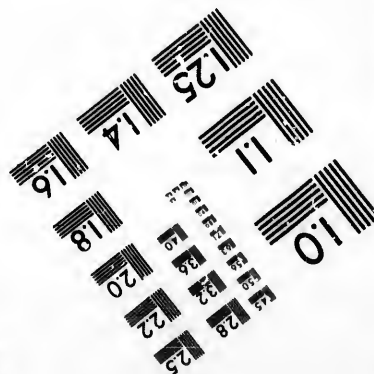
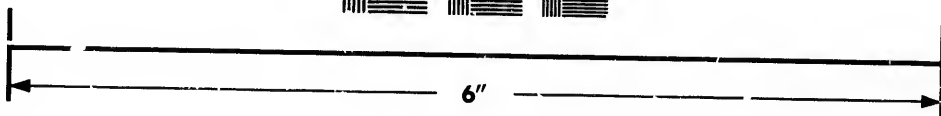
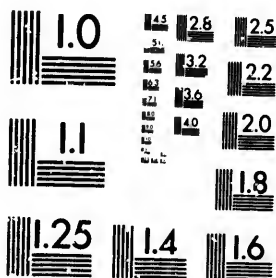


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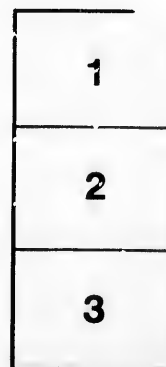
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FACTS  
AND  
FIGURES  
FOR  
FARMERS,

AND ALL THOSE WHO LIVE UPON THEM.

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"To prohibit a great people from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their stock and industry in the way that they may consider most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind."—ADAM SMITH'S WEALTH OF NATIONS.

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1890

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF

THE  
NATIONAL  
ASSOCIATION  
OF THE  
DEAF

**"Awake, my Country!**

**The hour is great with change."**

**-DOUGLASS ROBERTS.**

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF  
PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

1880

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF  
PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

# PREFACE.

APRIL, 1890.

RARELY, if ever before in the history of any people, have personal interests been so apparently affected by public policy as at present in Canada. This especially applies to the new relations about to be established between this country and the United States. The vast body of producers in the Dominion, on whom its whole financial fabric depends, are just now placed in jeopardy, by being threatened with a practical exclusion from their largest, most accessible, and most profitable market. The present and prospective value of their property, the amount of their income, the provision for their children, and more than all, their ability to meet engagements already incurred, are all involved in the question of a market in which to realize the result of their labors. The gravity of the situation becomes more serious, when it is discovered that the only policy relied upon for relief, by the governments of the two countries, is increase of taxation in relation to each other.

In the presence of circumstances so threatening, the struggle which impends at the approaching General Election in Canada is of the deepest interest; for upon the next Parliament depends the relations which are to exist between the two nations on this Continent. Two policies are plainly before the people, and though party lines will necessarily divide them, yet, the seriousness of the situation, and the numerous personal interests involved, will give weight to other considerations than mere party claims.

The Conservative Party, now in power in Canada, by an amended tariff (just now made more than ever offensive); by a harsh interpretation of the Fisheries Treaty; by denying trading and bonding facilities freely granted by the United States; by Canal discrimination, and by a general policy of restriction, has made the commercial attitude of Canada one of direct antagonism to that of the United States. Meantime our neighbors just now propose to double the duties heretofore exacted on agricultural products, and thus practically shut out of the United States market our Canadian farmers who derive more than half their income from this source. In view of this most serious condition of affairs, the Liberal Party present as the only alternative, in the shape of an immediate and permanent remedy, the policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United



States, which it is believed can be secured. The issue between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party before the people of Canada is therefore plain and decisive.

As a contribution to the information preparatory to this struggle, and in order that the advantages and possibilities of this liberal policy may be plainly apprehended, the compilation of extracts in the following pages is submitted. It will be borne in mind that the speeches from which these extracts are made, were delivered long in anticipation of the present threatened action of Congress; but the force of the arguments adduced is rendered doubly strong by the certain result that will follow.

As to the securing of Unrestricted Reciprocity, in the face of the threatened action of Congress to double the duties against Canadian products, this may be said, that those who, in the United States, keep the closest watch of the trend of the public opinion, and are best informed as to the real situation of affairs, firmly believe that this great boon will be secured, if only the people of Canada express a strong desire for it. This they can do by the election of a Parliament who will respond to the terms of the bill which was introduced into Congress by Mr. BUTTERWORTH (printed in the appendix), or by accepting the resolution recently unanimously adopted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs, of which the Hon. R. R. HITT is Chairman, and which report, it is believed, will be adopted by both branches of Congress. Recent events indicate the desire by a large section of the American people for a change in their policy, regarding the unshackling of commerce on the Continent of America, both North and South, and many indications point to a possibility of the most intimate commercial relations between the United States and her near-by neighbors. In this Canada will participate, if only her people express a desire for the same. The resolution adopted by the Committee of Foreign Affairs is in the following simple words, and if made effective, in the spirit with which it has been presented, will have consequences to Canada of the highest moment:

*“Resolved, that whenever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three commissioners, to meet those who may be designated to represent the Government of Canada, to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms greater freedom of intercourse between the two countries can best be secured, and said commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress.”*

*The Farmers of Canada can say Yes or No to this Resolution!*

# FACTS AND FIGURES

FOR THE

## FARMERS OF CANADA.

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### **The Farmer's Mission in Shaping the Policy of the Country.**

IF, while maintaining here in Canada a complete and separate political existence, and working out her own destiny as best she may, Canada can make such a commercial bargain with the United States as will permit her to remove the Customs line that has hitherto retarded her; if she can gain all the material advantages of a union that shall be commercial and not political, why should she not do so? If the consequence of that union should be to perpetuate British connection, if its consummation should remove the only argument that exists on behalf of Annexation, what greater purpose can be achieved than by carrying it out? The stupendous consequences that have followed in the United States from a freedom of trade between those great commonwealths would follow in Canada, if between the United States and Canada a perfect freedom existed. A development of resources so varied as Canada possesses, a growth in population equal to that which elsewhere on the Continent has taken place, an increase in wealth, in enterprise, in all that goes to make up a nation, is to-day within the grasp of Canada.

By whom shall this advantage be achieved? By what class shall the effort be made to bring about this great revolution? Certainly by the class it would most benefit; and who, more than all others, but the farmers of Canada?

When one recalls the circumstances of the hour, all the conditions that prevail in Canada, all the opportunities of the time in the United States, all the peculiar forces that are at work in both countries, pointing to the creation of a mutuality of interest between them, *and thinks that the future of half a Continent rests in the hands of the farmers of Canada, they are, without question, the most interesting group of men in the world.*

## The Ancestry of Canadian Farmers.

Let us see whether their ancestry, their antecedents, and their present condition, fit them for the great task devolving upon them. In the first place, the farmers of Canada of to-day are the descendants of men who endured the greatest hardships, who developed great industry, and laid a foundation of the best kind of a race, that would bring credit to any country. When one recalls the struggle which the parents and the grandparents of the present generation endured, it is impossible not to be filled with admiration at the patient courage and the persistent industry, which conquered the forests, cleared the land, and made the Dominion the fairest spot on the Continent. The men worked hard, and in the vigorous climate grew strong with the exercise of muscle necessary to the great task before them. But the women, how many of them toiled day and night, often with insufficient nourishment, and amid great discouragement, with little or no help, carrying forward the household work, cooking and washing, milking the cows and making butter, and, above all, the more glorious task of bearing and nursing

### THE INEVITABLE BABY.

The mothers of the farmers of Canada stand out to-day in the history of the land as a nation of heroines. Think of it—how meagre were their comforts, how cold and cheerless the prospects of the long winters in the small log cabins, how few their possessions, how constant the demands upon them, how early they rose, and how late they worked. With what courage did the husband and wife separate themselves from friends and comforts, and, hiding themselves in the woods, undertake to endure more than has almost ever been the fate of man and woman to endure to achieve an existence. He conquered the monarchs of the forest, and literally wrung a living from the soil—she waited upon him, and cheered him and sustained him, his willing servant and companion in his isolation, and, above all, bore for him the great race that now form the backbone of this great Dominion. It is impossible to contemplate the history of the first mothers of Canadian farmers without recalling sacrifices, labors, sorrows and a loving kindness unequalled by any group of women the world has ever produced. These are the worthy progenitors of the race that now occupy the land, and upon whom rest the decision of the future of this Continent.

### The Canadian Farmer of To-day.

But not only are the Canadian farmers the most interesting group of men in the world, as being descendants of a worthy

ancestry, but they show, by their lives and labors, how broad and deep has the foundation of character been laid for them. Look abroad in all the world and discover, if you can, any class to exceed the Canadian farmer in all that makes

#### A GREAT AND VIRTUOUS PEOPLE.

Who is more industrious? Who more economical? Who so thrifty and so thorough in his work? It is impossible to conceive of a class of men who work more unceasingly, whose hours are so filled with toil; who, amid the frosts of winter and amid the heats of summer, when one-half the world is playing, carries forward the great task of compelling nature to yield an existence for himself and all those dependent upon him, and without whom life would be impossible. Yet what class of men have less for their labor than the farmers and their wives? When one recalls the amount of honest work which, from the beginning, has been put into the farms of Canada, and estimates the capital that this labor should have created; when one estimates the daily and yearly amount of work which, day in and day out, is expended, and against this calculates the return in the shape of profit, how meagre and how insufficient is the result? Compare the results of years of toil by the average farmer with the rewards of the manufacturer on the one hand, and on the other compare the anxiety and the great labor, the self-denial, of the son of the soil, with the comfort, the luxury, the certainty and growth in wealth which in such brief period the petted favorite of this Government acquires. How

#### STRANGE THE CONTRAST SEEMS,

and when one reflects that it is the Government which the farmer himself creates and sustains, the comparison is all the more startling. What business more uncertain than that of the farm? With what risks does he throw his seed into the ground? How numerous are his chances of failure, and how dependent is he on results that he himself cannot shape? Though he toil as no one else is called upon to toil, from early morn to dewy eve, even in the best of circumstances, when his crops are good and the yield large, as in the present year, the price is low. His very success as a class—uniform success in which all participate—creates conditions that defeat profit. The Canadian farmer is peculiarly environed with conditions that render it difficult for him to emerge from a life of slavish work with even a fair return for the labor that his ancestors have expended or he himself performs. How serious are the consequences of his inability to make the most of his advantages the future must reveal.

## A Discrimination Against the Farmers.

But not only are the risks of the farm great—not only is the labor onerous and the chances for profit few, but by the policy of the Government which he himself has created and sustains, he is absolutely so shut out from the market where he can best sell his products, that he has to pay a quarter of his output for the privilege of entering therein. Not content with taxing him heavily for everything he is compelled to buy, the policy of the Government absolutely requires that he should pay taxes to a neighboring nation for the privilege of selling what they require and what he has to sell. With a free market in the Mother Country, three thousand miles away, he enters into competition with all the world beside, but with this tremendous disadvantage, that by taxing the supplies which he is compelled to purchase they are rendered more costly than those of any of his competitors. As against India, where labor is at its lowest; as against the Argentine Republic, where the cost of existence is at its cheapest; as against Russia and Australia, where the policy of the Government is to free the producer from burdens; as against all these the Canadian farmer is at a disadvantage. Were it not that the whole body politic were dependent upon the farmer's prosperity, this condition would not be so remarkable; *but there is nothing got in Canada unless it is dug out of the ground, and it is the farmer that does the digging.*

The manufacturer, the professional man, the aggregations that go to make up the towns and cities, the transportation agents, the educational, the mercantile and even the sacred calling, are all dependent upon the farmer. Without him and his prosperity, all these go to the wall. So there is no subject so important before the public as the prosperity of this tiller of the soil. Whatever will contribute in the greatest degree to his prosperity it is the duty of the patriot to encourage. Any policy that puts the farmer at a disadvantage is the policy of disaster. The country cannot survive an attack upon the chief fortress of its industry, and if one class is to be preferred above all others in the policy of the Government it must be the farmer. Hence, the Government of the day will either learn this lesson, or be compelled to give place to another that will. The logic of the situation is inevitable.

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## The Farmer's Great Opportunity.

Alongside of the Canadian farmer lies the greatest market the world affords. To obtain a free admission to this market every civilized nation would regard as the greatest boon. If Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium or Austria were to

be assured to-morrow that the markets of the United States were to be opened to them for their manufactures or natural products, no event could be hailed with greater satisfaction. To the Canadian farmer no boon of greater magnitude could be granted than the breaking down of the barrier that now separates one-half of the North American Continent from the other. If he could have free and unrestrained access to the largest aggregation of money-making, money-spending population that the world affords, his opportunities would be enormously increased, and

#### HIS PROSPERITY ASSURED.

The Customs tariff which now runs athwart the Continent is a barrier almost as great as an open sea, a mountain range, or a wide desert, so far as trading between the two countries is concerned. Now, to obliterate this tariff is the purpose of those who are striving for closer trade relations with the United States. It is the purpose of this pamphlet to explain how it can be done.

The present affords an opportunity of a life-time in the obliteration of the barrier that divides, and that opportunity is now more than ever before within the grasp of the farmers of Canada. In the first place, they are in a vast majority; they have a greater influence than any other class; their interests are paramount; they have numerous dependents; the resident village population are all within their control. The country storekeeper, the blacksmith, the wagonmaker, the saddler, the shoemaker, the great aggregation of country laboring population, are all dependent upon the farmer. As a rule, the speaker said, unless he was much mistaken, the farmer is not an ardent politician. The revolution that took place in 1878, when the protective policy was adopted, showed him to be free from strong party ties. Whatever shapes for his interests is the policy he is likely to pursue. Hence, if it can be made to appear that the most advantageous thing in the world to him is the freest access to the best markets, by the formation of a commercial partnership with the people of the United States, the policy of the party that will achieve this will have his support. It is alleged that there is

#### A WANT OF ORGANIZATION

among farmers. It is true it is difficult to reach them, because they are so scattered, and because they are not likely to be moved by impassioned appeals. But their interests are the basis vital to their prosperity, and their truest politics is their own welfare.

## The Lesson of the Canadian Hen.

It has been alleged that because the farmers of the United States produce the same articles as the farmers of Canada, the latter would have no market. How comes it, if this is so, that, even having to

### CLIMB OVER A HIGH TARIFF WALL,

more than one-half of the exports which Canada has hitherto sent out have been absorbed by the United States? If they can trade and sell produce even against a tribute to the American Treasury of twenty per cent., what would they not do if no tribute was levied. The fact that Canadian farmers can compete with the United States in articles which in common they produce is shown by the little product that has escaped the eagle eye of the statesmen of both countries, and is thereby free from duty. This is the shapely and nutritious little commodity known as the hen's egg.

