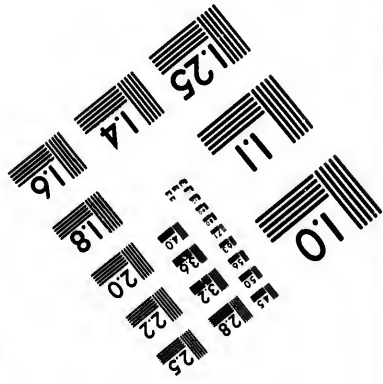
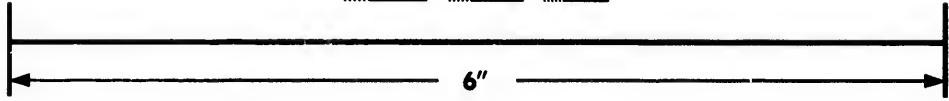
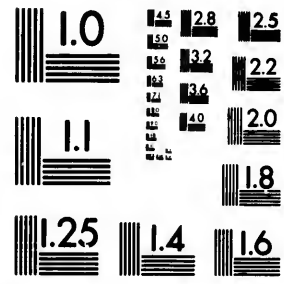


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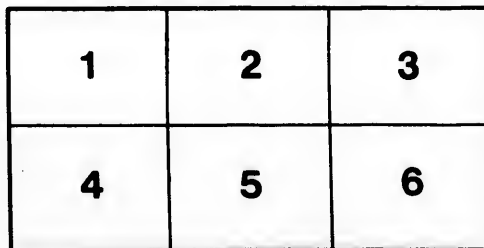
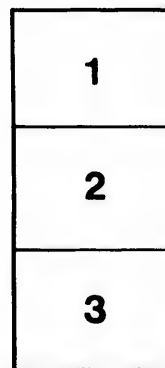
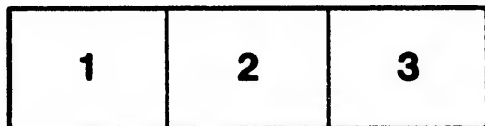
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CANADIAN RECIPROCITY.

REMARKS

OF

HON. N. S. TOWNSHEND, OF OHIO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

FEBRUARY 24, 1853,

ON THE BILL ESTABLISHING RECIPROCAL TRADE WITH THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN
PROVINCES, ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

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REMARKS OF MR. TOWNSHEND, OF OHIO,

ON

CANADIAN RECIPROCITY.

Mr. TOWNSHEND said:

Mr. SPEAKER: At this late day of the session, I would not tax the patience of the House by any further discussion of this question, were it not that no gentleman representing any part of the valley of the St. Lawrence—the region especially interested in some of the most important provisions of this bill—has yet been heard upon the subject.

AGRICULTURAL INTEREST.

And in the first place I beg to offer a remark or two for the purpose of quieting the fears of some gentlemen here—opponents of the measure—who seem to imagine that reciprocal free trade with Canada is likely to be prejudicial to the agricultural interest of the country, and especially to that of the Northwest. Perhaps I may venture to speak for this interest. I am myself a farmer, and I represent, in part, one of the best agricultural regions of the whole country.

The Canadas annually produce some fifteen millions of bushels of wheat, not more than one third of which can be spared for exportation. This surplus, it is supposed, may come into competition with the wheat grown in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. But when it is recollected that the price of wheat in those States, and also in Canada, is governed by the European, and particularly the English market, to which our surplus together with that of Canada is sent, it is easily seen that it cannot be possible for Canadian producers to undersell us in our own market. But all these fears are utterly groundless, in view of the fact that the production of wheat in the British Ameri-

can Provinces is necessarily limited by the rigors of the climate, a part of Canada only being adapted for wheat culture, while the amount that may be produced in our Northwestern States is almost illimitable. Why, sir, one of the counties of the Congressional district in which I reside, the county of Wayne, had, last year, seventy thousand acres of wheat, the crop of which averaged thirty bushels an acre, or, in the aggregate, amounting to over two millions of bushels. In Ohio there are eighty-five counties, each one of which could readily produce one million of bushels a year, without interfering in any inconvenient degree with other agricultural products. Under these circumstances, does any one fear the competition of the Canadas? The idea is absurd.

