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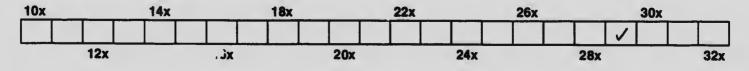
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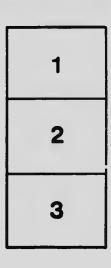
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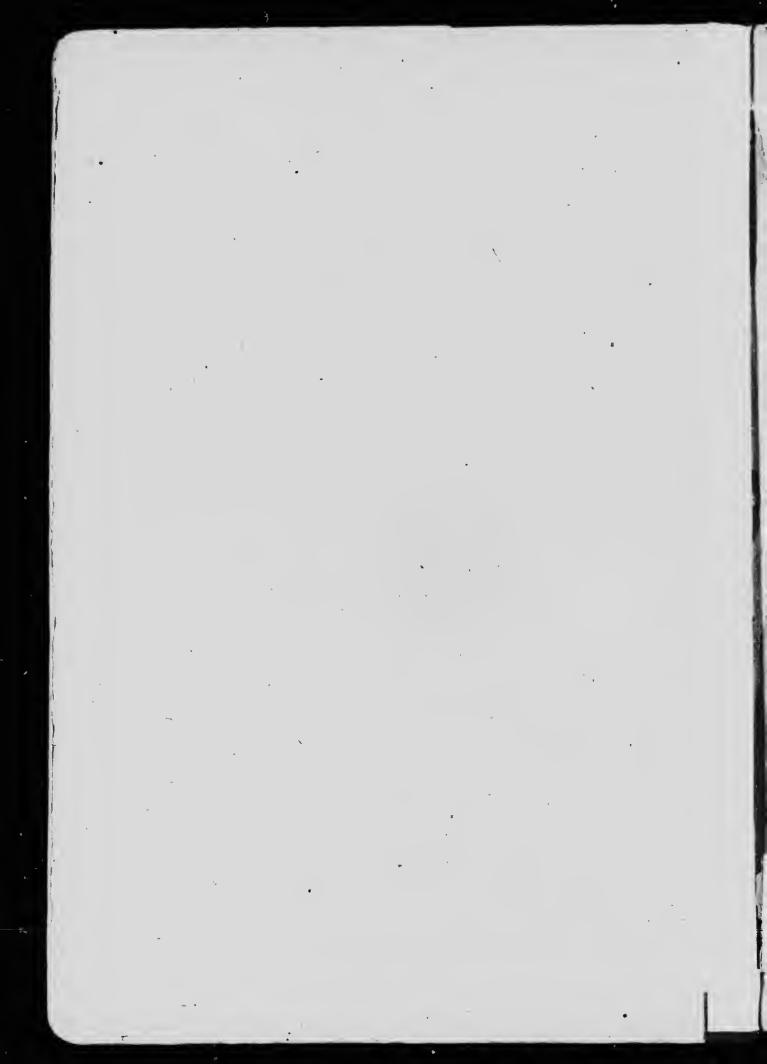
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The TARIFF and National Prosper

the Canadian Manufacturers Association on 13th January 1911

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The TARIFF and National Prosperity

Memorial presented to the DOMINION GOVERNMENT by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association on 13th January, 1911



The deputation from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association which waited upon the Dominion Government at Ottawa on the 13th of January, 1911, was received by the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G., Premier and President of the Council; the Right Honourable Sir Richard Cartwright, G.C.M.G., Minister of Trade and Commerce; Honourable Sydney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture; Honourable Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior; Honourable Wm. Pugsley, Minister of Public Works; Honourable Geo. P. Graham, Minister of Railways and Canals; and Honourable W. L. McKenzie King, Minister of Labour. Mr. D. A. Gordon, M.P., of East Kent, introduced the deputation. He said:

"Sir Wilfrid, and Members of the Government; I assure you I deem it not only a pleasure but a privilege to be permitted to introduce to you this very important deputation from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, representing, as they do, industries of all kinds scattered throughout the length and brendth of this Dominion from Sydney to Vancouver. I do not intend to say more than a word by way of introduction, but will refer briefly to the phenomenal development that, under the stable tariff of this Government, has come to the country during the last fifteen years. We can point with pride to-day to a total trade aggregating approximately a billion dollars; we can point with pride to deposits in our chartered banks aggregating nearly a billion dollars, a large portion of that sum being deposited for investment in industrial and commercial pursuits. We can also point with pride to the fact that the members of the Association represented by the present deputation have, since 1900, invested three-quarters of a billion dollars in the pursuits that are developing this country. That fact not only enthuses Canadians, but has created envy throughout the world and has called Canada to the attention of nearly everyone. And I may say that I believe that the hands that have guided the ship of state so successfully and so progressively can be tri sted to legislate for the people in the future in the same way that they have in the past. I now take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. W. H. Rowley, President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. W. H. Rowley:

"Sir Wilfrid: The men comprising the deputation which as the home to wait upon you this morning, are members of nucl are here on be all of the Caradian Manufacturers' Association, an organization which may fairly bay claim to represent manufacturing opinions in every lare of trade in every part of Canada.

"While it is not yet our good fortune to carry on our roli of membership the name of every Canadian manufacturer, it is a fact, easily substantiated, that those who by their support have openly proclaimed their sympathy for the principles for which we stand account for seventy-five per cent, of the capital invested in legitimate Canadian manufacturing enterprises. And account also for upwards of seventy per cent, of the artizans and workpeople who are dependent upon these Canadian enterprises for their hivelihood.

"Because it has frequently been the misfortune of our Association to be misunderstood and misrepresented, particularly in regard to the alleged selfishness said to characterize some of our actions. I have thought it well and wise to preface our Memorial to you this morning with a brief statement explaining some of the purposes for which we exist. "First let me say that while the need of organizing public opinion in support of the policy of Practical Protection may have been the motive which called us into being nearly forty years ago, our interests and activities in that particular have long since been overtaken if not surpassed by our interests and activities in many other fields of legitimate effort.

"For years we have been engaged in a persistent comparing to cheapen the cost of Insurance, to improve the character of our risks and to reduce the fire hazard.

"We follow carefully the trend of all legislation, Federal and Provincial, and while initiating very little of our own accord, endeavour to see that in the class legislation promoted by others the interests of the manufacturing enterprise are not unduly tresposed upon.

"Onr work in the field of Transportation has resulted in many improvements in the conditions of carriage, in the more equitable arrangement and classification, in a splendid form of bill of lading, in the removal of unjust discriminations and in the reduction of freight rates in general.

