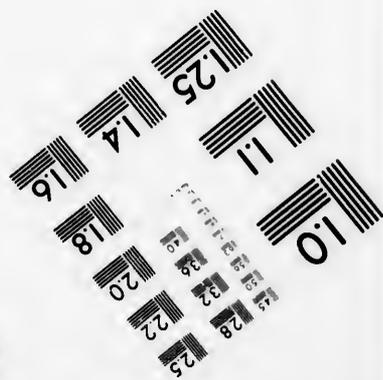
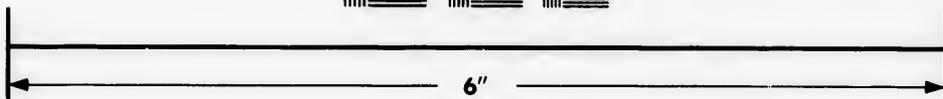
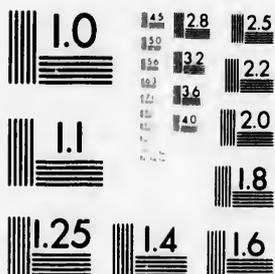


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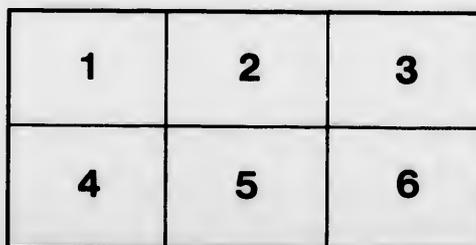
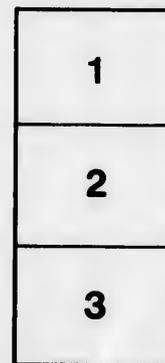
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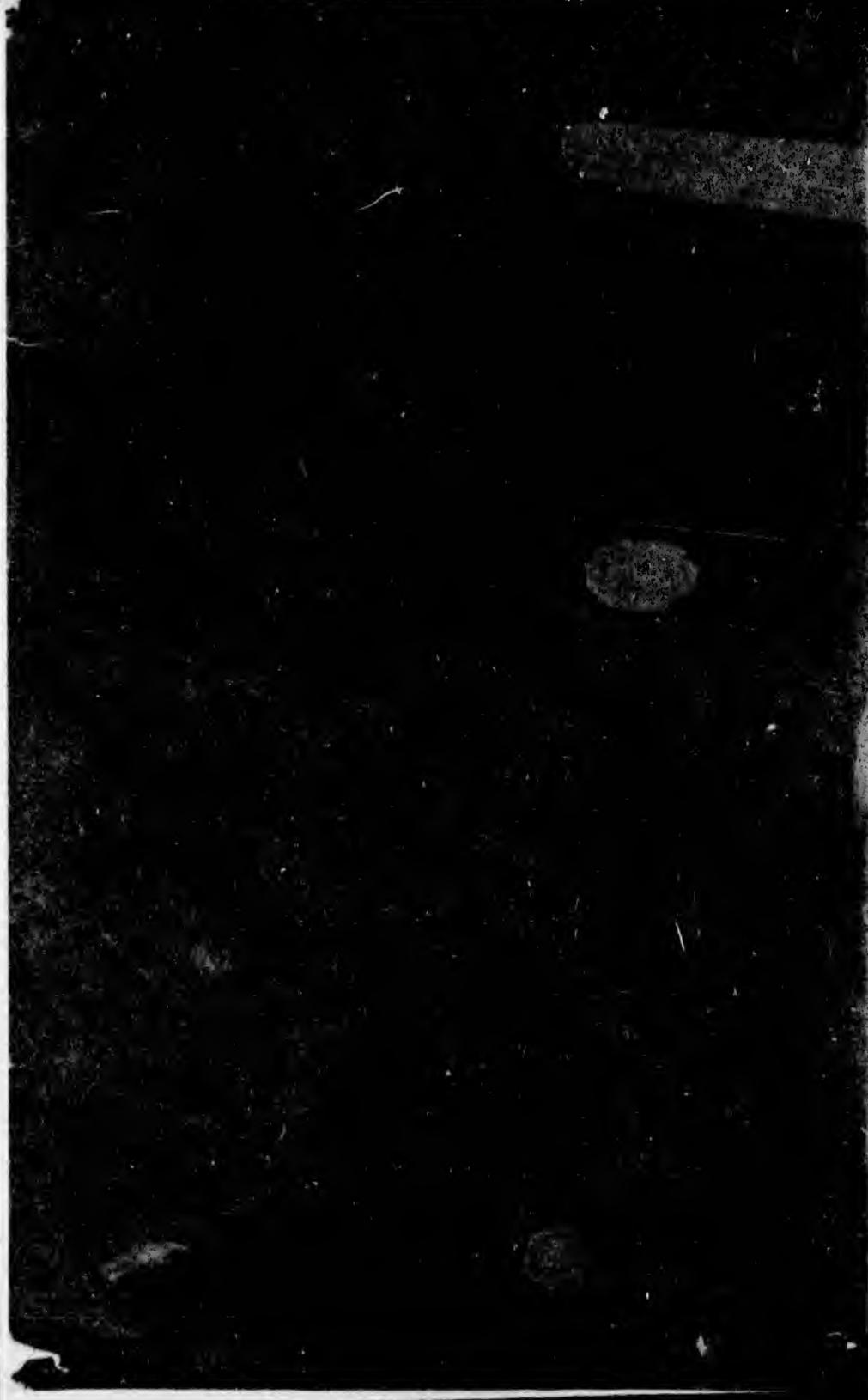
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OFFICIAL REPORT

OF SPEECHES DELIVERED BY

NEW BRUNSWICK MEMBERS

IN

OPPOSITION

TO

THE TARIFF.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, 1879.

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EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY T. J. RICHARDSON.

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OTTAWA :  
PRINTED BY THE "CITIZEN" PRINTING AND PUBLISHING Co., SPARKS STREET.  
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# SPEECHES OF NEW BRUNSWICK MEMBERS

## IN OPPOSITION TO THE TARIFF.

### MR. KING.

*March 27th, 1870.*

MR. KING said he intended to consider this National Policy, so called, as it affected some of the principal industries of the Maritime Provinces. He regretted to have to express himself in direct opposition to the principles laid down in the introduction of this tariff by the Minister of Finance. He entertained feelings of the highest respect for that gentleman, and had been in accord with him, socially and politically, for a lifetime. It was true that he had been a moulder of public opinion in his native Province. In matters connected with the temperance movement his name had become a household word. As a temperance man, New Brunswick was proud of him; and if, to-day, the Province was foremost in adopting the Canada Temperance Act, it was fair to say that the hon. gentleman's consistency, as an advocate of temperance and prohibition, was being felt in that movement. It was likewise true, that in the Province of New Brunswick the feeling was largely in favour of a revenue tariff, as opposed to the Protectionist principle. If, to-night, he stood an advocate of Free-trade principles, it was largely due to the fact that he had taken lessons from the hon. gentleman, who, it was safe to assert, had been, during his administration of public affairs, a prominent advocate of those principles. It had been urged that gentlemen from New Brunswick, who had heretofore been followers of the Minister of Finance, should be prepared to support him on this occasion. Did anyone suppose that, if the hon. gentlemen were to effect a change of base on the temperance ques-

tion, those in sympathy with him in that great movement would be expected to go and do likewise? Hon. gentlemen opposite had referred to the honour conferred upon them by members of the late Government visiting their counties, in order to influence the elections. His county had been equally honoured by a visit from the Finance Minister, who came for the purpose of assisting in the selection of one of a number of gentlemen, who were anxious to be sacrificed on the altar of their country, in the interests of the then Opposition. In a speech delivered on that occasion, the Minister of Finance attempted a definition of the so-called National Policy. He informed the audience that it was not intended to increase the taxes of the people, that articles which were not produced in the country would be admitted at a low rate of duty, while protection would be afforded to manufacturers by a readjustment of the tariff, but certainly there would be no increase. He (Mr. King) was proud to be able to say that the great Liberal party in that constituency were not influenced by the statements then and there made, and which had been proved by the introduction of this tariff to have been made without foundation. He had examined the tariff carefully, and was unable to discover anything like a readjustment except in one case where a small reduction had been made on the article of molasses, and a larger amount put upon the article of sugar. It was true that a great many articles which were formerly in the free list were now subject to duty. Among those were flour and cornmeal, which the people were assured by his opponent would not be taxed. He would remind the hon. gentleman that the tax on cornmeal, while it would not strougly

affect his (Mr. Tilley's) constituency, would be oppressive in the rural districts, especially among the poorer classes. It had been said that a duty on flour would not increase the cost to the consumer. This point had been settled by the speech of the Finance Minister, when, in showing this House the amount he expected to receive by way of revenue from the increased duties, gave it as his opinion that two hundred and fifty thousand dollar revenue would be derived from this tax on bread alone. He maintained that, looking at the National Policy as a whole, and as applied to New Brunswick, the time chosen for its introduction was inopportune, so far as that Province was concerned. The principal industries there were farming, lumbering, ship-building, fishing, and the carrying trade. These industries were, many of them, at the present time, struggling for an existence. The cause of this, he contended, was not to be found in the Dominion, nor in the legislation of this Parliament, but was due to the fact that our customers in Great Britain and foreign countries were too poor to purchase our staple articles of export from us at remunerative, or even paying, prices, and the consequence was that prices had run down at fearful rates, and our people were embarrassed. It was true that our manufacturers were not, at the present time, as prosperous as we could wish, and we did not need to go far to find the cause. It was not that they were unprotected, but was due to the fact that the leading industries were paralysed for the time being, and the people, in consequence, were unable to purchase the goods produced by the manufacturers. He did not think that the Minister of Finance would tell this House that it would be possible, by legislation in this Parliament, to raise the price of our lumber or other articles of export in the markets of either Great Britain or the United States. He would now show how two of the principal industries named would be affected by this tariff, and, as he had the honour to represent a constituency that was more immediately connected with the business of farming and lumbering, and he himself was more conversant with these than any others, he would confine his remarks to them. The Minister of Finance, in

his Budget speech, had reminded the House and the lumbermen of the country that in the readjustment, so-called, their interests had been guarded. He (Mr. King) had carefully looked into the matter, and would give the result of his calculations. He would apply the increases under the proposed tariff to the different descriptions of goods made use of in the lumber business. In order to make this plain, he would base his calculations on the average quantities of different kinds of supplies affected by the increase, and necessary to produce say 1,000,000 superficial feet of lumber. First on the list he would place 1,000 bushels of oats, on which a duty of 10c. had been imposed. It might be that the increase on that article would amount to half the duty, or say \$50. This he doubted. Then, on four barrels of beans, increased duty, \$2: thirty barrels of cornmeal at 40c. duty, amount \$12; fifty barrels of flour at 50c., amount \$25. Then, if labouring men were not to be injured by the National Policy, it was but fair to assume that their wages must be increased, or, otherwise, they too, had been deceived. It would be found, at the present time, the labour required to produce the quantity of lumber referred to and place it alongside a mill at St. John or elsewhere in New Brunswick, would amount to \$2,500. An advance of 10 per cent. on this amount gave them the sum of \$250. The additional tax on iron, steel-chains, rope, axes, nails, blankets, stoves, tenting, augers and tinware, might safely be put down at \$50, giving a total of \$350. He would now, in order to give the Minister of Finance fair play, deduct from this amount the decrease on, say, 200 gallons of molasses, and 100 pounds of black tea, which would be found necessary in this bill of supplies, and it would be found that the great concession amounted to less than \$5 in all, which, deducted from the total, as shown, left still a charge of \$384, or a sum very nearly equal to 40c. per thousand. Then, in addition to this amount, he would say that, if the manufacturers were not to be injured by this tariff, they would require at least 10 per cent. additional on the manufacture of said lumber, which, added to the increased cost of the log, footed up a total increase of 60c. per

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thousand superficial feet. Now, let them apply this to the production of all kinds of lumber in New Brunswick, which, reckoned as deals and other descriptions usually exported, amounted to 400,000,000 annually. To this might safely be added 100,000,000 for home consumption, making the total 500,000,000 superficial feet, which, figured at the increased cost as shown, gave the enormous tax of \$300,000 additional on this industry alone, and yet they were told, by the Minister of Finance, that this leading industry had been cared for. He (Mr. King), on his arrival here to attend to his Parliamentary duties, was somewhat surprised to find that, in an interview had with the Minister of Finance by gentlemen representing the great lumber interests of the Dominion, they were reminded that the lumber interest was considered by him as a waning one. In the remarks made by him in delivering his Budget speech he alluded to it as follows:—"The time has arrived when we must consider whether we are to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for our American neighbours; whether we are to continue to produce more lumber than we can find a market for in Great Britain, or than the United States will take from us at fair prices." These remarks, coupled with the fact that, when the tariff was introduced, in the resolutions in which the Government asked the power from this Parliament, to arrange for reciprocity with the United States in various articles, including coal, no mention was made of the article of lumber, it being totally ignored, forced him to conclude that the lumber business was considered a waning one, and, as it was really necessary somebody should be sacrificed in the introduction of this National Policy, it had been decided that the lumbermen were the class to suffer. He would admit that the business of lumbering, like many other branches of business, had been overdone, but it was equally true that it would cure itself, and required no tinkering on the part of a Government who were powerless to aid it. It had been asserted that, under the fostering care of this tariff, the iron industry would assume large dimensions. He hoped it might; but, when the time arrived that the article of iron be-

came a drug in our markets, in a time of depression, would the hon. gentleman, if he happened to be the then Finance Minister, attempt to apply the principle he now applied to the lumber business, to legislate it out of existence? He (Mr. King) would now, for the sake of argument, accept the situation, and would assume that the estimate which the Finance Minister placed upon the lumber business, was the correct one; but, in doing so, would remind him that the other, and greater interest, in which his constituents were interested, had fared no better at his hands. The farmers of his county had been told by the Minister of Finance, and other gentlemen, for whose utterances he might fairly be held responsible, that, under the National Policy, they would be protected, that everything they raised upon their farms would suddenly go up in price; that articles they consumed, which were not produced in this country, would be lowered, and that the price of manufactured goods would not be increased. That a duty on flour would not be imposed, was urged upon them by gentlemen seeking their votes. They were to be protected from the Americans, who, it was said, were flooding their markets. He (Mr. King) was prepared to say to the Minister of Finance that, in so far as the county which he represented, and in which that gentleman had the honour of being born, was concerned, the promises made were a delusion and a snare, which could be plainly shown. He would call the attention of hon. members interested to a statement he held in his hand, computed from the Report of Trade and Navigation, in which he would show the amount of the increased protection to the farmers of his native Province. He would explain to hon. gentlemen that the duty on cornmeal and flour would operate as a tax upon the large majority of the agricultural classes in his Province, as in nearly every case the farmers were consumers of American and Canadian flour, and, therefore, he need not include those articles. The other agricultural products imported into New Brunswick last year, on which it was proposed to increase the duty, were as follows: Hops, lard, bacon and hams, preserved meats, animals, bran, potatoes, other vegetables,

barley, oats, peas and beans, to which, if they applied the new tariff, they found the total amount of increase on Protection to be \$9,337.40. Under the new tariff it might be supposed that their own farmers would be called upon to supply a portion of the articles referred to, provided the farmers of Ontario did not take the place in their markets now supplied by the Americans; but, giving the Finance Minister the full benefit of the measure of protection afforded to their farmers, under this new tariff, what did they find? That, dividing the sum named among forty-two thousand farmers in New Brunswick, as shown by the last census, they were protected to the extent of about twenty cents per head. It was true they would be told that the tariff had been reduced on the articles of molasses and tea, but really this reduction was so infinitesimally small in the face of the great increase on every article they consumed, that it was an insult to their intelligence to name it. If the Minister of Finance had any regard for the promises made by his party during the elections, and was himself desirous of benefitting the farmers of New Brunswick, he would suggest to him the increase of one or one and a-half cents per pound on the article of pork—the only article upon which an increase of duty would be likely to benefit the farmers. It was true that about one-fifth of all the American pork imported into this Dominion found its way into the Province of New Brunswick, and, while the duty of one cent per pound had answered the purposes of a revenue tariff, it had utterly failed in the way of protecting the farmers. He (Mr. King) did not wish to be considered as advocating Protection, but, on the principle of fair play, he would ask, for the farmers of his county, the same kind of protection the Finance Minister was willing to accord to the clockmakers of Hamilton, or the manufacturers of patent medicines in St. John. He would also remind the hon. gentleman that hides, wool, and eggs were all products of New Brunswick farms, and ought, in all fairness to the farmers, to have been subjected to duty. Farmers in New Brunswick, including their families and labourers, comprised very nearly two-thirds of the population,

and would pay, if they were able, considerably more than one-half of the increased cost of goods under the new tariff, which in New Brunswick alone would amount to an enormous sum, and for which they got no corresponding benefits. The Minister of Finance, in his Budget speech, knowing, as he did, that the tariff would not be acceptable to any class save the manufacturers, deemed it prudent to make a promise for the future. In referring to the article of tea, knowing the promises that had been made during the elections, and not fulfilled, the Finance Minister now told them that, if their policy had the desired effect, next year he proposed to place tea on the free list. He (Mr. King) would say that, if the policy had the effect of lessening the importation of foreign goods by giving an impetus to home manufactures, it would certainly be found that the revenue would decrease in proportion, and, unless the Government really contemplated lopping off something in the expenditures on public works, they would most assuredly find themselves compelled to increase the duties on the necessaries of life rather than to decrease them. He would say that there had been a time in his life when he was as willing to echo the sentiments of the Minister of Finance as hon. gentlemen on the opposite side of the House were now willing to applaud everything he said or did, and, had he not discovered that the hon. gentleman was not infallible, or anything like it, he might yet be found willing to support him. It was true that, as the Minister grew older, he became more cautious, as exhibited by him in his closing remarks in his Budget speech a few days since, in which, while picturing to their minds the glorious future for the far west of this country, under this National Policy, he made this reservation—that, if he was not over-sanguine, and if his friends were not over-sanguine, these results would most certainly follow. He (Mr. King) would now read, for the benefit of hon. gentlemen opposite, an extract from a speech delivered by that hon. gentleman during the Confederation campaign, and reported in the *St. John Telegraph* of December 21st, 1864. Referring to the prospects of New Brunswick under Confederation, he gave utterance, at the time, to the following:—

## MR. WELDON.

March 28th, 1870.

"I repeat that I am convinced that a tariff of two dollars and seventy-five cents per head on the whole Confederation will meet its annual necessities for many years to come. I want this to go on record. If I have any reputation in financial matters, I wish to stake it on this estimate; and I will give you one of my reasons for doing so. The expenses of government do not increase proportionate to population; but a tariff increases *per capita* on the increase of population.

"When, in 1860, the United States had 30,000,000 of people only, the revenue was fifty-four million dollars, or \$1.65 per head. Had I time, I could go into many other points.

"I will give my figures to the press, and, if anyone can discover any error in them let him do so. I am satisfied that, as Canada now pays only \$2.40 per head of tariff, as the United States paid only \$1.65 in 1860, and as we have made provision for local legislative work, we shall find \$2.75 amply sufficient for the purposes of Confederation, for at least a quarter of a century to come."

He (Mr. King) referred to the fact that but little more than half the time named had rolled around, and yet it was found that, before the introduction of this tariff, our taxes had increased to six dollars *per capita*, - and, under the operation of this tariff, the people of New Brunswick would be compelled to pay no less than eight dollars and twenty-five cents per head, or a sum three times greater than the hon. gentleman predicted would be required of them at the expiration of a quarter of a century. Since coming here he (Mr. King) had had the honour of serving on the Committee for the promotion of immigration and colonisation. He had listened to evidence volunteered by gentlemen interested in the settlement of the great North-West. He was not aware what the Government policy was with reference to this important matter, but he could assure them that if they wished to depopulate New Brunswick, they had but to apply this National Policy. He would not detain the House longer than to say again that he regretted to have to oppose the hon. the Minister of Finance, by voting against this tariff.

Mr. WELDON said, if the hon. member had visited the city of St. John, N.B., he would have altered his opinion respecting the effect of this policy. Far from being a benefit to the Maritime Provinces, it would crush their industries. He would leave the questions of Free-trade and Protection to men of more experienced ability than himself, but, so far as regarded that portion of the Dominion which he had the honour to represent, he would call the attention of the House to the effect of this tariff there. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. King) said he had been for many years a follower of the Minister of Finance, that, by his seductive arguments he had been led to support the project of Confederation. He (Mr. Weldon) had taken the opposite view; he had opposed the union of New Brunswick with the other Provinces, dreading the majority which would overwhelm the lower Provinces, and cause sectional feeling to override public spirit, and one portion of the Dominion to be sacrificed to the interests of another. He had referred back to the period before Confederation to ascertain what then was the position of New Brunswick. Their tariff was then a small one, and the Finance Minister then endeavoured to prove that it would not be exceeded under Confederation for even a quarter of a century to come. Scarcely half that period had elapsed when they found it had nearly trebled. He would call attention to the speech of the Finance Minister, in which he first unfolded to the people of his native Province the advantages he would derive from his Confederation scheme. On the 7th November, 1864, in the metropolis of New Brunswick the hon. gentleman addressed an audience, and held out the prospect that they would manufacture for Ontario, and that their stream would be used to turn the mills for the manufacturers of goods for the Dominion; but the picture to-day was the reverse, and it was Ontario that would manufacture for the Lower Provinces, not they for Ontario. In 1864 and 1865, as during the last election when the famous telegram was sent from John Boyd, the wires were used, though for a different

purpose, to persuade the people of New Brunswick to join in Confederation. The telegram to Mr. Boyd was either sent with the honest intention to carry it out, or to deceive and delude the people of St. John into supporting the hon. the Minister of Finance. And he (Mr. Weldon) did not hesitate to say that, had it not been for that telegram, the hon. the Minister of Finance would not be on the floor of this House acting the rôle of Coriolanus leading on his legions from Ontario and Quebec to crush his native Province. The hon. the Finance Minister had distinctly declared that the system of taxation would not be raised. He maintained that the promise that the taxation should not be increased was as much a consideration of their entering the Confederation as the construction of the Intercolonial railroad. This tariff, he was assured, would crush out the different interests of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The hon. gentleman had distinctly stated in the letter referred to, that they did not propose to increase, but to readjust, the tariff. He could well understand how, in a political campaign, in the excitement induced by the enthusiastic cheering of political supporters, the hon. gentleman might have made a misstatement, for which he might have been excused, but when he deliberately made the statement in writing he could only have made it for the purpose of securing his election in the city of St. John. The hon. member for King's (Mr. Domville) had also, at a public meeting, deprecated the idea of a rise in the tariff.

Mr. DOMVILLE said the hon. gentleman was stating to the House that which was not correct.

Mr. WELDON said the statement appeared in the public prints that the hon. member for King's deprecated the idea of a rise in the tariff, and said that such was not the intention of the Government. Then, on the 23rd August, a late member of the House, Mr. Palmer, just before the elections, said that it was intended that any duty should be placed on flour. This was the position which the question was put before them, and he asked whether it was in accord with the tariff that had been brought before the House? With regard to the

question of flour, the Finance Minister, the other evening, said that he expected to draw a revenue of \$250,000 from it. He desired to show how much the Provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island would have to pay of the additional duty on breadstuffs. Last year, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia imported 148,000 barrels of flour; of Indian corn, 172,684 barrels. Nova Scotia imported 76,000 bushels of corn, and New Brunswick, 22,315; Prince Edward Island imported 84,500 barrels of flour, showing that the duty on breadstuffs would be \$160,000 for those Provinces alone. With regard to anthracite coal, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick would import 32,000 tons, on which \$16,000 would have to be paid by them towards the revenue of the country. So the revenue on breadstuffs, together with the revenue on coal which would be paid by the Maritime Provinces, would amount to six per cent. of the whole deficit. His hon. friend from Queen's, the previous evening, had undertaken to show by facts and figures how the tariff would affect the lumbermen and farmers of the Maritime Provinces; but there was another very important interest—an interest upon which rested the prosperity of the Province of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. He alluded to the shipping interest. Years ago they were merely hewers of wood. They built their vessels for the Liverpool merchant, and did not make any progress commercially; but, when they became shipowners, the country rapidly increased in prosperity, until, at this time, the total tonnage of vessels belonging to the ports of the Maritime Provinces, was 1,114,000 tons. Now the shipping interest was to be protected by a draw-back, but they would not be able to obtain that until the vessel was ready for use. In regard to the articles required for the construction of ships, he pointed out that the French Veritas and the English Lloyd's required vessels to be built of a certain class of goods—pitch pine, which was brought from Georgia. That wood had been largely used in the construction of that vessel, because it was necessary for the higher class. Scarcely had the tariff been printed before he had received a letter on the subject from a gentleman

who was a staunch supporter of the Finance Minister. He found that iron paid a duty of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; spikes,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a cent per pound and 10 per cent. *ad valorem*; brasswork, 30 per cent.; plumbers' fittings for the cabins, 30 per cent.; wire rigging, 20 per cent.; cordage, 10 per cent.; cottons for sails, 5 per cent.; hardware, 30 per cent. Mahogany and cedar wood, only required in the cabins, were admitted free, but this was the revision of the tariff in the interest of the furniture manufacturer. They were also allowed to import rock salt from Turk's Island for the purpose of sealing their vessels. The shipbuilder had to pay 20 per cent. duty on pitch pine imported, and, as these large ships took a long time to build, the result was that even assuming the drawback, the interest on his capital would be very much indeed.