All that the agricultural interest of the Northwest demands, is the removal of the obstacles thrown in the way of trade by a high and unequal tariff, and to secure the free navigation of the river St. Lawrence. Only permit us to sell where we can sell dearest, and to buy where we can buy cheapest—permit us to avail ourselves of any market we can find for our wheat and pork, beef, cheese, and other articles—permit us to buy lumber, fish, and whatever else we need, without restrictions, and we ask no favors of this Government or of the rest of mankind. We have no conscious weakness to excite our fears of competition, we are not contending against the economy and laws of nature, and therefore we ask for no artificial protection. This point settled, I come now to consider briefly the bearings of reciprocity on the coal trade.

COAL INTEREST.

It is to be regretted that the bill reported by the committee does not provide for the free exportation and importation of coal. I sincerely hope it will be amended in this particular. My anxiety for this amendment does not arise simply from the fact that the shipping interest of the Lakes desires the profits of the trade, nor merely from my conviction that it will directly promote the general interests of the country; but also from the fact, which is or which ought to be perfectly understood, that without this provision for free trade in coal, our proposed reciprocity will not be accepted by the Provincial Parliament. To obtain a market for this coal is the principal object with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the only consideration that will induce them to concede to us the benefits of their coast fisheries.

At present, Pennsylvania almost monopolizes the coal trade of the country. That State sells some five millions of tons annually, at a cost to consumers of \$20,000,000. It is not, therefore, surprising that the coal interest there should resist the free importation of coals from Nova Scotia, where they are found in great abundance and of excellent quality. It may, however, be seriously doubted whether the coal interest of Pennsylvania has anything to fear from free trade in this article; though if it has, it is just as certain that other important interests of that great State would be proportionately promoted.

The coal imported from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is highly bituminous, some of it containing as much as sixty per cent. of volatile matter. Such coal as this can never come into competition with the anthracite of Pennsylvania. The latter will always be preferred for domestic and some other purposes; and in confirmation of this, I may refer to the fact that the British Cunard steamers, which stop at Halifax, do not and cannot use the Nova Scotia coal, but obtain the coal they use from Pennsylvania, though at a much higher price. It is also equally notorious that all the anthracite in Pennsylvania would not make gas enough to supply the city of Philadelphia for a single evening; nor from the Cumberland coal can gas be made, without the admixture of some more bituminous variety. Free trade in coal will therefore result in the exportation of Pennsylvania coals, to be used for purposes to which they are best adapted, and in the importation of coals from the Provinces, to be used for the special purposes to which they are suited. It is also true that an increased consumption of anthracite will, to some extent, take place, for it is known that some factories in the East are now lying idle, because they cannot, without paying a high duty, obtain a certain amount

of Pictou coal, which they find it beneficial to use in connection with that from Pennsylvania. Such is the difference in the qualities of these coals, and so different the purposes for which each is especially adapted, that Pennsylvania and Nova Scotia can scarcely come into direct competition. But the Liverpool coal, which more closely resembles that from Nova Scotia, will suffer more by this competition, and must ultimately be driven from our market.

The importance of the Western coal trade can scarcely have been taken into consideration by those representing the coal interest here. This is already of great consequence, but it is speedily destined to be immensely increased. Our Lake trade now employs about seventy-four thousand tons of steam vessels, mostly using coal, and the whole of the Canadas are entirely destitute of the article; so that Toronto and other growing cities will be compelled to obtain their supplies from the western part of Pennsylvania and from Ohio. The demand in this direction will be an equivalent for any competition or diminution of demand in the Eastern cities.