### THE FREEDOM IN THE EGG TRADE

has enabled the hens of Canada to illustrate, in a higher form than could the statesmen of the Continent, the benefits of freedom from restriction and taxation. The growth of this trade is almost phenomenal. Springing from little or nothing it has now reached the proportions of a regular and systematic business all over the country. No less than 14,000,000 dozen of eggs were gathered in all Canada last year and sent to the United States. No less than two millions of dollars was received back by the farmers for this product. You all will remember the story of the "Pied Piper of Hamelin"—how at his music the rats of the pestered town came tumbling out from every nook and cranny, and were led by him into the Weiser, and when, not being able to collect his claim, he whistled and the children followed him to their destruction. How similar, yet how different, is the story of the eggs. Think of them coming down every lane, every green path, every concession, across lot and town line, and being sent forward for food and nutrition to our cousins across the border. Think of the return for them in the shape of silver dollars, that cheer the wives of the farmers; and what a beneficent thing this freedom of the egg trade is. The hens of Canada have done more to create a real and true National policy than has the Tory party, with Sir John Macdonald at its head.

### The Egg as a Political Factor.

The existence of the Government of the country is imperilled by the proposal to put a duty in the United States upon eggs. Last session of Congress it came pretty near being done. You

will recall the introduction into the Canadian Parliament of the Boyle Bill, which demanded a bond from every foreign nurseryman, numbering some two thousand. This bond was conditioned upon the fulfilment of the agents' representations, but its enactment would have killed the trade in nursery goods from the United States, and in retaliation it was proposed to restrict the trade in eggs from Canada. Rochester was the point chiefly affected in the nursery business, and, strange to say, Rochester is also the chief centre for the consumption of eggs in the mechanical and chemical productions of that city. Their representative in Congress, my excellent friend Charles S. Baker, knew the weak point in the Canadian political system; and by adding two lines to the Tariff bill, then pending, he proposed to put five cents a dozen duty upon eggs. A cold chill went down the back of every Canadian farmer at this suggestion; and, among others, the speaker said he felt it, and it hastened him to Washington to endeavor to get Mr. Baker to withdraw his bill. Realizing the consequences to the Government of Canada, how every farmer's wife would bitterly complain, how the wail of despair would sweep over the land in the crow of the rooster and the cackle of the hen, it seemed a high and honorable duty to intervene, and, if possible, check the passage of that bill by the American Congress. The vision of Sir John ruined politically because of the failure of the hen industry, and Mackenzie Bowell standing amid the ruins in the shape of berry baskets and peach crates, stimulated your humble servant to his best exertions, and by an arrangement with Ottawa the bill in Congress was stopped. The frigidity which subsequently surrounded the Boyle bill was several degrees below zero. Reference is only made to this to show how influential an article as small as eggs may become, when trade is free in that article, and how potent may be its effects of interference on the politics of a country.

### The Object Lesson of Reciprocity.

The advantages of free commercial intercourse between the two countries was shown by an object lesson of great force—the lesson that was illustrated by the Reciprocity Treaty for ten years, from 1855 to 1865. No event within the memories of the farmers of Canada is so impressive as the experience they thus realized. The trade between the two countries increased in the ten years fourfold, namely, from twenty millions a year to eighty millions, and had the Reciprocity Treaty continued and the trade increased at the same rate of progression, it would have now reached two hundred millions per annum, *and every farmer of Canada would have been out of debt.* Just think of



what that means to every farmer's family, to every store-keeper, and everyone else except the money-lenders! It is impossible now to renew the Reciprocity Treaty as it then existed, confining its operations to natural products only. The growth of manufactures in the States, as the result of Protection, makes it absolutely necessary that goods must be sent outside instead of money in exchange for natural products. These goods cannot be sent freely so long as the tariff wall shuts them out. The great growth of the agricultural areas in the United States would also oppose the introduction of free agricultural products, unless the manufactures were admitted free into Canada also, for in the creation of these latter a home market is maintained for the American farmer. Reciprocity taught what can be done by sending free goods to the United States. Its extension would teach what can be done if, in addition to natural products, manufactures were included in its operation, because cheap goods and cheap supplies to the Canadian farmer would be the result. The stimulus to manufactures, as the result of Protection in the United States, has resulted in the creation of many lines of cheap goods, cheaper than elsewhere can be had in the world. The farmers of Canada would be benefited, by the reduced cost of their supplies, to an extent almost as great as they would be by an open market for their products. Better prices would be realized for what they have to sell, lower rates would be paid for what they have to buy. Thus a double benefit would follow from the breaking down of the barrier between the two countries. Certainly the extent of the duty paid (amounting now to five millions a year) would the farmer gain, and this even if there were not the slightest increase in the production which freedom would beget. But there would be an enormous increase in production, as everything tends to show.

### **The Canadian Farmer Pays the American Duty.**

As to the duty levied by the United States, and who pays it, there can be no higher authority than that of the Premier of Canada, that astute and remarkable man, your own representative in Parliament, so well known and respected here, reflecting, as he does, a lustre not only on the place he represents, but on the Dominion at large. Sir John Macdonald cannot be mistaken when he once said:

"I find that the farmers of West Canada and East Canada could not understand there was anything in their barley, for instance, being obliged to pay a duty of fifteen per cent. upon going into the United States, whereas the produce of the American farmers was allowed to be brought into this country free. It is said the consumer pays the duty and that the farmer does not suffer anything. That is the statement; but when I put a

simple case, which I have done frequently, I can get no answer. I put a case in the Eastern Townships of a man upon the imaginary line which was between this country and the United States. Suppose a man has one hundred acres on the Canadian side of the line and one hundred acres on the American side of the line. Suppose he grows one thousand bushels of barley on each of his farms. He takes his one thousand bushels of the American barley to the American market and gets one dollar a bushel for it. He takes his one thousand bushels of Canadian barley to the American market and gets but eighty-five cents per bushel, because he has to pay fifteen per cent. duty for taking it across that imaginary line. How can it, in this case, be said that the consumer pays the duty? It comes out of the pockets of the Canadian farmers."

"Testimony from a source so eminent as Sir John A. Macdonald that the Farmer pays the duty is confirmed by an illustration from General Alger, ex-Governor of Michigan, as follows:

"In times past," said General Alger, "we used to buy our heavy horses in Canada and pay the duty. A few years ago one of our agents bought for us a car load of mares. The price seemed reasonable and soon after he bought another. Of course, we preferred mares, because if injured, or when a little old, we could sell them for breeding purposes. It soon leaked out that the fellow had been entering them as mares for breeding purposes, which are admitted free of duty. A few years later, with others, I went to a Canada horse-show, with a view to buying a few horses. We found a team which weighed 3,100 pounds, and asked the price and found it to be \$400. One of the span was a mare and the other was a gelding, the latter being rather the best animal. 'What will you take for that mare?' asked one of the party. 'Two hundred and twenty dollars,' was the reply. 'And for the gelding?' 'One hundred and eighty dollars,' was the answer. 'Why the difference?' I inquired. 'Because,' he replied, 'the mare can be sold over the line without payment of duty and the horse cannot, and the duty is the difference in the price of the two animals.' I relate this to show that the Canadian pays the duty on everything he brings into the United States, and not the purchaser."

### An Almost World-wide Advantage.

The advantages of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States would not be confined to the farmers of Ontario alone. Recall the situation of Nova Scotia, and how completely she is dependent on the United States for her markets, and a point for the absorption of her products. How closely is she related to the densely populated portions of New England, that need the iron, the coal, the fruit, and her agricultural products. Recall the magnificent possibilities of New Brunswick, never yet fully developed. To both these add the fruitful soil of Prince Edward Island, which can produce more potatoes and more oats to the square foot than any country under the sun. These potatoes are selling now on that Island at eighteen cents a bushel, the duty being fifteen cents to get them into the United States, nearly one hundred per cent. ! just think of it!— a duty of fifteen cents on a bushel of potatoes. Hay selling at seven dollars a ton, because of the want of trade between the two countries. Potatoes are being imported into New York

from Germany, three thousand miles away, cheaper than from Charlottetown. The farmers of Manitoba and the Far West, however, would be more benefitted by the obliteration of the barrier between the two countries than almost any other class. It is impossible that the vast Northwest country should grow prosperous unless it has all the advantages nature intended it should have. It will be the granary of the world, if it has only the facilities which the world affords. The markets of the world should be open to it, and its transportation, purchasing and moving instrumentalities the most comprehensive and the most far reaching. This can only come by making available all the facilities the development of the United States has created and ready to be used. Recalling the visit of the Pan-American Congress to Minneapolis, these representatives of thirteen nationalities, representing sixty millions of people, looked with curious interest upon the tremendous forces at work, in Minneapolis, reducing grain into flour. On that very day when this exhibition of American skill was being made, English capital was being subscribed to purchase these very mills. If the barrier between the two countries had been obliterated, and Manitoba hard wheat had been available, a spectacle might have been presented of American enterprise and invention, owned by British capital, converting Canadian raw material into the finished product for South American consumption. What a quartette was here; what a vast combination of interests is thus possible by a customs union including both North and South America; and how largely might it be made advantageous to Canada to take the first step toward it by a commercial partnership with the United States.

### The Slow Growth of Canada.

If it is a fact that under Reciprocity, twenty years ago, the country was highly prosperous; if it is a fact that trade quadrupled in ten years, and that the freedom in the little article of eggs illustrates the enormous growth under an absence of duty, is it not a fair inference, that as the two countries grow side by side so would trade grow with them. As to the growth of Canada, this brings us to a grave question, especially as to the relative increase as compared with that of the United States. One morning recently, the speaker said, he took up two newspapers,—one the *New York Tribune*, the other the *Toronto Telegram*. The first had a paean of triumph; the other a wail of sorrow. Under the caption of "A Growing People" the *New York Tribune* said:

"At the rate of three and one-quarter persons every minute—one hundred and ninety-four every hour, and one million two hundred thousand in a year, the United States is adding to its population. Time was when

Americans regarded this growth with pardonable pride; it was rapidly placing them in the front rank of the world's powerful nations. But now, with only Russia, India and China reporting as large a population, and these by no means rivalling the United States in industrial progress, Americans have ceased to think so much of mere numerical gains, and are beginning to criticize a little more closely the material of which the population is composed. Not even China's hundreds of millions can produce so much of things to supply human wants, or consume as much, as the population of this country; and it is not unlikely that before boys now born will become voters, this nation will surpass Russia in population, as it does now in production."

Turning from this magnificent condition of things on the Southern and smaller half of the continent, what is the condition that prevails in Canada, on the northern half of the country—a larger country, a richer country—under conditions that ought to have yielded an almost equal result? This from the *Toronto Telegram* :—

"Canada must be disappointed if the next census does not show that its population has increased during the past ten years. Surprise will not mingle with popular sorrow over statistical evidence of our failure to progress numerically. The census of 1890 has been discounted in advance by an impression that its results will be less favorable than we could wish. The figures will demonstrate the inability of the Dominion to do much better than hold its own. In the decade just closing the increase of population will not be sufficient to ground our faith in the future on a basis of satisfaction with present conditions. Canadians have spared no expense in their efforts to make this a good country to live in. They have shouldered heavy financial burdens in opening the land for settlement. Possessing in rich abundance the material elements of greatness, all Canada needs to make it a nation among nations is people; but they are not coming."

The foregoing extracts speak in trumpet tones for themselves, illustrating as they do the relative progress of the two countries. If the condition of loss of population has prevailed in the last ten years, what is it likely to be in the next? How will it be possible to sustain anything like an equal progress with our neighbors on the south, under circumstances so adverse as a constant loss of population on one side, and a constant gain on the other. The future of the two countries in the matter of taxation, how different?

### A Most Serious Financial Condition.

If Canada is to be shut out from her best markets, what is the hope of her agricultural population, or its ability to retain the bone and sinew of the country. But aside from loss of population, aside from excessive taxation, what is the significance of the figures of imports and exports since Confederation. The total imports entered for consumption in twenty-one years, from 1868 to 1888, were . . . . . \$2,060,553,767  
 Total exports in the same period . . . . . 1,745,155,289  
 Excess of imports entered for consumption over  
 exports, . . . . . \$315,398,478

Here is an average annual deficiency of 15 millions of dollars per year—that is, we have run into debt to that extent by buying more goods from abroad than we had ability to pay for by products sent abroad. Now, 15 millions deficiency per year would not be so bad, if in borrowing money direct so largely from Great Britain, our interest account had not so enormously increased. But the fact of the matter is, that the drain for interest payments from abroad, in addition to deficiency in exports, is taking the life blood out of the country. It is estimated we have a foreign indebtedness of 650 millions of dollars, made up of government, provincial, municipal, railroad, bank mortgage and private debts. This vast amount, at even four per cent., would make an annual charge of 25 millions of dollars per annum—an amount larger than our total export of breadstuffs, though Canada is an agricultural country. Thus, with a deficiency of 15 millions between our imports and exports, and 25 millions for interest, a total payment of 40 millions of dollars a year is going out of the country. It may be doubted if any country in the world, with a population so small, could stand a drain so excessive.

It does not become one to preach ruin and decay, but here are facts, and facts must be looked in the face. We are rich by nature, but poor by policy, and getting poorer; poorer in productive force, poorer in population, and more and more dependent on our borrowing power. Is it wise to persist in thus shutting out our chances of improvement, by hesitating to avail ourselves immediately of the grandest opportunity that this world has ever afforded for the development of the greatest and best of countries. It will not do to postpone such thoughts as these when, as had been truly said, "The short space of life forbids us to lay plans requiring a long time for their accomplishment." Hence, we cannot afford to wait longer to take advantage of such chances as the open market of the United States affords to us. What is good politics but that which it is most wise and politic to do? What justification is there in a National Policy that taxes one for the benefit of the other, and the effect or persistence in which is to limit the development and lessen the opportunities to the vast body of producers?

### The Truest Loyalty.

Certainly, in view of the large annual deficiency in our income, with a loss of population such as now stares us in the face, a period has been reached when every man with a heart in him should reflect. Loyalty to the British flag is a noble sentiment, but such thoughts as these do not imply a disloyalty. Next to the love of home is the love of country, but

loyalty to one's interests and to one's own country can be proven not inconsistent with loyalty to Great Britain. It is worse than folly not to look the actual conditions that exist squarely in the face. The speaker said he had been good deal amused by extracts from a Winnipeg paper in response to a speech recently made by the highly honored Principal Grant, of Queen's College, in his speech in Montreal. The good Principal, it was supposed, was going for such individuals as now addresses you, when he said as follows:

"Stand fast, Canada, against all enemies, especially those of our own household, who would strike the flag or stain the national honor; against factions, animated by greed and party spite, reckless of the burdens they impose on the country, or the difficulties they are preparing for our children."

