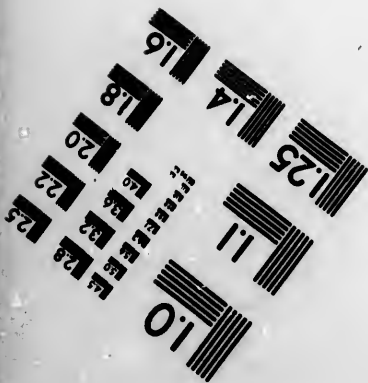
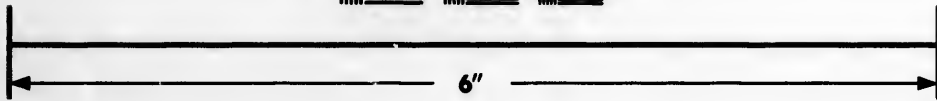
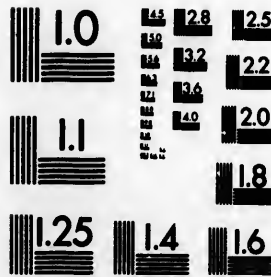


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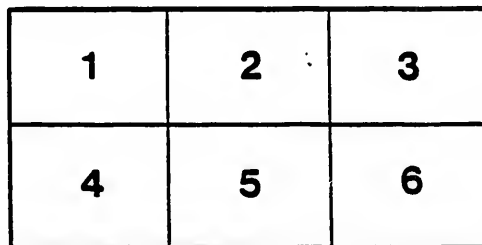
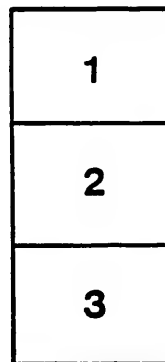
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SUPPLEMENT TO EVENING

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's Speech at the Workingmen's Demonstration

We take from the Toronto Globe the following report of the Premier's Speech :

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE, upon rising, was greeted with round after round of cheers. When they had ceased he said:

Mr. Chairman,—I am exceedingly obliged to yourself, to Mr. Lenox, and to the other gentlemen for the address which you have presented to me, and also for the remarks with which you, Sir, have been kind enough to introduce me in stating the object for which this meeting was called. I assure you that I receive this token of the friendship and the political adherence of the workingmen of Toronto with greater pleasure than any event of my life has ever given me. (Cheers.) It has been represented that I failed in my duty as a member of the Administration in not giving effect to enactments which would have for their object the benefit of the workingman. Now, sir, I look upon this address, coming as it does from the workingmen, as emanating from the true source of political power, and as being a complete vindication of the Government in the course pursued in this country. (Cheers.) For whatever may be said by those who may be a step above the workingman in the social scale in this country, I hold it is the workingman who has made the country. It is the workingman who is to give the country power for the future, and to make it great in the eyes of the world. It is the workingman to whom we must all look, not merely for the fruits of mechanical pursuits common to cities and towns, but also for the cultivation of our fields, the clearing of our forests, the construction of our public works, and, in short, everything that gives character, power, and prosperity to a civilized country. I therefore feel all the greater pride in receiving this token of homage, not to myself, but to those principles which I at present am only a representative of, and I assure you that my colleagues in the Government, and my colleagues in public life in the Parliament of the country will abundantly appreciate the motives which have led the workingmen of this city to adopt this course of displaying his political power and vindicating his political character. You have alluded, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that there have been workingmen's gatherings in other parts of the country as well as in this city, with a view to manifesting their approval of the conduct in public life of the leader of the Opposition. Far be it from me to find any fault with this indication of the political opinions of certain sections of the workingmen. (Hear, hear!) I rather rejoice to know that there is that independence of thought and that independence of action which leads numbers of our fellow-citizens to take a view of political life and political men somewhat adverse to those which we hold ourselves. At the same time, I cannot but express some little surprise that any workingman who looks back to the history of the country, to the history of our race in the Motherland, should, by natural instinct, be a Conservative. (Cheers.) Sir, the power of the workingman is made manifest only when a country becomes civilized and powerful. The power of a workingman is nothing in a state of semi-barbarism. The Tory party in England were but the followers or the successors of those who oppressed the workingman in times long gone by. (Cheers.) I say they were but the followers or successors of those who held the workingman in light esteem. If we look back to the history of the early ages of the Eastern monarchies, we find the workingman a slave. If we look back to the history of the country which affords us the earliest instance of national civilization—such as it was—we find the monarch and the nobles of Egypt making their subjects toil to rear monuments, not to human industry, not to that industry which is productive, but merely monuments to the monarchs and to the pagan gods whom they worshipped; and in the building of the Egyptian pyramids and the vast temples of that land there was an amount of human life and human labour sacrificed which would have ten times completed the entire public works which this country has been endeavouring to carry forward to completion. (Interruption.) I am not at all surprised at the impatience of certain gentlemen. They know that the tide of public opinion is running against them. (Cheers.) They know that this magnificent demonstration sinks into insignificance anything that they have attempted. (Hear and cheers.) I was about to trace the history of the workingman from the time when he was the mere slave of the despot and the tyrant. In our own day efforts are made by strong Conservatives to induce the workingman to believe that they, and they alone, are his true friends, when it is impossible that any substantial sympathy can exist between a Conservative and the real workingman who subsists by the labour of his hands. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, let me come down in the history of the world to countries which followed fast upon the footsteps of the Egyptians in the race for civilization. Let us consider what was the condition of the workingman in England itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Tory rule was at its height, when no labourer had any voice in the administration of affairs, when scarcely such a thing as popular representation in Parliament existed. Even in the days of the Commonwealth we find that the wage of the