Pennsylvania is also largely engaged in the manufacture of iron; this is, in fact, her especial manufacturing interest. The iron manufacturers are now compelled to compete with those of England at a great disadvantage, not only on account of the difference in the price of labor, but also on account of the difference in the price of coal. In England, iron can be afforded cheap, mainly because, in many localities, the iron and coal, and a clay suitable for fire-bricks, and of which furnaces can be built, are found in alternate layers; it therefore costs nothing to bring the iron and coal together. Should, therefore, the introduction of coal from the British Provinces have the effect to reduce the price of coals, as some suppose, it will in the same ratio increase the profits of the ironmasters. The manufacturers of the East are also equally interested with the iron men in obtaining cheap fuel.

But there is another consideration which, of itself, ought to be conclusive in favor of free trade in this article. Fuel is about as much a necessary of life as food; and for those that live in the great Atlantic cities, coal is fast becoming the only fuel. Now, the question is, shall we, by legislation preventing competition, compel the millions who want coal, and must have it, to pay an extra and exorbitant price, in order that a few brokers, owning coal stocks, may realize enormous profits? At this age of the world, will a monopoly, which bears with such crushing weight on the working classes, longer be tolerated? I think not. And I believe I may safely leave this matter, and proceed to speak of the lumber interest.

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THE LUMBER TRADE.

The British Provinces have almost inexhaustible supplies of pine lumber. This is greatly needed for building purposes in most of the Western cities, and through the prairie country of the West immense quantities would be used, could it be freely imported. It is needed also in the Eastern States, by those of our manufacturers whose wares are made wholly or in part of this material; and in all the Eastern cities it is as absolutely needed as in the West, for building purposes—in fact, it is there a necessary of life; house and home, which cannot be built without lumber, are just as necessary as food and fire.

Maine and North Carolina have pine lumber for exportation. The lumber from these States, and particularly that from North Carolina, finds a market in our Atlantic cities, and also in the British West India Islands, where it is received without any discrimination being made in favor of Canadian lumber. This West India market is so valuable, that North Carolina makes little or no objection to the free admission of Canadian lumber into those sections of the Union that could not, from their geographical position and the want of water communication, be supplied from that State, the West India market being an equivalent for and better than that of the Western States. But Maine, from which a large share of the best timber is already cut, wants to exclude the lumber of the Canadas, and to force her spruce and inferior pine on the market at high prices. It is asserted, that unless competition from the Provinces is prevented, and the absolute monopoly of the trade be secured to Maine, her hardy lumbermen cannot make fair wages, because, as they express it, "stumpage is so high." This stumpage is the price paid by the lumbermen to the landed proprietors for the privilege of cutting the timber, and varies, I am told, according to the quality and location, from two dollars up to eight dollars a thousand feet. It is the monopoly of the trade excluding foreign lumber that enables the Maine landholders to charge so much for stumpage. Increase the duty on imported lumber, and stumpage will rise still higher; reduce the duties, and then stumpage will be lower. Prices regulate stumpage, and the lumbermen will not be affected, whether stumpage be high or low. The hardy lumbermen, over whom tears are almost shed, are not benefited in the least, but rather injured, by those high duties; and all this humbug of protection is not designed for their benefit, but for the benefit of the wealthy few.

The Provinces are ready to concede to the United States the free navigation of the St. John's; but with this bonus Maine is not satisfied. She demands, in addition, not only the

West India market, which is already granted, but also that all the ports of the British islands shall be open to her lumber. Of course, we do not object to the opening of the ports of Great Britain. We do not in the least object to Maine getting a good bargain. On the contrary, we would be glad to see it; but we protest against loading down this bill with provisions which are probably designed, and certainly calculated, to defeat the whole measure, by making it impossible for the Provinces to agree. Shall the St. Lawrence remain closed to our commerce, and the interests of the whole North be sacrificed? Shall the whole country be taxed, and its progress arrested, for the sake of this monopoly, when the whole value of the entire lumber trade of Maine bears such an insignificant proportion to the interests to be promoted by a liberal reciprocity? Assuredly not. And now a word or two in reference to manufactures.