Whereupon the Winnipeg paper spoke as follows:

"Inspiring as the old flag is, there must be bread and butter to sustain the inspiration. We may all be glad to have it wrapped about us when we die, but is impossible to live on sentiment; it is a poor substitute for a beefsteak to a hungry stomach. In this country and in this age such talk will not go down; it is much more apt to breed disloyalty. The first duty of every people is to themselves, and that duty well performed is the best possible for the State. Canada is naturally one of the richest countries in the world, and what we have to do is develop these riches. Let Dr. Grant live in the glorious past, with coat, pantaloons and boots made out of old flags, if he will; but give the rest of us leave to make Canada and Canadians what they ought to be, and what they can and may be, if we toil for it intelligently and diligently. It is bread and butter and money in the bank that makes countries these days; not old flags."

But is it a fact that closer trade relations will lessen the attachment to Great Britain? The truth is, closer relations with the United States would strengthen the bonds between Canada and Great Britain, because the only argument in favor of annexation is that of the material advantage that would follow from it. No one believes that political advantages are to be gained by annexation. What people are more content with their political advantages than Canada? What laws better administered? What institutions more liberal, lasting and beneficial? If the only possible argument in favor of annexation—that of material advantage—is gained by a commercial arrangement, all argument in favor of annexation is forever gone. Suppose, on the other hand, no arrangement is consummated; suppose no increase or gain is made in the next ten years in material prosperity, and a constant loss of population sustained, what will be the result? Will not sons be asking their fathers, "What is there in British connection, if that connection is clearly demonstrated to be standing in the way of a fulfilment of nature's bequest, in making an economic whole of this continent?"

## Why the American Farmer is Poor.

It is alleged that the farmers of the United States are not prosperous, and hence that no advantage would be gained to Canadian farmers by an open market in that country. This is the first time in the history of economics that such a market as that of the United States would impoverish any country, and that parties asked to enter it would be injured by selling goods in it. England sells her wares to many a country whose natives are poor, and makes money thereby. But the fact is, that in the United States the farmers, as a class, are the most successful community in the world, compared with their number, and in view of all they have gone through. They have labored for many years under tremendous disadvantages. There has been a steady and heavy extortion from them in the shape of taxation levied upon them to pay the vast debt created by the war. This debt was 3,000 millions of dollars direct, nearly all of which has been paid, and mostly by the American farmer. This debt is now reduced to a mere trifle, and taxation must lessen. Had there been no war and no vast loss, the taxation in the United States to-day would be but a tenth of what it is in Canada. Yet Canada has had no war, and her condition financially, compared with the other country, is simply such as to seriously concern those who propose to make it their home. Under such circumstances, what folly it is to say that the American farmer has not shown a power of endurance without an equal in the world. Meantime, the farmers have had other difficulties—the expansion of commerce into widened areas, the competition which has existed by the opening up and settlement of vast competitive regions, and, above all, the constant withdrawal from agricultural pursuits of his sons and young men into commercial and mercantile occupations. All these have had their effect, and retarded to some extent the progress of the American farmer. If, also, they exercised the same economy and the same industry and thrift which the Canadian farmer practises, the result would be as advantageous, and even more so, than in any other country in the world. There need be no fear but that if the Canadian farmer gets a chance to sell his products in a market that will pay cash or its equivalent, he will be benefitted, and will get all the advantage possible out of it.

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## A Great Home Market by Increased Manufactures.

But not only will the farmer be benefitted by the access to the best of markets, but by the development within Canada itself an enormous home market for the farm products can be created. Thus, in the increase of manufactures, now depressed

and limited by the restricted demand, will be found an enlarged opportunity for selling everything the farmer can produce. Instead of lessening the manufacturing interests of the Dominion, as it is alleged, a commercial arrangement with United States would largely increase the chances of manufactures. All the elements of successful business in that direction are possessed within the Dominion itself, and under the stimulus of a great demand there is no telling what might be the future of manufactures in such cities as Quebec, Montreal, Kingston and Toronto. With an abundant supply and development of raw material in iron, in copper, in timber and other products, with enormous water powers, especially in Quebec, with splendid facilities for transportation by the cheapest means of river, lake, and rail freight to the heart of the Continent, with a contented and economical laboring population, what more is needed than a market to put these all into operation? The wail of the infant manufacturing industry, in the prospect of an arrangement with the United States, for fear of extinction, is disloyal, and disloyalty to one's self and to one's country is greater than disloyalty to the Queen.

The men who have gone from Canada to the United States have found no difficulty in maintaining themselves on an equal plane with the people in that country. Neither have the manufacturers in Canada to fear an equal chance with their competitors across the line. The army of young men and women who have gone to that country in the shape of manufacturers, teachers, clerks, and secretaries, are a standing reproach to men who fear competition under equal circumstances. The noble little group of women that are now employed in American hospitals in adding to their accomplishments that most blessed of all acquirements—the ability to care for the sick—shows what energy and courage can do under the most adverse conditions, and ought to make ashamed every manufacturer or weak-kneed merchant who thinks that he cannot compete with the people across the line under conditions precisely equal.

### A Home Market from Growth in Lumber Production.

For the farmers of Canada, a still further advantage from an open market would be derived from an extension of the lumber business of Canada. The lumbermen of Canada have paid to the United States Treasury, since the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty, over \$20,000,000. If they had this amount to-day how much better able would they be to conduct a larger business? How much greater would be the demand for farm products, and especially in the regions where this demand is an essential



element of prosperity? Remember it has only been the highest grades of lumber that have hitherto been taken across the border, because these grades alone could afford to pay the duty. A duty is equivalent to two and one-half dollars for every wagon load of lumber! Just think what a terrible tax this is! Again, millions in lumber have been lost and destroyed, rotted and burned, because it could not be shipped with profit, and pay the heavy duty. Under free admission to the best market for lumber under the sun, every stick of timber, every tree that waved in the breeze over every farm in the country, would have an increased value; while manufactures of every kind of wood would certainly follow the improved demand. Hitherto pine lumber has been supposed to be the chief asset of this interest; but under an arrangement with the United States the enormous forests of hard woods which Canada possesses would immediately become valuable. There would be a great stimulus to her trade in maple, ash, oak, elm, poplar and basswood. The value of the enormous forests made up of these woods have never been accurately estimated, because the market for them has been so small. The taste for interior house decoration in wood is now at its height in the United States, and of great importance; and to fulfil it a development would take place in this valued resource. A commercial arrangement with the United States, by which lumber would be admitted free, would increase the value of the Canadian forests and wood interests by at least fifty per cent., and by the activity in trade therein would do more to help the farmers, right at their own door, than almost anything else.

### **A Home Market from Vast Mineral Development.**

Of all developments, however, which might be expected to flow from a free market in the United States, the most important would be in the mineral resources of Canada. We are only just beginning to realize that the wealth that lies under the ground of this vast Dominion is greater than that which can be taken from the top of it. The foundation of the success of Great Britain, as the leading trade nation of the world, is in the union of coal and iron, and her ability to sell the products of iron to all parts of the world. So with the United States, her growth is unequalled in this chief asset of coal and iron production. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and now the new South, were all developed by these two elements with unexampled prosperity. The largest use of iron per capita is the highest sign of civilization; and it is greater in the United States than elsewhere in the world. Canadians are doing themselves the greatest injustice in not availing themselves of

this stupendous circumstance, that there are in Canada enormous deposits of the best iron, well located, and of the greatest value. In Nova Scotia iron, coal, and limestone exist, side by side. No combination elsewhere on the continent is more favorable for their development, if the market is only afforded. The products of this combination, these elements of prosperity, are most urgently needed in New England for the regeneration of her iron industries, which are now threatened with extinction in the development and competition of the Southwestern States. Nothing can happen more advantageously to both Nova Scotia and New England than to break down the barrier between them, and to promote a free exchange of raw material and food in one direction, and manufactures and merchandise in the other.

All over Canada there is an abundance of iron—iron of the highest grade, and iron with less phosphorus than elsewhere on the continent. It has been said, "what the devil is to religion, phosphorus is to iron"—the latter being called by iron people original sin. This absence in Canadian ores gives them an unequalled value. The deposits of iron in Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba are enormous. But the mineral resources of Canada are not confined to iron. In the development of copper and nickel, which is going forward with tremendous speed on the Northern shore of Lake Superior at Sudbury Junction, there are employed six or seven hundred men by a party of Cleveland capitalists. This place a few years ago was a howling wilderness: now it is the scene of one of the most promising industries of the world. Here have been discovered copper deposits of enormous proportions. But, aside from copper, there has been discovered nickel; one of the most valuable discoveries in the world. There are only two other known deposits of this precious metal, one in New Caledonia, a penal French colony, and the other in Pennsylvania, now nearly exhausted. It is said that out of this nickel our Cleveland friends are now clearing at the rate of three hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars a year, or a thousand dollars a day. That these people can afford to pay liberally for all the supplies they can consume no one will doubt. It is by such developments as these that the farmers of Canada will be more enriched than by almost any other circumstances possible to happen. If the same activity prevailed on the north shore of Lake Superior as on the south shore of the lake, a market would be created for agricultural products ten times that which now exists in all the manufactures of the Dominion. So, by a commercial arrangement, which would cause the development of the mineral resources, aside from the advantage to the country itself, would benefit the farmers more than any other class.

### **A Home Market from Growth in Fisheries.**

Still further, the development of nature's great wealth, beneficently bestowed upon Canada, would be enormously advanced by a free market for fish. No country in the world possesses so great a coast line as Canada, nor is so splendidly situated for fishing. The cold waters of the north contain an unlimited supply of fish food; while the five thousand miles of coast line afford a fishing ground of unequalled proportions and richness. The only thing needed is a free and unrestricted market, to make this industry one of the largest and of the most profitable character. One acre of sea-coast, in its normal condition, is said to possess more wealth than eight acres of land. The people of the United States have not yet become consumers of fish to the extent that have the Europeans, and it is because the facilities for production and supply have not been afforded. In distant portions of the United States, on the treeless prairies and elsewhere, there is little or no fish consumed. But if there were a perfect freedom of trade in this great article of human sustentation, there is no question of the existence of a great demand. Canada on the coast of the Atlantic, equally on the coast of the Pacific, and especially by the fact that she controls the Hudson's Bay, penetrating into the heart of the continent, possesses an asset of the greatest possible value, which to-day is comparatively valueless, but which, with a commercial arrangement with the United States, would not only yield her fishermen enormous revenues, but would add greatly to the opportunities of farmers to supply them with their requirements.

### **A Home Market from Growth of Shipping.**

But there is another class who would be enormously benefited by a free access to the United States on the one hand, and a harmonizing of the navigation laws of the two countries on the other. This class would be those concerned in the shipping interest, which to-day is one of the smallest and most insignificant in importance, and which, under more favorable circumstances, ought to be one of the largest and most influential. Canada, possessing as she does, unlimited supplies of iron and wood, bordering as she does on one of the most magnificent water-ways in the world, should control a merchant marine second to none. But how little does she do in proportion to what would be her opportunities under an arrangement with the neighboring nation. The growth of the internal marine commerce of that country is almost as wonderful as anything told in the tales of the Arabian Nights. The amount of money

which has been made in the last few years by navigators of these inland seas is enormous; while meantime shipping in Canada is impoverished for want of employment. The growth of this internal commerce in the United States is illustrated by a comparison of the greatest interest, and to this effect,—that the tonnage which, within seven months, has passed through the Sault Ste. Marie, equaled that which passed through the Suez Canal within an entire year! Here a channel within sight of our own country, between two inland lakes, in the northern part of North America, bears upon its bosom a commerce greater than that which exists between two continents, and which has existed almost since the world began. How much have Canadians benefitted by that commerce? We have spent in Canada 35 millions of dollars in our canals, and we have not 35 craft to use them! Was there ever such stupendous folly as to hesitate about creating a market for our shipping, and thus a market to consume the products of our farms. The amount of coal that has to be carried from Pennsylvania and Ohio, to Minnesota and Wisconsin, the amount of ore that has to be carried from Lake Superior ports to Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, the flour that has to be transported from Minnesota to Buffalo and Oswego, and all the vast commerce of the most productive region, would be equally within the grasp of the Canadian shipper with a fair show as between the two countries. That Canadian farmers would benefit by the increase of this interest, no one can doubt. An immense shipbuilding interest in contiguous places would result from a freedom of shipping on the lakes, which alone can be achieved by a unification of the navigation laws under some commercial arrangement between the two countries.

### A Natural Home Market.

The strongest argument to the farmer in favor of the National Policy is the creation of a home market for what he has to sell. If there is force in this argument for the National Policy, how much stronger is the possibility of an even local demand for all he has to sell by the opposite policy of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. It has been shown that an enlarged demand from abroad for farm products would be certain to follow an enlarged and unrestricted market among the great people on the other side of the border. But it is equally true that a great market would be created within Canada itself by the development certain to follow a free market in the United States in almost every department of activity which that event would stimulate. Thus, to many it appears that instead of restricting manufactures, Unrestricted

Reciprocity would beget a marked increase in many of them. Fully one half of the men engaged in manufactures even now believe that from the first day of a free market on the other side of the border they could hold their own, with an increasing business, a greater number of hands, and hence a greater absorption of farm products. To many of these manufacturers an enlarged demand is the greatest of boons. It might take some time for other manufacturers to adjust their affairs to meet the changed conditions and the competition from the States, but where there would be one manufacturer cease, two would spring up in time, because of the favorable conditions, especially in Quebec, that exist for competing even in manufactures with the United States for their own trade. If it is a fact that with a market as large as the United States, as well protected against foreign labor, and with conditions that are precisely equal, the Canadian manufacturer cannot hold his own, then there is something wrong in the Canadian manufacturer. If the Canadian farmer must be shut in solely for his benefit, and all others shut out for fear of injury to his interests, it is time the Canadian farmer should realize what a costly luxury this manufacturer is, and what tremendous sacrifices he is making to maintain a home market of most limited proportions; while by Unrestricted Reciprocity he would have access, not only to the outside market, but would be creating a home demand by enriching his own country, in the building up of healthy manufactures and in its development to the fullest extent.

Thus, a great home market for agricultural products would follow the prosperity of the lumber trade, and its wide expansion by increased shipments of common lumber now lost; by growth in manufactures in furniture and wooden ware; by a greater variety of hard woods prepared sent out for interior decoration, and, indeed, by every circumstance growing out of an obliteration of the tax which, as tribute, is paid for admission of timber to a people that need the article more than they need anything else. Have you ever realized that the standing timber in the United States to-day, is less per head of population than that of Germany? A new country of vast proportions, only sparsely settled, has actually less timber per head in sight, than one of the oldest countries, densely populated, and with a completed condition as to buildings far in excess of the new country. Yet in this latter country there is a restless, enterprising, home-begetting and extravagant people who are largely dependent on Canada for this necessary article of shelter. With a freedom of access on the one hand to this great market, and a great source of supply on the other, why should not our farmers prosper by the home market which this development of trade in this article will create?