a little passing attention to the subject. Now, Sir, wages at the time in force in England were at the very point of starvation. I recollect that the farm laborer had to be contented in Great Britain with about what some improvement was made, that one shilling and sixpence for a good wage; I recollect when the hands employed by the agriculturalists were getting £10 per annum and their board; and a chanic's, such as masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artificers, were getting threepence to fourpence per hour. Now they think themselves entitled to tenpence half-penny an hour in England. This has been the English mechanic and to the English laborer. No ordinary farm servant—the ploughman of the old land—can get on his board, where formerly, within the memory of many of those present, he only obtained £10. What was the state of the workingman's means of raising a family in decency, as to the means of supporting his children? The restrictive laws which so long held the workingman in subjection left him also, as a general thing in England, without the means to do with Canada? I am illustrating from English history a similar system in Canada. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I am rejoiced to have happily escaped. The laborer, the great laborer, the English laborer, were alike mistaken in their impressions of what would be the result of the Corn Laws. They believed that universal disaster would befall Great Britain took a fresh start; now life was infused into the better implements, better husbandry, new manures—everything productive of the soil. The result was that the farmer produced more and instead of his commodities falling in price they steadily rose in value. In England you will have to pay at least a price twice as high as was paid when Richard Cobden was agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which are more subject to competition with foreign grain. It was not at that period in England. Instead, therefore, of a repeal of the Corn Laws, it has really benefited, not merely the working classes and the poor, but also those who are immediately interested as the proprietors of those lands; and at this moment we have the wonderful fact that the whole population of England only fifty years ago believed that it depended upon having England for the Englishmen, so we now must have Canada for the Canadians. Sir, the very moment when the country took a bound forward. It increased in value in times that at which it increased previously. (Hear and cheers.) Once received better pay, the farmers became more prosperous and more wealthy, and we had the most abundant proof of the value of that system of legislation which we advocate of a revenue tariff. We have in this country at the present moment a free trade. No one has ever proposed that. What we have will raise a revenue sufficient for the wants of the country, and the protectionist in principle wants is, that we should not only maintain and execution of the laws, but we should also pay either the agriculturist—if he can be protected—or of the poor to protect him. We may now compare very fairly the effect of the Corn Laws in this country with the effect of the tariff laws in this country—the tariff system with the Canadian system, and see how the results are the same in either country. The people of the United States they are of the same blood and the same language; they possess the same genius for conducting the Government of a free country; they are equally adapted to everything that relates to human progress themselves, indeed, to be fair, head of Britain and British depend upon admit that any superiority of the kind belongs to them. (Hear and cheers.) We are on a footing of perfect equality with them in that we have the same boundless capacity, are on the same footing of equality in labour productive and making a people happy. They are not only free to make their own laws. We are oppressed by no tyrant either in the public affairs of a nation. (Cheers.) We meet principles which have for their object the greatest amount of ultimate result national grandeur, or if the laws should be unjust, we can examine a few of the effects of the laws of the United States. Canadian laws bearing upon human industry; and consequently who have not studied United States polity or history may not even be aware only commenced with 1860; for many years before that time. Occasionally before 1860 they levied duties which partook largely of tariff; but in 1860, just about the time that the war broke out, many particular speculations succeeded to a certain extent in the power and upon the Government of the country, and the res