"In the cause of Education we have worked for such additions to, and improvements in Canadian school equipment as will permit of our artizans obtaining the knowledge and skill that will best fit them for the duties of their various callings and ultimately bring within their teach the high prizes in the gift of Canadian Industry.

⁶ We have steadily refused to identify ourselves with questionable movements of any kind. With so-called trasts and combines we have no sympathy and no connection. The offices of the Association are not and never have been employed to promote anlawful trade agreements or used to assist in undue maintenance of prices. On the contrary our work is all legitimate work which we honestly believe makes for stability of business as a whole and which is thus directly beneficial to Canada at large.

"I have the honour to introduce to you Mr. T. A. Russell, Chairman of the Tariff Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and 1 ask your attention to the Memorial that Mr. Russell will have the honour to read to you."

Mr. T. A. Russell then presented the following Memorial:

TO THE RIGHT HONORAIDE SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G., PREMIER AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.

The members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in whose behalf we appear before you to-day, desire in the first place to thank you for this opportunity of laying before you their views on the question of closer trade relations between Canada and the United States, and of acquainting you more in detail than has been possible on previous occasions with their attitude towards the present tariff policy of the Dominion.

Business men all, trained in the school of competition, and required by the very nature of things to cultivate their faculties of observation to the fullest extent, they have watched with more than ordinary interest the returning crisis in the life of our young nation, when, through the renewal of the agitation for reciprocity with the United States, its commercial and industrial destinies would again be brought to the parting of the ways. If thus far no official pronouncement has been made by our Association upon a subject that is obviously fraught with deep significance to every form of Canadian manufacturing enterprise, it is because of the fact that we have viewed the situa-

tion with more or less equanimity, feeling sure that the wisdom that has characterized t', management of the tariff policy of the Dominion for the past thirty years could still be relied upon to bring us safely through the present situation.

Although the prospect of reciprocity has already caused some $u = \pm u_i$ of business, our confidence is still unshaken.

But lest there should be a disposition on the part of our neighbors to stift , their demands on your Government in the expectation of finding on this side of the line any considerable element of our population 'avorable to their view, we welcome this opportunity of assuring you that the interests for whe — we can fairly claim to speak, representing approximately \$1,200,000,000 of invested capital, z = 00,000,000 of annual output, furnishing direct employment to 435,000 artisans and workpeop' — and distributing annually \$250,000,000 in wages, are opposed at the present juncture to any reciprocal tariff arrangement bety — i the two countries that would necessitate a lowering of the Canadian Customs Tariff on many — $-\infty d$ products. They are convinced that any reduction would prove injurious to the industry — i to Jy affected, and indirectly detrimental to the interests of Canada and consequently the Eq. — as a whole.

As Canadians, they regard the present as an inopportune time for the negotiation of a Reciprocity Treaty. (See Appendix 1.) United States enterprises are developed to the highest state in point of capital, specialization of products and magnitude of operations; Canadian enterprises because of their restricted markets, are not yet so developed, and it would be obviously impossible for them to withstand the competition that would inevitably follow reductions in the present Canadian tariff.

The United States may be ready for reciprocity; Canada is not. The United States already enjoys an enviable position in the matter of international trade. Dutiable products coming from that country into Canada, are admitted under an average duty of less than 25 per cent., whereas they themselves, in order to encourage and protect their own industries, have imposed an average duty of 43 per cent., the result being the present all too mecessful exploitation of the Canadian market by the United States people, as evidenced by Canadian trade statistics. (See Appendix 2.) Further, Canadian exporters are seriously embarrassed by the lack of facilities in the United States for transacting Customs business, and by onerous regulations requiring expensive entry fees, consula ertificates, etc. build has made things easy for the United State exporter by establishing port of entry into the frontier, where the duty has to be paid. (See Appendix 3.)

If a recipied at tradinagreement embracing manufactured goods were entered into with the United States now, the latter country would have an immense advantage. Canadian manufactured goods have been excluded from the United States, because of the high tariff, and are therefore q ractically undersen to the consumers of that country. The products of the United States manufactures on the other hand, by reason of the lower Canadian tariff, have been freely sold in this country and are well known to the Canadian people.

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The Canadian people have invested heavily in existing industrial enterprises and all interests, agriculture, fishing, lumbering, mining, banking, transportation, etc., are vitally concerned in the continuity of their operations.

Relying upon the maintenance of our tariff, especially as against competition from the United States, British capitalists of late years have invested large sums of money in Canadian enterprises. French and other European investors are beginning to follow the same course. The adoption of a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States would unquestionably check the inward flow of capital, which is necessary to the continued development of our country. (See Appendix 3.)

Moderate as is the existing Canadian tariff, it has already induced a large number of United States manufacturers to establish branch factories in this country, thus cau ing our population to be

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increased by the employment of labor within our own borders, and creating a large home market for the products of our farms. Reciprocity would kill this movement, which is as yet only in its infancy. It would be obviously impracticable for a manufacturer to equip factories on this side to cater to a market of 100,000,000 people, when 90 per cent. of that market might be cut off at any time by the termination of the treaty. (See Appendix 5.)

Canada is rich in raw materials—forest, field, mine and fisheries. If these are now thrown open to the United States, and consumed with the same extravagance that has characterized that country's use of its own resources they will be depleted in a few years. With her growing population, Canada should not allow her raw materials to be exported in their crude state, but should develop them within the country, build up strong diversified Canadian industries, and distribute the finished products of Canadian labor throughout the world.

Canadian transportation lines run East and West. The Canadian people have made and are still making great sacrifices to build them, in order to encourage trade between the provinces and with the United Kingdom. This immense investment should not be jeopardized by a Reciprocity Treaty which would divert traffic southward, benefitting United States transportation lines at the expense of Canadian railways and steamships. No extended treaty of trade should be entered into with the United States unless we are prepared to abandon the National Transcontinental with all the millions already spent upon it, and unless we are ready to relinquish the idea of deepening the Welland Canal, of constructing the Georgian Bay Canal, of building the Hudson Bay Railway and of erecting terminal elevators adequate to our needs at Montreal and Vancouver. (See Appendix 6.)

As regards the negotiation of a reciprocal trade agreement that would be limited in its application to an exchange of farm products in their unmanufactured state, the members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association hesitate to express an opinion. We feel constrained, however, to remind the farmers of the bitter disappointments they have experienced in times past when their own home markets have been impaired by a flood of surplus produce from the United States, and when their access to the markets of the latter country has been shut off without warning by the imposition of prohibitory rates of duty or by the abrogation of existing treaties. When the McKinley Tariff, with its 30 cts, a bushel duty on barley, was announced in 1890, many a farmer through Ontario and Quebec found himself reduced to the verge of ruin. Since it would seem to be impossible, short of political or at least Commercial Union to guard against such an eventuality from the negotiations now in progress, we cannot but express our fear that the advantages accruing to our farmers from any trade agreement with the United States would fall far short of realizing their expectations.