MANUFACTURING INTEREST.

I am happy to see that but little opposition to this measure comes from the representatives of the manufacturing interest. The manufactures of Canada are not in a condition to compete with ours, and of course ours do not need to be protected against them. On the other hand, many of our wares will find in Canada an excellent market, and Eastern manufacturers are, some of them, already becoming convinced that the Canadian market is worth more to them than any protective duty they will be likely to obtain. Our manufacturers will also be benefited by the free introduction of various kinds of raw material. To cheapen these is to increase the manufacturer's profits; or, what is the same thing, it enables him to enter into competition more successfully with the foreign article. And, further, by establishing an extensive free list of Canadian unmanufactured articles, the more tariff must be raised from those articles which come more into competition with our own. The manufacturing interest, in fact, loses nothing by reciprocity with Canada, but gains much. Having said this much in reply to some of the objections to this measure, let us now consider some of its advantages.

TRADE WITH CANADA.

Some idea of the beneficial character of our Canadian trade, and the still greater benefits to be derived from a liberal reciprocity, may be obtained by a view of the extent to which this trade has already reached, in spite of all obstacles and restrictions. I will not consume the time of the House by reading tabular statements, but content myself with giving amounts in round numbers, securing, however, substantial accuracy. Our registered exports to the

British North American Provinces for the last year exceed \$12,000,000, and the registered imports from that quarter exceed \$6,000,000. But inasmuch as it is impossible to watch thoroughly by Government officials a border of two thousand miles in extent, it is certain that the actual trade is much greater. We may safely set down the aggregate at \$20,000,000. This trade has all sprung up within a few years. It is now rapidly increasing, and would continue to increase beyond any previous ratio, were it not for the obstacles interposed by unwise legislation. The average rate of duties levied by Canada on goods imported from the United States is twelve and a half per cent., while the average of duties levied by the United States on goods imported from the Canadas is twenty-three per cent. This inequality of duties accounts in part for the difference between our exports and imports, which in a great measure destroys the mutual advantage of the trade. But the worst effect of such high duties is to stop trade in many articles altogether. Our merchants cannot now import an article, however much it may be needed, unless it will pay a sufficient profit over and above the twenty-three per cent.; nor can they carry there the productions of our skill and industry, unless they can make on them a living profit over and above the twelve per cent. duty charged in Canada; and consequently the exchange of many articles is entirely prevented, which else might be exchanged with great mutual benefit. These restrictions on our trade are of course highly injurious to our shipping interest. Freights have to be increased, as the certainty of return cargoes is lessened. But let trade be free, and the number of articles of exchange increased, and freights might be greatly reduced, and yet larger profits be made.

And when these restrictions are removed, other sections of the Union will share with the Lake country in the benefits of the Canadian trade. Kentucky will find a new market for her tobacco and hemp. Louisiana secures a market for her raw sugar. South Carolina gains admission for her rice; and in addition to these products from opposite sides of the Union, our manufacturing States will find a new and profitable market for their wares.

FREE NAVIGATION OF THE ST. LAWRENCE.

But the principal obstacle in the way of the commerce of the lakes will only be removed when Great Britain shall be induced to concede to us the free navigation of the river St. Lawrence. What are these great lakes but expansions of this magnificent river? It is their natural outlet to the ocean, and not less is it the natural highway for our commerce

with the world. But because this river has been closed against us, other and artificial channels of communication between the lakes and the seaboard have been constructed at enormous expense, which has been justified by the incalculable benefit some of these, as the Erie canal, have been to the country and to the West. But besides the expensiveness of using these artificial channels—and that is no trifle, for the Erie canal levied \$3,000,000 last year in tolls on produce going East and on merchandise going West—there is another and still more serious objection: they are inadequate to our wants; not all the railroads and canals that have been constructed since the Erie canal, are able yet to meet the demands of our commerce.