Mr. TILLEY said pitch pine was free. It had been omitted from the free list, but it had been rectified in this respect the other night.

Mr. WELDON said his impression was that pitch pine was taxed, and it was quite clear the collector at St. John had construed the tariff as he (Mr. Weldon) had, but he spoke subject to correction. His impression had been that there was a duty of 20 per cent. on it when brought from Savannah in a hewn or partly manufactured state. Then, besides all these duties the materials had to be purchased, and the result would be that shipbuilders would have to carry more capital to enable them to meet these additional expenses. The shipbuilding interest also stood in another position. He would take only the 1,000 ton ships built at St. John, N.B., principally of pitch pine and oak, the cost of building and making ready for sea was about \$40 a ton, which would make the cost of the ships, in labour and materials, \$40,000; and as labour and materials bore about the same proportion, the cost of each would be \$20,000. It had been stated that the poor man's wages would be increased, but he (Mr. Weldon) did not think that was a necessary result of this policy; and, at any rate, supposing they were increased, it would take the whole of the increase of remuneration to meet the increased cost of living. If

the value of labour were not increased, this additional expense of the necessaries of life must be borne by the poor labourers, but assuming the additional cost of living would be ten per cent., as stated by his hon. friend the member for Queen's, the other night, it would, on a ship such as he had been speaking of, cause an extra cost of \$2,000, which would, by no means, be returned to the shipbuilder. Besides the drawback, there would be this additional \$2,000, at a time when their shipping was in a most depressed state, when the ships in the harbour of St. John were not getting remunerative prices for the carriage of deals etc., across the Atlantic. Those ships were owned by their people, and he would ask whether the increased price of labour was going to enhance one shilling per ton the value of these ships? This tariff would prevent American ships from going into St. John for repairs, and in that way their merchants, manufacturers and labourers would lose the benefit derived from repairing those ships. There was another and very important feature in regard to the shipping interest that would be disadvantageously affected. Shipowners considered the cheapness of a port a very important feature in the employment of vessels. He had known many ports where the prices were so high that many ships would not go there. There were necessary expenses connected with the loading and unloading of vessels. Then there were very often expenses which resulted from storms; a vessel might lose her sails, or her yards might be carried away, and other damage done, and even if she escaped without injury, ordinary wear and tear would necessitate her replacing articles at some port. He ventured to state that 25 per cent. of the disbursements expended by the vessels loading at St. John was incurred in repairing or remedying of sails, rigging, etc. Under this new tariff, St. John, instead of being a favoured port for repairs, would be shunned. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. King) had shown that the lumber and farming interests suffered under this tariff, and the hon. member for Shelburne (Mr. Robertson) had spoken in regard to the fisheries, and he (Mr. Weldon) thought he had shown

that, under this tariff, the shipbuilder would receive no benefit. He would ask what boon had they received for this increased taxation? None, whatever. They were induced to enter this Confederation, on the compact that their taxation would not be increased. The only thing put forward by the hon. the Minister of Finance the other night, anything like a concession in their favour, was a tax of 50c. per ton on coal. He (Mr. Weldon) had stopped to hear if there would be a cheer from the hon. member for Pictou (Mr. Doull), when that announcement would be made, but he was silent. There was another important interest with regard to the Maritime Provinces, which he would also deal with, that was the coasting trade. From their geographical position, their natural market was the United States. They sent shingles, clapboards, etc., to the American markets, and in return received various commodities in exchange. He found that last year there had been 24,000 arrivals and departures of vessels between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and the United States. But, under this tariff, owing to the increased duties, these vessels would be unable to bring return cargoes. He would ask the hon. member for Digby (Mr. Wade), whose constituency was largely engaged in this business, and the people of Annapolis, how this tariff was going to affect them. They would have to purchase their breadstuffs in Ontario at a higher rate. Somebody would reap the benefit of the additional tax on corn-meal and flour. He thought they would find that the importers of the city of St. John were going to be seriously injured by this tariff. They found that many of the very men who had supported the Minister of Finance now felt that their business was to be entirely destroyed by the duties now imposed. They were a producing country, and the extra expense required to obtain their supplies would fall heavily on the people. This country could not consume the articles produced in it, and they required foreign markets. So far as he could judge from letters he had received from the Lower Provinces, he found that the feeling there with regard to this tariff was that it was a tariff which would press heavily on the poor man.

He (Mr. Weldon) said he held in his hand a letter from a large carrier, referring to the difficulties which this tariff would impose upon Canada. Another illustration he would give was in regard to blankets. He held in his hand a Halifax paper which gave a statement of the case as it existed, the figures being supplied by a dry-goods man of that city. A firm had just imported two bales of blankets, costing, in England, \$252. Under the old tariff the duty would have been \$45.50; under the new tariff the total duty was \$110.25, or two and a-half times as much as before. The tax was a little higher on more expensive blankets. Now, with regard to literature, he assumed that it was the duty of the Government to foster the introduction of literature, and more particularly of a high class of literature. But by this tariff it was completely shut out. He was informed by a leading firm that the first package they had received under the new tariff had to pay a duty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem*. The new tariff taxed such a book as Webster's Dictionary by weight 67c.; under the old tariff it was 30c. An excellent work like Macaulay's History paid 66c., while formerly it only paid 30c., and so of all the better class of books. One of the leading booksellers of Halifax said: "We do not approve of the duty on printed books, as it shuts out a very large quantity of cheap literature published in Great Britain, as well as the ordinary school books. The result of this will be, that instead of having a literature of a better class, we shall have that of a cheap and ordinary class." There was also another class of books which would be seriously affected by this tariff, and which he needed only to mention to secure the sympathy of the House — he referred to law-books. English Law Reports had to pay 60c. each, which would raise the price from \$29.60 to nearly \$40.00 a year. This was a heavy tax on the indispensable legal knowledge of this country. This class of literature and still better class were entirely shut out by this tariff. He understood the hon. the Minister of Finance to say the other evening that he had been informed by a merchant of St. John that since the tariff duty was imposed he had been able to purchase corn

meal in New York at 35c. a barrel less than before the duty was imposed. He (Mr. Weldon) was a little surprised at the remark, and took the trouble to telegraph to a leading firm in that business in St. John for the purpose of ascertaining the facts, and received a reply which showed that the immediate effect of this tariff with regard to an article of ordinary consumption, was to advance it at once by 27c., and no doubt, in a short time, the advance would be still greater. They had heard a great deal about British connection, and to the effect that this tariff would not interfere with our relations with Great Britain. There was one thing to be said, however—they had only to look at the press in England to find that both parties in that country spoke of the tariff with universal condemnation. They spoke of it more in sorrow than in anger, that principles so unwise should be adopted in Canada. He recollected, when this great scheme of Union was devised, the loyalty of the people was appealed to in its favour because it was said that Great Britain was in favour of it. The feelings of the people in New Brunswick, the descendants of the old Loyalists, were appealed to and asked to come into the Union in deference to the wishes of the Crown. Yet, in this tariff they had a standing defiance to the principles recognised and adopted by the Mother Country. The hon. member for Lincoln (Mr. Ryke), speaking of an article in the *Mail* newspaper, said we were not discriminating against the Mother Country, but we were simply fighting for existence against foreigners. And yet here was a tariff which made a difference of 25 per cent. against the Americans, and nearly 40 against English manufacturers. He had observed that in the city of Quebec about a week ago, at a meeting there, Mr. Dobell, a well-known merchant, moved, seconded by Mr. Vallée, "that this meeting regrets that the Government had not been able to discriminate more in favour of the manufacturers of Great Britain as against those of the United States." For all these reasons he was strongly opposed to this tariff, and had felt it his duty most earnestly to protest against it on behalf of the city and county of St. John, whose interests would be disastrously affected by it. Not only his Province, but all

the Maritime Provinces would be injured by it. He considered this tariff was a violation of the compact under which the Maritime Provinces entered into the Confederation. It was only after being assured by the promoters of Confederation that the tariff would not be increased that the Maritime Provinces consented to come in to the Union. He felt that these propositions struck one of the most serious blows that were ever levelled against the industries of those Provinces. He recollected the time when the present hon. Finance Minister consented that the Intercolonial Railway should go by the North Shore and be taken away from St. John, when, to use the language of the hon. member for Halifax, \$8,000,000 was thrown into the sea. St. John city staggered under the blow then dealt her, though she had since recovered. Two years ago, when on the 21st of June, 1877, he returned to St. John, and found his home and the homes of thousands in ruin after the great fire, he thought it was one of the heaviest misfortunes that had ever befallen that city. They had just risen from that conflagration, when this new tariff was proposed, which he did not hesitate to declare was a still more crushing blow than any other the city of St. John and the Province of New Brunswick had ever yet received, and that from the man whom it had been her delight to honour.

## MR. SNOWBALL.

*April 3rd, 1879.*

MR. SNOWBALL said he admitted the task before him was a serious one, and one he would willingly have avoided if possible. No person had had a higher respect for the present Finance Minister than he had. No one had more pleasure than he in seeing that gentleman as he had ascended step by step till he reached the pinnacle of power in his native Province. Referring to the tariff, he said if an enemy had done this, they might have borne it, but for a friend—one in whom they trusted—to come and sow

their field with tares, was beyond endurance, and must be resented. He would notice the remarks of some of the previous speakers on this subject. He was surprised the other evening at the remarks of the hon. member for Centre Wellington, with regard to cheap money. He fell into the mistake of eulogising everything that belonged to our American neighbours, and rather depreciating what belonged to Canada. He was surprised to hear him state that cheap money was a sign of the great prosperity that existed in the Republic at present; that in New York they were now investing in their own bonds, and that money could be had on demand at 4 per cent. But cheap money was always not a sign of prosperity, but the reverse. When trade was prosperous, men engaged in commercial pursuits, and the demand for money was greater, and when trade got depressed, the money-lender became distrustful of all operations, and began to withdraw his money from business, and invest in consols, and what appeared to him undoubted securities, but which bore low interest. Then consols would rise in value, and the rate of interest would fall for want of proper investments. In all cases when Britain had been prosperous, money maintained a uniform value of about 5 per cent, showing a general trust and confidence in mercantile transactions, capitalists were willing to lend, and business flowed smoothly. But in times of depression like the present, in the great money-lending centres like London, money brought only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., while in Canada the supply of money was so limited that its owners could demand rates that suited them, though higher than those of the world generally. One point touched upon by the hon. member for Maskinongé related to a statement as to a discrepancy in the remarks of members of the late Administration, in reference to the value of flour in different localities, in the event of the adoption of such a tariff as the present. As that subject interested the portion of New Brunswick that he (Mr. Snowball) came from, he would refer to it. He could see no discrepancy in the statements made by these gentlemen. In the western section, where grain was raised, and a surplus existed, the duty would not really

enhance the value of flour, but in the Eastern Provinces, that had to depend on the others, it would be enhanced without any benefit to the Western farmer, who was to benefit so much by the tariff. They in the eastern part of New Brunswick enjoyed water communication, and got freights at such extremely low rates as to secure a reduction of those of the Intercolonial. Where he (Mr. Snowball) lived, he had to pay \$80 to \$85 a car load for flour from the West, when the same could be taken 180 miles further, to St. John, or 260 or 270 to Halifax at \$20 less. What was the cause? Clearly in St. John and Halifax, having to compete with such close proximity to the United States. The hon. member had told them that in the Lower Provinces, previous to Confederation, they were not educated to taxation. He was perfectly right. They were, however, apparently going to be taxed enough now. The Finance Minister had staked his reputation that they would not be taxed under Confederation above \$2.75 per head; to-day it was up to \$6.14 in New Brunswick, and, after the tariff got into force, would be up to \$9. He was surprised at the hon. gentleman making those changes, since his constituency would be so greatly affected by them. Hon. gentlemen opposite had observed that he had excelled himself in this his last great effort. He (Mr. Snowball) endorsed every word of that statement. Representing, as he did, a constituency almost entirely engaged in lumbering, fishing and ship-building, he had excelled himself in producing a tariff that would create widespread distress and woe not only in his own constituency, but the Province generally. Hon. gentlemen had stated in their speeches that Canada was in such a very deplorable condition. He would ask, was it worse than any other portion of the world? Was our trade utterly ruined! Had we not one advantage to offer seeking immigrants as an inducement to come to our country? Was the population of our country totally destitute? This, certainly, was what we had come to, judging from many of the speeches we had heard. He maintained that Canada was not in a worse, but rather in a better condition than many other countries, but would not say how long it would continue so if this

obnoxious tariff was to be forced upon it. While admitting it was suffering with all the world in the present financial depression, it had not that pauperism that was seen in other and older countries. It certainly was in a better condition than the United States. It had not been troubled with the great army of tramps with which our neighbours had been afflicted. Last fall that country was infested with these marauders, and the result had been a state of things that had never existed in Canada. The Dominion had been blessed in the past year with an abundant harvest. Living had been cheap; what we produced was produced at a cheap rate, and our exporters had held their own, if they did not make money. For this we had great cause to be thankful. Several speakers, in the course of the debate, had blamed the Grit Government for the depression that had existed in Canada. Was that Government to blame for the depression that had existed in the United States, or any other part of the world? In Norway and Sweden, which, like the Maritime Provinces, were particularly interested in the lumber, shipping and fishing trades, a condition of depression existed such as had never been known in that country during his experience of business. Hon. gentlemen might as well blame the Grit party for the plague in Russia as for the depression in Canada. Hon. gentlemen, in their zeal, appeared to decry everything pertaining to British trade, and eulogise everything pertaining to our neighbours in the South. Where did our neighbours go for money when they wanted it but to England? When they got in a tight place, and were compelled to realise on their products, they then had also to go to Great Britain. It was not a sign of the prosperity of the United States that they had had a large export trade during the past year. It rather showed that, owing to their depressed condition, they had been compelled to sacrifice their products in European markets to meet their pressing wants. Figures had been brought forward by hon. gentlemen for the purpose of showing the relative positions of the United States and England. He desired to refer to these arguments, and he would take the figures which had been quoted by hon. gentlemen. They were

told that the total exports from the United States were \$694,884,000. They were largely raw materials, and when these materials were shipped to Europe the tendency of parties owning the goods was to over-value them. They invoiced them at prices above what they actually expected to receive, and above what they actually did receive. A reduction of 25 per cent. might be safely made upon the total amount of the exports, to bring them down anything near the value actually realised, but taking off 20 per cent. the exports of the United States would be reduced to \$555,907,000. They had imported during the same period \$437,000,000 worth of goods. They knew that, in view of the tariff of the United States, the tendency in importing goods was to undervalue them. Large American importers had their own agents in the European markets who re-invoiced their shipments at a reduced rate, perfectly understood by the house on this side of the Atlantic. Proof of this tendency had lately been afforded in the proceedings against an extensive American house which had imported a large line of gloves, which were seized, and found to have been invoiced about 25 per cent. below their real value. They might safely add 20 per cent. to their imports to allow for this undervaluation. Then they had to take into consideration the amount paid for carrying. It was estimated that the United States paid \$130,000,000 to foreign bottoms for carrying their goods annually. To this, also, was to be added the interest they paid to foreigners on their national debt, and then they would find a balance of trade of \$126,500,000 against the United States. The result was really much larger than that. Now look at the other side. The exports of Great Britain were £355,000,000 sterling, and the imports £272,000,000; and here the same thing occurred which occurred in the United States, and the same system of calculation would show that the balance of trade in favour of England was £122,000,000 annually. In her receipts from the carrying trade, and the tribute she received from the rest of the world as interest on their loans, was to be found the secret of her extraordinary wealth and power. An attempt had been made to show that the

commercial greatness of England was waning, and that, while the exports were decreasing, the imports were increasing. In the figures before him he found that the gross exports of Great Britain in 1872 amounted to £311,588,000; the export trade of 1877, the last year for which we had returns, was £252,316,000 sterling, which showed a falling off of about £60,000,000. They had, however, to look to the value of the goods in the different periods. They knew that there had been a material falling off in the value of all goods in their market. In iron, for instance, there had been a reduction in the price of over one half, and coal, which, in 1872, sold at from 20s. to 30s. per ton, could be bought in 1877 for 4s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per ton. In view of this reduction in value, they might safely take 25 per cent. from the imports of 1872 for shrinkage in value, which would bring the amount down to £233,941,000, as against £252,316,000, the value of the exports in 1877, leaving a balance in favour of England, at the present time, of £16,000,000 sterling. Whilst he admitted that England was suffering, he claimed that she was in a better condition, proportionately, than most other countries. She had shipped a greater bulk of goods in 1877 than in any previous year. The statement that England was getting tired of her Free-trade policy was without foundation. He remembered, a few years ago, that fears were entertained that Germany was going to deprive England of her small-ware trade. It was of very short duration, however, and was not sustained. Then Belgium was going to take away her iron trade, but that fear was found to be not well grounded. Next came the cry that France was going to control the sugar refining, but that also proved to be a fallacy. The statement that America was going to supersede England in the cotton trade had even been made on the floor of the House. He knew that, a few years since, a large quantity of American piece goods were sent into the English market. The American papers made a great cry about it, and this, acting as an advertisement, naturally attracted attention. He knew that a large quantity of these goods, after lying in Manchester and other parts of England for many years, were found

utterly unable to compete with goods of English manufacture, and they were actually shipped back to the United States. He could assure them that England was holding her own, and was in quite as good a condition as any other country in the world. The present complaint in England arose from stock farmers. They complained that Canada and the United States were taking the fresh meat trade out of their hands, which complaint found additional weight in view of the present tariff. We four millions of people, scattered over a vast extent of territory, could do but little to improve the trade of the world, and without the trade of the world improving, we could not improve. Employment must first be found for our ships, and a market abroad for our lumber, grain, fish and other exports, without which the trade of Canada would not improve. From the debate, he inferred that the party who had been most imposed upon during the elections was the farmers. The tendency of the present surplus population of our towns and cities was to go on farms and supply themselves with food to eat, at least. The policy of Canada was to encourage the immigration of a farming population to settle our great North-West, which we had been intimated could produce wheat and cattle sufficient to supply the whole world. When that was done, and this supply came in in addition to the present abundant supply, it would bring the prices of these commodities down to a point never before dreamt of. That was Canada's present policy towards our farming population. If we must have Protection, he would like to get it in small doses, so as only to nauseate, but not kill. He would cite a few figures given by the Finance Minister a few evenings ago. Carriages were imported annually into this country to the extent of \$36,000. A high duty might naturally be put on these, without sacrificing the labouring or farming population. We had all the wood and iron and raw material used in this manufacture, and could employ in that industry more people than in the sugar refinery and other things talked of. He would tolerate a duty of 100 per cent., or a heavy specific duty on carriages, that would keep the foreign article out of the

country. Then came the article of clocks, of which \$65,000 worth were imported. Those could be taxed to any amount, so as to keep the manufacture entirely within ourselves. Of furniture, \$399,000, worth were imported annually. The importation consisted of the better classes of furnitures, as that for the working classes was already manufactured in this country. This item could bear a heavy tax to keep it out of the market, as the tax would in any case fall on the rich. On sewing-machines and tubing, which were grouped together, for what reason he could not tell, of which the hon. gentleman said \$518,000 worth were imported, he would be willing to have a tax, as we had manufactories of these machines in this country. Pianos and organs were entered to the extent of \$169,000. A tax on these would not weigh seriously on the poorer classes. Billiard-tables, importation \$11,000. He did not care how much they were taxed. Brooms and brushes \$45,000, and farming implements \$141,000. The latter he was very doubtful about, but, looking at the creditable show made at the Exhibitions in Paris and Philadelphia, he considered that even farming implements might be taxed if Manitoba were exempted. These items combined amounted to about \$2,000,000, which might be protected. To return to his own Province, what did he find? New Brunswick at the time of Confederation, paid into the Treasury of the Dominion \$886,586, while the amount paid last year was \$1,731,960, a very large increase which did not at all correspond with the statement that they would not be required to exceed \$275, the amount laid down by his hon. friend.

Mr. TILLEY: What is the average of the year before? There was \$100,000 the result of the five last years, of which our predecessors had the benefit.