From the standpoint of business, it is manifestly unsound for us as a nation to invest our money in developing channels of trade which lack the essential of permanence, particularly when the opportunities for establishing profit. ble connections which possess this essential are open to us on every hand. That being the case, we would seriously ask our farmers, would it not be better for them to relinquish their pursuit of reciprocity with the United States and continue to apply themselves to the building up of strong home and Empire markets, out of which they would never be legislated at the will of some foreign power.

The home market is unquestionably the farmer's best market. Despite the levity with which some prominent agriculturalists have treated the subject, the fact remains, and is capable of proof in more ways than one, that easily 80 per cent. of everything that is grown upon the farm is consumed within our own borders. (See Appendix 7.) Instead of being compelled to sell his produce under heavy expense and against keen competition in the markets of the world, as some would have us believe, the Canadian farmer is in the happy position of being able to convert four-tifths of his produce into eash at his very door. Nay, further, in some lines, more especially in the West. the

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demands of the home market are such that we actually are compelled to import farm produce (See Appendix 8.) With our rapid increase in population the home market must containe to expand and call for the best the farmer can produce.

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To achieve this end, we believe that the Canadian tariff should be so framed and consistently maintained as to encourage the investment of capital in Canadian enterprises, and to effectually transfer to the workshops of the Dominion the manufacture of many of the goods which we still import from other countries, and notably from the United States. Whatever fault may be found with individual items of our present tariff, as a whole it is proving itself to be a powerful factor in the upbuilding of our country and in the expansion of our home markets. Our earnest hope therefore is that it will not be disturbed.

In expressing this desire we know that we are not in accord with the Grain Growers of the West who recently appeared before you. We give these gentlemen credit for being perfectly sincere in their representations, at the same time we believe they have been misinformed; from many of the statements advanced by them it would appear that they have argued from data that has been either insufficient or inaccurate. We therefore beg to offer a few explanations which we hope will make our own position clear and obviate future misunderstandings.

It is fallacious to look upon the tariff as a favor granted to a privileged class, whereby they are enabled to enrich themselves by levying toll on all other classes of the community; it is equally fallacious to speak about the beneficiaries of protection. The workingman, the storekeeper and the farmer are just as much beneficiaries under a moderately protective tariff as is the manufacturer. True, through the aid of the tariff the latter may be enabled to enlarge his business and increase his output, but the point to remember is that every dollar he spends in the employment of labor or in the purchase of supplies means so much more money in circulation, and so much more wealth in the hands of the community at large.

Moderate protection sanctions no tribute from any class; on the contrary, it induces a eondition of general prosperity in which every citizen, including the farmer, gets his full share. The statements that the manufacturer adds the whole duty to his selling price are general in character and offered without any shadow of proof. Such statements can be easily disproved over and over again to the satisfaction of any impartial investigator who will examine the facts as they really exist. (See Appendix 9). The great majority of manufacturers are offering the consumer better articles for less money to-day than they were twenty years ago. This is only what might be expected under the healthy competitive system which a moderate tariff regularly induces, and which can nearly always be depended upon to hold in check any desire to reap immoderate profits.

That competition is eliminated, that prices are enhanced by agreements among the manufacturers, is a serious charge that all too easily suggests itself to the suspicious or biased mind, and which for that reason should not be uttered lightly. Those who do make the charge should remember that the statutes of our country provide ample machinery for the suppression of combinations in restraint of trade. If such illegal practices are resorted to, we desire to state frankly that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association has no sympathy with them, and to those who feel themselves aggrieved, we would say that the remedy lies in their own hands. Combinations have no connection with fiscal or tariff policy—they are the result of the modern tendency to organize. Free Trade England is a leader in the promotion of industrial mergers. It should not be forgotten, however, that many forms of trade agreements, many so-called mergers or combines, are perfectly legitimate. Those that lead towards standardization of quality, those that make lower prices possible through the adoption of more economical methods of production and distribution, are obviously as much in the interests of the consumer as they are in the interests of the manufacturer.

Another claim advanced by the agriculturists who waited upon you, is that in the depopulation of Eastern Canadian farm land, and in the disproportionate increase of urban to rural population in

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the West, we have clear evidences that agriculture is not prospering as it should. As one of the principal causes contributing to this, they allege that the purchasing power of their produce is depreciated 25 per cent, through their having to buy all their supplies at prices that have been unduly enhanced by the tariff. We have the authority of Mr. Coats, Associate Editor of the Labour Gazette, in his Report on Wholesale Prices in Cancia 1890-1909 (page 16), for the statement that for appreciation in value of grain and animal products for 1965, over the average for the decade the appreciation in value of grain and animal products for 1965, over the average for the decade 1890-1899, was greater than the appreciation in the value of any other commodity investigated. With the exception of humber and furs. According to the same authority the farmer is getting 50 per cent, more for his grain, 48 per cent, more for his meat, and 35 per cent, more, for textiles only S per cent, more, for implements only 2 per cent, more, and for house furnishings in which lumber largely enters only 10 per cent, more, while on many manufactured articles he pays less, as shown in appendix. It is probably no exaggeration to say that a fixed amount of almost any kind of farm produce will purchase 50 per cent, more of general manufactured goods than it would have 20 years ago.

However the decline of rural population may be explained, it is surely not because farming has become less profitable than it was. On the contrary, the fact that business was never better than it is to-day, coupled with the axiom that the farm is the basis of our national prosperity, clearly indicates that the farmer is making most gratifying progress. The fact that experienced United States farmers by the hundred thousand are annually coming to our West, of their becoming wealthy, is the best evidence of the improved position of the Canadian farmer over the farmer in the United States even with his larger market. (See Appendix 10.)

We have noted the suggestion offered on behalf of the farmers that the British Preference should be immediately increased to 50 per cent., with provision for such further reductions in the preferential rates of duty as would establish complete free trade between Canada and the Motherland within ten years. The Association's position on this subject was defined at the Halifax Convention in 1902. The resolution on this subject has been reaffirmed at every Convention since 1902 and is as follows: "That while the tariff should primarily be framed for Canadian interests, it should nevertheless give a substantial preference to the Mother Country, and also to any other part of the British Empire with which reciprocal preferential trade can be arranged, recognizing always that under any conditions, the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers." Having regard to present conditions in Canada, we consider that any increase in the existing preference is inadvisable and would imperil the existence of many Canadian industries.