The trade of the great lakes in 1851 was \$326,000,000, or more by \$40,000,000 than the exports of the whole country. This trade employs some two hundred and fifteen thousand tons of shipping, of which about two-thirds are in sailing vessels, and about one-third is propelled by steam. The sum invested in this shipping is over \$8,000,000, and so long as we are not permitted to use the river St. Lawrence, this \$8,000,000 is compelled to lie idle and unproductive for about one-third of the year, while the interest on the capital thus invested is running up to \$250,000. If the navigation of the St. Lawrence were secured to us, a large proportion of this shipping would load up in the fall with the produce of the West, and run down the St. Lawrence and out to sea before the ice had closed the river. During the winter, voyages would be made to England, to the Mediterranean, to the West Indies, or to South America. In the spring they would return, bringing cargoes from the countries they had visited, or they would bring fish from the Provinces, pass up the river again, and be on the lakes in time for the summer trade.

A gentleman near me remarks "that the lake craft dare not venture upon a navigation so dangerous as that of the Gulf of St. Lawrence." To that I reply, that the men who dare to sail on Lake Erie, where there is neither depth of water nor sea-room, will not be afraid of that gulf, nor of any other place where money is to be made. A few years since, a vessel started from Cleveland, loaded with Western produce, and carrying some of my neighbors as passengers; she went down the St. Lawrence, by special permission, then out to sea, and round by Cape Horn to San Francisco, in safety—thus practically solving this problem; and it was not inappropriate, therefore, that she was named the Eureka. Make the river free to us, and thousands of vessels will follow in the same course.

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Lawrence are of the opinion that the Government of the United States ought to make an effort in reference to this river, as decided as that which was so successfully and properly made in 1803, to secure the freedom of the Mississippi. The St. Lawrence is to the North and West what the Mississippi is to the West and South. The valley of the St. Lawrence is not less important to the country than the valley of the Mississippi. It contains half a million of square miles, embracing, on our side of the line, western Vermont, northern and western New York, northwestern Pennsylvania, the northern portions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the whole of Michigan, and part of Wisconsin and Minnesota. It already has a population exceeding four millions; and it is not unworthy of note, in estimating its future, that it lies within those latitudes where the densest population of the Old World is to be found. With the exception of the agricultural, the most important resources of this great valley are almost entirely undeveloped. Scarcely anything has yet been done to open to the world the immense mineral resources of the Lake Superior region. Around that vast inland sea, the whole country almost seems to be but a succession of rich ore beds; copper, iron, and lead, are found there in greater abundance than elsewhere in the world. When the ship canal around the Falls of the St. Mary's river, now about being commenced, shall have been completed, the whole mineral wealth of this region will be made available. Millions of tons of coal from Ohio and from Pennsylvania will be carried thither, and copper and iron brought back in return. But besides the agricultural and mineral resources of the St. Lawrence valley, it is possessed of unequalled hydraulic power, which is to be applied, and at no distant day, to manufacturing purposes. To say nothing of the various rapids between the head waters of the St. Lawrence and its mouth, there is Niagara, where alone seems to be power enough to turn all the wheels in the world. Hitherto, this prodigious accumulation of power has run to waste. This cannot be suffered longer. The people who tame the lightning, and compel it to run on errands, will soon put bands on this old giant, and compel him to grind in the prison-house. There is therefore in nature nothing wanting to make this valley the great manufacturing region of the country, but the removal of those commercial restrictions which alone prevent the development of its immense resources.

COAST FISHERIES, ETC.