opinion is running against them. (Cheers.) I was about to trace the history of the workingman from the time when he was the mere slave of the despot and the tyrant. In our own day efforts are made by strong Conservatives to induce the workingman to believe that they, and they alone, are his true friends, when it is impossible that any substantial sympathy can exist between a Conservative and the real workingman who subsists by the labour of his hands. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, let me come down in the history of the world to countries which followed fast upon the footsteps of the Egyptians in the race for civilization. Let us consider what was the condition of the workingman in England itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Tory rule was at its height, when no labourer had any voice in the administration of affairs, when scarcely such a thing as popular representation in Parliament existed. Even in the days of the Commonwealth we find that the wage of the

D EVENING RECORDER.

men's Demonstration at Toronto, Thursday, May 30th, 1878.

subject. Now, Sir, wages at the time that the Corn Laws were very point of starvation. I recollect very well when the ordinary rate in Great Britain with about a shilling a day; I recollect also that one shilling and sixpence a day was thought to be a handsome wage for the agriculturalists; and I recollect that the hands employed by the agriculturists were thought to be well off. Now they think themselves ill paid if they do not have from an hour in England. This shows how beneficial free-trade has been to the English laborer. Now, Sir, at the present time the wages of the old land—can easily obtain £24 per annum and in the memory of many of those I am now addressing and within the means of the workingman as to lodging, as to the means of obtaining a fair education for his children, which so long held the workingman in a state of comparative general thing in England, without the means of education. It is in the parts of England and Ireland, there was a more liberal system of general character and the means throughout Great Britain that man with a family for obtaining a fair elementary education for his children as the result of an evil system of legislation, and at the time when the Corn Laws it was firmly believed by every one that if the people obtained cheap food, if bread was abundant, the result would be—(A Voice—"What has that got to do with the English history what would happen under a free trade, hear, and cheer.") I am referring to a state of things from the time of the great landowner, and the tenant farmer in the time of their impressions of what would occur after the repeal of the Corn Laws, that universal disaster would overtake the agricultural interests. Now those injurious and unjust laws were repealed, agriculture in England, now life was infused into the pursuit of agriculture; there were new manures—everything possible was done to increase the result was that the farmer produced much more than ever before, and falling in price they steadily rose in value until at the present time to pay at least a price twice as large for almost everything as was agitating for the repeal of the Corn Laws, except cereals, and competition with foreign grain. Rents are nearly double what they were. Instead, therefore, of a repeal of those protective laws being an object merely the working classes and all who have to purchase their necessaries, immediately interested as the proprietors of lands and the tenants of the land, at the present moment we have the wonderful fact presented to us that as the result of the repeal of those laws, the Englishmen, so we now hear some people saying that they are the Englishmen. Sir, the very moment that the protectionist laws were repealed, it increased in wealth at the ratio of five or six times previously. (Hear and cheers.) The industrial classes at the present time have become more prosperous, the manufacturers became the most abundant proof on every hand of the material progress of this country at the present moment no idea of having a system of protection proposed that. What we have proposed is to have a tariff that would be for the wants of the country, and not for anything else. But what we propose is, that we should not only pay a tax to the State for the protection of the laws, but we should also pay a tax to be put in the pockets of the manufacturer—or of the manufacturer, if it is possible to compare very fairly the effect of restrictive laws in the neighbourhood of a tariff laws in this country—that is, compare the United States and see how the results are worked out in the prosperity or the people of the United States are akin in origin to ourselves; they speak the same language; they possess the same inventive power, the same Government of a free country; they are a people whose march of progress relates to human progress is most marked. They imagine that the end of Britain and British dependencies in that respect. I do not think the kind belongs to them. (Hear, hear.) But I do assert at once that the result of the repeal of those laws is that the Englishmen are on an equal footing of equality as to the means of making themselves people happy. They are not oppressed by any tyrant, and they are not oppressed by any tyrant either; we meet here as free men to a nation. (Cheers.) We meet here to consider those laws that would be the greatest amount of human happiness, and for their own sake, or if the laws should be unjust, national failure. I propose to compare the laws of the United States, as compared with the effects of the laws of the United States, and consequently upon human happiness. Those laws of history may not be aware that the real protective laws; for many years before that country had a purely revenue tariff. The duties which partook largely of the nature of a protective tariff, at the time that the war broke out, manufacturers and others interested in the industry succeeded to a certain extent in getting a hold upon the legislative power of the country, and the result of that was the enactment of