In its relation to the manufacturer, the tariff stands in exactly the same position as experimental farms, grain inspection, terminal elevators, facilities for chilling meat, cold storage shipping, the Hudson Bay Railway and a score of other things stand in relation to the farmer. With the request of the farmers for federal assistance in surrounding their industry with such adjuncts as will contribute to its advancement and their own prosperity, we are in hearty accord, feeling hopeful that with a fuller and better understanding of the situation, they will speedily join hands with us in a firm stand for stability of tariff, diversified home industries, and strong home and Imperial markets. (See Appendix 11.)

For why should the farmers not do so? They cannot hope to be permanently benefitted by sacrificing other industries in order to advance their own. Like the human organism, a nation is best developed by the healthful exercise of all its functions—by the judicious utilisation of all its powers and resources.

And so as the growth of our young nation proceeds, we should see to it that its development is well ordered and well balanced. By nature we have been singularly blessed, both in the extent and in the variety of our resources. In utilizing, in cultivating, and in improving not merely one but all of those resources, lies our surest road to present prosperity and future happiness.

And that is why we say to you, Sir, in concluding this expression of our views, that we are opposed at the present juncture to any tariff reductions or treaties of trade that would exercise an unsettling influence upon the prosperous conditions which now obtain. Thus far Canada has done well, remarkably well. Our population is increasing by leaps and bounds, our avenues of communication are being extended and improved, our industries are daily growing stronger and more diversified, while our markets are rapidly becoming the envy of the world. The course we are now travelling lies clear before us; looking ahead we can see that not only is it free from all those entanglements that would tend to check our progress, but that it steadily approaches that great Imperial goal wherein our warmest hopes are centered. To depart from that course into alluring by-paths, whose ways are devious and that lead us we know not whither, would only seem to be courting disaster, and we earnestly pray, therefore, that you will deen it the part of wisdom to continue adherence to a policy which through thirty years has proven itself to be abundantly satisfactory, and under whose beneficient influence Canada seems destined to attain our highest ambitions and her greatest good.

APPENDIX 1.

United States Exports of Manufactures.

An examination of the trade statistics of the United States throws an interesting side light upon that country's present overtures for Reciprocity with us. For the nine months ending September, 1910, their exports of domestic merchandise of every kind were \$1,193,321,512, of which \$210,490,966 were manufactures for further use in manufacturing, and \$401,684,694 were manufactures ready for consumption. The sum of these two, \$612,625,660, accounts for 51 per cent. of all of their exports put together. But this is not crediting the exports of manufactures with a class known as "foodstuffs, partly manufactured" which are valued at \$180,159,193. If we regard this also as legitimately forming a part of the exports of manufactured goods, it means that of everything the United States exported for the nine months ending September last manufactured goods amounted to over 66 per cent.

. plying the average for the first nine months to the last three, the figures for which were not available when this statement was prepared, it indicates that the exports for the year of manufactures ready for consumption and manufactures for further use in manufacturing will pass the \$800,-000,000 mark. This is an enormous amount for which to have to find an outlet, and there can be little doubt that underlying the present agitation in the United States for Reciprocity with Canada, is an earnest desire to open wider the markets of this country for exploitation by their manufacturers.

At the same time it enables us to catch a glumpse of what the future may hold in store for us if we continue to work out our own industrial dusting along independent lines.

APPENDIX 2.

The Balance of Trade-Canada and the United States

For the fiscal year ending 31st March, 1910, our purchases from the United States were \$223,-501,809, their purchases from us \$113,150,778. For the past decade the returns in round figures

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pment extent show imports from the United States of \$1,600,000,000, exports to the United States of \$800,000,-000. In other words seven million Canadians purchased twice as much from the United States as ninety million people in the United States purchased from Canada.

APPENDIX 3.

Comparison of the Customs Regulations of the United States and Canada.

As illustrating the difficulties to which the United States Customs regulations give rise, in the case of a Canadian manufacturer attempting to sell goods in that market, it may be stated that in the United States the Customs ports of entry with very few exceptions are located at the frontier. Where the goods are consigned to an inland point, therefore, the Canadian experter is required to employ a broker at the frontier, unless he is prepared to accompany his shipment that far on the way, as it is the general practice in all such shipments from this country to sell at

duty paid delivered prices. If the shipment is valued at over \$100 the exporter must declare to an invoice before the particular consular officer of the United States who has jurisdiction over the district in which the goods were manufactured or purchased. The procuring of this certificate is a serious inconvenience to those whose place of business is in a town or eity other than that in which the consular officer resides, and the delays arising from this cause often make it difficult for the exporter to hold his trade in competition with United States houses not so handicapped.

his trade in competition with United states houses houses into an anticipation of the expenses besides) in The consular certificate costs the exporter \$2.50 (sometimes travelling expenses besides) in addition to which there are the usual entry fees payable to the frontier broker. These expenses almost always have to be borne by the exporter as part of the cost of securing business. That they are by no means a negligible quantity is shown from the fact that the aggregate amount so paid by two firms in Ottawa, on shipments last year, totalled \$7,700. In fact, the claim is made by people who are in a fair position to judge, that a large portion if not all of the costs of the United States Consular Service in Canada is borne by Canadian shippers.

As against all this, the United States manufacturer exporting to f anada can always forward his goods through to destination in bond without cost or trouble of any kind to himself, no consular invoices being required, and every place of any size in this country having been constituted a

Customs Port of Entry. The difference between the two systems places the Canadian manufacturer at a tremendous disadvantage; in fact, so expensive and so difficult is it made for Canadians shipping goods to the United States that only those whose transactions run into very large figures find it worth while to persist in the effort.

APPENDIX 1.

British and European Investments in Canada.

Upon this point Sir George Ross in an address delivered before the Toronto Board of Trade

in November, said: "The British market has always been our base of supplies for every large national and industrial undertaking. It was with British capital that we built our railways and dug our eanals. Nearly every large municipal work in Canada was carried out by loans in London. British capital is now building two trans-

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continental railways. It lights our stretts, lays down our sewers, builds our water works and earries us from continent to continent. In the last five years, according to *The Monetary Times*, the sum of 605,453,850 has been invested in Canada of which 97,500,000 has been invested in enterprises for the development of the country. Mr. Paish, an eminent London authority on finance, says that Canada has absorbed £300,000,000 of British capital.

APPENDIX 5.

United States Capital in Canadian Industries.