## The Best of Customers.

Time fails to tell of the home market possible from enlarged fishery operations on all our 5,000 miles of coast, the longest and most prolific coasts in the world--that with a free market should sustain tens of thousands of fishermen, all good customers of the farmer. Time equally fails to describe what would follow in the shape of a home market from the development of mines in iron, coal, copper, silver, nickel, asbestos, building stone, and other minerals with which this country is most blessed, but which for want of freedom of access are now mostly silent, and dormant and dead. The employment of 500,000 miners in Canada is no exaggerated prospect within ten years of the opening of the market for minerals to the South. In Nova Scotia alone, the mineral possibilities, according to Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, are just as great as in Pennsylvania, with the near-by market of New England thrown in as an advantage. What has the National Policy done, what can it do, toward getting as near-by customers for the farmer equal to 500,000 miners? What may not be the scene of activity on the north shore of Lake Superior if the same conditions prevail as on the south shore, where a mining population of several hundred thousand affords a market for almost everything produced by the farmers of Wisconsin and Michigan? Equally advantageous will be the growth of mining in British Columbia, and in all the regions in Ontario and in Quebec, where there are abundant supplies of valuable minerals, needing only capital and an enlarged demand to make them profitable alike to the owner, the operator, and the farmer. No one is more interested in all this than the farmer, for in the success of the manufacturer, the lumber dealer, the fisherman, and the miner, as well as in the shipper, there is involved the success of the farmer. His area of opportunity would be enormously increased, his chances of profit enlarged, and his possibilities of a permanent and increasing success made secure by the existence of a near-by and steady market for what he can produce. Where is the miner?

Then the miner—who is he? where is he to be found? Canada is one of the richest mineral countries under the sun, and yet there are practically no miners, and no development, because there is no available market.

The consumption of iron in the United States is greater than any other product, while the future increase of its use is beyond estimate. Canada should be a source of supply, but never will be, under existing conditions. In copper, the use of which has increased in extent, next only to that of iron, Canada also possesses vast riches, there being ridges miles long at the Sudbury Junction mine, on the Canadian Pacific Railway. The famous

Calumet-Hecla mine, on the south shore of Lake Superior, has a vein twelve feet thick; there is one within the Canada border, four miles from the lake, with a vein 1,000 feet thick. The nickel deposits are also challenging the attention of the world. The result of one deposit in Pennsylvania was 2 per cent. of nickel, which has supplied the whole United States. There are at Sudbury Junction millions and millions of tons, containing 6 to 10 per cent. of pure nickel. The price of nickel within the last ten years has been \$1.50 to \$2 a pound. If it could be admitted free to the United States and the needed development take place on an extensive scale, it could be introduced into common use for 30 cents a pound. The present duty upon it is 15 cents per pound. If the output of metal at Sudbury should be, as is now probable, 150 tons per day, the amount of duty payable to the United States government would be nine millions of dollars per year. This would be a greater duty than now is paid on all the other products of Canada. Is there in the whole range of economic experience a circumstance so full of significance as this one fact, that within sight of the greatest market in the world lie millions of tons of minerals of the richest value, which need only a market to be brought into general use, for the great benefit of mankind, and the good of everyone concerned in the creation of trade that would follow their development.

### Three Futures for Canada.

Having arrived at a period in our history when comparisons force themselves with a logic which is irresistible, it is most natural that young men, throughout the Dominion, should seek to discover what the future of Canada is to be. Canada apparently has one of three futures:

Canada may continue as she is, a practical self-governing colony.

Canada may be annexed, and become part and parcel of the great commonwealths forming the United States.

Canada may become independent, and having an area sufficient for 30 States of her own, with abundant resources and with a friendly alliance with the nation on the south, and with the full consent and hearty co-operation of Great Britain, she may form a republic of her own on the north.

It is evident enough that a destiny awaits Canada in which one of these futures plays a leading part.

### Continued Colonialism.

As to Canada continuing a colony, it is clear enough that so long as the intimacy between England and the United States continues to increase, there will be no effort on the part of the

United States to disturb the *status quo* on this continent. If the trend of British capital now setting in the direction of the United States continues, Great Britain will own inside of 25 years one-half the industrial enterprises of the United States. Already she levies a tribute from the States at the rate of \$100,000,000 per annum for interest, profits and dividends; a sum equalling two millions a week! It would not be surprising if, at the end of the next decade, the amount paid by the United States to Great Britain for the use of money would equal \$1,000,000 a day! Besides this, the exports of food products to Great Britain are the essential elements of the strength of both nations, amounting in the last autumn months to \$1,000,000 a day! This and other circumstances point to a steady growth in the material union of the great English-speaking nations of the world. Turning to Great Britain, there can possibly be no disposition in this country to favor a change in the proprietorship of Canada. Forming, as Canada does, 40 per cent. of the British Empire, there is less likelihood now than almost ever before that any change in her relation should take place if Canada is really desirous that it should continue. Especially is this the case if Great Britain is willing that the perfect liberty which she has granted in fiscal matters shall be pushed to its extremest limit; and that having discriminated against British goods in favor of Canadian goods in order to create a home market, Canada may be permitted to still discriminate against English goods and admit American goods free for the same purposes, of the creation of a market.

If, for the benefit of the farmers, the fishermen, the lumbermen, the miners, and the shippers of Canada, and those depending upon them, being three-fourths of her population, a great market can be created in the United States, the price for which shall be the admission of the manufactures of that country free; and if England will consent to this arrangement, nothing would more certainly cement the relations existing between them. If England is no way complicated by her North American possessions, if the cost to her is so insignificant as hardly to be estimated, if she has all the glory of vast possessions, as a home for her people who still want to remain under the British flag, there need be no change on this continent. It is true that some of her greatest men consider the present arrangement but a temporary one. It is an axiom in European politics that colonies are like fruit that ripens to drop off. Perhaps the most marked expression on that point was from the Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, who, prior to his visit to this country, spoke as follows:

"The arrangement between the colonies and Great Britain is essentially a temporary one. It cannot remain as it is. \* \* \* Already you have in Canada the greatest of all the colonies—an agitation for what is called



commercial union with the United States. Commercial union with the United States means free trade between America and the Dominion, and a protective tariff against the mother country. If Canada desires that, Canada can have it."

On a subsequent occasion, the right honorable gentleman further said, that:

"Commercial Union with the United States meant that Canada was to give preference to every article of manufacture from the United States over the manufactures from Great Britain. If the people of Canada desired an arrangement of this kind, he did not doubt that they would be able to secure it. He did not think anybody in England would prevent such an arrangement by force; but he remarked that in that case all the advantages of the slender tie that bound Canada to England would disappear, so far as England is concerned; and it was not likely that people of Great Britain would continue much longer to sustain the obligations and responsibilities of a relationship, all the reciprocal benefits of which had been withdrawn."

If Britain desires no change, if the growing intimacy between the United States and the mother country continues, if Canada is allowed fiscal freedom to trade with whom she pleases and on what terms, there seems nothing to interfere with another 100 years of colonization. If the Canadians themselves do not object to the relation which exists between Canada and Great Britain, it will be difficult to conceive as between nations of a stronger tie. The perfect liberty that has been awarded to Canada, the principle of non-interference which has been pursued, the readiness to adopt suggestions, and above all, permission to allow Canada to develop her own manufactures, even at the expense and discrimination of one part of the British Empire in favor of another part, are all instances that indicate the strength of the bonds between the mother and the daughter; and these are the conditions which make it impossible to justify a separation.

### England more Interested in the United States than in Canada.

But to Canada the question may come, that if British connection is to prevent her from participating in the benefits of her geographical advantages, it will be difficult to justify a continuance of that connection. It is true that sentiment is powerful, and that the loyalty of the Canadian before the world is a spectacle that excites admiration, and in this praiseworthy surprise. But the vast object lesson which the United States has taught, the comparison that always and everywhere is instituted between the United States and Canada, makes it apparent that it is not expected, by even England herself that serious disadvantages should result to Canada because of her connection with Great Britain. Attention is drawn to the fact that, so far as material and financial advantage is concerned,

the United States is of far greater importance to Great Britain than is Canada. The absorption by Great Britain of cotton and food products at the rate of \$1,000,000 a day—the steady stream of English goods which come into the United States, increasing every year, and by reduction of the tariff bound to enormously increase, and amounting now to a supply greater per capita to every man and woman in the United States than in Canada; her enormous investments in Government securities, in railroads and industrial pursuits—these all show that, so far as relations between the two countries is concerned, it must be just as intimate between Great Britain and the United States as between Great Britain and Canada. In this respect Great Britain is contributing to the progress of the United States to a far greater extent than she is contributing to that of Canada. Canada is not sufficiently prosperous, her manufacturing and industrial pursuits have not scope or chance sufficient to entice British capital. In this race for continental progress, she must no longer be a laggard if she is to receive from Great Britain that moral and financial support that she has a right to expect.

#### **British Connection Perpetuated by Prosperity.**

British connection can be made a positive advantage, if only the principles of British Free Trade are allowed to prevail on this continent. Nothing would perpetuate British connections so certainly as perfect prosperity, as a legitimate development, as a growth in the wealth of the producing class of Canada. The United States now offer a field for occupancy by Canadian emigration of such a character as it is difficult to resist. The fact that Canadians are now prospering there is an indication of undoubted force to us. If the customs line was broken down between the two countries, and Canada could prosper as she would do, under such circumstances, it would be found that a precisely opposite condition as to emigration would prevail; and that Canada would be the inviting field. It is impossible that a great success for Canada can be achieved, shut out, or shut in, by a tariff wall, as it would be if trade were free between Canada and the United States as it is between Ontario and Quebec, between Ohio and Michigan. To many who have observed the conditions which prevail throughout Canada, the one thing needful to make Canada perfectly content with her lot as a colony is the most intimate trade relations with the United States. With

#### **UNRESTRICTED RECIPROcity,**

with commercial union between United States and Canada, or with any arrangement that will give to each the benefits of

the other, there is no justification for Canada to change her political relations. Internally Canada is the freest country under the sun—she has governmental institutions most liberal and the most elastic, her judiciary is pure, her laws are justly administered; life, liberty and pursuit of happiness is assured. Canada needs nothing except the elements which more than any others have continued to the material success of the United States, and these are within her grasp. The elements that have contributed to the growth of the Republic to the south have been three in number: 1. Ever widening areas constantly being occupied. 2. Equally constant additions to her population by emigration from abroad. 3. Development of her natural resources, thereby enormously increasing her wealth. When it is recalled that these three great principles have been a work in the largest degree; that they have been enormously successful in building up the great nation; and when it is recalled that it is possible to set them in force on this, the Greater Half of the Continent, the most imperative duty of the true patriot is to at once make it possible. Instead of being disloyal, he is the truest loyalist that most ardently seeks thus to benefit his country.

### The Chances in Canada.

Let us try to discover how the three elements of success which have made the United States are possible to Canada. It is clear that Canada will have no difficulty in providing ever widening areas for all who come to her, but in order that they may be occupied there must be an inducement. This inducement can only be provided by the creation of a market in which to realize the results in the increased areas of settlement. It is clear also that providing there is abundant room in Canada for the absorption of an enormous population, there is an abundant supply, judging by the fact that the average arrivals in New York are 1,000 a day, and the available farming lands in the Western States are pretty well taken up. With such chances as Canada would offer with an unlimited market, the number now seeking the continent might be easily doubled, providing this immigration could be profitably employed. This profitable employment alone is possible if a market is provided in which to dispose of the results of the labor of this increased population. Again, in the development of natural resources, Canada could be immediately and enormously enriched by the realization of her natural wealth in the market that greatly needs what she alone can furnish. Taking the wealth of all the world, the best market under the sun to accomplish the three-fold purposes just set forth is absolutely next door to Canada. So varied, so accessible, so abounding in wealth and

absorptive power, there is no country under the sun so desirable in which to trade. Now Canada, needing just such a customer more than any other earthly possession—Canada having just the things the United States needs—has the chance to make such a commercial partnership as will in the greatest degree promote her interests and fulfil her mission. This can be done by the creation of a continental freedom of trade.

### Continental Free Trade.

It must never be forgotten that a freedom of trade between the States of the Union themselves has been the greatest element in their progress. The principle of a perfect commercial partnership between each of these great commonwealths has been the basis of their prosperity. Had there been a South with a barrier between it and the North; had New England remained isolated and shut in with a customs line; if the great West had grown surrounded by a barbed wire fence of a tariff; if the Pacific States were isolated and self-dependent, no great growth, such as we have seen, would have followed. The principle of Inter-State relations of the freest character was first enunciated by Alexander Hamilton, and the memory of the great man was based upon a superstructure so vast, namely, internal trade in the United States, that to no other man such a monument exists. To this freedom alone may be attributed the vast progress made. But the principle of this freedom was not confined to the United States, for Germany, one of the oldest countries, took it as a lesson and adopted the same plan in the Zollverein, which has made the German Empire one of the most successful and prosperous nations under the sun. One of her sons, a poor stuttering, stammering fellow, named Fred. List, sitting at the feet of Alexander Hamilton, in America, learned a lesson which he repeated to his fatherland, and which in a limited way, the speaker said, he is endeavoring to repeat to his native country. If his fellow Canadians would but listen to the story that had been illustrated by such a magnificent object lesson in the United States that had been still further illustrated under adverse conditions in Europe; surely the mission was a grand one, and its fulfilment, if heeded, almost beyond human conception.

Now if it is a fact that there is a market in the United States possible to Canada, without let or hindrance, if this market is the freest under the sun, if the principle of free Inter-State commerce has been the chief element in the success of the United States, if it has contributed more than anything else to the success of the great German Empire; if, with their rigid conditions and opposing interests, this freedom has been suc-

cessfully applied in Europe as in America, what in the name of all that is great and good is the objection to applying it as between Canada and the United States. It does not seem inconsistent with Canadian colonial relations that the most perfect freedom of trade should exist on this continent. On the contrary, if by that freedom Canada should become most prosperous; if contentment should replace anxiety and apprehension; if her young men and women are retained at home, her resources developed, her trade increased, Canada as a colony is much more likely to remain loyal than otherwise. If she could also contribute to the growth of the United States, by a perfect interchange of merchandise and products, such an arrangement would be more satisfactory to Great Britain, because, as above stated, the stake which Great Britain now has in the United States is likely to be greater than in any other country under the sun. If, at the same time, the large investments which Great Britain has in Canada can be enormously benefitted, it will be seen how advantageous to the mother country is this movement. These investments, it is estimated, aggregate seven hundred millions of dollars. The amount of money which Canada has to remit every year for interest, profits and dividends, amounts to twenty-five million of dollars, as much again by one half as her total export of breadstuffs amounts to. Her ability to keep up with such drain upon her, rests upon her capacity to develop and grow, and the English people are quick to see that nothing will be more contributory in that direction than the free market which the United States affords.