furnaces are idle, and one hundred millions of capital sunk in that work is utterly unproductive. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) This shows that the protective system had brought on such an over-production that it became the ruin of the producers. (Hear, hear.) And so it would be in Canada if we were all willing to tax ourselves over and above what was necessary for revenue purposes for the promotion of the interest of certain manufacturers; we would merely succeed in making a few manufacturers wealthy for a few years at the expense of the rest of the people, and so many would rush into business that the makers would produce more than could be sold. It would be produced at such an enormous cost that they would be unable to send any out of the country, and in such large quantities that we would be unable to use it in the country. In a short time, therefore, we should have to shut up their shops. Universal ruin to the manufacturers themselves would be the inevitable result of thus gorging the market by an unhealthy system of production. We have here the fact, and I am now speaking from figures of an official character, that while the population of the United States increased from thirty-one millions in 1860 to forty-five millions in 1876, for the sixteen years inclusive at a rate of about 46 per cent., the producing capacity, as I have already shown, increased during the same period in a much larger ratio. In 1876 the United States were not able to export goods in proportion to the population, for the exportation relatively decreased in proportion to the population. The export of cotton piece goods in 1860 amounted to nearly \$11,000,000, but in 1876, with a population of nearly fifteen millions more, and with a protective system which is claimed by our protectionist friends to be the means of enriching the country, they were only able to export seven and three-quarter millions, an absolute decrease in the exportation of one of their staple manufactures of 25 per cent., besides the relative decrease as compared with the increase of the population. (Hear, hear.) Now, could any fact be more damning as to the influence of a protective system upon the trade of a country? (Hear, hear.) (A Voice—"That is not caused by protection.") Well, I can only say that all the political economists admit it is caused by protection, (cheers) I can only say that it is caused by something, and they have protection there while there is no protection in England. (A Voice—"What has free trade done for us?") We have never had free trade, and, therefore, you cannot tell what it has done for Canada. I have a list here of manufactured goods exported from the United States, embracing some of their principal staples, such as tobacco, iron, cotton piece goods, drugs, medicines, wearing apparel, glass, hats, paper, printing press, type, and many other things, and we find that in 1860 there were twenty-nine millions exported of these twenty or thirty articles in this list, and only the same amount in 1876, notwithstanding the increase in population. This shows the ruinous effect of a protective tariff. (Hear, hear.) Now I am not pretending for a moment to say that it would be desirable or possible for us to have what is known as a free trade system. The Government, of which I am a member, is accused of having a free trade policy, whereas the fact is that the necessities of our revenue compel us to impose a higher duty than was imposed by the previous Administration; in other words, we have 17 1/2 per cent. when the late Administration had only 15 per cent. (Hear, hear.) I was about to speak of the exportation of certain articles of goods to one little State in South America, Venezuela, as an illustration. In 1870 the entire import and export trade amounted to \$3,345,000. The principal exports from Venezuela consists of coffee and raw hides. The United States had a large duty upon both of these articles, but in 1870 they admitted coffee free of duty into the United States, and they had hides free also, and the result was an immediate increase in the trade in these articles. In 1876 the imports alone from Venezuela were of the value of \$5,870,000, and the exports, \$3,424,000, or an increase of 260 per cent. as compared with 1870. Then in 1872 there was a still further proof of the beneficial effects of a reduction of duties from the protectionist standard. In 1870 the entire shipping trade with Venezuela, amounted to fifteen vessels of only 2,570 tons capacity, and employing only 109 hands. In 1876, after only four years of comparative free trade, the ships from the United States engaged in that traffic amounted to 132, against 15 in the protectionist time, with 43,000 tons as against 2,590 in the same period, and employing 1,255 hands as against 109. Another still more conclusive argument, however, is to be found in the figures relating to the manufacture and the export of tanned leather. In 1872 hides were made free, and in that year the entire exports of tanned leather from the United States amounted to \$2,864,000, while in 1876, after four years of a comparative free trade era, they had risen to \$7,940,000, or very nearly \$5,000,000, as against \$2,750,000 four years before. Nothing could show more clearly than this the beneficial effects of removing the restrictions from trade. Now, Sir, one of the tests by which we are bound always to gauge the prosperity of a country is the amount of goods which it is able to sell to other countries, as well as the amount of goods its people are able to consume themselves. It is supposed, for instance, by many that Great Britain lives entirely by her foreign trade, while the most recent financial authorities in Britain compute the entire profit of British producers and capitalists at £1,400,000,000 per annum—that is, the profits arising from the interest derived from investments in railways and from foreign bonds, as well as the profits of the manufacturers in the country, and goods which are consumed in it; in other words, the income of the country. But the entire amount of the foreign trade—that is, the export of goods to foreign parts—last year was only £200,000,000 sterling, or exactly one-seventh part of the whole, and that figure included goods shipped which had been imported in a raw state. Now, Sir, the United States exportation in 1876 altogether of domestic produce was \$525,582,247 gold worth, or an average per capita of \$13.80. Canada exported during that same year, with less than an eleventh of their population, \$72,491,437 worth, or an average rate of \$13.48 per head, against \$13.80 per head in the United States. (Cheers.) And to show that this was not at all an exceptional year, let us take the next year, viz., 1877, when the exports from Canada had somewhat decreased, and the exports from the United States had somewhat increased, in consequence of their indebtedness in foreign countries. A huge amount of exports is not always a true measure of the prosperity of a country. A farmer who is deeply in debt is often under the necessity of providing for that debt by selling more of his stock than he can well part with, and to that extent he diminishes the productive power of his farm; for instance, if he tries to do with five horses what he requires six to do properly, in order that he may sell the