Mr. SNOWBALL said the amount paid in, notwithstanding, had steadily increased since Confederation. Ontario paid \$7,561,000, but claimed in addition that a large portion of the duties collected in Montreal were paid by her. This showed that Ontario paid into the Treasury of the Dominion \$4 24 per head, or allowing \$2,000,000 for the duties paid by her in Montreal, it brought

the average to \$5.36. New Brunswick imported largely from Montreal, Toronto, and other Western cities, particularly in the Excise line, which would increase her amount. Nova Scotia paid \$1,471,000, or \$3.45 per head last year. For New Brunswick, if they added the amount of excise paid in Montreal, and other cities, it would make the average \$6.14 per head. If that amount were equalised throughout the Dominion, the revenue, including that derived from public works, would amount to over \$29,000,000. What had been done for shipbuilding under the new tariff? It was stated that, though the amount of taxation was increased, that this was going to be returned in the shape of a drawback. In looking over this list he found there was a tax of from five to thirty per cent. on many materials used in shipbuilding. How were shipbuilders going to get those taxes back; a shipbuilder wanting a few tons of iron might get it at the Londonderry mines, or from a dealer in our cities. What did he know about the amount of duty paid on these goods? He bought hinges, cordage, etc., and small wares from dealers, and, when his ship was ready, asked for a drawback on the materials. From his (Mr. Snowball's) experience, it was very difficult to get drawbacks, one of the conditions being that the applicant must swear that he actually paid duty on those goods. It was impossible for that man to make a statement which would enable him to recover the drawback. He could not distinguish between the portion manufactured here and that imported; nor could he swear to the value at which the imported portion was purchased. He could not make the necessary affidavit, and would find when his ship was ready to go to sea, that he would not get a dollar. How was the fisherman provided for in this tariff? On the free list they found his hooks, nets and lines, twines and salt, but those articles had always been free, so that the fishermen had nothing to thank the present Ministry for in that. His flour, everything he ate, drank and wore, was taxed. He could not buy his jacket to the value of 16s. sterling, without paying \$2.04 into the Treasury. The fishermen wanted protection against the Americans who came with purse-seines to his very doors and

literally swept the fish from the sea. They surrounded everything in the water, gathered them up, culled out a few mackerel or such fish as they required, leaving the surface of the bays for miles strewed with dead fish, the very fish our fishermen expected to get. He next came to the lumber interest, a very important interest. We exported, in 1877, \$27,124,000 worth of lumber, but not a sufficient proportion, as many people supposed, to give us the control of the markets of the world. The imports of lumber into Great Britain, in 1877, were \$5,000,000, but \$27,000,000 of which came from the Dominion. What Protection did lumber get? As had been proved by the hon. member for Queen's, it was taxed 60c. per 1,000 superficial feet, under the new tariff, in addition to the 70c. under the old tariff, which, with the 80c. imposed by the Local Legislature of New Brunswick made a total tax of \$2.10 per M., or 52c. per acre. This was a great hardship, an amount of taxation which these people could not stand. He held a document from a person engaged in the trade, showing the cost of a quantity of goods that he imported a few weeks since actually going into that trade. What did he find in this statement? He heard his hon. friend, the other evening, say that the advance on cottons and woollens was only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The very first thing in this invoice was a bale of flannels which cost £53.2s. Under the old tariff the duty would have been  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or \$41.80. Under the new tariff it was as follows:—The goods weighed 320lb. at  $7\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound, and 20 per cent., making the total amount \$75.63, or an advance of 70 per cent. The next item was a bale of cottons, valued at £63. 1s. 10d. sterling; at the old duty of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., \$53.20. Under the new tariff, it was \$102.17, or 95 per cent. of an advance on the old tariff. The next item was a bale of wineys, £25 9s. 10d. sterling, at  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., \$21; under the new tariff, \$45.72, an advance of 115 per cent. The next bale was also wineys of cheaper quality, costing £19 14s. 5d. sterling. Under the old tariff, the duty would be \$16.10, while under the new one it was \$37.98,

making a difference of 135 per cent. He would like to know how this was going to be contradicted. In every item he was prepared to go down to the minutest particulars. The next was a bale of bed-ticks, which cost £11 10s 6d., and they paid, under the old tariff, \$9.80, and under the new, \$16.72, there being a difference of 72 per cent. The next was a piece of serge to make a summer suit for the importer himself. Of course, he had money to pay for it; he was not a labourer, and there was a little consideration shown him. On this article, the duty, under the old tariff, was \$4.20, and under the new, \$6.15, or under 47 per cent. advance. The next was a bill of small wares. The only thing in which there was a saving was a case of threads costing £13 18s. 9d.; under the old tariff the duty was \$11.90; under the new, \$8 50, showing a saving of \$3.40. Taking the whole invoice, the duties under the old tariff were \$233.28; under the new, \$109.94, or an advance of over 75 per cent. There were other things to the detriment of the poor lumberman. He was afraid they did not vote right in the last election. Possibly that was the reason the new tariff bore so heavily upon them. Supposing he wanted to buy a jacket, he would have to pay duty for it \$2.04. The average weight would be 7lb., at 10c. per pound, making 70c. Allowing it to cost 16s.—the lowest cost for a passable jacket—the duty on this, at 25 per cent., would be \$1. Allowing the trader 20 per cent. on his investments, 34c., would make the cost \$2.04 to the purchaser. A pair of blankets, by the same calculation, the duty being  $7\frac{1}{2}$ c. per pound, and 20 per cent. *ad valorem*, would cost the purchaser \$1.50 in duty on every pair of blankets that he put over him at night, which he must pay or freeze. He admitted that we had imported too many goods, which was injurious to the country. But here was a tariff of taxation that came right home to the poor people in the country, the shipbuilders, the carpenters, the lumbermen, the fishermen. He would like to know how his hon. friend was going to show that we were not going to be grossly taxed beyond what we were able to bear. It had been said that we could make use of the bonding system in bringing goods from the

West. This was a system that many are unable to understand. He predicted that this bonding difficulty would be found great enough to divert trade from the West from us, and compel it to find its way to the sea through other channels at a serious loss to the Dominion. He was surprised to hear the assertion that the Grand Trunk Railway, that great artery of communication between the East and the West, would, in the future, undertake this bonding system free of charge. Could it be supposed that they would gratuitously undertake the labour of bonding, in addition to the risk they would have to assume. It was an insult to the British people whose money was invested in that railway, to suppose that they would consent to assume this extra trouble and expense when this very tariff would ruin their Canadian trade. It would be an insult to ask them to bond our own goods at their expense. He repeated the whole tariff would be a burden on the people of the Maritime Provinces. They were an industrious and self-reliant people, but they would not be able to bear these new burdens. He had no sympathy with those who talked of England's trade and commerce declining. Hon. gentlemen might believe it, but he could not. He was proud of that old land which had nourished and sustained us in our colonial infancy, and he hoped we were all proud to claim her as our parent. He hoped her flags would never cease to wave over us. Talk of England's power waning. Her enemies might hope so. But look at her to-day, and the giant that guided her destinies, as she swayed her sceptre over the greatest empire on earth. She was the wonder and terror of the world. A terror to evil-doers, and a tower of strength to those who would do well.

## MR. I. BURPEE.

*April 4th, 1879.*

Mr. BURPEE (St. John) said, referring to the resolution now in the Speaker's hands, it would seem that but little more could be said on the subject. However, the policy now being pursued by the Government, being

a revolutionary one, as had been stated by the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Tassé), it seemed the duty of every member opposed to such a retrograde step to enter a protest against the tariff now being introduced by the Minister of Finance. Nearly all the hon. members opposite who had spoken upon the question seemed to think, because they had been returned to power by the election of the 17th September last, that the question of Protection was settled, and should be accepted by the House without any remonstrance from those opposed to it. No such proposition as was now submitted to the House was submitted to the people during the last election, nor would the party now leading the House have dared to take such a tariff to run the elections on, particularly so in the Maritime Provinces. When it was announced in New Brunswick that a 35 per cent. tariff was to be proposed by the now leader of the Government, if his party succeeded to power, immediately a telegram was sent to Sir John A. Macdonald asking him if such was the case. He immediately answered that the assertion was an absurd falsehood, and that he had never proposed an increase but only a readjustment of the tariff. Did not the Minister of Finance, among his constituents in St. John, repudiate any increased taxation? Did he not, on three different occasions, in his campaign speeches, repudiate Protection as their policy? Did he not say he would have voted against a duty on flour, meal, coal, etc., if he had been in Parliament in 1875, thus leading them to suppose he would do so in 1879? Therefore he (Mr. Burpee) denied that this matter was settled on the 17th of September. At that time the question of Protection, as submitted to the House now, was not before the people. There were a large number in this House, and a very large proportion of the people, entirely opposed to it. In Ontario it had, no doubt, formed part of the issue, but in Quebec another powerful influence had turned the elections, and, as for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, if this tariff had been placed fairly before the electors, they would have rejected it and the men who

supported it, as unsuitable to their interests, as he believed it was to the interests of the whole Dominion. He went further, and said that this tariff was diametrically opposed to the understanding with which the various Provinces entered into Confederation, and he was quite sure the people of the Lower Provinces, had it been presented to them at that time, would not have entered the Union, neither would Great Britain have consented. The Opposition believed that manufacturers, under a revenue tariff, which would enable them to import their raw material free, had prospered, and would prosper more than under this system of Protection that was now imposed upon the country. This was the reason, he contended, why our manufacturers had suffered less during the depression than those of the United States. When our manufacturers had confined themselves to manufacturing, without embarking in other investments, they had prospered more than any other class in the country. Above all other considerations, both parties should strive to make this a cheap country to live in; to lessen instead of increase taxation, so as to encourage immigration, and especially immigration of an agricultural population. He would read from a speech delivered in Toronto by Sir Alexander Galt, in favour of inducing immigrants to come here by making Canada a cheap country, keeping duties at a moderate rate, and in opposition to the doctrine of Protection. Sir Alexander on that occasion had said:

"If we are to succeed in getting immigrants to Canada, we must not lose sight of the fact that it must be made attractive to them. It must be a cheap country. Immigrants must not find it as dear as other countries, which, perhaps, offer more advantages. That leads me to consider the question of high duties on imports. High rates have, unquestionably, made the United States a dear country, and Canada is a comparatively cheap country because of its moderate duties, which, perhaps, afford the most direct compensation for the natural advantages which the adjoining Republic possesses over the Dominion. I do not believe there is any advantage whatever in the doctrine of extreme Protection. I do not believe it is possible to develop manufactures on any large scale by high duties. Our market is too limited. We have only four millions of people to supply, and it must be perfectly clear that the result of high duties would be to create an artificial industry—an industry

which does not rest on its own intrinsic merits. It is to be observed that Protection—high duties—enhance the cost of every other article as well as that in which a particular manufacturer may be interested. It renders it more expensive for any manufacturer to manufacture his goods. If everything the boot and shoe maker uses is taxed, it is evident that his goods must be dearer. The result would consequently be that the exportation of our surplus goods to foreign countries would become absolutely impossible. We cannot have an export trade if the goods are made artificially dear in this country. We have in the United States a most complete example of that. That is a country which ought to be the cheapest country in the world, which has the largest amount of available lands, and every material advantage, and yet, by a wrong system of legislation and economic policy, the people have succeeded for many years past in making it one of the dearest in the world instead of the cheapest."

He (Mr. Burpee) would point out that the result of Protection was to make the rich man richer, and the poor man poorer; to tax the great consuming class of our country, to make the necessaries of life dear, to divert labour and capital from natural to artificial channels, to draw the farming population from the rural districts into cities and towns, and to injure the labouring classes by enhancing the price of everything they used. He asked what was the first thing the manufacturer did when commercial depression came upon him? He did not first seek to curtail his own and other expenses, but looked around to see first how many men he could dismiss, and next how far he could reduce the wages of those he retained. This was the way he curtailed his expenses, and it was the man who depended upon his daily wages who suffered. The Finance Minister had stated there had been a great depreciation in the value of our importations. This was true, and he (Mr. Burpee) was glad he had admitted it, and that was a proof of what those now in Opposition had said over and over again, that, if that depreciation had not occurred, there had been goods enough imported during the past three or four years to prevent any deficit taking place, and there would have been none. He was satisfied that Canada had not been such a slaughter market for the United States as the Finance Minister had supposed. When representations of that kind had been made to the late Government, they took

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pains to ascertain how far goods coming from the United States were undervalued, and the list of prices in New York was repeatedly sent to Customs officers, with instructions to collect the revenue upon the value there given. A specific complaint had been made by a manufacturer of weights and scales in Canada that imported American scales were largely undervalued. The Government had made investigations at the several ports, which convinced the manufacturer himself that he was wrong in his impression, and he wrote the Department to that effect. He (Mr. Burpee) believed that the expectation of the Finance Minister that the price of tea would be reduced under the new regulations would not be realised. Facilities would be afforded to importers to import direct through the United States in bond, and the whole tea trade of the country would perhaps come in that way. Only two small lots of tea, he believed, had come direct by the St. Lawrence since Confederation, so that the 10 per cent. differential duty, as against the United States, would not give the consumer one single cent advantage that he had not now. The drawback system, which the Finance Minister offered to manufacturers to encourage the exportation of manufactured goods, he thought would result in so much trouble and expense to manufacturers that the amount of their drawback would be consumed in obtaining it. The Finance Minister had stated in his former speech that Canada, under the last tariff, levied a duty on merchandise from Great Britain of 17½ per cent. while she levied only 10 per cent. on goods from the United States, thus conveying the impression that Canada in her trade was favouring the United States as against Great Britain. This statement was not fair and was misleading. In his calculations, he (Mr. Tilley) included \$13,500,000 worth of grain and breadstuffs, \$12,000,000 worth of which was the production of the United States, and passed through Canada *in transitu*, while giving Canada the great benefit of the carrying trade, and should not enter into such a calculation for dutiable purposes. He also included settlers' effects and coin and bullion, \$1,300,000, making in all \$13,300,000,

and which should be deducted from his statement as to United States goods. Whatever discrimination existed in favour of one country over another by the old tariff had been made larger against Great Britain by the tariff the Finance Minister was asking them to pass. The goods paying duty was alike, 20 per cent., but the free list from the United States was much larger than from Great Britain. The proportion on the free list from the United States was larger now than before as against Great Britain. The Finance Minister had said that English goods paid 17½ per cent., while United States goods paid but 10 per cent. The fair statement of the case, including dutiable and free imports, would be as follows:—

Dutiable and free goods imported from Great Britain.....	\$37,451,180
Less coin and bullion and settlers' effects.....	301,000
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	\$37,130,180

The duties amounting to 17½ per cent. Of this total amount there were—

Dutiable goods.....	\$32,130,783
Free goods.....	5,291,397
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	\$37,431,180

Dutiable and free goods imported from the United States.....	\$48,626,189
Less coin and bullion..\$	626,315
Settlers' effects.....	676,145
Breadstuffs, <i>in transitu</i> ..	11,566,777
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	\$12,868,237

Net.....\$35,759,952  
 On which the duties would equal 13½ per cent. This was a fair statement, taking dutiable and free goods together. But the fairer calculation would be to take the dutiable goods, as the free list was raw materials which were intended to be an advantage to a country to admit free. The dutiable goods were:—From Great Britain, \$32,139,783 paying 20 per cent.; from the United States, \$23,464,563, paying 20 per cent. The Finance Minister, by the tariff now submitted to the House, had taken from the free list of goods from Great Britain \$3,430,882, leaving of goods imported from Great Britain, \$1,682,515 on the free list. Of free goods from France and Germany, \$967,905, he took \$440,220, leaving \$527,685. From goods imported from the United States he took out \$16,959,400, including the \$12,000,000

of grain *in transitu*, leaving about \$8,000,000 on the free list for the United States. Taking the Minister of Finance's calculation as a basis on last year's importations, and adding the amounts taken out of the free list made dutiable, they would find the percentage of duty to be, from Great Britain 18½ per cent., and from the United States 11½ per cent., as against 17½ and 13½. But to show the further discrimination against Great Britain under the tariff submitted, they must take into consideration the increased duty to be levied on imports from each country, which would be found to be an increased duty over the former tariff, on goods from Great Britain 10½ per cent., and on goods from the United States but 5 per cent., as he would explain presently in detail. The Finance Minister submitted to the House a statement showing the imports of certain classes of goods from Great Britain and the United States, showing \$28,606,691 from the United States, and \$17,983,321 from Great Britain, the object being to show our large importations from the United States. The Minister, in this statement, had included the \$13,500,000 of goods *in transitu* through Canada. He had also included raw cotton and other raw materials still left on the free list, which would reduce the \$28,606,000 from the United States, to \$13,000,000. There were other items that would reduce it still further. The hon. gentleman's statement was, therefore, not correct, but greatly misleading as to the true state of trade. The taxation proposed in the tariff submitted to the House would either place upon the people, for revenue purposes or take out of their pockets something over seven millions of dollars. He did not mean to say that this would go into the revenue, but for the first year or two probably between three and four millions of it would. The year 1878-9 would not receive much or any benefit from this, but revenue would be increased from 3½ to 4 millions during the next following two or three years, and the balance would be a direct tax on the people. He would give the details to which he had referred, based on the importations of 1878, as shown by the trade returns. The increased duty on specific dutiable goods would be \$244,095, made up of

\$189,997 on goods from Great Britain, and \$54,097 on goods from the United States. The total increased duty under the tariff on goods subject to specific and *ad valorem* duty would be \$584,730, made up of \$294,730 on English goods, and \$290,000 on American goods. The total increased duty on the 20 per cent. list would be \$33,447, made up of \$11,447 on English, and \$22,000 on American goods. The total increased duty on goods on the 17½ per cent. list, which had been raised to 20 per cent., would be \$388,093, made up of \$233,300 on British, and \$154,793 on American goods. On goods formerly paying 17½ per cent., and now on the 25 per cent. list, the total increased duty would be \$247,885, made up of \$99,285 on English, and \$148,600 on American goods. On goods which formerly paid 17½ per cent., and now on the 35 per cent. list, the total increased duty would be \$503,296, made up of \$346,375 on British, and \$156,912 on American goods. On goods formerly on the 17½ per cent. list, and now on the 35 per cent. list, the total increased duty would be \$87,454, made up of \$6,730 on British, and \$80,734 on American goods. On cottons, on which the duty was now, on an average, at least 33½ per cent., and formerly 17½ per cent., the total increased duty would be \$1,115,467, made up of \$700,000 on British, and \$415,467 on American goods. On woollen goods the duty was now 35 per cent. at least, formerly 17½ per cent., and on these the increase amounted to \$1,555,015, made up of \$1,477,382 on goods from Great Britain, and of \$77,633 on goods from the United States. The total increased duty on other goods, which had formerly been on the 17½ per cent. list, would be \$186,970, of which \$62,325 would be paid by British as against \$124,647 by American goods. There would be other increases, which made up the total increased duty under the tariff of \$7,346,361, made up of \$4,528,190 on goods coming from Great Britain, and of \$2,818,165 on goods coming from the United States. He allowed for reduction of duties on molasses, tea, etc., \$291,812, made up of \$106,812 on goods from Great Britain, and \$191,000 on those coming from the United States. This left the total increased duty under the

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tariff to be \$7,054,549, made up of \$4,427,378 on British, and of \$2,627,165 on American goods. The increase per cent. of duties collected on goods coming from Great Britain was 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and, on merchandise from the United States, 5 per cent. The amendments introduced by the hon. the Minister of Finance, the other evening, would change some of the items, but would not affect the aggregate as submitted. This showed the amount the Minister of Finance stated he would transfer from English to American goods was not correct, and would not be carried out by the tariff. Further than this, he believed that this tariff, as it discriminated so largely against English merchandise coming to Canada, was one of the worst possible policies that this country could pursue towards Great Britain at the present time, when England was our best market for farm produce, lumber and other exports. She gave us a free market, and all possible advantages, to encourage our exports to that country, admitting our goods free of duty, and befriending us in every possible way financially, and, therefore, placing these heavy duties on English goods was, he maintained, the worst blow that ever was struck at the connexion between Canada and Great Britain. They had been led to suppose the taxation imposed was not against Great Britain, but the examination of the returns showed the very reverse. They had heard much about the tea duty, and that former taxation discriminated against the poor man's tea, which was not true. But, under the present tariff, a differential duty was imposed on flour. On the poor man's flour, costing \$5 per barrel, a duty of 10 per cent. was levied, and on the rich man's flour, costing \$10 per barrel, a duty of 5 per cent. The increase on meal was 16 per cent. against the man who used it, and on corn 15 per cent. The duty on cotton and woollen goods discriminated largely against the working classes—from 10 to 15 per cent. more than the rich man—and his clothing 20 per cent. more than the rich man. This was the case with books and crockery.

- So the duties imposed on articles of consumption largely used by the mass of the people and the working classes were much heavier than the articles purchased

by those who were able to pay higher prices. It was a tariff discriminating largely against the great mass of consumers, and particularly against the labouring class, as well as discriminating against Great Britain. The duties were also increased on raw materials used for manufacturing purposes. The duty on raw material entering into the manufacture of boots and shoes was advanced from 14 to 20 per cent.; of furniture from 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 9 per cent.; of carriages from 13 to 21 per cent.; of lumber from 10 to 22 per cent., and of agricultural implements from 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  to 16 per cent. The duty on founders' raw material was increased from 4 to 15 per cent., and on shipbuilders' material from 2 to 7 per cent., and so on all through the list. Therefore, besides the labouring classes, who were largely burdened by these taxes, the manufacturers themselves were burdened by an increase of duties on their raw material. The goods entered on the free list last year were valued at \$30,619,000, and this year would be valued at \$10,000,000 in round numbers. The free list in the United States was very large, showing how freely they encouraged manufactures in this way. The goods so entered last year were valued at \$171,000,000. Hence, he maintained that this tariff was not in the interest of any class in the community, while it was particularly burdensome on the labouring class, the lumbering interest, shipbuilding and the foundry interest, and especially upon the people of the Maritime Provinces. The people of New Brunswick consumed more dutiable goods than any other Province in the Dominion in proportion, excepting British Columbia, which stood in about the same position. They paid more to the revenue than the people of any other Province, and under the tariff their burdens, in this respect, would be increased more in proportion than would be the case in other parts of the Dominion, and they would feel it more heavily. Last year, and in 1876, they paid \$7.76 per head to the revenue, including all taxes for Federal purposes, and this tariff would further increase their burdens at least \$2.50 per head. It was consequently the duty of every member on the Opposition side of the House, and particularly of those from the Lower Provinces, to

protest as strongly as possible against this increase of taxation on their people. The Finance Minister, under the assumption of wanting to raise \$2,100,000, had submitted a tariff to this House to tax the people of this Dominion to the enormous amount of \$7,000,000. They were not led to suppose that this would be the case at Confederation, or to believe that the country would be committed to a highly protective tariff like this, in the face of our connection with the Mother Country, with whom we had Free-trade. It was unfair to England, as well as to Canada, and such a proposition would not have been recognised at the time of the Union. In view of the fact that England's ports were open to us, and we had the advantage of Free-trade with Great Britain, the discrimination the proposed tariff imposed against her, as well as the evil consequences, and the enormous burdens it placed on the people of the Dominion, it was the duty of the people of Canada to protest vigorously against the resolutions submitted by the Minister of Finance.

## MR. GILLMOR.

*April 4th, 1879.*

MR. GILLMOR said the condition of parties was very much changed since the last Parliament. He did not envy the hon. gentlemen who occupied the Treasury benches or their supporters. If they had attained a majority by fair and honest representations, they were entitled to their position, and he did not envy them under these circumstances. If they deceived the people, and owed their position to misrepresentation, he envied them still less. He had never, during the five years he sat in Parliament, made reference to his own constituency, although he had seen members bringing in their own local difficulties; but he must say, now, with reference to his constituency, that the contest there was not waged on the policy now being discussed. The canvass made by his opponent was against himself personally, and the late Administration. The National Policy, as now presented, was but dimly hinted at. He had the

honour of having, among his constituents, the hon. the Minister of Public Works, who enjoyed an influence there belonging to any gentleman occupying such an exalted position. The hon. the Minister of Finance was also one of his constituents, and had visited his county on several occasions, and had received several addresses, and replied to them; he (Mr. Gillmor) had not had the honour of hearing him on those occasions, but he had read the addresses in the newspapers, and was satisfied that he only hinted at the National Policy. There was no duty upon flour, no duty upon corn, no duty upon meal, promised in any of his addresses there. But there was one thing which he promised in an address at St. Andrew's, and that was, that in six months from that time there would not be an idle man, woman, or child in the town of St. Andrew's. This was in reply to an address presented him by the town, when every one assembled to meet him—for wherever those great men went, there were always a good many that sought to bask in their smiles. He had never come down to that yet; he was not very wealthy, but he never yet "Wore the rags of any great man's looks, or fed upon their aftermeals;" and, therefore, as a rule, he generally received their opposition. The hon. the Finance Minister was an old acquaintance of his; about a quarter of a century ago he had the satisfaction of helping him into the first office which he filled. He believed personal good feeling still existed between them, but of late years his hon. friend, in his visits to Charlotte county, had not reciprocated former favours. In 1872 he visited his county, when he (Mr. Gillmor) thought he was sure to win. But, two days before the election, his hon. friend, in gratitude for past favours, made his visit, and the result was that he lost his election by a small majority. Still, he (Mr. Gillmor) made no charge at all against his hon. friend. It would be a pleasure to support him if he could conscientiously do so. He did not intend to weary the House by reading long lists of figures relating to the tariff question. He supposed there was no possibility of changing a vote in this Parliament; no amount of argument, and no amount of reason, or eloquence was going to change one vote upon this question.