### **The Favoring Circumstances in the United States.**

It so happens that circumstances in the United States at this moment greatly favor an arrangement between the two countries. The high taxation in the shape of excessive tariff, incident to the war, is certain to be reduced. The amount of duty collected on Canadian products is only five million of dollars, being an exaction of less than ten cents per annum per head. Its removal would be hailed with joy, for the obliteration of this taxation no greater result can be achieved than to break down the barrier which now stretches across the continent. Again, the United States, to compete with the world, and indeed to maintain the prosperity of numerous branches of industry, must have supplies of raw material brought in free of duty. Simultaneously with this condition, the protective policy has stimulated production to such an extent that new markets are a necessity. Hence the attention of the whole nation is drawn to the possibilities of achieving

these three purposes—a reduction of taxation, a free supply of raw material, and the possibilities of enlarged markets in return. The Pan-American Congress is one of the signs of the times, and the disposition to encourage an arrangement with Canada, evinced by every commercial organization in the country, is another. The prompt passage by the House of Representatives last session of Mr. Hitt's resolution in favor of Commercial Union is a marked indication in this direction. While its equally prompt introduction early in the session, in order to make sure of its passage in the Senate—still further the action of Mr. Butterworth in introducing his bill in favor of Unrestricted Reciprocity—all go to show how anxious is the interest in this question. Under these circumstances, the time is opportune to effect an arrangement between the English speaking nations of the North American Continent, looking to a commercial alliance that would be of the greatest possible advantage to both parties concerned and to mankind at large.

### The Farmer and the Manufacturer.

The criticism has been made that in discussing the relation proposed between the United States and Canada, the latter is looked to as the source of supply for raw material only, and that the Canadian manufacturers would suffer by an arrangement for continental free-trade; that in this she is contemplated as occupying an inferior position, as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Americans. In reply to these two views, it may safely be said that Canadians on an even plane can generally hold their own. If they cannot do that, and need the support of government to stand against conditions that are equal, why the sooner Government abandons the ordinary functions of government the better, for it will need all its power to do the dry nursing required. There has been a good deal of talk about disloyalty, but the greatest amount of disloyalty is shown when it is said that a Canadian manufacturer cannot hold his own as against an American. What has the American that the Canadian has not? If he cannot produce the goods as cheap as his neighbor across the border, what is the justification for his existence? He has no right to be a pauper on the public. If it is a fact that the farmer is paying more to the Canadian manufacturer than he can get the same goods for from the American producer, then

#### THE FARMER IS BEING SWINDLED.

If in addition to the better price which the removal of the customs line will bring to him he can buy his supplies cheaper, who has the right to prevent him taking to himself all the

advantage? Certainly not the Government. The duties and responsibilities of legitimate government are quite enough, without seeking to interfere with what the people shall buy, where they shall buy, or what they shall pay. Certainly, in this free country, this interference of the Government to favor and pamper one class at the expense of another is wholly and utterly unjustifiable. Protection may be justified by unequal conditions, but it is not for one moment to be continued as against the interest of the vast majority. But it is emphatically denied that Canadian manufacturers as a whole would be seriously injured by the closest possible relations with the United States. On the contrary, there are numerous interests in manufacturing that would be very greatly advanced thereby. The very raw material which Canada can so abundantly supply is within easy hail of every Canadian manufacturer. Then he has in many localities abundant water power, and, above all, cheap labor. In Quebec, on all the rivers, at the Sault and the Falls there are latent enormous forces, and with an open market, and an even chance.

### Reciprocity and Annexation.

It is alleged, however, that a close commercial arrangement with the United States would promote another great destiny possible to Canada—that of annexation. It is said that there is a great growth in Canada of the sentiment looking to this purpose, and that the agitation which has been going forward in favor of closer commercial relations has resulted in a desire for a political alliance. In Canada, a commercial arrangement with the United States is opposed because it is feared it would lead to a political union; in the United States, especially in Washington, commercial privileges would be denied on the ground that annexation would be postponed. It is urged by some that an intimate business relation between two great nations must lead in time to a political partnership. The attractiveness of American institutions, the liberality of their Government, and the desire in Canada to escape some of the difficulties which beset Confederation, it is possible, may win many Canadians toward annexation. On the contrary, it is clear that, so far as argument is concerned, in favor of annexation, the only one of force is that of the material advantage which would result to Canada. If, therefore, a commercial arrangement, such as is proposed by the Liberal party, should be effected between the two countries, the only inducement to the vast majority of the people for a political alliance would be removed. This is the very view that is taken by Senator Hoar and members of his committee, and it is a growing impression

in the United States, that toward Canada all the privileges and advantages of a great market such as the United States affords—to give her the benefit of the growth and development which in the United States has been effected at such enormous cost—would be an unfair advantage; that to exchange a market of 60,000,000 people for one of 5,000,000 is unjust, and that if Canada desires to partake of the privileges, of the advantages, and to participate in the future progress of the continent, it should take part and lot in the political responsibilities and complications that impend. It is impossible to say which of these two arguments is the most forcible. The future alone can determine what would be the result of a close commercial arrangement. Certain it is, that wanting the prosperity which would follow from such a commercial alliance with the United States, a condition of unrest and dissatisfaction impends throughout Canada. A lack of progress, a continued loss of population, a weak and meagre development of natural resources, an increasing debt, higher taxation, are all elements that will work much more vigorously toward an annexation propaganda than contentment born of success, an enlarged market, and a prosperous condition.

#### **Annexation Threatened by Isolation.**

As between the two policies, looking for or against annexation, my own deliberate conviction is, that British connection is much more threatened by continued isolation than it is by the most liberal arrangement possible with our cousins across the border. But supposing that a better relation with the United States did contribute towards a growth in the annexation sentiment. Suppose that England, denying the right of Canada to trade with whom she chose, hesitated to grant the privileges sought, and thus gave a shock to the relations that exist between them. Suppose if, on the other hand, she consented to a Commercial Union between her children on this side of the ocean, and the result was an enlarged emigration from the United States, and a changed political condition in Parliament, by which an annexation resolution should pass—what is there to be horrified at in that prospect? Annexation can come only by constitutional means, by the will of the people, expressed through the ordinary channels, and when that will is expressed, we that live in this age will have nothing to say. If in the future the people of Canada desire to join the great constellation of commonwealths that so illustrate the greatness of this continent, what possible objection could there be, provided the interests of Great Britain, the interests of Canada, and the interests of the United States, and the



interests of humanity at large were advanced thereby? Annexation is a bugbear which a weak sentimentality has clothed with features that are repulsive, but which, upon examination, might be found to be the most attractive and most winning of events. But this is a question not for us to decide, but for our children, and our children's children, and it is folly for us to think at this time that we can either prevent or promote an event so stupendous. This we certainly can do by breaking down the commercial barrier between the two countries, learn to understand each other better, and if the winning forces of commerce and their attractive institutions make the great continent of North America one nation, then God will bless the union, for it will only be by the good will of both people that it can be accomplished, and the people should be supreme.

### The Attractiveness of Independence.

But, attractive as may be colonialism, even with all the advantages of a vast development and a close alliance with the United States for trade purposes; great as may be the prospects of Canada if she were part and parcel of the great American Republic, neither of these are as attractive as the third great future which Canada may have in store for herself. That future is one of an independence from all outside governments—a future full of possibilities in the creation of a great nation, commensurate in magnificence of its career with the proportions of the country, its riches in resources, and the genius of its people. With an ability to govern themselves already shown—with 20 or 30 States, distinctive and sovereign in their own right, with the adoption of the republican form of government, such as has been demonstrated on the other side of the border, taking all the advantages of much that they have learned, and omitting much that should be avoided; with the power existing in the States themselves for their own regulation, and delegating to the Central Government only those necessary to tie them together; with a freedom from European interference, and equal freedom for development on her own account, what may not be the future of the United States of Canada? There are those who think that Canada should be independent, with a prince to rule over her; there are some so attached to monarchical institutions that they think no country can prosper and be permanently successful without a head; there are still others who believe in the future of an imperial federation of colonies, by which the interests of all the Empire will be centered at London, and controlled by some great central force at the seat of government of the great British

nation. Perhaps this may come, but those who have lived in the United States, and have comprehended all the advantages of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, have learned to believe that on this continent all forms of government must eventually take on that triune condition of democracy. With such a republic as could be created out of the Canadian Provinces and Territories, in alliance with the United States, supported and sustained by Great Britain, as she is now supporting and sustaining the American Union, with a development which would follow a perfect freedom of trade upon the continent of North America, there is no telling how great might be the growth—how vast the benefit to mankind at large.

### The One Thing Needful.

It will be seen that the future of Canada, whether she remains in the condition of colonialism—whether she has a trend toward annexation, or whether she becomes an independent nationality, the one thing needful for her is continental free trade. To achieve a commercial relation with American people is an object, therefore, of the highest duty, worthy of the noblest efforts of the best men of the country. The great liberal party, which to-day represents a majority of the voters of the Dominion in Parliament, but which is in opposition to the existing Government, has adopted as the main plank in its platform this question of Unrestricted Reciprocity, and it will go to the polls within eighteen months with that cause inscribed upon its banner. If the young men of Canada understand their whole duty to themselves, their future, and to the land that gave them birth, they will work night and day for the success of the Liberal party, not because it is the Liberal party alone, but because it has seen fit to offer itself as the constitutional means by which a great advantage can be conferred on the country in the opening up of the grandest market on earth. Of course there are thousands of Conservatives who, too, feel that this policy is the best, and there is no earthly reason why they should not insist upon pledging men who ask for their votes to an adherence to the principles of reciprocity. It would be a grand thing if every farmer, every man dependent upon him, and every other interest that would be advanced by this great movement towards free trade should make that principle the test of loyalty to the best interests of the country. But the Liberal voters all over the country will have a responsibility thrust upon them of helping forward and making successful a freedom of trade that shall be continental in extent. Upon their efforts, and upon the efforts of sensible, reasonable

men throughout the country, whether Tories or Grits, whether Liberals or Conservatives, will depend what shall be the future of Canada. Never in its history has a period arrived of greater moment, pregnant with greater consequences, than the present. The last decade of this century is full of possibilities of the gravest character, and no responsibility presses with greater weight anywhere in the world than upon the thinking man in Canada, that at the next general election he so shapes his influence and support, that that which will be best for the country will be achieved.

### The Misfortune of Quebec.

What is the cause that Quebec, of all places on the Continent of North America, should record the smallest growth of wealth, the least increase of permanent population, and the most insignificant development of natural resources? Is it not because the Province has been isolated so completely from the neighboring nation which needs that which she has to supply, and which could supply that which she most needs? The trend of labor which Quebec has been exhibiting in the steady movement south of her people, illustrates what should have been the trend of her products had these people remained at home. If there had been as great a freedom of movement in her products as there has been in her people, Quebec would be to-day one of the most prosperous of countries. If the thrift and industry, and economy, which so characterize her people, could have been employed in the production of articles which should have had a free and unrestricted market in the United States, an enormous increase would have taken place in this production, and instead of losing her people, they would have yielded her a large profit as the result of their industry, the development of her resources, and the productiveness of her soil. This was well illustrated during the period that the Reciprocity Treaty, which terminated in 1865, was in force. Prior to that time the growth of agricultural products throughout Quebec constantly increased. The country became rich even from the output of her farms and forests, in competition with those of the United States, then in the height of their prosperity in neighboring localities. When in ten years the traffic between Upper and Lower Canada, and the United States, sprung from twenty millions a year to eighty millions a year, quadrupling in ten years, what would have been the result if the same progress had been made in the twenty years since the repeal of reciprocity? The trade between the two countries, even in natural products, would have mounted to 200 millions of dollars, and not a farm or a home in the broad expanse of the Province of Quebec but would have been

benefitted and enriched, not only by the money received, but by the retention at the hearthstone of the best element of the country, which it has lost.

### French Canadians the Best Manufacturers.

But it is not alone to agricultural products that one must look in discussing this question of enlarged opportunities, by the obliteration of the barrier between Quebec and the United States. For although Quebec may yet be a great grazing region, and may yet enormously increase her output of grains and fruits, and the products of the forests and of the sea, yet within her grasp are the possibilities of the greatest manufacturing career which the world has ever witnessed. For attention is drawn to the fact that she possesses to a greater degree all the elements of the most successful manufacturing localities in North America. If the manufactures which her people are now producing in the United States were produced within the Province of Quebec, no country under the sun need desire to be better off. If the boots and shoes, the collars and cuffs, the knit goods, the iron and steel products, the wire and paper factories, the foundries, locomotive works, newspaper printing offices, and numerous other establishments which these Quebecers are manning in the United States, were transferred bodily to the Province of Quebec, she would be the greatest manufacturing centre on the whole Continent. The French-Canadians are manufacturing to-day a greater variety of products, an output of greater magnitude, and levying tribute from a greater area of the Continent than any other single community. Will you say that these men are not competent of doing this work just as well in Quebec as in New England? Is there any occult influence in New England, any educational force, anything peculiar in the climate, that makes the French-Canadian more valuable in New England than he can be made in Quebec? Now, if these men can do so well in New England, why cannot they work to just as good advantage in Quebec if the circumstances are rendered equally favorable? The fact that they are regarded as the best element of the manufacturing population of the United States is a testimony, to the truth of the assertion that if Quebec had an equal chance to the markets of the United States with Massachusetts, or New Hampshire, she would achieve an equal success. But further, the population of Quebec, which is available for manufacturing purposes within the Province itself, is far greater than that which has gone abroad, in the youth that is constantly coming up, in the families that remain at home, and especially in the economy and morality with which they are surrounded in this Province.

### **A Northern Barrier Unnecessary and Unwise.**

Suppose that in the Declaration of Independence, and the formation of the great nation to the south, a tier of extreme Northern States, composed of Maine, Vermont, Michigan, Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, and Washington, had been shut out from free intercourse with the rest of the commonwealths, and that over these States had been erected a customs district, out of which nothing should go except it paid a duty to such populations as are comprised in New York, in Pennsylvania, in Ohio, in Illinois, and all the Middle and Western States. Does any one suppose that this northern tier of excluded States would have attained anything like the prosperity which they have enjoyed, and which has stimulated production, manufactures, and the growth of wealth beyond anything in the world? Does any one propose now-a-days to create a barrier that would separate the whole line of Northern States from the Middle and Southern States, with the expectation that any good would result from such an action? Nothing of the kind is ever dreamt of! Why should Canada, therefore, possessing infinitely greater resources than these States, persist in keeping up the barrier, not only against receiving cheapened goods, which the United States can furnish to the benefit of the Canadian people; but encourage the United States to shut out everything that she produces, and demand at the door of every entrance a tribute greater than the profit which the producer can expect? What is the justification at this late day for shutting out from a country so needy as Canada the products of the skill and industry of the United States, and all it means to you and the world, and shutting in such vast supplies, such enormous resources, such great possibilities of production, preventing all these from reaching the vast market which God in His providence had there created? Again, it is repeated that, great as Canada is in her geographical extent, vast as are her wheat producing areas, rich in her mineral possibilities, her limitless timber forests, her numerous fishing territories, and all that goes to make up one of the greatest empires of wealth under the sun, next to all this her greatest boon, her greatest opportunity, is the possibility which lies within her grasp of the freest access to the greatest market the world has even seen.