Sir, in 1876-7 there were imported into Canada altogether of boots and shoes of every kind only \$192,671 worth, or less than the fifteenth part of the total manufacture of the country. But then we actually exported from the country in that year \$196,710 worth of boots and shoes, leaving a difference of only \$105,961 between our imports and exports of that article. Now, how much is this do you think, among the entire population of the country? It is the merest possible fraction. Then we will take the article of household furniture—and I feel particularly interested in that item in the City of Toronto, because a well-known old friend of mine, a manufacturer of furniture, is now in the field as a political candidate, and I am sure that Mr. Hay will give me credit for sincerity when I state that I would be sorry to say one word which would jar upon his feelings in speaking of any matter affecting the political position of himself or his friends. But, Sir, we find that the entire product of the country in the year 1870—and it has very much increased since—is put at something over \$3,500,000 in furniture; and the imports of furniture for last year amounted to \$283,930, while we exported \$143,506 worth, leaving a total difference of furniture and our imports of \$140,384—or as near as possible $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per head. (Hear, hear.) And yet, Sir, Mr. Hay assumes that we are ruining his business, because we don't give him more than 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of protection. For every dollar's worth of goods that he manufactures the country pays him 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents premium, and yet he wants more, although the entire consumption of the country is almost wholly manufactured in Canada. Let us consider other branches—the stove trade, for instance. Any of you who know who the stovemakers of Canada are, any of you who choose to visit the vast establishments of Mr. Gurney and other manufacturers, will be slow to believe that these are pursuing a very ruinous trade. I recollect that, in 1874, when the tariff was revised, having repeated interviews with many of those manufacturers. They wanted a higher duty to save themselves the trouble of applying their brains to find out means of improving the machinery for the carrying on of their manufactories, and they wished for protection to enable them to send out what would be an inferior article at an increased cost to the people. Now, I say that the position of Mr. Hay and Mr. Gurney, and, generally speaking, of the manufacturers of the country is not one of isolation from profit. When I find that men who commenced life much less than half a century ago now count their guineas and their properties by hundreds of thousands, I am slow to believe that the business that they have been following is a ruinous one. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) With regard to the manufacture of boots and shoes, I have the word of some of the manufacturers of those articles that they do not want any more protection. (Voice: "Not a bit!") I am perfectly aware that some large manufacturers have, within the last few years, failed in business, but they did not fail because their proper business was not paying. If the manufacturer invests in real estate when it is at \$1 a foot, and has to sell it afterwards at fifty or sixty cents a foot, and fails in his boot and shoe trade in consequence, his failure is not to be attributed to the difficulties surrounding his manufacturing trade, but to neglecting his own line of business to follow one he knows nothing about. I am speaking, Sir, with the knowledge of individuals; I know the facts, and I could put my fingers upon the names of gentlemen whose experiences I have just indicated. There is not at this moment a boot and shoe maker who will be able to show to the country—it is impossible to show it—that he is not well paid for his capital. It cannot be otherwise, because out of the entire consumption of the country in boots and shoes we don't import more than one fifty-third, or one fifty-fourth part, and that shows that they are able to derive profit from their business. I do not at all mean to say that it would not be possible to enact laws to make us pay more for our boots and shoes than we are paying