As the result of some investigations conducted by *The Monetary Times* (Toronto.) and subsequently verified and added to by officers of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, it is known that at the present time at least 200 United States manufacturing companies are operating branch factories in Canada, representing an aggregate investment of \$226,000,000. For this influx of capital, with all the benefits accruing to the Dominion therefrom, we must thank a tariff which made it worth while for those who hoped to sell us goods to come to this side of the line to manufacture. Had that tariff not been a protective one, those United States manufacturers would probably have enlarged their form factories to take care of Canadian business instead of building on this side, in which case we would now be using goods made from United States material with United States labour, instead of goods made from Canadian nuaterial with Canadian labour.

That our neighbours look upon this movement as a distinct loss to be remedied by Reciprocity with Canada is shown in the following extract from a speech recently delivered by Senator Beveridge, of Indiana:

"There must be reciprocity with Canada. Our tariff with the rest of the world does not apply to our northern neighbour. That policy already has driven American manufacturers across the Canadian borders, built vast plants with American capital on Canadian soil, employing Canadian workingmen to supply trade. That capital should be kept at home to employ American workingmen to supply Canadian demand. We should admit Canadian wood pulp and Canadian paper free in return for Canada's admitting our agricultural implements, our engines, pumps and other machinery free. We should freely admitting other American manufactured products to Canadian markets."

In this connection it is werthy of mention that certain wealthy United States concerns that recently acquired sites in Canada with a view to the immediate erection of extensive shops have suspended operations pending the outcome of the present negotiations, presumably in hopes that our tariff on the goods they manufacture will be so reduced as to make such a move on their part unnecessary.

PPENDIX 6.

The Effect of Reciprocity on Transportation.

That this is not mere idle surmise on our part, but one of the objects which our neighbours actually hope to gain by the negotiation of a Reciprocity Treaty with us, may be gathered from the

remarks of public men who are leading the agitation on the other side of the line. Mr. H. M. Whitney of Boston, in an articlo contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, expresses himself in these words:

"If we were to ad it Canadian grain free from tariff charges, much of it would stay with us for home consumption; a portion of it would go through our ports to foreign lands—New York, Portland and Boston are the natural outlets for the foreign trade of Eastern Canada. The elevators for storing and handling Canadian grain should be on this side of the line, and the steamers of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Pacific should in the winter time at least find their home port in Boston. New York and Portland."

Honourable Eugene N. Foss, Governor of Massachusetts, stated that the policy which has been in force for many years in the United States

"has resulted in sending approximately \$300,000,000 of American capital to Canada, to build up branch industries which compete with our own in foreign markets. It has also resulted in stifling the growth of Massachusetts and New England industries and kept us out of the business and commerce which belongs to us by every right. It has kept the great Canadian railways from our ports. It has ruined our coastwise shipping interests and made our wharf property of little value."

APPENDIX 7.

The Farmers' Home Market.

Of the various methods that may be employed for arriving at the value of the farmers' home market, none is entirely satisfactory because of the fact that we have no machulery for collecting accurate crop and live stock statistics from year to year. The following examples however, would seem to indicate that the statement "80 per cent of everything that is grown upon the farm is consumed within our own borders" is well within the mark:

(1). The Crop Bulletin for 1909 places the value of all the wheat, oats and barley grown in Canada that year at \$2\$9,144,000.00. To arrive at the home consumption of these crops we must deduct the net exports, *i.e.*, the exports of such produce proper, less any imports entered for consumption. For the fiscal year ending March 31st, 1910, the exports (Canadian produce only) were:

tion. For the listar year onding that if	\$ 1,107,732
Barley	1.566.612
Wheat.	
Total	A FE 000 CO5
For the same period the imports entered for consumption were:	
Barley	07.007
Oats	
Wheat	
Total.	\$ 185,807
Total.	ens 1 1

Deducting one from the other it leaves the net exports \$55,097,888. The balance therefore, \$234,046,112, or 81 per cent. of the whole, represents what was consumed by t¹⁻ home market.

(2). It will be noticed that the above exam; e deals only with three commodities, wheat, oats and barley. The computation which follows entbraces all field crops.

According to the Bureau of Statistics, the total value of Canadian field crops for 1909 was \$532,992,100. For the fiscal year ending 31st March, 1940, our exports of field produce (Canadian grown only) were:

To the British Empire To other countries.	\$ 76, 27,447 44,0t.5,300
Total .	 \$ 90,133,747

Of this \$20,083,959 was exported in a manufactured state, (flour, oatineal, etc.), leaving the exports of unmanufactured field products \$70,349,788. But again, to arrive at the net exports we must deduce imports of unmanufactured field products valued at \$12,601,742, bringing the final amount down to \$57,748,046. From these statistics the home market appears to have consumed 89-1-5 per cent. of the total production.

(3). Neither of the above illustrations takes cognizance of animal products, and in the absence of an annual inventory showing the value of our live stock, it is difficult to furnish satisfactory figures. The following comparison however, is suggestive. For the fiscal year ending 31st March, 1910, our exports of unmanufactured field products as shown above were \$70,349,78S; to this add our vrorts of animals and unmanufactured animal products, \$43,900,000, and it shows our total exports of unmanufactured farm products to be \$114,000,000. Lumping the two together they only amounted to 21 per cent. of the value of the field erop alone. As a matter of fact, the grain crop for last year of one province (Ontario) was worth \$54,000,000 more than ...!! the farm exports of the whole of Canada.

Honourable James A. Duff, Minister of Agriculture for Ontario, referring to the year just elosed, sta .

"We have had abundant crops in all lines of farm production, with few exceptions, and with good prices all round the farmers have enjoyed unprecedented though not undeserved prosperity."

Honourable George H. Murray, Premier of Nova Scotia, likewise reviewing the past year, says:

"With the exception of fruit, which has been a signal failure, and potatoes, which have been a partial failure, crops have been exceptionally good, and the year has been one of the most prosperous in the history of agriculture in the province of Nova Scotia.***** The striking feature in connection with this year's sales is the much larger amount of fruit being consumed in the home market, more espeeially in Cape Breton, than ever before."

Mr. James A. Ruddiek, Dairy Commissioner of the Department of Agriculture, says: "The main reason for the decrease in exports of butter and cheese is the increased home consumption. 1 see no reason to deplore our decreased exports. On the contrary, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves that we have found another outlet in the enlarged home market--the lesson for us is that we would give more attention to our home trade, which has already been of more importance than we have generally recognized. I have only to state that we consume in Canada over two-thirds of our total dairy production."

He further states that the market for dairy produce in Canada is increasing at the rate of \$2,000,000 a year.

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APPENDIX 8.

Our Imports of Farm Produce.

The undue importance attached by Western agriculturalists to the raising of wheat, combined with their apparent unwillingness to go in for mixed farming, has resulted in the peculiar anomaly that one of the greatest agricultural countries in the world is becoming an extensive importer of farm products.