Two things had been prominent since the beginning of this discussion. In the first place, hon. gentlemen on the Government side had never failed to inform them, on the Opposition side, that they were in a minority. It was unnecessary to tell them so; they were fully conscious of it. But he would rather be in a minority, and acting according to his sense of duty and right, than be in a majority and acting contrary to his convictions. He did not, however, charge hon. members opposite with acting contrary to their convictions in this matter. Another circumstance he had observed in this discussion was the amount of fulsome flattery, and the capacity to swallow it that had been manifested by the hon. gentlemen on the Treasury benches. Really in old times they did not bow more obsequiously to Nebuchadnezzar's golden image than hon. gentlemen bowed to his hon. friend the Finance Minister. Every one of them had complimented him, bowing low before him. While listening to them, he had been reminded of the old maxim that flattery is the food of fools. They were not fools, but "now and then even men of wit could condescend to take a bit," and sometimes a very large bit of flattery. He really pitied the hon. the Finance Minister while he saw this going on. He knew it must be disagreeable to him to have every one of them, from the highest to the lowest, from the cleverest to the least clever, feeling it to be their bounden duty to tell him what a remarkable golden calf he had set up for them, in the shape of this tariff. He (Mr. Gillmor) was not opposed to a compliment; he was glad to receive one when it was merited, and sometimes he could swallow quite a large one. But, when they came to give it to a man in such quantities, in such chunks, he thought few men, except his hon. friend, could swallow it. He had listened to every speech that had been made since this discussion commenced. He had listened to the hon. the Finance Minister's statement when he pictured the glowing condition in which the finances of this country were when he left office in 1873, and drew a gloomy picture of their condition when he entered upon his duty now. He (Mr. Gillmor) failed to see how the late Government had made the financial

condition of this country at all difficult, when the hon. gentleman came into office the second time. It was very unfair to try to make the country believe that its financial condition had been made worse by his predecessors. He did not believe facts would justify that assertion. How had the late Government made that condition any worse than it would have been if the hon. gentleman himself had been Finance Minister during the last five years? Had the late Government undertaken any financial obligation during their term of office, that would not have been equally undertaken by the hon. gentleman and his associates if they had been in office? The whole thing was mortgaged long before the late Government came into office. The hon. gentleman complained that his position was difficult owing to the financial obligations of this Dominion. But who undertook them? Who undertook the obligation of building the Intercolonial Railway? And here he would add, he did not find fault so much with the railway, but it was, nevertheless, an incubus on the finances of this country. Government had now to provide more than \$1,000,000 annually, as interest on the cost of building that railway, and another half million to pay its running expenses. Who was to blame for that? Was it the late Finance Minister? No; it was the present Finance Minister and his associates who were responsible for that work. Therefore, if he complained that he had to provide every year for this \$1,500,000, he had no one to blame but himself and his associates. Who undertook the Prince Edward Island Railway, which involved a large expenditure, and entailed an obligation against the Dominion of Canada? No one but the hon. gentleman and his associates. Who undertook the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Railways, that also increased the financial obligation of this country? Who undertook the enlargement of the St. Lawrence Canals, but his hon. friend and his associates? Who undertook the Welland Canal, but those hon. gentlemen? Who undertook the public works at Ottawa, and the public buildings of the Dominion, but his hon. friend and his associates? Who undertook the building of

the Pacific Railway, the most destructive and the most ruinous of all? Who undertook to fix upon this Dominion that incubus of British Columbia, that excrescence of British Columbia, that cancer, financially, of British Columbia, that was eating into our vitals and entailing a heavy financial burden upon the country for all time to come? Who undertook that, but the hon. the Finance Minister and his associates? And why was it undertaken? It was undertaken to meet the political necessities of the hon. gentleman and his associates, and the representation given to that Province in the arrangement was evidence that the whole thing was done to serve their political interests. In this Parliament, British Columbia had six representatives for 10,000 or 15,000 inhabitants. Upon what principle of justice or fair play could such representation be defended? Then his hon. friend stood up and said: "Oh! when I was Finance Minister in 1873, everything was rosy and beautiful; everything was easy; I found it a pleasant task to be Finance Minister then; but now all that is changed." And so the hon. gentleman went on as if his predecessors had fixed all these burdens and all these obligations upon this Dominion. But he and his associates did it themselves, and there was no body to blame for it but themselves if he found it difficult now. It was easy, during the seven years of plenty, when every thing was prosperous, to meet his obligations. It was easy, when the revenue was rolling in, and he had surplus after surplus. But he deserved no credit for that, and if he had continued in power up to the present time he would have deserved no censure for the deficits which arose. He did not think it was fair for the hon. gentleman to charge the late Ministry with being responsible for those deficits. He regretted to see deficits, but what was the nature of these deficits? Had it hurt the people any to let them keep the money in their pockets by not putting more taxation on them? Had it burdened them? He knew it was unpleasant to have deficits, and he wished it were otherwise. He supposed his hon. friends composing the late Government were expecting, from year to year, that there would be an improvement in the business of the country; that im-

portations would be increased, and they were slow to increase the burdens of the people. He admitted now that the deficits might have been stopped, in part at least, by retrenchment, by stopping certain public works; and they might have been stopped by an increase of taxation. He did not know what course the late Government would have adopted if they had remained in power, but he should have advised them not to increase taxation, to cut down expenditure wherever they could, and to economise. He regretted that his hon. friends had not stopped some of this expenditure when they were in power. It would have been difficult, no doubt, since these public works had been already commenced by the preceding Government, and had to be carried on to completion. They had to expend \$30,000,000 in order to complete the obligations which his hon. friend the present Finance Minister and his associates had entailed upon them. The late Government had undertaken no great public works; everything that could be undertaken to get popularity and political support had been undertaken by their predecessors. The obligations had been incurred, and they had to be carried out by the late Government. They had to do it under very distressing financial circumstances; they had to do it in the midst of a depression of trade, of a falling revenue, and he thought they did it well. During the late election, so far as his own county of Charlotte was concerned, the canvass had been conducted, on the part of his opponents against the late Government, against himself, and not in favour of the National Policy. And that was the way the battle was fought out in the Province generally. They did not present to the people this beautiful National Policy, but, on the contrary, they denied it. He told the people what he thought would be the policy of the Conservative party, judging them from their declarations. He told them they might expect a duty on flour of about 50c. a barrel, and also a duty on cornmeal; and that, in short, in order to carry out their promises, he thought they would introduce a system of Protection. But he did not think that his hon. friend the Finance Minister told them that when he addressed them. They always denied, when he (Mr. Gill-

mor) met them, that such taxes would be increased; their statement was that they were going to readjust the tariff. The result was that the people gave them a very large majority. As to the public works undertaken by the late Government, he did not know of any considerable extent, except the Chambly Canal, and St. Peter's Canal in Nova Scotia, and the Dufferin breakwater, the largest in New Brunswick. Those were all they had undertaken; therefore, he thought that the Finance Minister could not truly state that the embarrassed condition of the country was due to the late Government. Such talk might gain him, however, the sympathy of the public in his present difficult position. He had got what he worked for; and, if the country was financially depressed, and required a large revenue, he and his associates were the men who brought about that state of things. In saying this he (Mr. Gillmor) knew that nothing he could say—that not the best logic and greatest eloquence—could change a vote on this question. The question of Free-trade and Protection had been laboured to death; the views and statistics exposed to decry Free-trade simply amounted to nothing. The people would judge of the question for themselves. He had listened to able and eloquent arguments last Session, from the hon. member for Stanstead (Mr. Colly), and, this Session, from the hon. member for Richmond and Wolfe (Mr. Ives), in favour of Protection; if their premises had been sound, which they weren't, their deductions would have been conclusive. But they had not, because unsound, convinced him. He believed Protection was wrong in principle, and no amount of argument or reasons could make it right. It had been proved, by practical experience, incorrect. He knew the effect of Free-trade in Great Britain, and he thought the best evidence that Free-trade was correct was its adoption by the Mother Country, by statesmen who understood the question much better than Canadian Protectionists. Everybody knew that England's advance in wealth, commerce, manufacturing, and trade, since the adoption of Free-trade, had astonished the world. The United States prosperity, of late, had been much talked of; but there was no comparison between it and that of England, which

had exported last year \$1,250,000,000 of manufactures—that being about the annual volume of her trade in this department. She sent her manufactures to every country, town, and hamlet on the face of the globe. Protection had not given her that prosperity. In order to succeed in a similar way, Canadians must adopt the principle that would render articles cheaper here than they could be made anywhere else. Talk about Protectionist victories in the United States, because the Americans might send a little cotton to Manchester and hardware to Sheffield, for an experiment, when England exported to the States twelve million dollars' worth more of her manufactures than they sent to all the world besides? Talk about England being outdone in the markets of the world. It was absurd. It suited hon. gentlemen on the Ministerial side to harp upon the topic of American superiority; it would not be strange if, in time, the Americans should be able to compete with Great Britain in some particular manufactured article, but that would not be an argument for her return to Protection. Look on the two systems as regards their effects on United States commerce. How was it that, during a revenue tariff in the United States, they had vessels enough of their own to carry the larger proportion of their imports and exports to and from foreign countries—70 to 90 per cent.? What was the result of Protection? That they carried but 26 per cent. of that trade now; the most money-making part—the carrying trade—having been transferred to foreigners. With regard to the depression, he believed that, though not a great many were rich, there was less real poverty and suffering in the Dominion than in any other country. But, under this tariff, they were going to have no poverty at all. During previous Sessions the idle workmen of Ottawa would come to the then Minister of Public Works (Mr. Mackenzie) for relief, and, when it was refused, he (Mr. Gillmor) would hear some one in the crowd cry, "Hurrah for Sir John A. Macdonald!" That was the object of such demonstrations, and they had their effect. There was no danger of Great Britain so long as she adhered to Free-trade—nor was there any danger of her return to Protection. She occupied the

prondest position in the world ; and, though not possessing all the virtues, had the right system of trade, and controlled the commerce of the seas, and, without any desire to parade his loyalty, he said—long might it be so ! In commerce

“ Others might claim the ocean for a road, England alone could make it her abode.”

His notes now brought him to the most unpleasant part of the subject—the effects of the tariff in New Brunswick. He could see some bright spots for Ontario, and the manufacturing districts of Quebec, and for the Pictou portion of Nova Scotia, but not a spark of light or ray of hope for the Province he represented ; her prospect was grinding taxation from first to last, and he was glad the Reformers were not the party inflicting it on New Brunswick. Had he the silver tongue of the Finance Minister—were he a Brutus and Brutus Antony—here an Antony would ruffle up their spirits and put a tongue in every wound, to cry down that accursed tariff. The Finance Minister could smile. He knew his part well. In all the vicissitudes of fortune he never fell except, like the cats, upon his feet. No matter how much taxation New Brunswick groaned under, he was sure to have his purple and fine linen and fare sumptuously every day. Although there were very few people in New Brunswick that wanted food, a good many were glad to get Indian meal. He knew that this tariff meant nothing but taxation to the people of that Province. It had no redeeming feature, and was brought forward by one of the most favoured sons New Brunswick ever had, and who had been exalted, step by step, to his present position. He (Mr. Gillmor) would rather take his spade and hoe, and toil and live the rest of his days in humble poverty with the poorer classes of New Brunswick, than occupy the proud position of Finance Minister, as that hon. gentleman did, and receive the fulsome laudations and flattery of which he had been the recipient, and inflict such a curse on that Province. Call this tariff an elephant ! It was more like the beast described in the Scriptures that had seven heads, ten horns, and red Morocco nostrils.

MR. PLUMB : That would be an intemperate beast.

MR. GILLMOR said he saw no redress for New Brunswick, and yet the Finance Minister was largely responsible for bringing her into Confederation. That hon. gentleman's calculations and arguments for that purpose were well known. He (Mr. Gillmor) remembered him telling the people that their Province would be the manufacturing centre of the Dominion ; owing to their being on the seaboard, and possessing abundant raw materials and unrivalled water-power. All this they still possessed, but none of the Finance Minister's predictions had been realised. They had streams in New Brunswick still, which ran as crooked, noisy and shallow as the appeals of that hon. gentleman. He had told the people that, in the Union, their taxation could not exceed \$3 a head in a quarter of a century. But, before he last went out of office, it was up to \$6 a head, and now, with no manufacturing establishments yet, it would, under this tariff, run up to \$9 a head. They could not carry a single constituency in New Brunswick upon this tariff. He had received letters from that Province making strong appeals against the policy of the hon. gentlemen opposite. There was not an industry in New Brunswick that got any relief from this tariff. It was taxation from end to end. The effect on the lumber trade, which, as hon. gentlemen knew, was one great industry of that Province, would be such as to stop it altogether ; and yet the people of New Brunswick were asked to submit to this enormous taxation, in order to build up the North-West and British Columbia. He predicted, to-day, that nine out of every ten who voted for Confederation now wished they were out of the Union. Every prediction that had been made by those who opposed Confederation had been more than fulfilled to the letter. His hon. friend the Finance Minister had not a majority from New Brunswick, but he ought, out of gratitude for what that Province had done for him, to have declined to take part in forcing upon them this obnoxious tariff. He (Mr. Gillmor) did not believe in Protection, and he thought that when the people of his Province came to look at the question properly, they would, to a man, refuse to be coerced into a system that was per-

fectly ruinous to them. He was glad that his hon. friend the leader of the late Government had not allowed himself to retain power by adopting this Protective system, had not sought the favour of the manufacturer by adopting a policy that would enrich a few at the expense of the rest, and particularly at the expense of the Maritime Provinces. This tariff was oppressive to every industry in the Province of New Brunswick. The hon. gentleman had put a duty on potatoes, when he must have known that, perhaps, not more than 15 or 20 bushels of potatoes were imported into that Province annually, and that these were used for seeding purposes. That would not help them in the least, and as an offset they put a tax on everything else. In the county where he resided, last year, more than half of the gang saw mills had been unable to run. If the principle of Protection were right, why had not the hon. gentlemen on the Government side tried it years ago, when they were able to bear it? He thought it most absurd to introduce such a system of taxation, at a time when labouring men had no work, and there was a depression in every branch of industry. In his constituency this tariff was going to be absolutely ruinous. He knew of some manufacturers who had intended to erect grist mills, but when they heard of this tariff they had abandoned the idea. He felt more like weeping over the condition of the country, than talking of it. He did not think that the Finance Minister deserved the credit he claimed for having consulted a great many people on the formation of this tariff. This was the relief this tariff proposed to give, and there were the gentlemen who had been consulted—the last men who ought to be consulted. The Finance Minister should have consulted the workingmen, not the men who had grown rich on the industries of the country. A good deal had been said with regard to the slaughter-market, the imaginary evil which afflicted the country. He (Mr. Gillmor) had lived in Charlotte, a county bordering on Maine, and had never seen a single article of goods slaughtered there. Three sets of harness came in once, but they were understood to have been fraudulently obtained. Suppose the Americans

did slaughter their goods in our markets, would not his hon. friend take advantage of that? Would they not buy their cottons, or anything else that the Americans came in to sell them, at prices under cost? He denied that they had done more than their interests compelled them to, and if Protection had done for them what it was credited with, they need not have come here at all. This tariff was going to increase the burdens of New Brunswick to an enormous extent. The increase in New Brunswick, under the new tariff, on the imports of 1878, would be as follows:—

	Value.	Increase.
Specific list on which duties were collected, 1878.....	\$218,091	\$35,335
<i>Ad valorem</i> .....	398,425	39,998
25 p. c. list, on which duties were collected, 1878.....	8,255	1,640
17½ p.c., increased to 20, do	1,327,379	33,163
17½ do. 25, do.	499,575	37,413
17½ do. 30, do.	862,179	107,377
17½ do. 35, do	253,616	44,387
Different rates do.	165,782	17,260
Cotton goods, incr'd 16½ p.c.	646,686	101,219
Woollen goods, 18½ p.c.	1,012,861	184,810
Goods increased 10 p. c.	105,690	11,345
Goods increased 5 p. c.	457,937	61,829
Free list.....	392,431	59,182
Coal, 32,565 tons.....	104,265	16,282
Grain.....	19,769	2,536
Flour and meal.....	532,441	52,224
114,000 tons Nova Scotia coal, 50c. p.t.		57,000
300,000 barrels flour, from Canada....		150,000
		\$1,013,000

or a total increase of over one million dollars additional taxation for which the Province got no return. With reference to coal, the idea prevailed that because a country was blessed by Providence with a coal mine, the Government must, at once, make it dearer to the people than if they had not a coal mine. Because we had agricultural facilities, the Government must go to work and enact a tariff that would make everybody's food dearer, and because we had manufacturing facilities, every article of manufacture must be made dearer. He was a little surprised that the hon. member for Pictou seemed to be somewhat dissatisfied. He was disposed to kick against the tariff. There was not the slightest danger of one of the team kicking. They would every one vote for it, their leaders had them well in hand, and

"Could cast them off as a huntsman his pack,  
For they knew when they liked they could  
whistle them back."

No matter how much they burdened Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, the tariff must be accepted there. He was a little amused at the manner in which his Tory friend alongside of him was going to fix up society in the Dominion. He was going to have one-third agriculturists, one-third manufacturers, and one-third doctors and lawyers. He was going to carry on a very profitable trade and get exceedingly rich under that system. It reminded him of two Irishmen who thought they would make a little trade with whiskey. They bought a keg of it to sell at an approaching fair, but becoming anxious to do a little business amongst themselves, one said to the other, "I will buy five cents worth from you;" the other agreed, and then proposed, with the five cents, to buy an equal amount. So the five cents changed hands until the keg was emptied. He had too many doctors and lawyers in his system. He remembered a sort of cry about people going to the United States. A lawyer came into the Parliament of New Brunswick once and said the country was going to the dogs, everything was going away, that no less than twenty journeymen tailors left New Brunswick that summer. One shrewd listener said, "It is a pity each one had not taken two lawyers on his back." If every labourer that went to the United States would only take a lawyer and a doctor on his back, the country would be a great deal better off. He had never looked on a sicker lot of politicians than that on the other side of this House. The handwriting was on the wall. He could see it plainly inscribed—"Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin," which they could interpret for themselves. As sure as they sat there, their days were numbered, and their kingdom would be taken from them. He felt it and was sorry for some of them, because they could never rise again. Like Nebuchadnezzar, they would be made to eat grass, like the oxen, for the imposition they had practised on the country.

## MR. C. BURPEE.

*April 7th, 1879.*

MR. BURPEE (Sunbury) said that, referring to what the member for Cariboo had just taken exception to in the remark made the other night by the hon. member for Charlotte (Mr. Gillmor), he (Mr. Burpee) thought the latter gentleman had been misunderstood. He had not desired to speak against British Columbia, but to set out that the bargain with that Province involved the construction of the Pacific Railway, which would entail serious financial consequences upon the Dominion. He (Mr. Burpee) was aware that British Columbia was possessed of resources of wealth which might be of advantage to the Dominion. But he thought the annexation of that Province at the time was premature, and imposed a burden upon the Dominion greater than it should be called upon to bear. The union, with its concomitant, the building of the Pacific Railway, was an undertaking of so gigantic a nature that it must entail financial complications and might bring on national disaster and bankruptcy. He thought that the British Government were as well calculated and better able to govern British Columbia than was the Dominion for some time to come, but, if we had to take British Columbia into the union, the British Government should, he held, have contributed to the building of the road. Referring to the question now before the House, which had been discussed at such length, and with so much ability, from every standpoint, as to be quite exhausted, it was not to be supposed that he would be able to throw much new light on the subject, but it would not be out of place for him to deal with the burdens which the new tariff would impose on Canada, particularly with the case of New Brunswick, which had been placed in an exceptional position by the tariff. Notwithstanding the strictures of the member for Cardwell (Mr. White), who had deprecated the course of viewing this matter from a sectional standpoint, he (Mr. Burpee) would, in the interest of his constituents, refer to the matter in this way, holding, as he did, that they had been treated exceptionally hard. It was a fact that New

Brunswick, like British Columbia, paid more Customs dues, in proportion to her population than other portions of the Dominion, and must, therefore, pay a larger portion of the increase now about to be levied. It was perfectly right for the people and the representatives of that Province to object to it on that account. But there were other reasons of a more general nature against this measure. He believed it to be a tariff framed in the interest of the few as against the many—framed in the interests of the manufacturers, who were the only class consulted. He maintained that the lumberman, the farmer, the shipbuilder, the great mass of the consumers should have been consulted. He objected to it, further, on the ground that high and differential duties would direct our trade out of its natural into artificial channels. They had long had a local trade—called the Bay of Fundy trade—between New Brunswick, the western part of Nova Scotia, and the seaports of the American Atlantic coast. The sections of the Dominion referred to had certain products of a bulky and perishable nature, such as sawn lumber, piles, hoop-poles, staves, laths, gypsum, Albertite coal, hay, potatoes, sheeps' pelts, and other articles which could not be profitably sent to any other market. When New Brunswick went into Confederation, it was a stipulation that they should have facilities for intercolonial trade. They were to have facilities for sending their products to the West, and for getting their products in return. The Intercolonial Railway was promised them for a commercial route. The Bay Verte Canal was also promised them to facilitate that trade. The articles he had mentioned were bulky, and some of them perishable, and could not be sent the long distance of 500 or 600 miles around Nova Scotia, with profit to the Upper Provinces. But the fact is that the Intercolonial Railway had been built by a military, instead of a commercial, route, and he held that, on this, faith had been broken with the people of the city and valley of the St. John, and this was the first and one of the heaviest blows that had been struck at the prosperity of that city and the surrounding counties. The Bay Verte Canal had not been built at all.

and the want of facilities for trade with the Upper Provinces compelled them to look for a market for the products he had named, as before, to the seaports of the American coast. They were prohibited, by this tariff, from bringing coal, flour, tea, molasses and other articles they might require from the Americans. In this trade they frequently bartered their products, for convenience and profit, in American ports. It became not only a matter of convenience and profit to the exporters, but was also required for return freights, which—ballast being required—was brought at nearly nominal rates. As an instance of low rates, he mentioned that flour had been brought from New York to St. John in this way at from 10s. to 12s. per barrel. He must say he did think it extremely hard that the Finance Minister, by this tariff, should crush out this trade, so important to St. John and a large portion of the Province. He had before stated that the Province of New Brunswick paid more than a fair share of Dominion taxation. This tariff would increase the indirect tax of the people there about one-third. But, if they got any compensating advantages, it would not be so bad. The hon. member for Cariboo had said, if the people of British Columbia got the Pacific Railway, they would stand any amount of taxation. But New Brunswick was expected to pay this large additional tax, and get nothing in return. He believed they would pay \$800,000 additional to what they had paid before. This statement could be easily proved. He would not give the House any figures that he did not believe. He had a full statement in his hand establishing this, which he would not read, as it might be tedious at that hour, but it was a fact that could be verified, that they would pay \$800,000 at least, taking last year's importations as a basis. But it had been said they would not, under the new tariff, import so much. He maintained, if they did not, they would pay an enhanced price on all goods manufactured here which they consumed, so that, so far from the figures given being too high, they would pay, in all, more than a \$1,000,000 additional, only about one-third of which would go into the Treasury; the balance would go to enrich the already wealthy manufacturer. But it had

been said that there was a reduction upon some items. There was a reduction of about 2c. per gallon on molasses, of which they in New Brunswick had imported, last year, about 9,560,000 gallons, in which the reduction would amount to, say \$19,000. Then they were told there was a reduction on tea. They imported for consumption about 1,126,000 lb. of tea into New Brunswick. He computed that the reduction upon black tea was only about half-a-cent per pound. The member for King's had stated, the other night, that the reduction was 2c. per pound. A member for Prince Edward Island had reiterated that statement, and for fear the statement so reiterated might be accepted by the country for a fact, he took exception to it. The computation was a very simple one. The duty now imposed was 2c. per lb. and 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. The average value of black tea imported into New Brunswick was 22½c., upon which the 10 per cent. would be 2¼c., which, added to 2c. specific, made 4¼c., as against 5c. per lb. under the old tariff. But a portion of our teas would be imported from the United States, and would pay the differential duty of 20 per cent., so that he could not, for the life of him, see that the reduction would be more than between one-half and three-fourths of a cent. per pound. Adding the amount of the reduction on tea and molasses together, it would give only \$24,600. And for the \$800,000 or a million that they should be required to pay additional, this \$24,000 would be all they would receive directly. Taking the article of sugar, it would be found that the increased duty on this article alone would be more than the reduction on molasses and tea together. The principal industries of New Brunswick were farming, lumbering, fishing, and shipbuilding. These occupations gave employment to seven-eighths of the people, all of whom must bear these heavy burdens for the sake of one-eighth that might be benefited. It was, admittedly, a sound maxim of political economy to seek the greatest good of the greatest number of the people. The Government, by this tariff, had done gross violence to this principle. He proposed to consider some of the industrial interests separately. Take the lumber interest, which must be largely

burdened by the new tariff. It was not protected at all, and it was not in the power of the Minister of Finance, with all his ingenuity, to give it protection. It was a most important industry, and made their principal export in New Brunswick. They exported some 400,000,000 superficial feet, and the value of another 100,000,000 in short lumber, making altogether 500,000,000. Upon the prosperity of this industry largely depended the prosperity of all other industries in New Brunswick. When the lumber business was prosperous, farmers got better prices for their products, manufacturers got larger sales for their goods, and all classes were benefited. He maintained that the lumbermen had been very badly dealt with. They did not and could not protect this interest, but by enhancing the price of articles of supply had greatly burdened it. The hon. member for Queen's (Mr. King) had given to the House a statement very carefully prepared, which showed the cost of production would be increased 60c. per thousand superficial feet. It was true this had been questioned by the member for Renfrew, who did not give the details of his calculation, as he (Mr. Burpee) would have been very glad if he had done. He had some experience in the lumbering business, and had gone carefully over the figures of the member for Queen's, and he believed them mainly correct. They had been based upon the calculations of the Government with reference to enhanced prices. For instance, in the article of oats, on which the Government had placed a duty of 10c. per bushel, the member for Queen's had added 5c. per bushel to the cost of oats for lumbering purposes. He did not believe the duty would add anything to the price of oats, and there were a few other items in the same category that he might take exception to. He would take a moderate view, and had no doubt the five hundred millions annually produced would cost a quarter of a million dollars more than now, instead of the \$300,000, as estimated by the member for Queen's. This tariff gave a severe blow to the lumbering industry, and he held that no consideration could justify the Government in thus ignoring that important business. He would next consider for a moment how the

tariff would affect the farming interest, which gave employment to half, or rather more than half, of the population of New Brunswick. They must pay half of those increased duties. They would pay, at least, \$400,000 additional taxation under this tariff—he believed they would pay more than that, but put it at \$400,000, and what equivalent would they get for this enormous burden? It had been said they had the benefit of Protection to hops, lard, bacon, hams, preserved meats, animals, horses, potatoes, other vegetables, barley, oats, peas, and beans. He would not include flour, of which they in New Brunswick imported largely, and had none to export. The whole amount of duty to be derived from these articles he had enumerated, according to the returns of last year, would be only \$9,337. This was the whole direct benefit. It might be said there was some indirect benefit. He admitted that, in the article of vegetables and green crops, that it would be of some benefit to the parties supplying their markets with these commodities. On these articles, some \$2,024 would be collected, taking the returns of last year as a basis, and might act in some respects as protection to farmers to that extent. About 10c. per bushel duty had been placed upon potatoes. They did not import potatoes at all, while, last year, they exported 50,000 bushels, and the present year still more, so that the duty upon potatoes was of no benefit at all. They loaded a large number of vessels, he thought about twenty, last year, for American ports, which were their only market for that article, and the profit of that trade depended, to a considerable extent, upon a return freight being had for these vessels. The tariff, by its differential duties, would injure that trade and actually lessen the price of potatoes to the New Brunswick farmer to the extent that they would be affected by not receiving that return freight, and thus, instead of benefitting him, in regard to that production, by the duty, it would do him an injury. Take wool, which was admitted duty free. It had been contended that they had to import a certain amount of a superior quality, which they did not grow. Vermont produced the finest quality of wool. Their climate and soil were equally as good as Vermont to produce that article, and, if sufficiently en-

couraged, would do so. He contended that the Government, while protecting other industries, had shown criminal negligence in not protecting this. Hides were also admitted free. Theirs was largely a grazing country, and they produced a great quantity of hides in consequence. Was there any protection for this production? No; and in this he held the Government were again criminally negligent. Eggs were also admitted free. They had a large annual production in this line, and yet no protection was given. Then there was butter and cheese, on which the duty remained the same as before. No additional protection was afforded, though the people of New Brunswick imported last year 1,911lb. of butter, and 5,716lb. of cheese, and the people of that Province could produce these articles, as well as pork, for which no additional duty was provided. So far as the lumberman and the farmer were concerned, there was no compensation for their additional taxation; really and in effect no compensation, and he, as one of the representatives from New Brunswick, protested most strongly against it. He confessed he was not in favour of a high Protective duty. The old tariff was a Protective one to the extent of 17½ per cent., which, with the cost of importation, would make 20 to 21 per cent., which, he held, afforded sufficient protection to our manufacturers, which their previous prosperity fully demonstrated. High protective duties were sure to be burdensome to some branch of industry. They could not protect all; in fact, they could protect but a few. The consumer's interest should have been considered, which had not been the case, and the omission must have a detrimental effect. If all industries were protected alike it would have the effect of raising the cost of everything consumed by all, and increasing the cost of living alike to all, and so would amount to no Protection at all. If they did not protect all, the duties must operate unfairly on those industries which were not so protected. He held, if this tariff were carried out, it must injure the country by making it a dear country to live in, and would retard the progress, not only of the Maritime Provinces, but would retard the settlement of our great North-West.