### **A Wide Sweep of Possibilities.**

Recall the treeless prairies of the West, the thousands of square miles in which not a stick of timber stands, and see how much are needed the supplies from Canada's forests in the north, and which Canada should furnish without paying

tribute to a foreign treasury for that privilege. Estimate the millions and millions of dollars' worth of timber that in Canada has been lost, burned and rotted in the last twenty years, because it would not pay to ship it and pay the duty. Recall the enormous aggregations of population in the great cities and States in the interior, who could use the fish food which Canada, more than any other country under the sun, can supply, with her five thousand miles of coast line, with every acre of fish area worth eight acres of land in the ability to sustain life; what enormous advantages is Canada every day throwing away, because she cannot have a free entrance and free development of her fish industries. With that coast line of British Columbia three thousand miles long, a coast line as great as from Florida to Maine, with bays and rivers tributary to it full of fish, and the great Hudson's Bay, a thousand miles long—all these needing only development and transportation of their products to the coast cities that are springing up along the line of the Northern Pacific and other lines of road in Colorado, in Illinois, in Missouri, and the great South. Think of the Bessemer iron ores, without phosphorus, that lie in every quarter of this fair Province of Quebec. Recall this circumstance, that the commerce of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal last year, because of the grain, and iron, and coal, which went through it, equalled the commerce of the Suez Canal, and measure from it the enormous possibilities of the internal trade of the United States, and how it would be made contributory to the growth and prosperity of Canada. Estimate the development on the south shore of Lake Superior in the Calumet and Hecla mines, which on a capitalization of three millions of dollars have declared, in thirty years, dividends of thirty millions of dollars,—of the growth of the city of Cleveland, which, out of the iron mines on the south of Lake Superior, has yearly yielded fifteen to twenty millions of dollars of annual profits. Think of the coal mines of Pennsylvania, which send their products by rail three hundred miles, and ship them five hundred more by lake freight from Buffalo to Duluth, and then five hundred again by rail to heat and make possible existence upon the northern prairies. Then recall the fact that Canada has ninety-seven thousand square miles of coal lands, and except for the limited supply of a few cities, she sends not a ton out for the benefit of mankind. Possessing, as she only does, coal on the Atlantic and the Pacific, the possibilities of her contributing to the manufacturing and productive forces of the United States on these two great coasts are of the greatest possible importance. Time fails to tell of other things, as in the agricultural possibilities, as in fruit from Nova Scotia, oats and potatoes, and dairy products from New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Quebec, for

the supply of New England,—of the enormous areas in Quebec on which sheep raising, wool producing, and cattle grazing might be made extremely profitable, the tens of thousands of horses and ponies which the French Canadians could produce, of the lambs and sheeps, and calves and cattle, and the garden truck and farm products, which this great American people can absorb; and even above all, of the enormous possibilities which in her manufacturing advantages she possesses, if only the vast market which this attempt to describe was made available to her.

### From a United States Point of View.

Canada is forty times as large as England, Scotland, and Wales; fifteen times the size of the German Empire, and in extent three times as large as British India. Its fertility is unsurpassed, its extent of mineral wealth beyond estimate, its forests of lumber the greatest on the globe, its 5,000 miles of coast line fisheries the most valuable, its coal beds equal 97,000 square miles, its means of water communication unequalled, and its water power sufficient to drive the machinery of the whole world. Yet this vast and rich country lies alongside of the greatest nation of traders on the face of the globe, and the extent of the manufacture and merchandise sold to it amounts to less than the sales of three jobbing houses in the city of Chicago. The exchanges between Canada, with its 3,500,000 square miles of territory, and the United States, with its 3,036,000 square miles, are absolutely less than the exchanges between cities the size of Toledo, Hartford, or Springfield. Can there be any commentary more striking than this?

The amount of duties annually collected by the United States from Canada is \$5,500,000, which goes into a Treasury so overburdened with revenue that the whole political intellect of the nation is strained to the utmost as how best to reduce it. This small sum of \$5,500,000, levied along the border line of nearly 4,000 miles, costs more to collect, in proportion to the amount realized, than any other sum received by the Government. Not only is this sum unnecessary to the Treasury, not only is the collection absurdly expensive, but this \$5,500,000 is a direct tax on two essentials to national existence, viz.: raw materials and the necessaries of life. Canada sends nothing to the United States except natural products, and though these products are compelled to climb over a high customs line, they are wanted so badly that these heavy burdens are borne by those who need and must have them. Who is benefited by the tax on lumber, fish, salt, copper, coal, &c.? Let them stand up and be counted, and compared with those who use these

necessaries of life. These are not the work of the pauper labor of Europe, against which the tariff is aimed. These are the gifts of God, an inheritance continental in their extent, and should be continental in their benefit.

And how much do you suppose it benefits the revenue of the people of the United States to exact \$5,500,000 from these and similar products? Wheat is the per capita revenue thus derived? Why, it is less than 10 cents per head per year. The 550,000,000 of cents which go to make up the \$5,500,000 of revenue, scattered broadcast over the people of the Union, only equal 10 cents per head, and for this paltry sum a tariff line 4,000 miles long cuts in twain the continent of North America, and shuts out as a basis of supply the richest part of the country, on the one hand, and closes up a market on the other, the most profitable and the most promising in the world. Why the increase in the postal revenue alone within five years of Unrestricted Reciprocity between the two countries would more than make up the loss of customs revenue, owing to the increased activity of trade and the growth of commerce between them."

### Is Canada's Geographical Advantage to be Sacrificed?

Of the two great advantages which Canada possesses, in her geographical position on the one hand, and her vast natural resources on the other, the first named is perhaps the most important, because of her close contiguity with the best market in the world; and this makes it all the more serious in considering this question of our relations with Great Britain. Stretching along a distance of almost four thousand miles, the Dominion touches and interlaces with the great American Republic. Nature seems to have ordained that the whole Continent should be one commercially, judging by the distribution of natural wealth, of agricultural peculiarities, and of productive forces. To separate by a customs line right through the centre of the Continent the two English speaking nations that occupy it, would seem to be a most injudicious act. If trade can ebb and flow backwards and forwards from one end of the Continent to the other, and if the same relative progress could be made in the northern part of the Continent as that which has been achieved in the southern part, it would seem a great hardship that any final and permanent impediment in sentiment or in fact should be created. The growth of the United States, and the market which all along her border this growth affords, is one of the best assets that Canada possesses. Even in the face of a high tariff and numerous restrictions, more than one-half of her commerce is with the neighboring Republic. With all



barriers removed, and a complete commercial relation consummated, this commerce would increase enormously. The question is, whether this increase would help or hurt Great Britain. It is well to consider that, so far as Great Britain as a nation is concerned, nothing could happen so advantageously to her as a complete Customs Union between the English speaking people of the North American Continent. But in speaking of the trade of Great Britain, the consideration has to be removed from talking about the government and the people of that country, to a consideration of the individual interests affected. Thus, while we import about forty millions of dollars annually of goods from England, it is the English manufacturer and merchant whose interests we are promoting or injuring. These merchants and manufacturers perhaps aggregate five hundred in number; and for the sake of the interests of these gentlemen and their operatives, we must consider whether or not the future of this Dominion is to be free or restricted. Upon an importation of forty millions of dollars per annum, there is a possible profit to the English manufacturer of ten per cent., or say, four millions of dollars. Whether for this amount of profit Canada is to remain forever in swaddling clothes, is a question for the people of Canada to consider.

### The Interests of Great Britain and the Interests of Canada.

It was the penalty of the geographical position of Canada that, unless the barriers between her neighbor and herself were thus removed, she would never have the perfect development to which she was entitled. The question was a difficult one, and it did seem hard that, after all Great Britain had done for Canada, and in view of the responsibilities and engagements which she continued to assume for her defence and protection, there should be a proposition seriously discussed, whereby the merchandise of a rival nation should have free admission to one part of her Empire, while her own products from another part of the same Empire were shut out by a high duty. But, so far as the interests of Great Britain were immediately concerned in this matter, the question had become one of mere dollars and cents, and not a question of dollars and cents to the nation at large, or to the government, or to the imperial revenues; but a question of dollars and cents to individuals. Now, if the question had narrowed down to that point, was it not fair to consider whether the interests of the inhabitants of *one part of Her Majesty's domain were not just as precious to her as the interests of those of another.* It has always been maintained that the humblest British subject, in the most remote corner of the earth, was entitled to the same protection

as the highest dignitary nearest to the throne; and it is the glory of the traditions which we all alike inherit, that justice to all, and favor to none, is the spirit that animates the Government of Great Britain. Well, now, is it fair to ask Canadians forever to sacrifice their most material interests for the sake of the manufacturers of Manchester or Birmingham? Has not Canada the same right to have her interests cared for as the interests of the manufacturers of these great centres? Indeed, without the slightest suspicion of disloyalty, she has already done so, and by the high tariff which her most loyal friends have enacted, she has developed manufactures of her own, which have materially reduced the sales of English goods in this country. Strange it is, too, that the men who have thus contributed to shut out English goods are now most anxious on behalf of the English manufacturers, and whose loyalty to English interests knows no bounds.

### British Manufacturers Benefitted.

It is maintained that the interests, even of these English manufacturers, would not be permanently adversely affected by an enlarged trade relation between Canada and the United States. It is clear enough to the close observer of the export trade of Great Britain to Canada, that for many years it has not been on a progressive and healthy basis. There has been but a slight, if any, increase in the exports to Canada; and in proportion to the possible growth of so new and so rich a country, the commerce in the direction of Canada has not increased in the same ratio that it has increased to other countries. The reason, in the first place, has been that the policy of our government has been towards the encouragement of home manufactures, which in no sense was regarded as disloyal; while the power to absorb goods and pay for them by increased population, and by growth in natural development, has been extremely limited. Recalling the number of persons engaged in Canada in handling British goods, their relative strength financially, and the growth of their distributive channels, is it not a fact that Canada has made really less progress as an absorbent of English manufactures in the last ten years, than any market which Great Britain enters? If, after the expenditure of vast sums of borrowed public money ceases; if in view of the enormous taxation which Canada has to bear; if, also, in view of the low prices of agricultural products, and the scanty development of her natural resources under existing conditions, Canada makes no more progress in the next ten or twenty years as an absorbent of British manufactures, as a market she will possess but little attraction. On an equal basis of duty exacted, the United States will always be a competitor in Canada with

Great Britain; while, with the growth of home manufactures and the lack of development within the Dominion itself, no great hope can be entertained that Canada, without some new relation with the United States, can be anything like the advantageous market which she otherwise might be, with Unrestricted Reciprocity and an open market for every product which she possesses; with enlarged opportunities for the development of her resources; with a growth in wealth and ability to absorb and pay for goods which Commercial Union would bring to her, Canada could afford to buy and pay for \$2 of English goods where now she can ill afford to pay for \$1. During the last year, the importations of foreign goods into the United States amounted to 720 millions of dollars, which, with a population of 60 millions, shows that, even in the face of existing high rates of duty prevalent in the United States, every person in the Republic was worth to the trade of foreign countries over \$11 per year. In Canada we imported 40 millions of dollars from Great Britain, which made Canadians worth to Great Britain about \$8 a head. If in the United States \$11 per head is absorbed of foreign goods, why should not \$11 in Canada be the standard if, with the same progress, the same growth in wealth, and the same opportunity presented for a development of natural resources?

### **The Canadian Farmer and the English Manufacturer.**

With a liberty to regulate the tariff which England has granted to her Colonies, it is only a step further in the same direction of free trade in which she herself preaches, to admit free the products of a neighboring nation. It is a simple business transaction. If the free admission of the goods into Canada from the United States benefits Canada to an extent far greater than the discrimination against English goods injures the manufacturers of England, what is the duty of the Government of England in the premises? Is it that the far greater interests of the five millions of people of Canada should be sacrificed for the limited interest of the five hundred thousand of Manchester or Birmingham? The total importations from England to Canada amount to about 40 millions of dollars a year. The net profit realized by the English exporter on this transaction, after deducting bad debts and other charges, amounts to about ten per cent.; so that the English manufacturer realizes from Canada about 4 millions of dollars a year. Supposing that Commercial Union should result in a decrease of one-half of the importation from England—which it is claimed it would not do, but rather in a very short time largely increase—the total loss to the English manufacturer

would be about two millions of dollars a year. Do you realize that this is about the amount which the Canadian farmer loses yearly by the duty levied on the single article, barley, which he exports? It costs the farmer at least two millions of tribute to the United States Treasury a year to market the barley crop of Canada in the United States. Is it possible that for the sake of so small a sum as two millions a year, Canada is to be forever tied up in her present isolated and restricted condition? Why, the industrious, unobtrusive, unprotected hens of Canada bring as much income into the Dominion as this sum amounts to. From the exportation of 14 or 15 millions of dozens of eggs, upon which there is no duty levied in the United States, a sum very nearly equal to two millions is realized by the farmers' wives of Canada. Must it be said that, for the sake of a sum which these unobtrusive little creatures can produce, that Canada is to be shut out from the greatest market in the world for the absorption of her products? The triumphant cackle of the fowls in the barn-yard of every farmer is a protest against such statesmanship. It cannot be that, to compensate English manufacturers for a sum so insignificant, one-half of the continent of North America is to remain undeveloped. It would be better, indeed, for a subscription to be made in the country, or for the government of the land to enforce a direct taxation to pension English manufacturers, and all dependent on them, to the extent of the Canadian profit, rather than that forever their interests should interfere with the vast concerns of this continent.

### Interests of English Investors Advanced.

But, aside from the interests of the English manufacturers, there are other classes in Great Britain to whom the highest prosperity of Canada would be of the greatest advantage. There is of English capital invested in the Dominion of Canada hardly less than five hundred millions of dollars. This money is invested in governmental indebtedness, public works, railroad undertakings, farm mortgages, and a variety of other securities. Every one of this class of assets possessed by English capitalists would be enormously benefitted by the full development, growth, and perfect prosperity of the Dominion. If the traffic of every railroad could be doubled; if the productive force of every factory could be augmented; if every farm could be forced to its fullest capacity of growth, and every resource which the country possessed fully developed, there is not a security of any class in the country but would be benefitted. Even supposing the profits of the English manufacturer should be reduced from four millions per annum to two millions, it would pay well for the government of the country to guaran-

tee them against this loss, for the sake of benefitting every other class of the community, as well as the British investor in Canadian undertakings. Besides this, should the full development of Canadian enterprises follow Commercial Union, an opportunity for the investment of English capital in this country would be afforded such as the world has never seen. A better and a more certain return cannot be imagined than would flow from the establishment of manufactories, and mineral development, that would offer, should an open market be found in the United States for all that Canada has to produce. The employment of British skilled labor, English money, and English experience in Canada, with such an opportunity as Commercial Union would afford, would create such a revenue for the English people as would make the supposed loss of the English manufacturer by Commercial Union a mere bagatelle. These considerations are urged to meet the objection that, so far as English interests are concerned, Commercial Union with the United States would be beneficial rather than hurtful.

