and act upon the above, which I believe to be the only patriotic policy open to us in the circumstances of Canada.

After even Mr. Brown's newspaper, *The Globe*, has had to haul down the flag of *Free Trade*, and to set up the more patriotic principle of *Reciprocity*, or in other words, of an *American Zollverein*, it truly seems madness for Mr. Galt to obey the dictation of England, with regard to the duty on all Books whether we make them in the Province or otherwise; and I see no course open to me but to move:—

"That the Bill be not now read a second time; but that it be resolved that while no party in this House, or in the country, desires to see Customs Duties increased, and while there would be no objection to include *such Books as are not made in Canada*, in the category of Tea, Sugar, and other articles, which all desire to see admitted free of duty, it is contrary to sound policy, and manifestly unjust to our own people (*as giving a practical protection to the labour of the United States*), to take off the duty from articles of our own growth or manufacture until the Americans do the same."

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

ISAAC BUCHANAN.

P.S.—If the present Emigration from the province is not stopped (the only way to do which is by some assurance, such as is embodied in the foregoing) I cannot see how we can conscientiously encourage Immigration, either of capital or of people. For my part, I should not advise Immigration of either, unless a moderately protective policy is adopted; but it is already abundantly evident that neither capital nor money will come to the Province under our present absence of a permanent policy. Many hundred thousand pounds have this spring been prevented coming to Canada for manufacturing purposes, through Mr. Galt's having gone out of his way to deny in his pamphlet, published in England, that either the Government or Legislature were protectionist, and to show that the customs duties would be reduced the moment the revenue will permit of it. Such a statement seemed to me utter madness—nothing short of suicide on the part of Canada. A still larger number of capitalists, willing to come to Canada, were prevented by the sketch of Mr. Galt's opinions, showing him to be a Free Trader, which he allowed to appear in the *Illustrated London News*. It is obvious, therefore, that the immigration both of capital and people will all go, and *ought all to go*,\* to the United States, while it can be said that in Canada both Government and Opposition are devoid of all interest in the Canadian people and their employment; and there is nothing but Annexation before the Province if this heartless English theory, of Free Trade without reciprocity, is persisted in. Humanity will soon demand and enforce it; for we would be found to have all the evils of every country, and none of the benefits of any, and a Revolution would be precipitated from want of Employment—not from the least objection to, or disloyalty to, the British Crown, but because there is a higher loyalty than that to forms of government—the loyalty to our own families.

N.B.—I cannot better close than in the words of a writer in the "*Montreal Gazette*":—

"The Canadian publisher will find himself taxed twenty per cent. on a very considerable part of his material, which is not yet manufactured in this Province, and will have to compete with the American publisher, who has his materials *free of duty*. He will only have the Canadian market even on these terms, for he will find himself excluded from the American market by a duty of fifteen per cent., which, added to the duty on part of his material, would make that duty equal to *twenty*—

\* I have already heard of one publisher who proposes removing his establishment and workmen to the U. States. This is just what the late Mr. Hew Ramsay, of Montreal, did. He could not get his raw material introduced into Canada duty free, and his only alternative therefore was to manufacture his books in the United States. He got his stereotype plates in New York, and threw off the Books as he wanted them. In this way he had the market of the United States, and he got his material duty free! into Canada.

five per cent. The adoption of such a policy would clearly be to offer a large premium to those who are now spending their money in employing our own people, to *remove to the United States*, in fact their removal there will be a matter of certainty, for the entire profits on these books does not much exceed the extra duty which the Canadian publisher now pays on his raw material. I think it will be admitted that such a system of levying duties is entirely at variance with all sound principles of political economy, and cannot be defended either on *Free Trade* or *Protectionist* grounds. All agree that manufactured articles should bear the burthen of taxation, and that raw material should be admitted free; but here this principle is to be reversed: THE MATERIAL IS TAXED TWENTY PER CENT., WHILE THE MANUFACTURED ARTICLE IS PROPOSED TO BE PLACED ON THE FREE LIST." I. B.

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