Mr. William Whyte, Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. is reported in the "Toronto Globe" of January 2nd, as saying:

"If ever there was an agricultural country in the world, Manitoba is that country. Our sole resource is agriculture. Yet this year there were imported into Winnipeg over twelve million eggs. For our dining-cars we are now bringing in chickens from Chicago. We are also importing cream from the United States.

"The trouble is that our farmers are wheat mad. They have made money with wheat, and they have not the labor which mixed farming involves. They can go away in the winter, and leave the hired man to take care of the horses. The loss which follows exclusive wheat-raising on the farm is universally recognized. The agriculturist is energed in selling, not his products, but the farm itself. He is not so much tilling his land as exploiting it. He is using the land, not as a farm should be used, but as a miner uses a mine. He is taking all out and putting nothing back. If the past hot summer should teach the farmer of our prairies to adopt other methods and to practice mixed farming, the loss of a portion of our crop would not be greatly regretted."

The total value of animal and agricultural products imported into Canada for consumption during the fiscal year of 1910 was \$31,500,000, exclusive of salted, smoked or prepared mimal products and exclusive of ground or manufactured cereal products.

In fact so fast is the home market for farm produce growing that our farmers are practically unable to keep up with the demand.

APPENDIX 9.

The Effect of the Tariff on Prices.

At least two officers of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, Mr. E. C. Drury and Mr. R. J. MaeKenzie, have asserted that the manufacturer raises his selling price by the full amount of the duty. Illustrating the point, Mr. MacKenzie, says: "According to the census of 1908 there were agricultural implements manufactured in Canada in the year previous to the value of \$12,835,745, of which \$2,342,828 worth were exported, leaving for home consumption \$10,492,919. There were imported that year \$1,593,914 worth of implements on which the Government collected duty to the extent of 20 per cent., or \$318,782. It is now conceded that the manufacturer adds to the selling price of his commodity the total amount of the protection granted him by the Customs duty. The farmers of Canada thus paid the Government that year \$318,872 and to the manufacturers of farm implements \$2,098,383 (20 per cent of \$10,492,919)***** For every \$100

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Ir. R. J. tt of the ere were 835,745, . There ted duty is to the Customs he manuery \$100 farmers are taxed by reason of Customs duty on agricultural implements the Government gets \$14 and the manufacturers \$86." Leather, boots and shoes and cement are treated by Mr. Mac-Kenzie in the same way for the purpose of showing how heavily and how unjustly farmers are being taxed for the benefit of the manufacturers.

It needs very little reflection to detect the fallacy of this argument, for if the home manufacturer took for himself the full amount of the duty how would he be able to secure seven times as much business in Canada as the foreign manufacturer? In the case of boots and shoes quoted by Mr. MacKenzie, the disparity is still more striking, because our own manufacturers apparently sell nearly 20 times as much to — adian consumers as foreign boot and shoe manufacturers do. If they appended to the consume on terms equal or nearly equal there would not be such a wide difference.

That the manufacturer should be able to improve the quality of his product and at the same time reduce the price to the consumer may at first seem incredible, but it all hinges upon the output. Every manufacturing operation whether large or small involves a certain amount of stationary overhead expense including such items as rent, heat, light, insurance, taxes, office expense, superintendence, etc. If these expenses have to be met out of the returns from a small output it follows that the proportion carried by each unit of production will be comparatively high. But if on the other hand they can be spread over a large output, then the proportion carried by each unit of production may become insignificantly small. Generally speaking, the larger the output the lower the cost of production and the cheaper the price to the consumer, hence the advantage of a tariff which seemes the home market or at least the bulk of it to the home manufacturer.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate how this works out. In 1878 a certain Company in Ontario began the manufacture of buggies. In 1879 they sold all told about 30 buggies, for which farmers paid them from \$160 to \$170 each. Last year in various kinds of wheeled vehicles they had an output of 15,000 and were able to offer the farmer for \$55 a far better buggy than the one he used to have to pay \$170 for. In 1878 the price of sugar was nine and ten cents per pound retail; to-day it is under five cents. The best binder "in" 1875 "sold" at from \$275 to \$300; to-day the farmer gets a lighter and more compact binder that will hast longer for \$125. In 1878, single reapers retailed in Ontario at from \$100 to \$105; to-day the best reaper retails at from \$60 to \$65.

APPENDIX 10.

The Value of a Protective Tariff to the Farmer.

The members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association have consistently advocated a tariff on farm produce as something that would materially improve the condition of agriculture in general. In this connection Mr. C. C. Ballantyne, when delivering his Presidential address in 1906 used words which in the light of subsequent developments were singularly prophetic. Mr. Ballantyne said:

"Our flaxseed is shut out of the American market on account of a duty of 25 cents per bushel. Why do not our Canadian farmers ask our Government to place a duty on flax grown in Canada to give them the home market which they are justly entitled to? There is from a million and a half to two million bushels of flaxseed consumed in Canada annually by our Canadian linseed oil crushers, and why should a million bushels or more of foreign seed be used instead of buying "Grown in Canada" flaxseed, and grown right here in the West, the best that can be produced?

"I wish to point out to the intelligent farmers of the West that the American farmers find flax more profitable to grow than wheat, and I hope that, when revision of the tariff takes place, there will be a duty placed on flaxseed for the benefit of the farmer and that all flaxseed used in Canada will be "Grown in Canada." Up to 1907 flaxseed entered Canada free of duty and the figures, imports and exports, for

the two years immediately preceding show that we were an importing country.

Fiscal Year	Inports	Exports	(Chnadian)	
	Bushels	Bushels	Value.	
1005	176,887	314	\$ 479	
1905	711,138	2,824	3,328	

At the close of 1907 flaxseed was protected by a duty of 10cts, a bushel, and during the following three years, as will be observed from the figures, our imports dwindled down to practically nothing, while our exports jumped from nothing up into the millions.

Fiscal Year.	1mports	Exports	(Canadian)
	Bushels	Bushels	Value.
1908 (after deducting exports of foreign) .	495,154	10,997	\$15,098
1909 do	288,468	693,779	855,908
1910	4,344	1,997,618	3,642,476

And yet it is still alleged on behalf of the farmers that a tariff on their products can be of little value to them.

APPENDIX 11.

Do the Farmers Really Want Reciprocity or Free Trade?

While no effort has thus far been made towards organizing those farmers who hold views at variance with the Canadian Council of Agriculture, it seems probable from the voluntary expressions of opinion that have appeared, that farming sentiment favourable to stability of tariff is stronger than most people suppose.