We had now an advantage over the United States, because the cost of living was cheaper here, and he wished we could remain so without enhancing the prices to consumers. Under no other circumstances could we compete with the United States. A great deal had been said about the result of Protection in that country. The fact was, if there was any nation that could afford to set up a fiscal Chinese wall, the United States could. They had every variety of soil, climate and productions. They could produce almost everything they required, and had within themselves all the commodities they needed, having a great advantage over Canada in this respect. Besides, their population was ten to one of ours. It was well known that to manufacture cheaply we must manufacture largely, and we had not a market large enough to encourage extensive manufactures. There were some industries in which one large factory would supply the whole Dominion. Under a high Protective system in both countries, our neighbours would have decidedly and entirely the advantage over us, and we could not compete with them, and yet our manufacturers with these advantages had been more prosperous under our low tariff than those of the United States under their high Protective tariff. It was to the interest of the large mass of consumers to buy wherever they chose without any trammels. Having made our money, we should be permitted to get as much as possible for it. He could not, for the life of him, outside of a political reason, understand why this tariff had been inaugurated. It was said that, if it did not prove satisfactory, we could change it. But it was well known that nothing was more injurious to business than this constant tinkering with the tariff. The manufacturers of the country required a settled tariff upon which they could base their calculations. Without a permanent tariff, they would not run the risk of making large investments for manufacturing purposes. But it had been said the people desired this tariff, and that the question had been settled by them on the 17th September last. He entirely dissented from this. It had been shown, and the fact was, that they were not consulted.

In one part of the Dominion, gentlemen opposite had favoured Protection when before the electors, and in another Free-trade. If the Liberal candidates mentioned in New Brunswick the probability of the gentlemen opposite introducing Protection, it was at once denied, as in the telegram to Mr. Boyd. In Prince Edward Island, as in New Brunswick, the candidates of gentlemen opposite had talked Free-trade. Had they done otherwise, had a single one of them, or all of them, come out as advocates of such Protection as was now proposed, not a single Conservative would have been returned to Parliament from that section. But not one of them dared to do so. He (Mr. Burpee) did, in fact, believe that the duties on flour and coal would be re-enacted, and had told his constituents so, but he did not venture to say that they would dare to propose the present rates of duties. He did not think the Finance Minister would have the nerve to propose it or be a party to it. They had been told before Confederation that a revenue of thirteen millions would be sufficient for all purposes of the Confederation for twenty-five years to come. He (Mr. Burpee) recollected very well listening to a speech delivered by the Finance Minister in his (Mr. Burpee's) own neighbourhood, in which that gentleman grew eloquent over the statement that thirteen millions would be sufficient, and went on to state that \$2.75 per head would be all they would have to pay to the Federal Government. He told them there was no danger of their being swamped by the larger Provinces. He had then stated that, in the Dominion, on all questions of a moral character, the Maritime Provinces would have the support of Ontario, while on all questions affecting fiscal arrangements the Maritime interests would run parallel with Quebec, and they would have the support of that Province, and that in any case they would be in the majority and hold the balance of power. He (Mr. Burpee) had not believed he would ever see the day when the Finance Minister would bring in a tariff to tax them \$9 per head instead of \$2.75, and would be selected to lead the Conservatives of Ontario to assail and destroy the best interests of New Brunswick, which he had as-

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ured them were safe by the combinations he had so eloquently pourtrayed. He (Mr. Burpee) regretted, as a Confederate, the dissatisfaction that must take place by the action of the Government when inaugurating this most outrageous tariff, in the face of the assertions to the contrary made by the Finance Minister. He believed the people of Canada were as loyal as any under British rule, not excepting England itself, and he regretted the present tariff would be found to loosen the bonds between the Dominion and the Mother Country. The fact that some of the Provinces, as he had shown, had been dealt with in a manner exceptionally hard, must create dissatisfaction and discontent, and would, he feared, create a desire for political union with their nearest neighbours, as the only means of getting a market for their products shut out by the tariff, and for which they had no other market. He exceedingly regretted that the effect of these considerations, and the fact that the tariff of Canada and that of the United States were likely to approach so near each other, together with the high duties the Government proposed placing upon British manufactures, would be to loosen the bond with the parent State. This he should deeply deplore, and for this the present Government would be responsible, if it should be, as he feared it would be, promoted by the present tariff.

## MR. ROGERS.

*April 8th, 1879.*

MR. ROGERS said the proposed tariff indicated a policy so completely at variance with his own views of sound political economy, so utterly inconsistent with the progressive tendencies of the world, and so prejudicial to all the vital interests of Canada, that it was not surprising that all who were not trammelled by election pledges or party alliances, should offer an earnest protest against the infliction. Although the injustice of the measure would apply to the whole Dominion, no Province would

feel it more keenly than New Brunswick, and no county in the Province more than Albert, which he had the honour of representing. He need not, therefore, apologise for expressing his dissent from the opinions of the Finance Minister, whatever might be his personal regard for that gentleman. He felt that he would ill discharge his duty if he did not rise, and, at least, in a few words, express his firm protest against an imposition of taxation so fatal to every interest of his constituents. Those interests were very diversified. They included five different classes — farming, lumbering, mining, shipping, and, to some extent, fishing. These interests were variously intermixed, and all were more or less dependent on each other. The division of labour had not reached such a state of perfection there as in the older Provinces. While the farmers of his county were dependent on the soil for their subsistence in the raising of a variety of products, their surplus consisted mostly of cattle and dairy products, hay, oats and potatoes. There was no import of these articles to speak of, and even a prohibition of foreign farm products would not help their prices. Much of their products were sold in Boston, New York, and other American cities, thus giving employment to coasting vessels, which could only carry such cargoes at low rates with a prospect of return freights of cornmeal, flour, coal and other merchandise, and any restriction on this trade would at once injure the farming interest by the increased cost of importation, while the advance on all the necessaries of life which the farmer must buy would add greatly to their present depressed condition. Flour and meal, so far as required, would be higher at certain seasons, when the advantage of an overstocked New York market, combined with a nominal rate of freight, could be secured. They imported a large quantity of cornmeal, the duty on which must add to their taxation. By comparing the imports into New Brunswick, of last year, which were 65,919bbls., it would be found the duty would be \$26,367, while the duty on the corn imported would be \$1,673, making in all \$28,040. Sugar also, and even tea, would be found to cost the Dominion more when importers were restricted in their choice of

markets. Furniture and agricultural implements, iron goods, boots and shoes, and clocks, were already sufficiently protected, and would be made dearer for the farmer as well as all the other classes of his constituents. The lumbermen, already borne down with a depressed market, would have to pay more for supplies, as had been clearly shown by hon. members on his side of the House who had preceded him, and which, notwithstanding other opinions expressed, still remained substantially uncontradicted, and higher freights on exports, if they continued business at all. The same would apply to mining, in which he might include the shipping of albertite coal, calcined plaster, gypsum, freestone, and the other products of that section of the Province. Under this tariff, labourers could not subsist on the wages heretofore paid them, their food and clothing being so heavily taxed, and, as before remarked, the small class of vessels which carried these exports to the United States markets must, of necessity, advance the freight rates or go at once out of employment. The tariff, as submitted by the hon. the Finance Minister, did not specify what was to be the system by which drawbacks were to be secured to shipbuilders. He hoped that the Finance Minister would so define it that the shipbuilder might be able to estimate the amount of the drawback before taking a contract. The article of cordage was made subject to a higher duty, and this was a burthen that he thought should not have been imposed, as it not only affected the shipbuilder, but the sailing of vessels, from the largest ship to the smallest fishing boat that hugged their shores in search of a livelihood. And, though anchors, cables, oakum, foreign woods and salt were admitted free as before, he failed to find any compensating advantages for the greatly increased cost of living to the workmen employed. Those considerations in addition to the general restrictions of trade and commerce, clearly indicated, whether designedly or not, a blow at this staple industry, which had done so much to place "this Canada of ours" in a very proud position among the nations of the world. It was well known how a pernicious Protective system had, by adding to the cost of construction, notwithstand-

ing their many advantages, reduced the mercantile marine of the United States, so that to-day only about one quarter of the exports of the great Republic were carried under their own flag. Was it wise, was it patriotic that our onward march to supremacy on the seas should be checked and embarrassed by such an anomalous and partial method of raising the revenue? As had been correctly pointed out by the hon. member for West Middlesex (Mr. Ross) and others, the fine articles of commerce, the ornaments and the luxuries of the rich were subject to less duty than the necessities of the poor and those in moderate circumstances. The chinaware and the broadcloths were admitted at a lower rate than the stoneware and the coarser tweeds and cloths. Then, again, the complicated nature of the tariff was a serious objection. They had *ad valorem* duties and specific—specific as to quantity, specific as to quality, specific as to size, and specific as to weight. All these would tend to embarrass and press unduly on the small importer, and must tend to concentrate the trade in the hands of the great mercantile houses, so that the competition essential to the good of the consumer would be checked. The tendency must be to centralise the importing business in the large cities, to the serious loss and detriment of the Maritime Provinces. As had been most truly said, the rich man would, by an Act of Parliament, be made richer still, and the poor man poorer still. The worst system of the United States system might arise. Lobbyists and rings of manufacturers, who could well afford to part with a percentage of their ill-gotten gains, would be enriched by successful political log-rolling, and would, in turn, protect and assist a Government which would continue to wrest for them the hard-earned savings of the poor. The hon. member for King's must have startled the House with the intelligence that the duty on tea was reduced two cents per pound, and he (Mr. Rogers) thought it would be interesting to his (Mr. Domville's) constituents, as well as the House, to know how such a desirable consummation was to be obtained under the present tariff. For, notwithstanding the desire of the members opposite to impress the country with the idea that they were going to give the country a free

breakfast table, none of them had gone so far as the hon. member for King's. He (Mr. Donville) had also told the House it would not cost New Brunswick anything more for coal. He (Mr. Rogers) found by the trade returns that that Province imported 21,240 tons of anthracite coal from the United States, and 4,502 tons of bituminous coal. It was only fair to say that New Brunswick would have to pay duty upon coal to the amount of \$12,000 to \$15,000. He (Mr. Rogers) thought that the hon. member was equally unhappy in his reference to the shipbuilding industry of New Brunswick, when he spoke of it as "a little shipbuilding." Be that as it might, he (Mr. Rogers) thought shipbuilding was to the Maritime Provinces what the wheat-growing fields of the West were to them. He begged to dissent from this estimate. He found, on comparison with the United States, which had ten times our population, that the Dominion had about one-third of as much registered tonnage as they possessed. It was one of the links of the great carrying trade, which, with the railway and canal system, conveyed the products of Canada to a market in the Mother Country. That hon. gentleman had also attempted to show that in New Brunswick they paid less for certain articles now than they paid before the Union, and that their per capita tax had been lessened in that way. He had stated that in 1866 the price of flour was \$10.50, while molasses and sugar were also higher than now. Had he taken the trouble to go a little further back, he would have found some very different facts. He (Mr. Rogers) would give some quotations from the prices as shown by the *St. John Morning News* of the 5th November, 1862. Flour was then quoted at from \$5.75 to \$6; molasses 26c. to 30c.; sugar 7½c. to 8¼c.; deal freights to Liverpool, 75s. to 77s. 6d., and deals were quoted in Liverpool at £7 17s. 6d. per standard, while to-day freights were 55s. to 60s., and deals £5 10s. to £6 per standard. This went to show that Confederation had very little to do with the prices which were controlled by the larger markets of the world. The same member had also stated that this was not a cast-iron tariff, but would be tried for 12 months. He (Mr. Rogers)

hoped it was not a cast-iron tariff, and that the Finance Minister would consent to its being modified in Committee so as to meet the requirements of the Maritime Provinces. He predicted, if it should remain as at present before the House, that, notwithstanding the many bands of Protection which its promoters had encircled it with, the very first time the electors of this country had a chance of pronouncing their views upon it, they would declare that it was not in accordance with their views.

## MR. ANGLIN.

*April 9th, 1879.*

Mr. ANGLIN said that the question before the House was a very large one, and exceedingly difficult to deal with properly at that hour, when it was hardly to be expected that hon. gentlemen opposite would listen attentively to arguments against a measure they were compelled to support. They were invited, at the opening of the debate, to consider a whole series of questions, including the present condition of this Dominion, the causes that led to the depression, and the character of the revolutionary remedies proposed by the hon. the Finance Minister. Strange to say, there was a wide difference of opinion, even with regard to the condition of the country. The Finance Minister commenced his Budget speech by drawing a contrast between the state of this country at the time he made his former Budget speech, in 1873, and its present condition, making statements not consistent with the facts. He spoke of its condition in 1873 as bright, cheerful, promising; the future was described as being full of hope and encouragement. But those who then heard that speech saw that even then the shadow of the gloom impending over this country was cast upon the hon. gentleman, for he informed the House that, although, by means of the surpluses that had accrued in previous years, he would be able to meet the liabilities then existing, he anticipated that he would find it necessary the year after to ask for increased taxation. So all was not then so bright and cheerful as he would now

have them suppose. They were told that, before 1873, this country enjoyed a degree of prosperity unexampled and unparalleled; that the Government of that day, owing to their great ability and wonderful patriotism, and extraordinary powers, contrived to roll up surpluses with one hand, while, with the other, they swept away taxation. But it was important to remark that during the years before 1873, the hon. gentlemen opposite found it necessary to increase the taxation two or three different times, and so hard set were they that at one time they introduced a system of taxing all the packages in which goods were imported, adding some 5 per cent. on the total amount of taxes collected. Now, it was unquestionable that even to-day, some six months after their return to power, this country was suffering from very serious depression, which they were asked to admit was caused by the late Administration. They were told by the Minister of Public Works, too, that the magnificent fabric, the stately and beautiful and solid fabric reared by their predecessors, was ruthlessly destroyed by the bungling want of patriotism and want of ability of the Liberal Administration. That, again, was a statement entirely contrary to the facts. What was the cause of the extraordinary increase of revenue for which the gentlemen on the other side so boldly demanded credit? At the close of the American war, the whole commercial world was disturbed, and no part of it so much as Canada. The people of the United States, finding their farms without stock, and their ships and stores almost empty, bought in Canada vast numbers of horses, horned cattle, sheep, pigs, turkeys, and other fowl, at extravagant prices, and created in this country an extraordinary degree of temporary prosperity. About that time, also, there was an extraordinary amount of speculation in railway building. Ontario, from her large accumulated surpluses, had begun to assist different railways, which, with bonuses from municipalities, and the sale of bonds, led to the expenditure of some \$15,000 to \$30,000 a mile on several hundred miles of new railroads—all this contributing to swell the expenditure of the country, and increase its apparent prosperity. But, more, there was the

notorious fact that the prices of merchandise, for some extraordinary reason, advanced in an unusual degree, so that the revenue of this country increased enormously for three or four years, without any effort on the part of hon. gentlemen opposite. For this they were not entitled to the slightest credit. Nor, if they had fair pretensions to the character of statesmen, would they make any claim to credit for an increase entirely independent of anything they did, or could do. They knew that the prices of cotton goods, woollen goods, and more particularly all articles of iron, advanced remarkably in price. In that way, as their imports increased—not in quantities so much as in value—the revenue increased to an unprecedented extent. Those hon. gentlemen made extraordinary efforts to overtake that increase of revenue. Each year they framed their estimates so as to cover the increase of the previous year. With a zeal, perhaps commendable, certainly very noteworthy, they kept up this chase to the last moment. The last time the present Finance Minister appeared in the same capacity, he introduced a Budget in which he proposed to expend the extraordinary sum of \$23,500,000. The Finance Minister told them in New Brunswick, before they came into Confederation, that they would never spend more than \$11,500,000 a year in their time—that \$11,500,000 would cover all expenses for all purposes that could be imagined, even including the expenditure of \$1,000,000 for Militia expenses. But his Nemesis followed him, too, and after Confederation, in the very first year in which he became Finance Minister, he introduced an estimate for almost double the amount which he said would be sufficient. Well, they knew how this increase went on. They knew how the revenue rolled up. Great credit was taken by the men now in power for striking off taxes. They took the tax off tea and coffee the last year they were in power, because the idea of a free breakfast table had taken possession of the people of the United States, and it would have been perfect folly for a Canadian Government to attempt to collect the duty on tea and coffee under the circumstances, and, therefore, they took the duty off those articles,

with a magnanimity for which they had never ceased to take credit, particularly the hon. the Minister of Public Works. And they asked the people to contrast their magnificent administration and the wonderful benefits they conferred upon the country, by their patriotism and ability, with the failure, as they alleged, of those who succeeded them in power. The hon. the Minister of Public Works had alleged, in his usually loud tones, and strong language, that the late Administration destroyed the fabric which their predecessors had raised, and that they were responsible for the large expenditure and the deficits which had since occurred. Not only had they succeeded in persuading the constituencies throughout the country, if they were to judge by the electors, but there were many hon. members of the House who seemed really to believe that such was the fact, that the expenditures had grown up to their present extraordinary dimensions because of the maladministration of the late Government, and that the necessity for imposing these new taxes had been occasioned by something or other done by the late Administration, or something they neglected to do. They had heard this statement over and over again during the debate; but he (Mr. Anglin) always looked with surprise at every hon. gentleman so speaking, and scanned his features in order to ascertain if he made the statement seriously, and believed, himself, what he alleged, and he (Mr. Anglin) was forced to believe that, in most cases, the hon. members who made those statements, were really convinced of the truth of what they said. But who was it that increased the expenditure? It was increased from \$12,000,000 or \$14,000,000 during the first years of Confederation to \$23,000,000 or \$24,000,000 in 1873-74. This fact appeared clear and unquestionable to any one examining the Public Accounts and the Estimates: that that extraordinary expenditure was first fastened on the country by hon. gentlemen opposite. There was the increase of the subsidies to the Provinces. There was the adjustment of the debt between Ontario and Quebec. When put altogether, their Estimates for the last year they were in power were some \$23,500,000 or \$24,000,000. Why, then, should the

late Administration be held responsible for the increase? Where, when, or how, he would ask, were the late Government responsible for that increase? Where, when, or how did they make the addition which had been made to the permanent liabilities of the country? What was the reason that it was necessary, to-day, to increase the taxation of the country? They were told there was a deficit of \$2,000,000, and that it would be necessary to raise \$2,400,000. They were told that the amount of the fishery award was to be absorbed in meeting existing Canadian liabilities. He agreed to a great extent with the hon. member from Prince Edward Island, who maintained that that money belonged by right to the people of the Maritime Provinces, and more especially to the men who were engaged in the fisheries, from whom, in fact, all was taken for which that money was the equivalent. However, that money had been taken to meet liabilities. He thought he understood, from the late Finance Minister, that he contemplated using that money for a similar purpose, whether permanently or not he did not say; and he alleged, as a justification, the condition of the finances of the country. He (Mr. Anglin) did not know that anything the late Government had done had rendered it necessary now to increase taxation, and that proposition was emphatically denied on his side of the House. They denied that they had in the slightest degree increased the permanent liabilities of the country, except to an extent that was unavoidable. They were compelled, in order to meet the liabilities incurred by their predecessors, and the obligations they had imposed on the Government, to borrow a large amount of money. The interest must be paid on that money, and a sinking fund provided. To that extent the Government were compelled to increase the pecuniary liabilities of the country. Then there was the establishment of the Mounted Police in the North-West, that he believed the previous Government themselves were prepared to establish. The expense caused by this was enormous, but he thought it was regarded as a salutary measure. But, if any one of the hon. gentlemen now forming the majority of this House imagined that that expense could be dispensed with, he

would have an opportunity, when they came to the Estimates, of moving that the provision for the Mounted Police be struck out. In doing so, he would show his sincerity. It was also found necessary to make treaties with the Indians of the North-West. This was manifestly and obviously necessary for the purpose of maintaining peace out there, and for the purpose of avoiding expenditures, such as the United States had long had to bear, in consequence of their ill-treatment of Indians on their reserves. Treaties had to be made that would satisfy the Indians, at least for a time, and prevent any danger of an outbreak. The establishment of the Supreme Court was one of the expenditures for which the country was indebted to the late Administration. He (Mr. Anglin) confessed that he himself never saw any necessity for the immediate establishment of that Court, but all the lawyers, he believed, on both sides of the House were very anxious for its establishment. The present right hon. Minister of the Interior, when Minister of Justice, more than once introduced a measure for the purpose of establishing that Court. The hon. gentleman failed to introduce a Bill that would satisfy the House, or satisfy himself. He had to withdraw two Bills, because they did not meet with the approval of the House, and that was the reason this Court was not established in his time. But it was established by the late Administration, and had become one of the permanent burdens of the Dominion. The Post Office establishment was reconstructed, and the postage of letters to the United States and Great Britain was very materially reduced. A free delivery was established in several of the large cities, and very great additions were made to the number of post-offices in the Dominion, and to the number of miles to be travelled over by conveyances carrying the mails. All this entailed very large additional expense. He had seen it stated in a speech made in another place, that 20,000,000 more letters and packages were now conveyed through the post-offices every year, than were conveyed before the change was made. Now, he presumed no gentleman would move that they go back to the state of things which formerly existed, in regard to the post-

office. No doubt that improvement could have been deferred for a time, and it would have been imprudent to have incurred the additional expense if the Government had been regarded as a bankrupt concern. The people of this country, when this matter was fairly and fully stated to them, would say that it was an expenditure fully justified, and that they would not, on any account, return to the old state of things. When the late Finance Minister made his Budget speech, in 1874, he anticipated a deficit, but he could not have anticipated that there would be so sudden a decline in the prices of merchandise of all kinds. He was charged with not having had the courage to come down with a proposition which would enable him to meet fairly the wants of the country, by imposing additional taxation. They all knew that, in 1874, he informed the House that there would be a deficit, and did ask for increased taxation, which, but for the decline in the prices of goods imported, would have yielded an additional revenue of three million dollars; but, as the prices continued to go down year after year, he found that the revenue, notwithstanding the additional taxation, barely kept up to the former standard. Had the Government exceeded its estimates of expenditure year after year, or had it wasted money in any way, the charge made so often by hon. gentlemen would be a tangible one. But such was not the case; the deficit was caused solely by the decline in the revenue, for which the Government could not be held responsible. They were told that this country was in a worse condition than any part of the civilised world, and they were asked to contrast its condition with that of the United States, which the hon. the Minister of Public Works held up as an example of all that was great and prosperous. But Canada was successful beyond all comparison. If they considered that the population of the United States was eleven times greater than that of Canada, it would be found that we imported fifty per cent. more than they did; and if great exportations were a proof of prosperity, we were vastly more prosperous than the people of the United States. The hon. gentleman also pointed out that the imports of the United States

were small, and assumed that the reason for this was that the manufactures of the country had grown to such an extent as to supply the wants of the people. If the decline in imports was a proof of prosperity, then, instead of holding the late Government responsible for the distress of this country, he should admit that, if they influenced the amount of imports in any way, they rendered great service, by reducing it so materially. What in truth was the state of affairs in the United States? Nearly two-thirds of the factories there had been idle for a long time past. An hon. gentleman had stated that some were now working at double time. That might be; but, nevertheless, for some years past, a number of factories had been working at half time, and had paid very small wages, and very many had been closed altogether. They had all heard of the riots among the foundry operatives in Troy, a year or two ago, and of riots in Pittsburg, and a great many other cities, where crowds filled the streets, demanding employment, and using threats, and sometimes violence, so that it was necessary to call out the troops to quell the tumults. They had heard of the extraordinary suffering among miners in the coal regions, of the immense number of 31,000 people out of employment in the manufacturing State of Massachusetts last year. The value of real estate, in the principal cities in the United States, declined year after year, not merely in proportion to the change in the relative value of paper and gold, but absolutely, so that it had fallen far below the gold value, as it was before the Civil War. Another assertion frequently made by gentlemen opposite was that, owing to the misgovernment of the last five years, the people of Canada flocked in thousands to the United States; but the truth was that, while the Conservatives were in power, no less than 500,000 native-born Canadians emigrated to the United States; but about the time the late Government got into power that emigration almost absolutely ceased; so that, where thousands went in previous years, hardly ten went now. And not only was that a fact, but large numbers of the expatriated Canadians had returned to settle again in this country. The hon. the Minister of