now, and to make the manufacturers of boots and shoes better off; that could easily be done, but it would merely benefit the manufacturer, being at the same time a heavy tax upon all the rest of the people, though ultimately sure to result in injury to the manufacturers. Take another illustration. You have heard of the ruinous effects of a protective policy upon the cotton mills of the United States. In 1874-5, the first year of the existing tariff, the entire importation of bleached and unbleached cottons into Canada was \$2,553,475; during the last financial year the entire importation of the same class of goods was \$1,308,361. Now, I happen to know that manufacturers of cotton are able to make a fair profit—a better profit than manufacturers of many other kinds of goods in the country at the present moment. Here is a proof of it:—Our wholesale dealers have been able to purchase in the home market cheaper than they could import, and pay seventeen and a-half cents per dollar duty in addition. This shows that those manufacturers have a fair degree of prosperity. It may be quite true that it would be desirable to see them and all other classes in the country make a better profit than they have been able to do, but so long as they reap a reasonable profit in times of general trade depression no one has fair grounds of complaint. Now, the entire importation of cotton goods in 1874-5 was a shade under \$10,000,000, while the entire importation in 1877 was only a shade over \$7,750,000, or a decrease of nearly \$2,250,000. In most cases when manufacturers of cotton or woollen goods have gone under, it is because they have not conducted their business properly, because there has been an attempt made by some of the manufacturers to run on several lines of goods at the same time instead of giving their attention to one. We know that many manufacturers who have failed in the country have made blunders both as to their motive power and the location of their works, and in many other respects which we have not time to mention, blunders which successful manufacturers escape; but we cannot see because people were unsuccessful in creating or locating their manufactories, or in conducting them afterwards, that the country is bound to pay for their want of skill. (A voice:—"What proportion of cotton came from the United States?") I cannot tell exactly where it was imported from, but that is of no consequence. There is one class of cotton goods imported from England, another from the United States, and another class is manufactured chiefly in Canada. You will find that foreign manufacturers of cotton goods produce a kind of article which it would not pay our own people to make, because they would have to spend the same amount of labour on an inferior class of goods that they now spend on superior goods. I merely give the results of the trade in vindication of the position I have taken—that the tariff we have is a very reasonable tariff for all manufactures, and a somewhat onerous one in the prices which it involves to all the consumers. It cannot be denied that if consumers of this country pay 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents for every dollar's worth they purchase, they pay very high indeed for the protection of the manufacturer of every single class of goods in this country. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I may say that if the United States is to be taken as a fair example of a country having a protective system—and it must be; for it is the only English speaking country in the world—the only country, I may say, of any kind which has deliberately adopted as a matter of principle a protective tariff—the result is the destruction of their manufactories, the closing of their mills, indeed the failure of many of their manufacturers. But it is said, "Look at the number of failures in Canada." Canada must, no doubt, suffer in common with all countries at a time when trade is severely depressed over the whole world, but during the first quarter of the present year the failures in the United States were \$84,000,000, as against \$69,000,000 in 1876; while we had of failures during the last three months, nine millions against 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1876—showing the proportion of failures with the United States was at least as large as