The Wentworth farmers are reported in the "Globe" of December 12th, 1910, as having expressed themselves in these words:

"That if free trade were universally adopted we would be more than delighted, but so long as our neighbors and other countries adopt the opposite course we must uphold our own hest interests under the circumstances as we find them, which we believe the present tariff is fairly successful. doing.

"If free agricultural implements and other articles required by agriculturists would assure us of their continued and increased production in Canada, and our necessary revenue raised under such conditions, we would also be delighted; but as past experience has shown that this is altogether unlikely, then we believe present conditions that have brought Canada so favorably conspicuous for prosperity in the eyes of the rest of the world had better be maintained or pretty nearly so.

"In our opinion the first step in the negotiations for more reciprocal trade with the United States should be a suggestion to the United States that their



tariff should be reduced to a par with ours as a basis of beginning, then concession for concession should be had, always along the line of at least equal advantage to Canada; and in case progress could not be made in this way, then in view of the splendid prosperity we are now enjoying under present tariff conditions it would perhaps be a mistake to reduce it, in fact we believe a slight increase on a few of our agricultural products would be of immense benefit without any apparent disadvantage to any section of the community."

Dissenting French-Canadian farmers who attended the meeting of the Council of Agriculture in Ottawa, but whose protests were not listened to, handed the following statement to the press after the meeting:

"The province of Quebec is satisfied with the present tariff and does not ask for any revision. It is becoming more and more a manufacturing centre, and is attracting to its large centres a population which makes a constant demand for agricultural products.

"We believe that it is the duty of the Government to protect our markets against American competition. The farmers of the west can hardly desire to injure those of the east when they ask for a reduction of the tariff, which would mean ruin of our markets and of our industries. This is a not fight between two sections of Canada; it is a national question.

"Similar petitions were passed by some half dozen French agricultural societies of Quebec."

The following is a resolution unanimously adopted by the Ontario Fruit Growers' Association:

"Resolved—That in view of the possible negotiations with United States in regard to reciprocity of tariffs, the Ontaric Fruit Growers' Association wish to place on record their unqualified disapproval of any reduction of the duties in fruit coming into Canada without consulting a committee to be appointed by the association.

"The duty is now much lower than the duties on manufactured goods and lower than they ought to be in view of the fact that there can be no monopoly or combine in fruit; the price being fixed absolutely by the law of Supply and Denand."

The Winnipeg Vegetable Growers have memorialized the Government in these words: "To the Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Chuada, and to the Members of the House of Commons at Ottawa:----

"We, the members of the Kildonan and St. Paul's Agricultural Society, in annual meeting assembled, humbly desire to impress upon your honorable Looy the importance of the duty now being imp. 3d upon green vegetables coming into Winnipeg from the United States. We therefore petition that this duty be left as at present, and sincerely hope that your government will not remove the same, as asked for by the wholesalers of the City of Winnipeg in the session of 1909, as it would be the means of depriving our gardeners of a very large proportion of their earnings and, in fact, many of them would have to go out of business."

Only a few days ago the following telegraphic despatch appeared in all the Eastern papers from Victoria, B. C:

"The Central Farmers' Institute, in annual convention here to-day, with forty delegates from all parts of British Columbia, unanimously passed a resolution viewing with alarm the movement of the grain growers for reciprocity in natural products with the United States."

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de eir M - Russell then called on Mr. T. R. Deacon, of Winnipeg, to present some facts and considerations from the Western standpoint.

MR. DEACON:--- I was unable to reach the city earlier, owing to the inclemency of the weather, It was expected, up to the last moment, that the Mayor of Winnipeg would be here and would present our views. Thanks to the vigorous immigration policy inaugurated by your Government some years ago, Canada has at last arrived at the day for which she has so long hoped when our great western country is filling up with people. As you know, the topography of our country is very varied. We have rivers and lakes, hills and valleys, mountains and plains; and, in order that our country may develop symmetrically, we of the West think it necessary that the employment and occupation of our people should be as varied as the topography of the country they inhabit. If we were all of uniform occupation, if all should become farmers, or manufacturers, or lumbermen, or should engage in mining, our country would never develop as it should, nor could it ever achieve The view has been held, Sir, that the West is not interested in manufacturing, that we in the West are interested only in the production of whent. That is very, very far from being the case. I doubt very much if the majority of the West are not in favour of conditions remaining as they are. Every year there is a large influx into the West, of from 20,000 to 35,000 men, to assist in harvesting the crop. As agricultural pursuits are practically suspended in the West for five or six months each year, and as the receding wave of these people who are brought in to take off the crops, leaves a very large number of men unemployed in the West, these men naturally gravitate to the towns and sites and in all these towns and cities, from the head of the lakes to the coast, increasing difficulty is found in taking care of these men in the winter. For this reason, in all these cities and towns, organiz. as have been formed, such as industrial development bureaus, for the promotion of industrial development. And great things have been achieved. Fort William and Port Arthur have incurved very large linancial responsibilities in order to induce manufacturers to locate in their town and give employment to their people in the winter and stability to their town. The city of Winnipeg has undertaken, and has nearly completed, an expenditure of \$4,000,000-nn amount, I am told, larger than the whole Province of Ontario has spent on the Hydro-Electric power project-for the sole purpose of bringing chep power into Winnipeg to develop our manufactures. The idea has been prevalent that Winnipeg is not a manufacturing That was true some years ago; but the situation is being rapi ly altered. We have had a census taken recently of the actual bona fide manufacturing establishments there, and I have here a little tabulated account showing 211 manufacturing establishments in Winnipeg, giving their street address and the class of products they manufacture, so there can be no misapprehension about the matter. These have called for an expenditure, which has actually been made, of some \$26,000,000 in the city of Winnipeg alone, and they employed, when the census was taken a short time ago, 14,800 hands. The output of these establishments is expected this year to amount to \$36,000,000. I hope I may be excused for referring to the line in which I am myself engaged. but I do so only because I am more familiar with it. But I may say also that it is strictly typic. of all the lines of manufacture in that city. Some seven or eight years ago I went to Winnipeg and founded an iron industry there. We gradually built it p as we were able to overcome the physical difficulties and the exigencies of the climate and other things which are supposed to stand in the way of the West becoming a manufacturing country. And, with experience, we saw that we could manufacture profitably. We knew, of course, that we were subject to the competition of such cities as Minneapolis and St. Paul, just to the south of us, and whose industries are highly developed, Milwaukee, Detroit, Chicago and the cities of the Middle Western States. After the revision of the Tariff in 1907, we felt that stability would exist for a considerable number of years, and, on that basis, our company went to work and built a bridge and structural shop involving

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an expenditure for buildings, equipment and machinery of \$225,000, affording space for 400 men. And this we are conducting successfully. If there were a serious, or even perceptible, reduction of that Tariff, that would be immediately wiped out. We have to haul our coke fifteen hundred miles from Pennsylvania and also the coal with which to heat our buildings. And many other industries are in the same position—In fact, practically every other industry in the city of Winnipeg is about in the same position. Now, we have a great many enquiries at Winnipeg from American firms proposing to establish industries there. The secretary of the Industrial Bureau told me, shortly before I left Winnipeg, that he had some 230 such enquiries; but many of these which had been brought almost to completion were held back to see what would be done in connection with the reciprocity negotiations.