Public Works told them of the unexampled prosperity of the United States, and contrasted the condition of that country, as described by himself, with the condition of Free-trade England. But they all know that, some two years ago, large numbers of the mechanics and operatives of New York and other large cities in the United States, who had emigrated from Europe, returned to poor Free-trade England, because they could not find employment in the Protectionist United States. This that hon. gentleman seemed to have forgotten; but they all knew that he did not always recollect those facts which told against his side of a case, while he was very fond of exaggerating those which were favourable. It was a well-known fact that those people returned in tens of thousands to Great Britain. They knew that emigration to the United States, more especially from Ireland, England and Germany, had almost entirely ceased for some years past, because emigrants did not hope to find employment at fair wages in that highly protected country which the Minister of Public Works alleged so loudly was so very prosperous. He found in the *Boston Pilot*, a paper devoted to the interests of the working classes, a protest against a proposal to pass a law, making vagrancy a criminal offence in some of the United States, while there were so many thousands of honest workmen tramping in search of employment there. He found also that there had been in Rouen, one of the towns in France, a protected country, a meeting of some 20,000 workmen who were unable to get work. That was a condition of things that was very much to be deplored. There was, no doubt, a great deal of distress prevailing throughout the cities and towns of the Dominion. No one could walk through the streets of Ottawa and see the number of stores closed up on the principal streets, and deny that a great deal of depression existed in the country. The late Government had been charged by their successors with not having done anything to retrieve the depression. The hon. member for Halton (Mr. Macdougall) had repeated the charge frequently in his speech this evening, and had called upon members of the Opposition, not merely to find fault

with this tariff, but to propound some counter proposition for relieving the distress of the country. But the late Government had expended millions of dollars upon public works which went directly to the relief of the workingman, and had, by judicious economy, kept down the ordinary expenditure, so that, notwithstanding the great increase of interest, and the large expenditure in the North-West, and the post-office improvements, the total expenditure exceeded the Estimates submitted by the present Finance Minister in 1873 only by two or three hundred thousand dollars. It would have been necessary to propose the imposition of heavier taxes, but he could not see that the people of the country would be assisted or relieved in any way by the imposition of additional taxation. The present Government proposed to tax the people. The late Minister of Finance thought it better to run a little into debt, and allow one or two small deficits to grow, than to impose additional taxation at a time when the people were least able to bear it, when the people were already suffering from depression of business and want of employment, and he (Mr. Anglin) thought the policy pursued by that gentleman (Mr. Cartwright), was the correct and proper policy. With regard to the cause of the depression, he did not think it had been shown, as was alleged, that the late Government was in the slightest degree responsible for the decline in the revenue. The distress that existed in this country never equalled the distress existing to day in England and other countries. Of the 4,000 or 5,000 bricklayers, carpenters, labourers, and others, who came to St. John after the great fire, he believed nearly two-thirds came from the United States—because that was a better place than their own country for workmen, and because wages were better. If they wanted any additional proof of the actual state of things in the United States, the hon. member for Niagara had furnished it in that statement of a gentleman from Albany, which he had read to the House, to the effect that railroads had gone into bankruptcy whose capital amounted to no less than seven hundred million dollars. It was absurd to suppose that no manufactures would

have sprung up in the United States if there had been no Protection. We, in this country, manufactured, in proportion to our population, more than the people of the United States. Was it to be supposed that a people of 45,000,000 living in a country like that, with such variety of climate, unlimited water power, with the raw material lying at their doors, would not have become manufacturers without Protection? They had succeeded, not because of Protection, but because of the intelligence and ingenuity of the people, and their marvellous ability in inventing machinery, and the superiority of their shelf hardware, and various little knick-knacks. It had been well said by an hon. gentleman that, of all the classes in this country, none had suffered less, by reason of the business depression, than the manufacturers. Of those who had become bankrupt in this country, no class had furnished so few as the manufacturing class. Go to any of our towns and cities, visit any of their suburbs, and look at the palatial residences, and three out of four of those residences would be found to belong to manufacturers. All honour and all credit to them for their success, but their success should satisfy them that they, at all events, were not entitled to receive larger profits from their business, at the expense of the working masses of this country. France had always been held up as a country which was greatly prosperous, because it had a high Protectionist tariff. France had been more prosperous commercially since the Cobden treaty than ever before, and from that day down to this she had had special treaties with her manufacturing neighbours, and had received a large amount of the manufactures of Great Britain, Belgium and Holland, and Germany, at very low rates of duties, as low as 10 per cent. in many cases. These were the countries from which she had to fear competition. She had not much to protect. She had iron and coal on the German frontier, and some coarse cotton, but, as regarded the finer classes of manufactures, the finer furniture, silk goods, ribbons, glass, china, and articles *de Paris*, besides her extraordinary products of brandy and wines, it would be found that, no matter what her tariff was, her exports were large, because her pro-

ple peculiarly excelled in their production. Add to these circumstances the frugality and thrifty habits of her people, and the effects of the division of the landed property throughout the country, and they had the secret of the success of the French people, and of the extraordinary recuperative powers she had displayed since her disastrous war. If they contrasted the condition of Canada with the condition of our neighbours in the United States, people for people, city for city, farm-house for farm-house, labourer for labourer, mechanic for mechanic, we would find that the people of Canada, to-day, were a more prosperous, more happy, and more comfortable people in every respect than the people of the great United States. True, there was more amassed wealth in that country, and the fact that the people had invested so many million dollars in their bonded debt was pointed out as proof of their prosperity. But this really did prove that the business of the country was not in a condition to afford safe employment for its capital. The capital of the United States, compared with the wants of the people, might be said to be very small, even to-day, and yet they found millions seeking investment in United States bonds at a low rate of interest, and that, instead of being a proof of prosperity, was a proof that the business of the country was not in a paying condition. He would now make some remarks on the present tariff. He had stated that the hon. the Minister of Finance had assured the people of New Brunswick, before they came into Confederation, that \$11,500,000 annually would cover all the expenditure of the four old Provinces for many years to come, and that the taxation of Canada would not exceed \$2.75 per head for, at all events, twenty-five years, and on that the hon. gentleman staked his reputation as a financier. He had heard the hon. gentleman make that statement frequently. He (Mr. Anglin) contradicted it, and they brought the question out before the people. Himself and those who were then associated with him carried the country by an overwhelming majority, and never was any question more fairly and thoroughly discussed before any people than was that question at that election. Some attempts

were made to introduce personalities, and he thought the hon. the Minister of Finance would give him credit for having carefully avoided anything approaching personality. They fought the question out before the people, and he would do the hon. gentleman the credit to say that in that fight he endeavoured with fair argument to persuade the people that it was to their advantage to accept the Quebec scheme. By an overwhelming majority, the people of New Brunswick declared that they did not like the scheme, and would not have it. What followed he need not dilate upon. Somebody had stated that Confederation never would have been carried in New Brunswick without the help of the Fenians, and this was true. A band of Fenians came upon their borders just about the time that the Lieutenant-Governor, having tried in vain to induce the Government, led by Sir A. J. Smith, to unite with him in carrying the scheme of Confederation, was prepared to spring the mine laid with the help of the Finance Minister, and some others, and drive that Government from power. Sixty or seventy men calling themselves Fenians exhibited themselves in the neighbourhood of Eastport, and immediately the alarm spread. Troops and volunteers were sent to defend the frontier. A force of regulars was called from Halifax, and the fleet was summoned from the West Indies. Reports spread that the enemy was several thousand strong, and the whole Province was in a state of alarm. The whole thing was so skilfully managed that the people were led to believe that the Fenians had come down to help the anti-Confederates, and that these were responsible for their coming. In that way Confederation was carried. Where the anti-Confederates had had a majority of 700 or 800 at the first election, they found themselves, at the next, in a minority almost as great. The promise then made was that the taxation should not exceed \$2.75 per head. He (Mr. Anglin) could not understand how the affairs of the country could be managed at that rate of taxation. The hon. member for Halton said that, about that time, in order to coax the Maritime Provinces into this bargain, the taxation of old Canada was reduced from 20 per cent. to

15 per cent., and they were promised, very distinctly indeed, that 15 per cent. was to be the rate thenceforth; that they who were Free-traders need not feel the slightest hesitation, as they would never be forced into Protection; and that, if any attempts were made to force Protection upon them, they would have the power to prevent it in their own hands. They were told that the interests of Quebec were precisely similar to the interests of New Brunswick, and that the people of Quebec would stand beside them if the necessity arose. Well, to-day, how did they stand—the members from New Brunswick? There were 16 of them, and 12 of the 16, at least, were elected to oppose the imposition of Protection in their Province. Then they were, on this occasion, protesting in vain against it. The hon. member for Cariboo (Mr. Thompson) chose to taunt them because some of their people eat cornmeal; and many hon. gentlemen joined in the sneers and taunts at the people of New Brunswick. On the medal struck at the time of Confederation, among the figures emblematic of the four Provinces, New Brunswick was placed upon her knees before the other three. On her knees she appeared now asking in vain for fair play, and demanding that the promises given her might be carried out—that she might be protected from this system of Protection against which she protested. Helpless and powerless, the majority of her representatives stood, scarcely permitted to raise their voices in her behalf. But hon. gentlemen told them that, in the introduction of this tariff, they fulfilled the promises made to the country. If he (Mr. Anglin) believed that, he would not make a long speech. He would simply content himself with protesting against the measure in a very few words. He could not, for the life of him, see wherein this was the fulfilment of any promises made to the country. It might be said to be the fulfilment of the desires of a few, and of the apprehensions of a great many. When was it promised that there should be a tax of 35 per cent. on furniture and 40c. per barrel on Indian meal, or that coarse woollens should be taxed by the pound and the yard to the extent of 50, 60, 80 or 90 per cent.? When was it promised that coarse cottons should be taxed 1c. a yard

and 15 per cent. *ad valorem*? Such promises were never made by the hon. the Finance Minister. If that hon. gentleman had gone before the people of New Brunswick last September with that tariff in his hands, instead of being here with a questionable majority of seven or eight, he would have received a decided minority of the votes of the electors. He had heard a great many gentlemen declare in this House, he had heard the hon. the Minister of Public Works declare, in a most emphatic manner, that they had no idea of increasing the taxation; that what the men now in power contemplated was at most a readjustment of the system of taxation. Hon. gentlemen went through the country, in one place talking about the Protection the farmer ought to have, and the hardship from which he suffered; in another about the slaughtering of American manufactures in the furniture market, and, if anyone attempted to fit their statements together, and form an accurate opinion of the tariff, he found this impossible. He (Mr. Anglin) listened with a great deal of attention to the statement of the hon. the Minister of Finance when he made his first speech of the campaign in St. John, and he found his utterances as sybilline and ambiguous as he could have anticipated. The hon. gentleman told them in New Brunswick that, if he had been in the House when the duty on flour was imposed, he would have voted against it. He (Mr. Anglin) believed a good many who heard the hon. gentleman make that statement believed the hon. gentleman was opposed to a duty on flour. He had also said, in regard to the unenumerated list, that he would have voted against the increase of duty from 15 to 17½ per cent., and he said that it was a very simple thing indeed to take out of this list some of the articles which were manufactured in the country, the manufacture of which could be very materially assisted by a slight increase of duties. As far as New Brunswick was concerned, four-fifths of the whole of the articles in that unenumerated list were now taken out, and subjected to greatly increased taxation. The right hon. the Premier telegraphed to Mr. John Boyd, of St. John, denying that the tariff was to be increased to 35

per cent., and now they were told by the Minister of Justice, that what he meant was that the unenumerated list should not be so increased. He (Mr. Anglin) thought, if they estimated fairly the effects of the whole tariff, they would find that it was a tariff of 35 per cent.

MR. TILLEY: The American tariff is only 27 per cent., and this is 16 per cent.

MR. ANGLIN said that reminded him of another statement the hon. gentleman had made. The hon. gentleman, in his last speech, compared the British importations with the American, and he included in the American importations the price of all cereals that merely passed through this country on the way to Europe. Thirteen or fourteen millions, so included in his calculation, ought to be struck out. Striking out this sum, and the duty upon other things exported again, he thought they would find the present tariff was very little short of 35 per cent. upon all we consumed. In all the public declarations of hon. gentlemen, they had no statement that would lead the people to conclude that any such tariff as this was to be imposed.

Several HON. MEMBERS: Question.

MR. CARTWRIGHT: This noise is simply intolerable. I have never seen in my life, such utterly disgraceful conduct. Hon. gentlemen on the Ministerial side must be assured that they will get no division to-night if they do not behave themselves.

MR. ANGLIN said that there was a gentleman opposite calling "question," who occupied ten times as much of the time of this Session as he did. He had endeavoured to treat every hon. gentleman with courtesy, and did not deserve those interruptions. If his remarks hurt hon. gentlemen opposite, he could not help that. With regard to this tariff, he did not know whether its friends had clear ideas of what its effects would be. If all he heard were true, the Finance Minister had little more to do with framing it than the supervision of the work. They had heard of a gentleman from

Washington, and of one who might be styled a secretary of the Manufacturers' Association, and of others employed in the Finance Department, who, it was said, had had much to do with framing this tariff. He did not grudge the hon. gentleman all the assistance requisite to render it as perfect as possible, but it might be doubted whether the Finance Minister himself had a very clear idea when he began to frame this tariff of what it would be when his work was done. Hon. gentlemen opposite taunted the Liberals with not having stated their policy, although they had exhibited it sufficiently during the last four or five years. He remembered how hon. gentlemen opposite had refused to expound their Protection policy while they were in Opposition. They had heard of deputations and delegations crowding to Ottawa, to see the Finance Minister, and of a secret meeting of manufacturers in St. John and elsewhere, and rumours as to what the result had been—that they were in secret correspondence with the Central Association of Toronto, and other associations. All that class of people were strongly agitated for months before this tariff saw the light, and they had heard that, among those who were very active in suggestions to the Finance Minister, as to the duties he should impose, were a great many wealthy manufacturers who had worked their way up from humble positions, and who now wanted to control the destinies and the commercial policy of this country. He had heard that a large number of them were Americans, and, if so, it was no wonder that the tariff bore an American character. If, as was reported, manufacturers, formerly American citizens, had had a large share in the framing of the tariff, it was no wonder that it appeared to be such a revolutionary measure, and one threatening to affect this country most disastrously. It gave furniture a protection of 35 per cent.; woollens 40 to 70 per cent., and a few cotton manufacturers in the country a very large protection on coarse cottons. There was a pretence of protecting almost everybody. Coal miners got 50c. a ton, which would enable them to put very little additional coal in the Canadian market, while hurting the poor of the cities by compelling them to pay higher

prices. He saw, by a letter lately published, that parties professing to be representatives of the iron works of Londonderry, complained that the taxation on coal more than destroyed the advantage of the duty on pig iron, and that the public need not look for an increase in the number of the blast furnaces in that place. What classes were really protected, except those few manufacturers who had been able to exercise so large an influence during the elections, and since—which, he was satisfied, the people never wished, or expected they would possess? They were told that this tariff was to build up the depressed industries, and afford a vast amount of employment to the people, and that the very moment that the country decided in favour of the party now in power there would be an end of the distress which prevailed so widely. That party had now been seven or eight months in office without any great improvement in the state of the country. How was the improvement to be wrought? How many additional people would be employed in manufacturing all the goods now imported, that could be produced under this tariff? It was absurd to assume that the purchasing power of the people would be at once increased by the tariff, as hon. gentlemen opposite had from the first imagined. Had the boot and shoe manufacturer suffered for want of this tariff? He doubted if even one per cent. of the quantity consumed was imported, and, yet, thousands of people were idle in Montreal and elsewhere. The boot and shoe makers were thrown idle because the rest of the people could not buy as much as before. Then as to furniture—he thought the importations last year reached \$300,000; was it to be supposed that the dullness in that trade was caused by the importation of that amount? Was it larger than the imports of previous years? The facts did not sustain that assertion. A very large proportion of the furniture imported, perhaps, could not be profitably manufactured in this country, while, even if it could, the people would not have the means to buy it, unless there were a great change in the condition of the people generally. Some parties also imported a cheap washy kind of furniture, that was sold at any price that could be got, and never did seriously

compete with our home-made furniture. He thought that the member for Centre Huron stated that at most all those manufactures, fostered by the tariff, would employ only 5,000 people. He (Mr. Anglin) thought, however, that that was an under-estimate. The usual estimate was that the net product of any particular manufactory would be \$1,000 a year for each person employed. Thus, a very few thousand additional people could be employed, supposing all those articles of coarse woollens, cottons, furniture, and one per cent. additional boots and shoes, nuts, bolts, etc., now imported, were manufactured in Canada. He did not believe it would add to the population of the whole country a number equal to the population of one of our larger towns, and yet that was all the price to be paid the country for the heavy additional burdens thrown upon it by the present tariff. If we could not give the farmers a large market for their products, what else did this tariff do for them? It imposed a duty on wheat and flour, barley and oats, and made an imperceptible increase in the duty on pork. The duty on flour would add to its price in the Lower Provinces. Whenever the crop of wheat in this country, to which we would, in future, for domestic purposes, be strictly confined, proved too small for the consumption of the country, the large dealers would buy it up, fill their granaries, and raise the prices all over the country; and, even when we had a full supply, or a surplus, it would be possible, by the formation of rings, to raise the price of flour. Our surplus to-day had to seek a market in Great Britain. It would be the simplest thing in the world for operators in grain to slightly accelerate the shipping of this surplus, and then have the consumers in their power. In New Brunswick, last year, 56,000 barrels of flour were imported from the United States, being one-sixth of the whole importation. That 56,000 barrels was to be shut out next year, thus destroying a large carrying trade, as the most of it was brought in our vessels as return freight, when otherwise they would have to return in ballast. It would also render it necessary for parties living along the coasts to go back into the coun-

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try to railway stations for their supplies, at an additional cost of freight, and delay of time. With respect to cornmeal, there was no pretence that Ontario could supply them for years. New Brunswick, last year, consumed 60,000 barrels, on which quantity she would have, in future, to pay a duty of 40c. per barrel. Nobody could argue that a duty of 15c. per bushel on barley would be of the slightest value to the farmers of Ontario, as very little barley was imported. On the contrary, we exported several millions more than we imported. Pork could be protected, but it was not, because protection on it would make the burdens of the lumberman absolutely intolerable. Wool was not protected. That the imposition of a duty on coarse woollen goods would lead to the use of our wool, farmers would be slow to believe. They now sold their wool to the United States, getting for it there double the price at which the short staple wool used in Canadian manufactures could be purchased. The Finance Minister had been extolled over and over again as an old Free-trader who had been converted by the exigencies of the moment to the principles of Protection. Those who spoke so did not know his history. He began public life as a Protectionist of the deepest dye. The first he (Mr. Anglin) heard of him was at a meeting, held in Carleton, St. John, at which he earnestly advocated Protection. They had tried Protection in New Brunswick, and went so far as to impose a duty on hides, which, under this tariff, were not protected. All the Protection offered to the farmer by this tariff was merely nominal, merely a myth, and, unless the farmer was more stupid than he (Mr. Anglin) believed him to be, as stolid indeed as hon. gentlemen opposite must think he was, he would find out that in this wonderful tariff there was no Protection for him. Everything he used, his spade, his shovel, his scythe, his threshing-machine, his ploughs, the clothes he wore, every article of goods he purchased, was taxed from 20 to 60 per cent., to add to the revenue of the poor, distressed manufacturers, who were starving on half a million dollars apiece. Next to the farming, came the lumbering industry. The hon. member for North Ren-

frew undertook to prove that this was a declining industry, by showing a falling-off in the export return of lumber to the United States, and the hon. the Finance Minister was reported to have so spoken of it; but it was still, and it would for many years continue to be, one of the great industries of Canada, and, when times improved in the United States, as he hoped they soon would, and the people of that country could afford to use more of our lumber, and afford to pay a better price for it, that great industry, now so depressed, would revive. What did this tariff do for the lumber trade? It did not because it could not, afford it the slightest Protection. Nothing that this Parliament could do would increase the price of lumber in the foreign market a single cent, but it did impose grievous burdens on that industry. The hon. member for Queen's, N.B., who was well acquainted with the business, calculated that the burdens so imposed were equal to 60c. per thousand superficial feet, and that in New Brunswick alone it would amount to \$300,000. This enormous sum could not be taken out of the profits of the trade, which were already exceedingly small, and it must come out of the pockets of the unfortunate workmen employed in the woods, in the streams, in the mills, and in loading the vessels in the ports, although their wages were now lower than they had been for many many years. What did the fishermen get under this tariff? They were a most deserving and industrious class, and added a great deal to the wealth of the country. But they found that they had received no consideration whatever. On every article they used they would have to pay greatly increased duties, except their canvas and lines and twines, on which, thanks to the exertions of some hon. gentlemen who represented fishermen, the increase at one time proposed would not be imposed, and molasses, the duty on which was to be reduced some 2c. a gallon. What had been done for the ship-owners, and those engaged in the important shipping industry of the country? There was to be a drawback on articles used in ship-building, but an hon. gentleman who tried to find out what the drawback meant, was met by the vague promise that some arrangement would be made

by-and-bye, for returning a portion of those duties. On articles used in the construction of ships no drawback, as far as he (Mr. Anglin) could see, would be paid, unless these articles were imported. On articles manufactured in the country, no drawback would be allowed, and so the cost of construction would be very greatly increased. The cost of production of agricultural implements, of sewing machines, and other articles which we now exported, would also be greatly increased, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the amount of drawback to be paid. He doubted very much if the hon. the Minister of Finance would be troubled very much about drawbacks upon these articles, because the cost of production would be increased so much that it would be perfectly impossible for the manufacturers of Canada to compete with those of other countries. In fact, in all probability the increased cost of production would prevent exportation altogether. The whole system of drawbacks propounded by the Minister of Finance must have the effect of encouraging imports, and discouraging the manufactures of this country. A drawback, if it could be given at all, would only be given on the articles imported. No benefit whatever was conferred on the shipowners, and the effect of this tariff would be very detrimental to the carrying trade of the country. He believed the tariff proposed would bear most oppressively and unjustly on all the great interests of this country—on the farmers, on the lumbermen, on the shipowners, on the fishermen, on the mechanics, and on all workmen who would not get so much additional employment as would compensate them for the additional burdens. It would cripple all industries, and force capital into less productive channels than it would seek if left to pursue its natural course, and he thought it would prove absolutely disastrous to the country as a whole. It would stop the expansion of our manufactures, and render impossible such an arrangement as that suggested by the hon. member for Halton. He opposed it because he believed it would be particularly unjust to the people of the Province one of the constituencies of which he had the honour to represent in this House. As a whole, it meant and prom-

ised nothing but additional taxation. He intended to say a word about sugar, merely to point out that the statement made by the hon. member for Bothwell was more than corroborated by the hon. member for Kingston, who was one of the first authorities on that question in the Dominion. That gentleman spoke as an importer, and he told them that the effect of this tariff would be to compel the people to pay on their sugar \$1,116,000 more than would go into the Treasury, for the benefit of a few refiners who would employ some 500 men in the work of refining. It would be better for this House to give those men a pension of \$1,000 a year each, than to find them employment in the sugar refineries at such a price. This was but one of the many burdens imposed by this tariff, not for the general welfare of the people, but for the advantage of a few individuals, making the rich richer and the poor poorer. For all these reasons, he should, vainly, perhaps, but most earnestly, oppose this tariff.