But we have still another inducement to adopt a liberal measure of reciprocity, inasmuch as on this is likely to depend a satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties growing out

of the coast fisheries. By an existing convention, as we all understand, our vessels are not permitted to fish within a marine league of the shores of the British Provinces, nor have they the privilege of drying and packing on shore. By the first of these prohibitions they are excluded from the best fishing grounds; by the second, they are prevented from securing properly what they do take. From both these restrictions they would gladly escape, and it is not surprising that both are often disregarded: and hence Great Britain has to send ships of war to secure to the fishermen of the Provinces the enjoyment of their monopoly. Our vessels are often seized, and much irritation and some danger grows out of it. If we can offer to the British Provinces a liberal scheme of reciprocal free trade, it is understood they will surrender all exclusive right to take fish upon their coasts, and our fishermen will have free access to the best fishing grounds in the world. Should this arrangement be made, every family in the Union may be benefited, because fish may then be obtained at lower rates and of better quality. In its national bearings, this free access to the Provincial fishing grounds is universally conceded to be of vast importance. The fishing trade thus opened will give employment to tens of thousands of men and boys, and so become the great nursery for seamen, from which our naval and mercantile marine may always be supplied. The importance of this consideration cannot easily be over-estimated.

We come, then, to the conclusion that this measure of reciprocal free trade with Canada will not injure any section of this Union, nor scarcely any of its particular interests, even temporarily, while it is of vital importance to a large portion of the country, and will, by its direct effects, or by the collateral advantages secured in connection with it, be highly beneficial to the whole. So far as this measure goes, it is a step in the right direction; it knocks off some of the fetters with which commerce has too long been bound. I believe that "sound policy requires a system of free trade with all nations that will trade free with the United States." We think this especially true in reference to these neighboring Provinces, settled, as they are to a great extent, by a people having the same origin, language, and pursuits—being, in fact, in many instances, our relatives or friends, and often separated from us merely by an imaginary line. It is for the interest of these neighbors to trade and make exchanges, and they will do it. Then why not openly permit what you cannot and ought not to prevent?

I know that some of the friends of this measure have doubts of its success at the present session. We are now near its close, and per-

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haps attention has not been sufficiently turned to this subject. Lest these fears should prove to be well founded, which however I am not willing to believe, I take this occasion to say that this beneficial measure can certainly be secured, if those interested in the commerce of the valley of the St. Lawrence will bestir themselves. The subject is but imperfectly understood, even by those most immediately interested. The press must do its work, and the public mind must be informed and aroused. Let the Representatives to Congress from this noble valley come thoroughly posted up on this question, and prepared at the outset to insist that the most efficient man from the whole Lake region be placed on the Committee on Commerce. Finally, let them act in concert, and whatever is not obtained at this session will be secured at the next.

Before taking my seat, Mr. Speaker, I would move an amendment to the bill, by inserting the word "coal" among the articles enumerated in the first section. I desire also to move an amendment in reference to lumber, but, as there is now pending a motion to commit, those amendments I know would not be in order. I hope to have an opportunity to propose them at the proper time. There is, however, another

change which I very much desire; and as I cannot move it as an amendment, I ask that by general consent it may be made as a correction. The bill provides for the free exchange of undried fruit, while dried fruit is not embraced within its provisions. The south shore of Lake Erie is a beautiful fruit region; our peaches are equal to those of New Jersey, and our apples I think the best in the country. These apples in the undried state are barreled up for exportation, and this trade is of some consequence to us; but our trade in dried apples and peaches is, I believe, much more important, and restrictions on it would operate severely on the fairest portion of our constituents. Sir, the pretty daughters of our Western farmers have a commendable way of making their pin-money by drying this fruit. I trust, therefore, that no gentleman will think of raising an objection to a correction, so that the bill, instead of "undried fruits," may read "fruits dried and undried."

The SPEAKER. No objection is made. The Clerk will make the correction.

Mr. TOWNSHEND. Then I conclude, sir, by expressing the hope, that when the bill comes up for final action, it will first be amended, and then passed.

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