### **The Farmer's Gain Not the Englishman's Loss.**

Take the wide range of articles which Canada produces now, and can produce with Unrestricted Reciprocity, and see the enormous measure which their production would reach, if a free market can be had among the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity that the world has ever seen, and which, in the goodness of Providence, is right at her doors. Next to being possessed of almost fabulous wealth in the productive forces of her agricultural regions, and in her natural resources, is the advantage which an abundant demand and a great market near by affords to her. The range of articles affected, and the resources to be developed under an open market, are so important and so full of potentialities of profit, as to make the loss to the English manufacturer sink into utter and complete insignificance. If it is true that one part of the British Empire is just as precious to the British Government as another part of it; and if it can be shown that immensely greater profits and earnings can be realized by a liberal policy as against a penny saved for another part of the Empire by a restrictive policy, then clearly is it the duty of the government to decide in favor of the greatest good to the greatest number, and the largest profit to the largest number affected. Starting at the smallest and most trifling fruits of the orchard and of the garden, through the barn-yard of the farmer, in the eggs and poultry which the Americans absorb to such an extent, the sheep, horses, and cattle, and out into the open fields, producing all the small grains and roots, such as barley, oats, and potatoes, there is hardly any article which

the agriculturist of the country, on whom everything now depends, but would have an increased value and an increased possibility of profit. When one recalls the fact that upon the farmer, and upon the farmer alone, depends the success of Canada in its present condition, is it not the supremest folly to sacrifice his interests for a manufacturer three thousand miles away; while the manufacturer himself would be benefitted by the progress in wealth of the one class on whom ability to pay for goods now imported solely depends?

### The Necessity of the Farming Community.

It appears to be universally admitted that some changes are absolutely essential to restore prosperity to the farming community of Canada. It is doubtful if in all the world there is a community in whom the virtues of industry, frugality, or integrity are more marked, thereby entitling them to the highest measure of comfort and happiness. Yet it may be doubted if there is any class of the community in Canada whose hard labors are so poorly requited; whose economies accomplish so little in the shape of accumulations, or whose prospects are so uncertain. Thinking men who love their country, and who look below the surface, will see, in this condition, results most disastrous; for, if the farmer cannot prosper in Canada, there is no hope for Canada. The whole superstructure of her commerce and her manufactures rests upon his ability to consume and pay. If this ability is restricted, if it steadily declines rather than improves, it is time for farmers to assemble in convention to inquire for remedies. It is time for some other remedy to be discovered than that of borrowing money, or that which results from increased taxation. The perfection of the machinery for lending money in Canada is the boast of some of her shrewdest business men, and yet to some it is the saddest commentary on her condition. It is true that in the use of capital on reasonable terms, great advantages are to be gained; but is not the limit dangerously near where disaster lurks in the loan! When prosperity and good results are possible from the use of money, the money-lending machinery may be a beneficent agency; but when depressed and limited markets are encountered, when loss and accumulating interest impend, the very perfection of this machinery is the force that brings ruin. The amount of interest payable by the farmers of Canada to-day, in the aggregate, is absolutely appalling in proportion to their possible profits; while the aggregate interest account, including the annual charges on the public debt, the municipal, mercantile, and private indebtedness, if footed up, would approach, in the sum remitted to Great Britain, one-half of the

total value of the exports to that country. But it is not loans alone that the Canadian farmer has been endeavoring to get rich. In the language of Goldwin Smith, he has been attempting to get rich by taxation—lifting himself by the boot straps, as it were. Just how far such a feat can be successful the present condition illustrates. Perhaps the numerous delegations that have waited upon the Finance Minister, at Ottawa, to increase the duties levied on various necessities of life, may contribute to a solution of the unhappy condition of the average Canadian farmer. Certainly, if a community *can* get rich by taxation, these gentlemen possess the remedy, for it follows that the greater the taxes the richer the riches.

But something more is needed. A remedy greater and more effective is essential for the Canadian farmer than that which is to be found in borrowing money or increasing taxation—something that will accomplish more than subsidizing railroads, building unnecessary canals, or spending money on cruisers, to hunt down the shipping of a friendly power. What is most needed by the Canadian farmer to-day is a better price for his produce. What his necessities require is a larger market.

It may well be asked, how can this great boon be achieved? I answer, it is within the grasp of Canada to-day. By a complete reciprocity with the United States, a market such as the world has never equalled is open to every Canadian farmer. A wealthy and extravagant people are at her borders, and badly need her products. They are willing and ready to pay liberally for them, and to admit them free of duty. The only condition they exact is that their products should be admitted into Canada on the same terms. In other words, that there should be as complete an interchange of products between the United States and Canada as there is between Ontario and Quebec—as there is between New York and New Jersey. It needs only that resolutions favorable to such a movement should pass the Canadian Parliament. It needs only a kindly, neighborly disposition on the part of Canada, and the greatest boon which the United States can grant, or which the Canadian farmer can receive, is within the possibilities of an early day.

### **The Future of the Boys, and Especially of the Girls!**

Fully one million of our own people have left Canada, and have taken up their abode in a foreign land—a million out of five millions—what a tremendous proportion for a country possessing all the advantages that Canada possesses, to which the most desperate efforts are being made to attract immigra-

tion. Surely there is something wrong when one recalls the fact that notwithstanding the enormous expenditures which have been made, and the heavy burden of taxation which all in Canada have to carry, that the best and most promising portion of the population seek a home and a future elsewhere. If Unrestricted Reciprocity could accomplish nothing else than keep our young men at home, it would be a boon of the greatest magnitude.

For there is not a mother in this vast assemblage but dreads the day when her boy, her precious boy, will look with longing eyes across the border. What is the future on the farm for the little blue-eyed baby that looks up into its mother's face? The vista of the future to the mother, if the little one is a boy, that he will at best inherit his father's fate. She knows how hard the father has had to work to get them a living; how early and how late he has had to toil to make ends meet; how dreadful has been the burden of the store debt, getting larger every year; and with what foreboding the yearly interest on the mortgage is contemplated. She, too, well knows how careful she has to be with every dollar she expends, and with what frugality and closeness they all have to live in order to leave her boy any patrimony in the future. And the dear mother knows full well that while such a struggle impends, the attractions of the great market across the border will have to be resisted to retain her child beside her, to have him to soothe her declining years, and repay, by his steady support, in her old age, for her devotion to him in his childhood years.

But if the little one that lies in her lap is a little girl—if the clear blue eyes of the little baby girl look inquiringly into the mother's anxious face, what fate does she read there? Why, if half the boys of the neighborhood are leaving the country, how hopeless is her life likely to be! The chances for the baby girl are immensely lessened for a useful womanhood. The sweet love that brightens life may never come to her. The delicious odors of the new-mown hay, of the sweet-scented clover, of the forest flowers, may never be associated with that most joyous part of life, when love and betrothal throw a halo all over the world. The budding womanhood will wait in vain for the sturdy farmer boy who should win her; and the life that should be full of joy, of noble companionship, may go out with loneliness and sadness. Mothers must think of these things, and with a far-seeing vision which a mother's love will prompt, should take an interest in this great movement, the effect of which would be to keep the boys at home, and thus secure the happiness and the future of the sweet girls of this fair land. God bless them all, and help forward the good cause that will fulfil the mother's holy prayer for contentment and happiness of those so near and dear to her!



### A Question for the Canadian Farmer.

"You have said nothing as to the sentiment which exists in Canada as to a discrimination against English goods in favor of American wares, which would be the case under an Unrestricted Reciprocity whereby American goods were admitted free, and those from England taxed."

To this query Mr. Wiman replied: "It would be a question for the Canadian farmer to decide whether he is willing to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the English manufacturer. If the cost of getting admission into the American market for his products was the free admission of American manufactures into the Canadian market, and the exclusion by duty of English goods, there is hardly any question but what the Canadian farmer would prefer his own interest to that of the British manufacturer. Even under existing circumstances, notwithstanding the uniform duty which prevails as against English and American goods, there are more American goods imported than British, while the rate of duty collected is between 2 and 3 per cent. less on American goods than on English goods. The reason for this is that a larger number of goods on the free list are brought from the United States than from England; so that the practical effect of the existing tariff, regulated as it is by the Canadians, is a discrimination against English goods. This, too, without any compensating advantage whatever to Canada, which would result from the free admission of American goods into Canada, as the price for the free admission of Canadian products into the United States. There is a good deal of loyalty in Canada to British institutions and to Her Majesty, but the loyalty does not extend to the personal and individual interests of English manufacturers, to the sacrifice of those of the Canadian farmer. So far as a discrimination against English goods is concerned, it is no reflection upon English institutions, or a loss of loyalty to them, that would induce a Canadian farmer to prefer prints from Providence, duty free, at half the price, to prints from Manchester, against which a duty would be levied, and which would, therefore, be at twice the price. The individual interest of the various classes of British subjects is the question at issue—not the question of loyalty or disloyalty. If the question of loyalty animated the Canadian farmer to the extent which opponents of Commercial Union allege, they would not buy a dollar worth of American goods, but would confine themselves to eating, drinking, and wearing the goods produced by British subjects. As to the question of discrimination, it is true that it would look somewhat anomalous to see one part of the British Empire levying a tax upon goods from another part of the same Empire, while admitting the goods of a foreign and commercially hostile

nation free of duty. But the liberty which England has given to her colony in this respect has already been availed of to the extent that, while the colony exacts a duty on English goods under existing circumstances, she thereby encourages the production of goods manufactured within her own borders, thus discriminating against English goods in favor of her own people. If, by any extension of this liberty, she admitted American goods free, and created markets for her products in Chicago, Providence, Boston, Cincinnati, and other places, she would be only extending her home market for the absorption of Canadian products, while availing herself of advantages of cheap productive forces and lessened cost of freight by absorbing American goods instead of English wares."

### How About Revenue Under Unrestricted Reciprocity?

It is a problem to a good many how a sufficient governmental revenue will be raised in Canada under Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. The expenses of government have become excessive, the amount required for interest very large; and, even under existing circumstances, where almost every article imported bears a tax, a deficiency is constantly threatened. How a much larger deficiency is to be avoided is a mystery to many, when one-half the goods now yielding a revenue, brought in from the United States, is brought in free, and when, in consequence of that freedom, two dollars would be bought from the United States where only one is now bought. It would look as if the whole fabric on which governmental finance was built would, under Reciprocity, be removed, and that the taxable imports left for governmental expenses would be altogether inadequate.

In answer to this argument against Unrestricted Reciprocity, it may be urged,

1st. That the general prosperity of the producing class, by being enabled to sell in open market, and buy in a cheaper one, would give them a greater ability to stand taxation than they now possess. They would save the heavy tribute they now pay the American Treasury as a privilege for trading in that country, and they would be just so much better off. The home market of the farmer would be enormously increased by the development in mines, manufactures and in shipping, and, instead of being dependent on an uncertain home growth and foreign market heavily taxed, they would have an enlarged demand and better prices, in addition to the amount the American Government now levies.

2d. It does not follow that all the sources of revenue would

be affected by free admission of United States products and manufactures. There are other articles produced elsewhere upon which the duty could be largely increased, while there are some which are now free, upon which a heavy duty could, under the circumstances, be exacted. Thus, tea is now admitted free in Canada, and could readily be made the vehicle of revenue because of its universality of use. It is not produced in the United States, and no hardship would be felt if it bore a heavy tax, providing other things just as essential, now taxed, were made practically free.

3D. It does not follow that taxation should be raised solely by importation. There are other modes of raising a revenue which, if necessary, could be adopted, such as a stamp tax, income tax, and other forms of direct taxation, which need not be feared if the people can only be rendered prosperous, and it can be shown that their ability to respond to the necessities of government is infinitely improved by the change. In this connection the saving to revenue by cessation of smuggling would be an important consideration, and the consequent distribution of the burden of taxation more evenly than now exists. The extent of smuggling along a border line nearly 4,000 miles in extent is an utterly unknown quantity, but is unquestionably very large, placing the honest farmer, and those who live upon him in the interior, perfectly at the mercy of a band of thieves that defraud the Government and increase the burdens on goods that pay the duty.

4TH. But better than new forms of taxation, and even better than ability to stand any kind of taxation, would be the introduction of economy in government. If it was difficult to raise revenue, it would be difficult to spend it, and no greater boon could come to Canada than a *régime* of enforced economy. There has been in the past ten years of government a saturnalia of expenditure. Let there be in the next ten years a spasm of saving. Indeed, it must be so, or national bankruptcy stares Canada in the face. If the result of Unrestricted Reciprocity, while greatly increasing the prosperity of the people, was simultaneously to cut the revenue in half, and the task was committed to a man of nerve to cut the expenditure in two, a spectacle would be presented that would be the most welcome sight Canada could see. It is true that the terrible drain of interest paid to Great Britain cannot be cut in two; it is true that there are some governmental obligations that cannot be greatly diminished. But with a diminished revenue, a short stop in subsidies, a greatly lessened governmental staff, and a new order of things generally, the whole condition of government in Canada might be so changed that a greatly lessened revenue would be sufficient to meet the necessities of the hour.

### The American Farmers' Lack of Prosperity.

It is urged that the farmers of Canada cannot be benefitted by a free admission into the markets of the United States, because the farmers of that country, having that market to themselves, are not prosperous. It is pointed out that the Canadian farmer, taken on an average, is just as well off as his brethren in the United States, and hence that no advantage can flow from trading in a market where no prosperity has been gleaned by those who have always had free access to it. Well, in reply to this, it may be said that the English farmer is no better off than the American farmer, yet it is in the English market where the greatest freedom of access exists, and it is this market in which the Canadian derives fully one-half of his returns. If the English farmer does not prosper, that is no reason why the English manufacturer is not able to pay for what he eats and wears; and if he can get his mutton and wool from Australia, and his beef and butter from Canada, it matters not to the colonists of either, whether the English farmer prospers or not. The fact that English farms have declined in a greater ratio than any other property in the world, is no argument that freedom of access to the English market is not one of the greatest boons the Canadian farmer possesses. Equally so, it makes not an iota of difference to the Canadian farmer that the farmer of Kansas is burning his corn for fuel, so long as the enormous aggregations of humanity in Boston, New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and other important cities, need eggs, poultry, apples, hay, mutton, potatoes, oats, and barley, such as Canada can best produce, and such as by her contiguity she can sell at a good profit. What nonsense is it to say that an open market among, say even the twenty-five millions of people located in the States that confront the Maritime Provinces, Quebec and Ontario, is not an advantage, simply because there is lacking prosperity in agricultural regions extending over two millions of square miles, from causes entirely foreign from those that prevail in Canada. If the merchant waited for profit because he would not deal with people less prosperous than himself, how long would he survive? If England failed to sell goods only to nations in which prosperity was equal to her own, her trade would languish, and her profits sink out of sight. The truth is, that nations deal with others because it is their interest to do so, and the fact that, in spite of a tribute exacted from the Canadian farmer equal to one-quarter of his produce for the privilege of marketing the other three-quarters in the United States, he is able to hold his own under circumstances so adverse, shows what he could do, if that twenty-five per cent. tax did not exist. If his best customer to-day is the United States, with a discrimination

against him of twenty-five per cent., how much more valuable would that customer be, if all the barriers were obliterated, and he traded as freely with him as he does with England, without competition with all the world, and without the expensiveness of paying for carriage of his stuff for three thousand miles.