## SIR A. J. SMITH.

*April 10th, 1879.*

SIR ALBERT J. SMITH said the question under consideration was admitted to be one of very great importance. It seemed to him, although much time had been consumed in its discussion, that he would fail in his duty if he did not make some observations before it reached its finality. This question revived the memory of events of very considerable consequence and importance in the Province of New Brunswick. It reproduced, naturally, from the attitude of the hon. the Finance Minister, the recollection of events which took place in the early stages of this Confederation, and it was natural that his colleagues from New Brunswick should have adverted to the attitude of the Finance Minister in connection with the agitation incidental to the accomplishment of Confederation, which took place at the time in his Province. In 1864, the Finance Minister, being then a member of the Government, was appointed with one or two others, by the Government,

delegates to the Quebec Conference, which had relation to the final Confederation of these Provinces. Having been Secretary of the Province, and having had charge of its financial affairs, it naturally fell to him to look after the financial interests of New Brunswick at that Conference. The Conference met and passed a variety of resolutions which formed the basis of Confederation, so far as New Brunswick to have 80c. per head of the population of 1861, which amounted to about \$201,000, and in addition, \$63,000 per year for ten years. The Conference closed; the Finance Minister returned to New Brunswick, and, with the view of preparing the people for the dissolution which was shortly to take place, he called public meetings in St. John, as well as in other parts of New Brunswick. He (Sir A. J. Smith) was one of those who opposed Confederation, as propounded at the Quebec Conference. The Finance Minister, at all these public meetings, strongly advised the people to accept the terms of the Conference. He told them he had obtained the most liberal terms for New Brunswick, and, had the people endorsed his action, and adopted his advice, all that the Province would have had in this Confederation would have been \$201,000, and \$63,000 for ten years.

MR. TILLEY: Where are the \$50,000 for the Government?

SIR A. J. SMITH said that was a supplementary allowance; there was nothing said about it at the Conference, or in the resolutions. All that the Finance Minister had to offer the people, and which he strongly urged them to accept, were the 80c. per head according to the census of 1861, which amounted to \$201,000, and the \$63,000 per year for ten years, and these amounts were to be in full satisfaction of any claim New Brunswick was to have on this Dominion with reference to its financial matters. Had the people accepted the advice of the Finance Minister, what would be the condition of New Brunswick now? Since then, New Brunswick has received, in addition to those terms, \$50,000 a year, 80c. per head of the population, until it reached

400,000, which, according to the last census, did give a considerable amount, \$150,000 compensation for the abolition of export duties—and had now a revenue of nearly half a million dollars derivable from the Dominion Treasury. He asked the Finance Minister where New Brunswick would have been had she accepted his proposition in 1864? She would have been in the lowest depths of financial despair. All she could do at present was barely to meet requirements of her Civil Government. It had been said, across the floor of this House, that he (Sir A. J. Smith) had changed his politics, and, from a Tory, had become a Liberal. He and the Finance Minister had been associated together for many years in the same Government; they were in perfect accord and sympathy, and were members of the first Liberal Government, in 1854, ever formed in New Brunswick, and, if there had been a change, it was the Finance Minister who had changed, who, for many years, had been a Liberal, and was now a Tory. What did the Finance Minister himself say in 1864, about the manner in which New Brunswick would be financially affected by joining Confederation? At this time, the tax per head in New Brunswick, Customs duties, for there were no Excise duties, was \$3.20. He told the people that, if they joined Confederation, their taxes would be diminished, and, instead of \$3.30, they would pay only \$2.75 per head for the next quarter of a century. His views were not adopted by the people, and he was defeated by an overwhelming majority, despite every means legitimate and illegitimate, which were used against the anti-Confederate party. The following year a dissolution was forced, and the Confederate party won the election. He would not repeat the causes of this change, because his hon. friend from Gloucester had put plainly before the House the agencies which had been resorted to to bring about the result. He (Sir A. Smith) alluded to those utterances of the Finance Minister to show that his judgment was not to be relied upon, that, when he assumed the rôle of prophet, his prophecies should be received with considerable allowance, that he had not a great prevision and forecast for the future, and it was impossible for him to

explain why he told the people of New Brunswick that for the next twenty-five years all they would be called on to pay would be \$2.75 per head. He had not been five years in power before he submitted a scheme of taxation which would involve at least six dollars a head on the people, after promising it should not exceed \$2.75. How were they to enforce this agreement? There was no doubt this was a compact, because it was repeated on the second election. The Minister of Justice ought to be consulted, to see by what means this agreement could be enforced, and an indemnity be given to the people of New Brunswick for the pledge the Finance Minister had given, that they would only pay \$2.75 per head. It had been stated here, over and over again, that the question referred to the people at the polls on the 17th September, was whether a revenue tariff, as a policy of Protection, should be adopted. Well, he admitted in many portions of the Dominion, that was the fair issue at the polls, but he denied that in the Province of New Brunswick it was the real issue. The hon. the Finance Minister endeavoured to make the people believe the policy of the then Opposition was simply a re-adjustment of the tariff. He would like to ask him whether he believed he would have been elected had it not been for the telegram sent by Sir John A. Macdonald to Mr. John Boyd? Did the present tariff come within the meaning of the communication made by the leader of the Government to Mr. Boyd, that the tariff was simply to be re-adjusted, and no increase of taxation? Had the Finance Minister gone to the people of St. John's with his present tariff, he would not have been elected. He went to his election under peculiarly auspicious circumstances. He had occupied the first position in that Province for five years. He (Sir A. J. Smith) did not wish particularly to refer to the way in which his hon. friend got that appointment, but he thought the circumstances which led to it were to be regretted. He was amused to see the Finance Minister, the other day, refer to the First Minister as to the circumstances connected with the passing of the Order in Council on the 22nd October. He invoked the testimony of the First Minis-

ter as to whether he knew that the Order in Council had been passed. It was never pretended that he knew. He was in England at the time. On the 5th November, in his place in the House, he made a speech, in which he exhibited himself in the most chivalrous manner, and said he would sink with the ship, and fall with his colleagues. At that hour there was an Order in Council, dated 22nd October, appointing him Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, and he occupied the position for five years after by Order in Council, and by virtue of that order. It then had vitality on the 5th November as no other Order of Council appointing him Governor ever passed; and yet he told us that, after his return from England, he told the Governor he did not think he would accept the appointment. Was it understood between him and the leader that this order was to remain in abeyance until they saw the result of the vote of want of confidence then pending? The Order in Council was never changed, and his acceptance of the Governorship had relation back to the 22nd of October, when that Order in Council was passed. He said he thought that the Finance Minister had entered upon his office of Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick rather ingloriously. He did not say it with any kind of bad feeling. The hon. gentleman had referred to a conversation he had had at the time with Mr. Burpee and himself (Sir A. J. Smith.) He recollected having a conversation with the Finance Minister, and believed he had said to him then that he was pleased of his appointment, and would have been glad to have suggested himself the nomination. But on this occasion there was nothing said about an Order in Council. He had not seen the Order in Council, and it was not spoken of at that time. The Finance Minister, more fortunate than his colleagues, who went out of power without office, rose to a higher position. Well, he was prepared to admit that he made a very good Governor. He discharged his duty well within the limits of the Constitution. There was no friction, everything went on smoothly, and he discharged his duty satisfactorily; but the hon. gentleman, while he was unfortunate in his entrance to that high position, was equally unfor-

tunate in his exit from it. This House would be astonished to hear that the hon. the Finance Minister, while he was yet Governor, attended a public political meeting in St. John, and accepted the nomination for the city. He made, also, a violent speech on that occasion, in which he condemned the Government, of which he was but an officer, and criticised Mr. Cartwright in his policy and measures.

MR. TILLEY : I made no speech at all.

SIR ALBERT J. SMITH : Then the papers misrepresented you.

MR. TILLEY : No ; they did not.

SIR ALBERT J. SMITH : You went to St. John's for the purpose of accepting the nomination.

MR. TILLEY : No ; I did not go there for that purpose. I knew nothing about it.

SIR A. J. SMITH : The hon gentleman was in St. John receiving a requisition. The papers published the next morning that the Governor had accepted the nomination and made a speech. Whether he did or not, he (Sir A. J. Smith) did not know personally. The meeting was not an open one, but was attended by a large number of strong political partisans, and the hon. gentleman held office as Governor several weeks after. This was an unprecedented proceeding, because the Governor was supposed to be, for the time being, at all events, without any party politics. The hon. the Finance Minister appeared before the people of St. John's under very favourable circumstances. He had all the prestige and moral influence which the occupation of that high position could give him ; he had no political sins for five years to answer for ; he had many political and personal friends who would stand by him under all circumstances. The people of St. John were anxious and interested about the question of Protection, and, from his utterances, were not induced to believe that the scheme now submitted to this House was the scheme and policy then contemplated. If it was, why did he seek to remove from the minds of the people then that his

policy was one of Protection ? Why did he communicate with the First Minister ? The telegram of the First Minister implied that there was no such thing as Protection contemplated, but simply a readjustment of the tariff. Was this a readjustment of the tariff ? It was admittedly a policy of extreme Protection. Without this telegram he could not have been elected, and with all these influences and powerful agencies, personal, official, and moral influence, he was only elected by a majority of nine. That illustrated very strongly that the sentiments of the people was not in favour of Protection, and the Finance Minister must have received letters innumerable from St. John and other parts of New Brunswick, complaining that this policy was most oppressive. He (Sir A. J. Smith) did not believe he had received letters in which it was recommended, but must have received letters in which it was almost universally condemned. The Finance Minister was elected by a majority of nine, and he thought more, that on that occasion, in addition to all the other agencies used by that hon. gentleman, he told the people of St. John's that he had the virtue to resist a proffered bribe of \$45,000. He (Sir A. J. Smith) thought the Minister of Finance was not justified in resorting to such means during that election. He was not aware that any such offer was made to him (Mr. Tilley). He (Sir A. J. Smith) had some correspondence with him, and he had no hesitation in saying that he did not care whether it was made private or public. The Finance Minister told the people of St. John that he was so anxious to serve his country, so anxious to obtain the position of Finance Minister, that he was unable to accept the offer of \$45,000 made to him. After the election, the hon. the Finance Minister was kind enough to pay his (Sir A. J. Smith's) county a visit, accompanied by the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. Mr. Mitchell, and the hon. member for King's (Mr. Donville). He (Sir A. J. Smith) thought he was in Ottawa at the time ; but he saw an account of the affair, and there was a torch-light procession, and all that kind of thing, in the town of Moncton, where those gentlemen had come to attend a meeting. The hon. the Finance Minister, he thought, was

rather moderate on that occasion. Mr. Mitchell was very lavish in his abuse, and was only excelled by the hon. the Minister of Public Works, who had the kindness to speak of him (Sir A. J. Smith) in terms of considerable severity. The Minister of Public Works, he was told, stated to the people on that occasion, as he had on previous occasions, that he (Sir A. J. Smith) was an office-seeker, that he had knocked at the doors of his (Mr. Tupper's) Government, for office, and was refused. He had been rather surprised that the hon. the Finance Minister should stand by, and by his silence acquiesce in the statement. The Minister of Finance knew him; they had personal and political relations for many years, and he (Sir A. J. Smith) thought he could appeal to that hon. gentleman, though an opponent, as testimony in refutation of the charge thus made by the Minister of Public Works. He would ask him if he ever had been an office seeker? He had been in the same Government with him (Mr. Tilley) for seven years, and had no office. During the fifteen years that he had sat as a representative in the New Brunswick Legislature, he had held office for only some two years, that was as Attorney-General, and he thought he was treated undeservedly by the hon. the Minister of Finance, when he allowed his colleague to charge him before his (Sir A. J. Smith's) constituents with being an office-seeker, and having knocked at the door of their Government for office. He (Mr. Tilley) knew it was not true, and the Minister of Public Works had no warrant for making any such statement. He recollected that, in 1872, when the present Prime Minister occupied the same position as he did now, they had offered him (Sir A. J. Smith) the Lieutenant-Governorship of New Brunswick. He had thanked the Government at the time, but had declined the offer. The hon. the Minister of Public Works, would recollect, too, the proposition made to him (Sir A. J. Smith) at St. John in 1873. It was not a confidential matter, as he (Mr. Tupper) had mentioned it to several persons. He (Mr. Tupper) had proposed that he (Sir A. J. Smith) should take the Governorship of Nova Scotia, and that he (Mr. Tupper) should take the Governorship of New

Brunswick. He had told him (Mr. Tupper) on that occasion, that he did not care for any position, and that he was content to remain an independent member for the county of Westmoreland. The hon. gentleman knew too, that, in 1873, a member of his Government was commissioned by the First Minister to offer him a seat in the Cabinet. That was not a secret. The hon. gentleman knew that, when he (Sir A. J. Smith) came to Ottawa in 1873, in October, that he was not here an hour, when he was waited upon by the Minister of Public Works and pressed to accept a portfolio in the then Government. Here were two offers of Governorships, and two seats in the Cabinet, the whole of which he had declined, and he would ask the hon. the Minister of Public Works whether, in view of these facts, he had any authority or warrant for saying that he (Sir A. J. Smith) was an office-seeker, and that he had knocked at the door of their Government for office? He did not think it was fair or just to make such an accusation against a public man who were such charge. He never was an office-seeker. Did not the hon. the Minister of Finance know that when he (Sir A. J. Smith) first came here, in 1867, they had been associated together for many years? The Confederation discussion had made a divergence between them, but it had not terminated the kindly feeling that had existed between them. He (Mr. Tilley) knew very well that he was not an office-seeker, but that he had been offered office day after day, and had refused it. It was most unfair for the hon. member (Mr. Tupper) to make that charge against him, and he felt it his duty, before the House and the country, to refute those charges, and to show that they had no foundation in fact whatever. The hon. member for King's (Mr. Domville) had read an extract from a speech, reported to have been made by him (Sir A. J. Smith) in 1872. That speech was incorrectly reported. In 1867, having fought the battle of Confederation, and having been beaten, he had laid down his arms, and admitted he was conquered, and he believed it was his duty, as a public man, to exert all influence towards making Confederation a success, and the country

prosperous. In 1867 he appealed as an Independent candidate to his constituents, who had always returned him to the New Brunswick Parliament, from 1852, without any interruption, and he was returned by a majority of more than nineteen hundred. Though his antecedents were Liberal, as were those of the hon. the Minister of Finance, who had always been a Liberal, and they had voted side by side for years, he (Sir A. J. Smith) had come to Ottawa as an Independent member of the House. He supported the Government when they were right, and opposed them when they were wrong. As every hon. gentleman knew, he had always exercised his own judgment in regard to matters submitted for the consideration of this House. When he had first come here, he had no political affinities with either party; in fact, he knew hardly any of the then public men of Canada, except by reputation. Confederation, the only question, perhaps, upon which he held opinions adverse to those of the majority of the House, had been disposed of, and accepted by both sides, and, therefore, he was entirely independent of any party. Whenever he had any doubt, he always gave the Government the benefit of the doubt, because he did not desire a change of Government at all. Then, having occupied that position for five years in this House, he returned to his constituents in 1872, and what did he say to them? He told them that he again offered himself, that he was pledged to neither one side or the other; that, during the five years he had been in Ottawa, he had been prepared to give the Government credit for everything they did; that he had found the then Government willing to do justice to his Province, and that he had supported them when they were right, and opposed them when they were wrong. He had gone further, and told them that the interests of the Lower Provinces were as safe in the hands of the Government as they would be in the hands of the Opposition. He declared himself entirely independent of both sides on that occasion, and was again elected by acclamation. He felt it necessary to make this explanation, because he did not know that he would ever have another occasion of explaining the matter, and because

there seemed to be some misapprehension with regard to the attitude which he held towards the Government of the day in 1872. The hon. the Minister of Finance knew that from 1867 to 1872, and from 1872 until the time the Government fell, he (Sir A. J. Smith) had never asked for office, and that he had declined the four propositions which were made to him. Having made this explanation, which he thought was necessary, in order to inform the House and the country the true position he occupied in reference to these matters, he thought it was necessary, in dealing with the question now before the House, to find out, if they could, when it was that this Protective policy had its origin in this country and was born. By reference to the utterances of hon. members on the Government side of the House in 1873 and 1874, he found that there was no indication at all that this was the policy of the men who were in power in 1873, and afterwards in Opposition. It was said that the Protection of 1871 was in the sense of a National Policy; but that Protection lived but a few months and then died. He would see what were the reasons given by the First Minister, and he would then call attention to the reasons given by the Finance Minister, and see how far they agreed upon this question, what was called the National Policy of 1871. They arrived at the same conclusion, but their premises were entirely different. Here was what the Minister of Finance said:

"It is true, that, in the National Policy introduced in 1871, a tax was placed on flour and coal. But you must consider the circumstances under which the tax was imposed. We were going into the Treaty of Washington, intending to make an effort to secure reciprocity, so that we would have free market for our lumber, fish, cattle and agricultural products. We could not ask for all these advantages without offering something in return. We must have something to offer for a renewal of the treaty, as we had made few changes in our tariff since it was abrogated, and the United States continued to enjoy all the privileges they possessed under it. We felt we must have something to offer as the price of its renewal, and the duties were imposed accordingly. It is supposed that these bore unequally on the Maritime Provinces, the fact being that the Maritime Provinces paid on flour, grain, coal and coke, but 5 per cent. more than Ontario and Quebec, in proportion

to the population. I would have voted against the coal and flour resolutions last Session, but I would re-impose these duties in circumstances similar to those attending the Washington Treaty negotiations, and would take something off sugar and other articles largely consumed by the masses."

Now in that the Finance Minister said that, in order to secure reciprocity, it was necessary, in the interests of the country, in 1871, to impose duties. Here was what the First Minister said on the same subject, in 1872 :

"The feeling in 1865 was, however, very strong in favour of doing everything in our power in order to induce the Americans to renew the treaty. The Government did everything it could, and, while its members were exerting themselves in that direction, it would have been a suicidal course—it would have been threatening the very purpose in view—if they had increased the taxes at that time, even to inaugurate a National Policy. Because the Americans could have said, 'How can we give you a reciprocity treaty when you are increasing the duties on our goods?' Therefore, from year to year, so long as there was any hope of a renewal of the treaty, Canada declined to raise a larger revenue than was absolutely necessary to carry on the Government."

This was the utterance of the First Minister, diametrically opposite to that of the Finance Minister. One said put on the duty, and the other said take it off. In 1871, when a duty was put on flour and coal, this Government never contemplated establishing a National Policy. The fiscal policy of the United States was the same now as it was then ; and if it was necessary now, and the country called loudly, thinking its prosperity was imperilled, for some such system as obtained in the United States, why did not those hon. gentlemen propound this National Policy in 1871? The circumstances were precisely the same. He would call attention to some of the utterances of the hon. the Minister of Public Works, in 1874, also of the First Minister in 1872, in this question, and it could not be denied that the fiscal policy of the United States had remained unchanged since then. It was said then that this country was in a most prosperous condition, and that they did not want even reciprocity ; that they were going on successfully and prosperously. The First Minister said, in 1872 :

"Although we have been without reciprocity from 1866 until now ; although we have been virtually excluded from the markets of the United States, our farmers are richer than ever, and easily find a sale for their products in the markets of the world. They are increasing their farms, and improving the breed of their live stock. In every branch of the agricultural community you see they are rising superior to the temporary disadvantage caused by the loss of the United States markets."

That was the declaration of the First Minister in 1872. How had things changed since then ?

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD :  
A change of Ministry.

SIR A. J. SMITH said that recalled to his mind that this National Policy never was thought of until it became a necessity of the Conservative party. The hon. the Minister of Public Works, after the change of Government in 1873, believed, because he stated it to many of his friends, that the other Government would not remain in power six months. He seemed to have the conviction that the Government would not even be able to administer the public affairs of this country, The Government did live six months and longer, and the hon. gentlemen on the other side found that the Mackenzie Government could administer the affairs of the country, and not only that, but they had done so well and honestly. They found that, in order to succeed to power, it was necessary to resort to some other agency than usual. They found discontent, depression and hard times existing in the country, and they felt that, by working upon the prejudices of the people, they could create a public opinion in favour of a National Policy. Those gentlemen knew that this statement had been proved correct. He would now see what the Minister of Public Works said in 1874, after the late Government had been in power some months :

"The only interest the Finance Minister pretended was suffering the slightest depression, was the agricultural interest, and he (Mr. Tupper) would ask the great consuming population of the country whether they thought the great agricultural interest was suffering? He thought they would give a decided response, without any hesitation, that the agricultural interest, at this moment, was enjoying a condition of prosperity second to none in the world."

That was after the change of Government; he presumed after the six months within which the hon. gentleman had predicted that the Government would be overthrown. The late Government challenged full enquiry, to see if they had not conducted public affairs to the entire satisfaction of the people. He repeated that, in the Session of 1874, the hon. gentlemen now in power never contemplated a policy of Protection. They declared the country to be in a most prosperous condition; that the country, notwithstanding the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, was becoming rich; that they could find markets for their agricultural produce in every part of the world, and that they were not dependent upon the United States. He had now occasion to refer to the position taken by the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White). He was a gentleman who represented very advanced thoughts and ideas; he had studied the public affairs of this country, if not in this House, outside of it, and if he was not here long ago it was not his fault, because he tried often enough, and his utterances were entitled to considerable consideration. While that gentleman said now that he was a Protectionist, in 1873 he was entirely opposed to Protection, as shown by the resolution which he moved in the Dominion Board of Trade, at the annual meeting:

"That, without forming any opinion upon some of the details of the present Customs tariff, and the anomalies, which are inevitable in all tariffs, this Board is of opinion that no changes should be made in it, unless the exigencies of the public service demand larger revenues; and that in such case any increase to be made should be in accordance with the principle of the present Customs tariff, which, while not interfering with the commerce of the Dominion, affords incidental Protection to its manufactures."

He did not say that Free-trade was practicable in this country. He said they must have incidental Protection, must have a revenue tariff, having a proper regard for the industries of the country. The resolution concluded as follows:—

"That this Board is further of opinion that permanence in the fiscal policy of the country is most important alike to its commerce and its manufactures, and that no changes should be made in the tariff not demanded by the absolute necessities of the revenue."