Not only Winnipeg, but practically every other town and city in the West is rapidly developing mat, facturing industries. Brandon has a number of important manufactories; Medicine Hat has established an American clay product factory which is being successfully conducted. Rolling mills are building at Medicine Hat by the American people who built the rolling mills at Winnipeg, now in successful operation. Calgary has large cement works, flour mills, and so on. And all these towns and cities are straining every nerve to build up manufacturing, industries to assist in taking care of the population which is unemployed during the winter. Manufactories will naturally go where the market is, for close proximity to the market overcomes many other obstacles. It is true, we are somewhat remote from the sources of our material; but that is largely compensated for by having a market at our doors and being in close touch with our customers.

It is our opinion and, I believe the opinion of the West, certainly of the manufacturing industries, that any lowering or interference with the Tariff would be a serious blow to us and what we have been endcavouring to accomplish. Speaking particularly for the Western manufacturers, I hope that nothing of that kind will be done. The country now is not suffering. Any honest, able bodied man in the West can get employment at the highest wages, I believe, in the civilized world. The revenues of the country are buoyant and its credit is high; the machine is in good operation. And we think that wise, splendid immigration policy which has been carried out by the Government in the past should be continued, and that stability, non-interference with industrial conditions should largely obtain.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER: - Mr. Rowley and Gentlemen of the Delegation, I need not remind you that this - a democratic country, and that we have at the head o' affairs a democratic govern-This ... ans that it is the wish, the desire, the aim of the present Government to administer ment. the attairs of the country, since it has pleased the people to place those affairs in our hands, in a way to neet, as far as possible, public opinion and to benefit all the different classes which compose our people. You will agree with me that the task is not altogether an easy one. I need not tell you, gentlemen, that, it is a great pleasure and a great advantage to the Government to have such an important delegation representing so influential and so important — body in the community as we have now before us. Our pleasure would have been still greater it instead of having you before us on this day, the 13th (January, we had had that privilege about a month ago, on the 16th of December, when we had a delegation of another class of the community which represented the needs of the country as they understood them, and represented them in a light somewhat different from that in which they are now presented to us. It would have been pleasanter and perhaps more advantageous to the Government and the country at large if we lead had these two classes of the community, the farmers of the West on the one hand, and the manufacturers of the whole country, before us, and endeave ed to reconcile the different statements presented to us as to the policy to be pursued in order to bring to Canada the greatest possible amount of good. The farmers whom we had before us a month ago were very emphatic that we should have with our

neighbours to the South a different policy from that which now prevails and has prevailed for many years past, that we should endeavour to have a larger measure and as large a measure as possible, of reciprocal trade with them. You, gentlemen, take a very different view; and, if I understood you aright, your object would be to impress upon us that we have absolutely nothing to do with our neighbours in that line. The difficulty with the Government will be where to draw the line and to whom to listen,--should we listen to the views we heard here a month ago, or listen to the views we hear on this occasion? The Government think that it is possible-it may be possibleto have some measure of reciprocal trade with our neighbours without injuring the farmers who have asked for it or the manufacturers who are opposed to it. We inaugurated the policy, many years ago, that we would make no more advances to Washington for a measure of reciprocity in trade. You will remember that, many years ago, when the treaty of reciprocity made in 1854, was abolished, many efforts were made by the then Government to obtain a renewal of that treaty. When we ourselves came into office, we made overtures to the American authorities. These overtures were not met with favour, and from that day we said we would make no more; and we did not. But, when we stated that we would make no more overtures, it was not our intention to repel overtures made to us. We received, last Spring, overtures for a new system of reciprocity between these two nations which now occupy the North American continent. While we received those overtures, and while we thought it was not consistent with the best interests of the country that we should refuse them, I may say that when we received them and accepted the invitation to meet our American neighbours with a view to discussing the existing trade relations, we were not oblivious to the fact that the Americans have, in manufacturing interests, quite a start of us, that they have been longer in the business and have a larger population, and that the conditions are not exactly parallel in one country and the other. Messrs, Fielding and Paterson are now in Washington on this mission. And, knowing them as you know them, you can depend upon it that they will not forget, but in these negotiations will have constantly before their minds the fact, that there is no parity between the two nations in their industrial development. At the same time, I cannot, for my part, close my eye- to the fact-and I tell it to you frankly-that I conceive that it is possible to make some arrangement with our neighbours which will not in any way interfere with the manufacturing community. There was in the memorial read by Mr. Russell one statement which caught my attention at the time and which expresses very much the sentiments which guide us at this moment. That statement is as follows:-"And that is why we say to you, Sir, in concluding this expression of our views, that we are opposed at the present juncture to any tariff reductions or treaties of trade that would exercise an unsettling influence upon the prosperous conditions which now obtain." These sentiments I can reciprocate altogether. We are opposed to completing any arrangement which would in any way unsettle "the prosperous conditions which now obtain." There is one thing, I think, in which this Government can take some pride, and that is that we have been very, very careful, even when we had to reform, not to disturb the conditions then prevailing in relation to the manufacturing interests of the country. When we came into office pledged to reform the tariff, in carrying out that reform we were very careful not to disturb the conditions. And I may say that, in my humble judgment, the best reform can be accomplished in such a manner as to do quite as much harm as good. It is, therefore, the part of a good government, while it carries out reforms which are necessary, not to make reforms in such a manner as to bring about revolution but rather to help on evolution. And I think that, if there are two men in the Government-nay, I would say if there are two men in the community-who can be depended upon not to unsettle anything unduly in any tariff arrangements they may make with our American neighbours, those two men are the present Cauadian Commissioners, Messrs, Fielding and Paterson, The interests of the community, I think, are safe in their hands; and I think I can appeal to you gentlemen that, in making this statement, I claim nothing but what is fairly due to these two men and to the Government as a whole.

MR. ROWLEY:—Sir Wilfrid and Members of the Government, I have to thank you most cordially for the handsome way in which you have received us, for the attention you have paid to the memorials presented to you, and for your reply.

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