Why does not the American farmer prosper? It is because in thirty nine years, ending with 1889, while the population has increased 175 per cent., the bushels of wheat now produced have increased 389 per cent., corn 257 per cent., and oats 411 per cent. In that period, with an increase of population of 175 per cent., the number of farms increased 260 per cent. In the meantime Australia increased at a greater ratio, while India, the Argentine Republic, and Russia, have all developed to be great grain producers, flooding Europe with their surplus. The farmers' condition is the result of the universal law of supply and demand, and will right itself in time. For although wheat is now produced in the United States sufficient to feed 79 millions of people, as against 65 millions of population, beef sufficient for 71 millions and swine for 76 millions, yet the growth of the country is rapidly approaching the maximum, while the production is being restricted, and the land has been pretty well taken up in the new States, so a change in respect to over-production will soon ensue.

### **"Peace hath her Victories."**

A thousand years ago, Peter the Hermit preached the Crusades, and aroused Europe to sacrifices involving millions of money and tens of thousands of lives. The motive that inspired these costly contributions was the supposed influences of holy shrines, and the possible hope of conquest. Since that day great wars have been carried forward at enormous expenditure of blood and treasure; and to-day the people of Europe, even in time of peace, are taxed and harassed to a great extent, either to prevent or to achieve conquest. To sum up all that has ever been accomplished by these great struggles, and their continued costliness, amounts to less in good to mankind than can be achieved on this continent by a single act of legislation—a simple act that will unite in terms of perfect amity and commercial freedom two great regions hitherto divided; two great people estranged for want of common interests. Thus, by conquest of good-will, the union of the two great Anglo-Saxon nations of North America can be achieved, while permitting the political independence of each, a community of interest and great mutual advantage will illustrate in the highest form ever yet illustrated the sentiment that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war!"

## ADDENDA.

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### VASTLY INCREASED TRIBUTE DEMANDED FROM CANADIAN FARMERS.

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APRIL, 1890.

THE changes in the United States tariff, just now proposed by the Committee of Ways and Means in the House of Representatives, are very numerous, and affect interests of a widespread character. The general result is a large proposed reduction in the revenue, in order that the surplus income, which the Treasury keeps on accumulating, may be reduced so as to remove the temptation for public expenditure, which now exists. But in the process of reduction of the revenue, the Republican leaders are bound to fulfil their pledges, and perpetuate the principles of Protection, which is the leading plank in their platform, so that, while they are lowering the taxation on the one hand, they seek to broaden the application of the Protective principle on the other. Thus, the committee propose a duty on hides, which have hitherto been imported free, and also a duty on raw silk, neither of which, however, will be persisted in, because of the tremendous pressure brought against the proposal. The proposition, however, to tax agricultural products to a greater extent than ever before proposed, has no organized opposition, and, as it is supposed this movement will gratify the vast body of American farmers, who are heavily taxed to sustain the Protective principle, as applied to manufacturers, it is probable that the new duties on agricultural products will become law. The proposal to exact these excessive duties is regarded as "a tub thrown to the whale," because the advantage to the American farmer, especially in the West, is infinitesimal, while the disadvantage to the consumer, especially in New England, is serious. So far as the advantage to the American farmer is concerned, its extent can be measured by the fact, that the total duties to

be collected, under the proposed new tariff, on agricultural products, would not reach 15 millions, or less than 25 cents for each person, in a population of 65 millions, and certainly not more than \$2.00 a head for each American farmer. But the result is likely to be that, having proposed to extend the principle of Protection, so as to take in the vast class who till the soil, it will now be impossible to withdraw the proposition, and, if the Tariff Amendment Bill goes through at all, the proposed new duties, on agricultural products, are likely to be maintained.

The consequences to Canada arising from such an enactment are likely to be most serious. Hitherto, with existing duties, the discriminations in the United States markets against the Canadian farmer were hard enough to bear. The burden of taxation at home was augmented by the burden of taxation abroad, in the shape of the tribute he was compelled to pay into a foreign treasury for the privilege of marketing his products. But at one fell swoop this tribute, it is proposed, shall be doubled, and the effect is simply to practically prohibit him from reaching this market at all. The barbed wire fence in the shape of a customs line which has run across the continent, it is proposed, shall be raised to twice its former height, rendering it next to impossible that there shall be any traffic over it.

In order that the full scope of the proposed new duties shall be apprehended, they are set forth as follows:

PROPOSED NEW UNITED STATES DUTIES ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS.

Horses and mules, \$30 per head, provided that a horse valued at \$150 or over shall pay instead an *ad valorem* of thirty per cent.

Cattle, more than one year old, \$10 per head; less than one year old, \$2 per head.

Hogs, \$1.50 per head.

All other live animals not specifically enumerated in this Act, 25 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Apples, green or ripe, 25 cents per bushel.

Apples, dried, 3 cents per pound.

Bacon, 5 cents per pound.

Barley, 30 cents per bushel of 48 pounds.

Barley malt, 40 cents per bushel of 24 pounds.

Beans, 40 cents per bushel of 60 pounds.

Beef or mutton, 2 cents per pound.

- Broom corn, \$8 per ton.
- Buckwheat, 50 cents per bushel of 48 pounds.
- Butter, and substitutes for butter, 6 cents per pound.
- Cabbages, 3 cents each.
- Castor beans, 32 cents per bushel of fifty pounds.
- Cheese, 6 cents per pound.
- Cider, 5 cents a gallon.
- Corn or maize, 10 cents per bushel.
- Cornmeal, 10 cents per bushel.
- Dressed poultry, 5 cents per pound.
- Eggs, 5 cents per dozen.
- Flax seed or linseed, 30 cents per bushel of sixty pounds.
- Flour, one-half cent per pound.
- Fresh milk, 5 cents per gallon.
- Garden seed, agricultural seed, and other seeds not specifically enumerated or provided for in this Act 30 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- Hay, \$4 per ton.
- Honey, 20 cents per gallon.
- Hops, 15 cents per pound.
- Lard, 2 cents per pound.
- Live poultry, 3 cents per pound.
- Meats of all kinds, preserved, 25 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- Oats, 10 cents per bushel.
- Onions, 40 cents per bushel.
- Pearl barley, one cent per pound.
- Peas, green or dried, and in bulk or barrels or small packages, 40 cents per bushel of sixty pounds.
- Peas in small packages, 1 cent per pound.
- Potatoes, 25 cents per bushel of sixty pounds.
- Preserved beans in tins, 40 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- Preserved milk, including the weight of the packing, 3 cents per pound.
- Rye, 10 cents per bushel.
- Salt, 12 cents per hundred pounds.
- Split peas, 30 cents per bushel of sixty pounds.
- Straw, \$2 per ton.
- Sugar of milk, 10 cents per pound.
- Tallow, 1 cent per pound.
- Teazles, 30 per cent. *ad valorem*.
- Vegetables in their natural state, not specifically enumerated, 25 per cent. *ad valorem*.



Vegetables of all kinds prepared or preserved, pickles, etc., 45 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Wheat, 20 cents per bushel.

Wheat flour, 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Yolk of eggs, 25 per cent. *ad valorem*.

The following are the provisions as to fish:

Anchovies or sardines, 40 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Fresh fish, salted or preserved in any other manner not specifically enumerated in this Act, 1 cent per pound.

Herring,  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent per pound.

Fish packages of tin, 30 per cent. *ad valorem*.

It is not to be believed that these new and excessive duties originated in the idea of specially affecting Canada. It is true they most seriously and adversely threaten the prosperity of the most vital interests in the Dominion, and there are some strong advocates of annexation in the United States who have urged the policy of restriction, with the view, as they say, of "bringing the Canadians to their senses." But there has been no such policy adopted by the country, and especially none by the leaders of the Republican party. Hence the proposals for these largely increased duties ought not to be regarded as retaliatory in their intent. The principal purpose sought was to make some movement in behalf of the American farmer which would have the appearance of equalizing the burden of taxation, and broadening the application of the protective principle. The American farmer is suffering very greatly just now, in common with the farmer in Great Britain and everywhere else in the world. Excessive competition, over production, heavy taxation, expensive transportation, and other causes, are operating greatly to the disadvantage of this vast class, and American statesmen are at their wits end to meet the unrest, dissatisfaction, and almost revolutionary movements which threaten the politicians now in charge of the governmental machinery. A new election for Congress impends in the Autumn of the present year, and the proposal to do something for the farmer in the shape of Protection was therefore a necessity, so that this movement originated in causes other than considerations affecting Canada, though the effects upon Canada threaten to be of a character most serious and far reaching. It is another and most potent illustration of the ex-

cessively exposed condition which the people of the Dominion occupy, when, by a movement not specially intended for their injury on the part of the United States—a movement having a remote purpose—should so injuriously affect almost every individual interest on half a continent. The threatened disaster speaks in trumpet tones to the electors of Canada, to see to it that such steps are taken as will put beyond possibility, by treaty or concurrent legislation, for a given period, some bargain or arrangement, by which the whole country need not be exposed to a contingency which practically may bankrupt thousands and thousands of those whose interests deserve the most permanent protection and stability.

The proposals of the Congressional Committee on Ways and Means, it is supposed, render next to impossible the passage of the excellent bill of Hon. Benjamin Butterworth, who, as Canada's good friend, early in the session introduced a measure that would provide the most ample unrestricted reciprocity between the two countries. It was appropriately but most unfortunately referred to this committee, who now that they have reported tariff amendments enacting the most sweeping increase in duties, could not stultify themselves by reporting Mr. Butterworth's bill, that would practically undo their own work.

Fortunately the dark cloud of doubt and loss which over-spreads Canada, arising from the proposal to largely increase the duties, has a silver lining. This is found in the proposal of that conscientious and astute statesman, Hon. Robert R. Hitt, of Illinois, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, who perfectly apprehends the whole question of the relations between the two countries. After the most careful inquiry and consideration this committee, which is quite as influential as the Committee on Ways and Means, has reported a resolution, which if it passes both House and Senate at Washington, will place before the Canadian people a prospect of relief, and a future of prosperity that it has hardly entered the mind of man to conceive.

The resolution is in the following words:

*Resolved*, That wherever it shall be duly certified to the President of the United States that the Government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such

commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three Commissioners to meet those who may be designated to represent the Government of Canada, to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms greater freedom of intercourse between the two countries can best be secured, and said Commissioners shall report to the President, who shall lay the report before Congress."

If the invitation to closer relations contained in the above resolution finds expression by the House of Representatives and Senate, as is certain to be the case, in this session of Congress or the next, the responsibility of further action will be put upon the people of Canada. The result of an appeal to the farmers, lumbermen, fishermen, miners, shippers, and other interests largely to be advanced by a free market in the United States cannot be doubted. The new proposals of increased duties are full of peril to all these interests. The new proposal of Mr. Hitt and the Foreign Affairs Committee are full of promise,—a promise the extent and profit of which no man can tell, nor estimate the vast consequences that may follow in the Continental development that would ensue. With the farmers of Canada rests the fate of the future of their own fair land, and to them may be safely committed the task of pronouncing the verdict.

"Once to every man and nation comes a moment to decide,  
 In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side;  
 Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,  
 Parts the goats upon the left hand and the sheep upon the right;  
 And the choice goes by forever, twixt the darkness and the light,  
 Hast thou chosen? O! my people, of this great and happy land,  
 Looking to the future, in whose party thou shalt stand?"

# THE BUTTERWORTH BILL.

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1889.—The following is the Bill which was introduced by Mr. BENJAMIN BUTTERWORTH, of Ohio, and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means :

## A BILL

To extend the Trade and Commerce of the United States and to provide for Full Reciprocity between the United States and the Dominion of Canada.

WHEREAS, Certain controversies have arisen and are still pending between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Dominion of Canada, respecting commercial intercourse; and

WHEREAS, By reason of the contiguity of the two countries and the similarity of the interests and occupations of the people thereof, it is desired by the United States to remove all existing controversies and all causes of controversy in the future, and to promote and encourage business and commercial intercourse between the people of both countries, and to promote harmony between the two Governments, and to enable the citizens of each to trade with the citizens of the other without unnecessary restrictions: Therefore

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That whenever, and as soon as the Government of the Dominion of Canada shall permit all articles of trade and commerce of whatever name or nature, whether the product of the soil or of the waters of the United States, all manufactured articles, live stock of all kinds, and its products, and all minerals the produce of the mines of the United States, to enter the ports of the Dominion of Canada free of duty, then all articles manufactured in Canada, and all products of the soil and waters, and all minerals the produce of the mines of Canada, and all*

other articles of every name and description produced in said Dominion of Canada, shall be permitted to enter the ports of the United States free of duty: *Provided, however,* That the provisions of this act shall not apply to any product or article upon which an internal revenue tax is imposed by the laws of the United States.

SEC. 2. That when it shall be certified to the President of the United States, by the Government of the said Dominion of Canada, that by the authority of its Parliament it has authorized the admission into the ports of said Dominion of all articles of trade and commerce the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States, free of duty, the President shall make proclamation thereof, and shall likewise proclaim that all articles the growth, produce or manufacture of the said Dominion of Canada shall be admitted into all the ports of the United States free of duty, and such articles shall be so admitted into the ports of the United States free of duty so long as the said Dominion of Canada shall admit the products of the United States, as herein provided, into the ports of the Dominion free of duty.

SEC. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized, with the approval of the President of the United States, and in conjunction with the proper officials of the Government of the Dominion of Canada, to make rules and regulations for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this act, and to protect the said respective Governments against the importation of foreign goods or articles through either into the other without payment of duty; and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States shall furnish to the customs officers of the United States all such rules and regulations for the purpose of guiding them in the discharge of their duties in the premises.

SEC. 4. That before making the proclamations or either of them authorized by this act, the President shall be satisfied that all citizens and subjects of the United States may have and enjoy the right of commercial intercourse in all the ports, harbors and places in Canada with the citizens and subjects of the Dominion, in as full and ample a manner in all respects as may be had or enjoyed by the latter in the ports, harbors and places of the United States, with the citizens and subjects thereof.

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