How was it that the hon. gentleman changed his mind since then? He (Sir Albert J. Smith) did not believe that he had changed his honest conviction, but that he was really of the same opinion still, because it was based upon sound reason—that they could not stimulate, encourage and foster industries that required artificial means to sustain them. He (Sir A. J. Smith) thought he had shown that the National Policy was the outcome of political necessities of the gentlemen on the other side, and that it was not the result of conviction, because he found that, up to 1874, they never uttered a word in favour of the National Policy. It was said that Protection had accomplished wonders for the United States, and Mr. Wells had been quoted in connection with that assertion. He would quote from a lecture that was delivered, in 1878, before a Science Congress in Cincinnati, to show the effect of Protection on the industries of that country as compared with effect of Free-trade as it existed in England. It was as follows:—

"The great commerce of England has been built upon invention, and by a policy of ocean postal service, which enables her to reach every seaport by steam on the face of the earth. Her merchants are in every land; her marine on every sea. How our foreign commerce fails before that of England—less than one-third—yet you may put the United Kingdom into Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and have 15,000,000 acres to spare. Last year we mined 42,000,000 tons of coal; England, 133,000,000. She built 687 sailing vessels, and 300 steamers, last year; we, six steamers, seven ships, four brigs! Last year she produced \$124,000,000 of wool, clothed her people, and exported \$115,000,000; we purchased \$7,000,000, and exported \$317,000 worth. England paid us \$191,000,000 for our cotton, and exported \$358,000,000 of cotton goods, while we, raising the cotton, exported \$13,000,000 worth. England manufactured 6,000,000,000 yards of cotton goods, sending 1,155,000,000 to India; 279,000,000 to Turkey; 100,000,000 to Egypt; 54,000,000 to the United States—more to this country than we to all the world—178,000,000 to Brazil; we, 5,000,000 yards. She sent to all South Africa, 354,000,000; we, 53,000,000. China, in 1860, took from us 5,300,000 yards; from England, 150,000 yards. Last year we sent 11,000,000 yards to that land; England, 408,000,000. Such has been the development of trade with that country."

Now, that was a country where cotton was produced, and its manufacture was

favoured by a high Protective policy. What had it done as compared with Free-trade England? Quotations without number might be found to show the injurious effects of Protection in the United States. Refutations of that policy came from many in the Republic, and he would read from an authority in St. Louis :

" Things here are dull, as usual, no signs of improvement visible to my naked eye in the business line. Land and property generally has fallen, on the average, 50 per cent. in the last four years, at the lowest calculation. The iron furnaces are closed, and other manufactures are in various stages of collapse, or non-prosperity. Not one in ten is making money. Protection, for some years, has piled up the filthy lucre in their pockets, but too many rushed in, and they are now in a most calamitous state. The manufacturers have not prospered under Protection, while the people here have been fleeced right and left, and have, in the last fifteen years, paid enough in the difference between a revenue and Protection tariff to have built all the mills in the country more than once."

Now, that gentleman's experience urged him to condemn Protection as most disastrous, ruinous, to the country. The hon. the Finance Minister had taken abundant credit for Protection to what he called the shipping interest. Had he considered that question thoroughly, and did he know the effect his tariff would have on it as compared with that of the old tariff? He could not think it possible. It might be that, with the multiplicity of his duties, he had been unable to give that attention to the subject which it deserved. That interest, however, was one of the most valuable in the country, and required every reasonable encouragement and protection. But still it was not more depressed than others, and did not ask special provision. In 1874, it was called upon to pay certain duties by the tariff of that year, but he had heard no complaint of them. They were only a trifle; but the Finance Minister proposed to abolish them or impose higher duties, giving the shipbuilder, at the same time, what he called a drawback. He (Sir A. J. Smith), however, had seen no provision for a drawback in the tariff resolutions. The shipping interest was, no doubt, in a depressed condition, but considering its development in the Lower Provinces, and its circumstances as compared with other industries, he

believed there was no other so prosperous. New Brunswick built, last year, 270,000 tons of shipping, and Nova Scotia 550,000 tons, which was equivalent to about \$3,000,000 thus invested. Each of those Provinces had more than a ton for every man, woman and child of its population, it being wonderful how the shipping interest in the two Provinces had kept pace, as to tonnage, with the increase of the population. The shipping had a light duty so far, but he was sure the proposed burden would strike a serious and deadly blow at it, instead of benefiting it, as the Finance Minister declared he intended. It seemed to be natural for the people of the Maritime Provinces to build ships and invest their money in enterprises connected with shipping. The hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Killam), who was thoroughly acquainted with shipbuilding, stated the old duty on this trade was comparatively nothing. For a practical illustration of the effects of the new duties, let them consider the case of a vessel of 1,530 tons, classing A 1 at Lloyd's; in nine years the duties paid on her materials, under the old tariff, would reach \$470.99, equal to about 31c. per ton, which was a mere trifle. The total cost of dutiable goods entering into her construction would be \$7,939, under the old tariff; the non-dutiable added, gave a total of \$23,208. The dutiable amounted to about \$5 a ton, and the non-dutiable to \$10. The cost of the vessel would be about \$88,000. Now, the old tax of 31c. a ton no shipbuilder complained of, all being willing to pay necessary taxation. But, in increasing it, the Finance Minister put 10 per cent. on cordage, upon which he understood there was to be no drawback.

MR. TILLEY : None.

SIR A. J. SMITH said the old duty was but 5 per cent., or \$100 for such a vessel, but the new would be \$200, and no drawback. The hon. member for Yarmouth, who knew all about shipbuilding, had condemned the drawback as anomalous, and stated it would be practically impossible to carry out that principle. The only way it could be done would be by giving a bounty of so much per ton in ships built.

In answer to Mr. DOMVILLE,

SIR A. J. SMITH said the duty on the imported goods required for a vessel of 1,500 tons would now be \$3,000, under the new tariff. Suppose he wanted iron knees, and got them from the hon. member for King's, who imported the iron and made the knees for vessels—who would get the drawback, the shipbuilder, or the person who sold him the articles?

MR. TILLEY: That depends on the arrangement between them. The shipbuilder obtains the benefit—gets the article at the lower price.

SIR A. J. SMITH said the matter was not provided for. A builder could buy iron in various places. He might buy from the hon. member for King's, for example. How was he to know? If the iron came from the Londonderry, N. S., works, would the drawback be allowed?

MR. TILLEY: No.

SIR A. J. SMITH asked was that a fair policy to the iron manufacturer at Londonderry, to refuse a drawback on his iron, while allowing it on imported iron? They would thus discriminate in favour of the iron-makers of foreign countries. Suppose a man could import iron, duty paid, for about the price of it at the Londonderry mines, and get a drawback of 10 per cent. on the imported, was not that an inducement to import the foreign article?

MR. TILLEY: Yes.

SIR A. J. SMITH asked was not that anomalous and a discrimination against the interests of the country in favour of the foreigner? He dared say the Finance Minister had overlooked that result, which he could hardly have intended. He would appeal to the hon. gentleman, representing, as he did, a Province deeply interested in shipbuilding, to repeal altogether that clause which would impose \$3,000 of duties on a 1,500-ton vessel. He had as much right to be heard on that question as a member of any of the manufacturers' rings they had seen at

Ottawa, and who had moulded the tariff policy to suit their own interests. The increased duties would embarrass seriously the shipbuilding interest. Did the hon. gentleman say that, when the ship had gone to sea, the builder would be refunded the duties on the materials? But much time might elapse before that, so as to make the loss of interest equal the refund. And yet the hon. gentleman claimed great credit for benefitting the shipbuilders. Did it require any argument to show that this was false, or that he was striking a serious blow at the best interest of the Maritime Provinces? Let him repeal that resolution, if he wanted to get anything out of ships without injuring the trade. Why embarrass himself with this drawback clause which must inevitably lead to fraud and inconvenience, and be found absolutely inapplicable? The Finance Minister ought to have consulted men like his hon. friend from Yarmouth before making such a change, and formulated the mode of returning the drawback. He had evidently no adviser he could rely on.

MR. TILLEY asked how the hon. gentleman made it out that the shipbuilder, on a 1,500-ton vessel, would have to pay \$3,000.

SIR A. J. SMITH said he had not then the details, but would furnish them. In preparing his tariff, the hon. gentleman had listened to the manufacturers of Ontario and Quebec, but had not consulted the interests of the great body of the people, the labouring men and farmers. Rings of manufacturers had been in Ottawa of late, and the changes they had secured in the tariff since its submission were perfectly marvellous and magical. He knew a gentleman interested in pulp, on which the Finance Minister put ten per cent.; but it did not require his attendance in Ottawa more than half an hour to secure a change to 20 per cent. That was an example of the pressure brought to bear on the hon. gentleman, and its effect. He said that, in September last, the people had pronounced in favour of this tariff. He (Sir A. J. Smith) would like to know how, or what tariff, since a great many changes had been made in it. He had

excused himself for delay at first by stating he was receiving all the deputations before presenting his Budget; but he thought the hon. gentleman had had as many since as before he submitted it. Fifty changes or more had been made, and it must have been through some magical hidden power. With regard to the elections of September last, the tariff, doubtless, formed the issue in Ontario, but it did not in New Brunswick. If it was the issue there, how did he stand here without the confidence of the people of his own Province? He had only three or four of its representatives supporting him. The Finance Minister would not like to return now to St. John for reelection. He would advise him, should this tariff pass, to try and find a constituency in Ontario. The hon. gentleman had just said something about his (Mr. Smith) having to spend \$20,000 for reelection. Was he prepared to back up that statement? It was said there were enormous sums spent in St. John to secure the Finance Minister's election, and that otherwise he would not have been returned—that there had been a marvelous change, by which 45 votes against him were changed to 20 for him, in one night in one ward, and that money accounted for the phenomenon. He had made the sugar trade one of the issues in St. John, asserting that the policy of the late Government had destroyed the refining interest. He (Sir A. J. Smith) maintained it did not. What did that interest amount to? To the refining of about 100,000,000 lb. per year, which employed about 266 hands, at the expense of \$1,000,000 to the people, for the benefit of a few wealthy refiners. They knew that Redpath, of Montreal, amassed a colossal fortune in this business; that they had now resumed refining, after having discontinued it, the papers saying they were going to employ 300 men. He would read an extract from a work, to show how comparatively unimportant an industry this was. He was amazed to hear hon. gentlemen make the statement they did—it was evident they did not understand the question—that sugar refining was going to encourage a very large trade with the West Indies. Why, any man, almost, in Montreal, knew that they could not do a large direct trade with the West Indies, on account of physical diffi-

culties and natural obstacles, the St. Lawrence being closed five months in the year. The West Indian crop came in January and February. But if the whole quantity used in Canada were brought hither in Canadian vessels, it would only employ 40 of 1,000 tons each, the consumption being 55,000 tons. Vessels of 1,000 tons could carry 1,500 tons dead weight.

MR. DOMVILLE: Why does the hon. gentleman not take into account the molasses?

SIR A. J. SMITH said he was speaking of the refining only.

MR. DOMVILLE: That is not a fair calculation. The hon. gentleman knows they do not employ vessels of that kind in the trade.

SIR A. J. SMITH said, suppose they included molasses, and admitted that 80 vessels of 1,000 tons each would be employed—what did that amount to? They could not conceive that the carrying of 40,000 tons of merchandise would prove of great consequence to Canadian trade. Some supposed that if a sugar refinery were established in Montreal, the sugar would be carried thither in English bottoms, whereas none of the vessels would come by the St. Lawrence, as the sugar crop was carried to Canada in winter. Their Canadian vessels went out for it in November and December. Nothing was clearer than that the sugar used at Redpath's refinery in Montreal, would come in by Portland, being carried to that port by, perhaps, Canadian, or as likely by Danish or other foreign vessels, as there was no monopoly. A large portion of the sugar imported now was carried by Canadian vessels to New York and Boston.

"Recent English trade tables show that the entire amount of sugar refined in the three kingdoms, in 1875, was 1,821,647,632 lbs., giving employment to 5,174 persons. In Canada, we consume 94,000,000 lbs. annually, and, if this whole amount was refined in the Dominion, it would give employment to 266 persons; computing according to the ratio of labour to production, as shown by the English returns."

Now, the facts set forth in that extract, as to the smallness

of the number of those employed in refining all the sugar Canada needed could easily be verified by the Minister of Finance. Three hundred were all that would be necessary. Was it worth while—would it help the labouring classes to take \$1,000,000 out of their pockets for the purpose of employing but 300 persons, and increasing the already enormous fortunes of the few sugar refiners? The whole Dominion was not interested in that small industry. The people wanted cheap sugar, which the hon. gentlemen seemed determined they should not have. The drawback paid the American refiners on sugar exported to Canada must inure to the benefit of its people. But the Finance Minister would not allow that to continue; he said, practically, we want to swell the fortunes of the Montreal refiners at the expense of the people of Canada. The hon. gentleman from Cardwell had read several extracts from speeches made by leading statesmen in England, to show that the bounties given by France on sugar were injurious to the interests of England, or would prove injurious ultimately; but they all admitted that the effect was to make sugar cheaper in England. It was said here that sugar would not be cheaper under this system than it would be under this new tariff, but all the speeches quoted were to the effect that the bounty system made sugar cheaper. His hon. friend from Bothwell (Mr. Mills), as well as his hon. friend from Kingston (Mr. Gunn), had dealt most effectively with this subject. They seemed to understand what they were talking about, and, therefore, he would not go further into the matter. It was now said they must import their tea direct from China. He (Sir A. J. Smith) would assert that this was impossible. We could not shut our eyes to the fact that the United States lay to the south of us. We had only two ports—St. John and Halifax—open in the winter, every other port of the Dominion being closed during that season. How, then, could we trade with these distant countries? His hon. friend from King's (Mr. Domville) knew well that they could not navigate the St. Lawrence during the winter months, and that they could not do direct trade from

the St. Lawrence ports with these distant countries. The voyage of a vessel would vary from 30 to 60 days, and, when she arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence in winter, she had to seek some other open port. We should mould our policy with due regard to the conditions of our country. The United States had the advantage of us in that respect. Every port there was open in the winter months, and why was it in the interests of the people of this country that two or three men in Montreal, or other cities, should have a monopoly of the tea trade? Was it not desirable to buy tea where we could get it the cheapest? When he looked at the condition of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, he saw that a great and serious injury would be inflicted by the passage of this resolution, which imposed a duty of 10 per cent. on tea imported from the United States. They sent vessels from the western coasts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, laden with the products of the country, potatoes, apples and fish, even fresh fish, to the United States, and they had tea brought back. The small trader in Nova Scotia would send apples or potatoes, and would get a return cargo of sugar, tea, or other things required for a country store. Were they going to prevent his doing his legitimate business, by saying he must buy from Montreal, which had monopolised the tea business? It was said that an importer could buy in England, and get tea in bond through the United States, and bring it to Montreal in bond, and pay the duty in this country. Would they allow this rich man, this wholesale dealer, who was doing a large business, to import his tea through the United States, in bond, and then tell the poorer people and small traders that they should not buy anywhere else? Why had not the trader, who went to Boston, or New York, a right to buy in bond, and take his tea home, if it would advance the interests of his business? It seemed to him that this provision was entirely in the interest of two or three men, who wanted a complete monopoly of the tea trade of the country. No Canadian would bring his tea direct from China. He would bring it into the United States and pass it through that country in bond, and that man would

have 10 per cent. advantage over another who bought his tea in the United States, or anywhere else. He trusted the Finance Minister would give this matter his consideration, in order to see if he could not change it. It was no reason, because the suggestion came from the Opposition, that it should not be considered, as the provision was detrimental to the interests of the country. Now he came to the consideration of the lumber interest. This was confessedly one of the most important interests in this country, next to the farming interest. He would ask the Finance Minister where there was any Protection for the lumbermen. The lumbering interest was as much depressed as any interest in this country, and probably more. Unless some change took place, lumbermen must break down, and fail. Unless freights were low, it would be impossible to ship lumber at all, but the manufacturers of lumber did not get more than enough to pay for the labour, and the lumber itself was practically given away. They were giving a drawback to the shipping interest, which was as prosperous as the lumber interest, because ships went to every part of the world wherever they heard of prosperity. A ship was not confined to any country. She went abroad, and her flag floated on every sea. It was very different with the lumber interest. While the hon. gentleman was desirous of protecting the shipping interest—although he (Sir A. J. Smith) did not think any change was required; it ought not to complain, and the duty now was very trifling—they should not discriminate against and destroy the lumber interests. The latter gave employment to more men than the shipping interest did, and should have some protection. What protection had it? His hon. friend from Queen's county (Mr. King), than whom no one was more competent to make a calculation, had reckoned the very serious additional tax which this tariff would place on lumber. He (Sir A. J. Smith) could see no compensating advantages for this additional duty, which was struck at this important duty. There was nothing in the tariff which did not strike at the lumber interest. Lumbermen would have to cease their operations in consequence of this tariff, in which there were ele-

ments of destruction and decay of that industry which could not possibly be avoided. He had already stated that the Finance Minister had turned his back upon his own Province. His predictions had certainly been falsified. He had stated that a taxation of \$2.75 per head was all that would be required for twenty-five years. His hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Burpee) had prepared with great skill a statement showing the effect of this tariff on the commerce of this country, showing that, if the importations were the same as those of last year, this tariff would increase the burdens of the people to the extent of \$7,000,000 a year. He (Sir A. J. Smith) had not heard that statement challenged. He thought, therefore, it was fair to assume it was true; if not, he thought the Finance Minister would have challenged it before this.

MR. TILLEY: We will challenge it. There is plenty of time.

SIR A. J. SMITH: You are slow about it.

MR. TILLEY: I am not as slow as you. I have spoken twice, and this is your first speech.

SIR A. J. SMITH said he had been in hopes of getting light from the hon. gentleman; but his first speech, instead of throwing light, seemed to throw darkness. The hon. gentleman had not thrown a great deal of light on the subject. He had not told the House, as he ought to have told them, how much money this tariff would realise.

MR. TILLEY: Yes.

SIR A. J. SMITH: How much?

MR. TILLEY: \$2,100,000.

SIR A. J. SMITH said that was what was estimated to get into the revenue; but the hon. gentleman had not told the House how much it would take out of the people. The statements of his hon. friend from St. John had remained unchallenged, that the burdens on the people would amount to \$7,000,000. They would accept the statement of the

Finance Minister, that the operation of this tariff would put into the Treasury \$2,100,000. That, then, would leave a balance of \$4,900,000 to go into the hands of manufacturers. That would be the logical conclusion. He now desired to show the effect which this tariff would have on New Brunswick, because, though he owned they ought not to be governed by sectional feeling—

MR. TILLEY : Hear, hear.

SIR A. J. SMITH said, still, he would ask, did the Finance Minister want him, as a representative of New Brunswick, to consent to a tariff which discriminated against her own people. It was the duty of the representatives from the Province to endeavour to protect the interests of the Province. This tariff did operate injuriously to New Brunswick, and discriminated against that Province. The Finance Minister seemed to have shut his eyes to the true interests of New Brunswick. The amount of Customs duties collected in New Brunswick, last year, amounted to \$1,448,000, which was equal to about \$5 per head.

MR. TILLEY : Was it not more than that last year ? There was \$400,000, or \$500,000 from the St. John fire.

SIR A. J. SMITH said that no doubt the fire had made the amount rather abnormal, but the normal condition, under the late tariff, would be about \$1,448,000.

MR. TILLEY : No.

SIR A. J. SMITH said this would be equal to about \$5 per head. Then the amount received from Excise was \$261,000, and from stamps \$14,000, or about \$1 per head, making a total of about \$6 per head of the population. That was about the same amount as existed when the Finance Minister left office in 1873. He had admitted that the late Finance Minister was correct in his calculations as to the shrinkage in values.

MR. TILLEY : The average of Customs and Excise for 1876-77, was \$1,321,464.

SIR A. J. SMITH : What was it last year ?

MR. TILLEY : Last year was the year of the fire.

SIR A. J. SMITH : But the hon. member said the whole amount of taxation would be only \$2.75 *per capita*.

MR. TILLEY : Yes, I remember that.

SIR A. J. SMITH said the hon. gentleman had exceeded that in any case. The least increased cost under the present tariff, exclusive of the tax on coal and flour, would be \$806,000. He would like to know if the Finance Minister was prepared to controvert these figures ? Suppose the price of coal and flour was not augmented, there would still be an additional cost to the Province of New Brunswick. The population of New Brunswick being about 300,000, this would amount to upwards of \$3 per head under the new tariff.

MR. TILLEY : Hear, hear.

SIR A. J. SMITH said he would like the Finance Minister to controvert that if he could. If the importations were the same as those of last year, the increase would be \$3 per head, making the total taxation from \$8 to \$9 per head on the population of New Brunswick. That was a matter which deserved the most careful consideration of the Government. He (Sir A. J. Smith) felt it his duty to protest, on behalf of the people of New Brunswick, against this tariff, as specially injurious to them. He believed it would be an incubus on the whole Dominion. He believed it would be inimical to the interests of the Dominion. Hon. gentlemen deprecated sectionalism, though, he thought, they ought to regard the interests of the different Provinces in preparing a tariff. They were not to prepare a tariff for the interests of Ontario, if they were inimical to those of New Brunswick or Nova Scotia. He considered they must have regard to the interests of the whole Dominion, because there were great diversities of climate, soil and resources. There were great geographical differences, which

made it necessary to consider the interests of various portions of the Dominion. He believed this tariff would have the effect of disturbing the domestic harmony which existed between the different Provinces, and which it was most desirable to promote as far as possible. If they created a bad feeling in one Province, it must injuriously affect the interests of the whole Dominion. More than that, though the idea seemed to be scoffed at by the other side, he believed the tendency of the tariff would be to alienate and estrange, commercially and politically, this country from the Mother Country. They knew what the policy of the Empire was. They saw from the tone of the papers, the various indications in the press of England, that much dissatisfaction was felt towards this Government and the people, by the recent imposition of this policy. These resolutions provided that the United States, whenever they showed a disposition to reciprocate, on certain articles mentioned in the free list—and he might remark that he thought the article of free-stone should be included in that list—might do so. They had not made any provision in regard to England. England now received these goods free, but no consideration had been shown for England. It was true we had a right to regulate our own fiscal affairs, and it did not seem to be disputed in England, that we had a right to adopt such a course as would best protect our interests. But it seemed to him only fair that, as an integral part of the Empire, we should have some regard for, and consult, as far as was consistent with our own interests, the policy of the Empire. They knew that the feeling of England was against this tariff. Why should we discriminate against England? Would the Finance Minister say that this tariff did not discriminate against England?

MR. TILLEY: Yes, I do.

SIR A. J. SMITH said the statistics showed that, while this tariff averaged 7 per cent. on our whole imports from the United States, it averaged 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on English goods. The hon. gentleman included in his estimate \$14,000,000 of grains and flour exported, which simply passed through Canada *in transitu*. His impression was, in conclusion, that the effect of the tariff would

tend to bring about ultimately a separation between the two countries.

## MR. PICKARD.

April 22nd, 1879.

MR. PICKARD said the question had already been discussed by old politicians and young politicians, by lawyers and doctors, and professional politicians. When he first heard of the term National Policy, he thought it sounded very well, and had hoped that the Finance Minister would not forget one Province, but he had forgotten New Brunswick, and the policy, instead of being a national, was a sectional one. The chief interests in New Brunswick were the lumber interest and the shipping interest, at which this tariff struck a serious blow. The lumber interest was most important, and, though depressed, it still made the great staple of the exports of St. John to the markets of the world. The Finance Minister had told them it was a waning industry, but no one should know its value better than he. The city of St. John, which he represented, would never have grown to its present position on the rock but for the lumber and shipping interest. That hon. gentleman had told the people the tariff would be so re-adjusted that all interests would be protected. He (Mr. Pickard) would ask in what way the lumbering and shipping interests were protected? He agreed with the opinion of the hon. member for Queen's (Mr. King), on its evil effect, as far as the lumber interest was concerned. The figures of that hon. gentleman had not been answered by any hon. member. There was not a lumberman in New Brunswick, or in the Ottawa Valley, but must know that this tariff would increase the burdens on that industry. He asked them to look across the river here at those piles of lumber, which had been lying there for the past four years, and to consider whether, by increasing the burden of taxation on lumber, they would stand a better chance of being removed. He entered his protest against the imposition of duties on flour, as well as all the articles which entered into consumption in the lumber trade, as well as our various other industries.

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ERRATA.

In 2nd column, page 13, line 45, *for exports read imports.*

“ “ “ “ “ 47, “ imports “ exports.

“ “ “ “ “ 47, “ £272,000,000 *read* £273,000,000.