four steamships. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers; A Voice:—"I hear a gentleman enquire if a duty would stop that trade. of a duty on grain and flour is much like a man who has made the place where he lives and the town where he does his money get there too easily, after the road is graded and levelled, he ditches across it." (Hear, hear.) These people are afraid of steamship lines which takes the products of the Western world should be able to take those products, as well as our own, to place Custom House Officers at Windsor and Sarnia, and on to the ocean, who should say to those shippers: "You shall you also use our Customhouses, and give bonds to us that it would have us place obstacles in the way of a trade that our artisans every year. No greater act of madness could be expending \$30,000,000 in perfecting and making complete to go to work and erect a huge fence along our boundary line from giving us their trade. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) that you are to restrict our trade; that we are to live by-concourse with the outer world, then, Sir, I can understand what speak of Canada for the Canadians. They might as well as Mr. Robinson Crusoe, kept the Island of Juan Fernandez (Loud cheers.) In fact, Sir, the very idea of protection is embodied our house, and with a knife made out of bone whittling we with needles of bone stitching it into articles of clothing. tries with a vengeance; and, most undoubtedly, Robinson Crusoe party of the Island of Juan Fernandez at that time. (Loud of our protectionist friends of this day and generation will go and live on the island as Mr. Robinson Crusoe did, and trench. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) I not only believe but the United States, South America, the West Indies, Australian trade. (Loud cheers.) By the exertions of the managed during the last year, by a judicious exhibition of a revenue tariff—we have shown the people of Australasia the implements, carriages, edge tools, and other articles, and built within the first six months after the Exhibition closed we dollars worth of our goods to that region. (Cheer.) But those ships ourselves; they insist on us, as Canada, and consular will not allow us to sell unless we can find a nation so foolish and sell their own terms also. Now, Sir, you cannot possibly you please. The man who trades must sell before he United States in this respect. There are three articles, and absolutely prohibits the importation of, and they are spun (Loud laughter.) They class them together as the three articles any account to come into the country. All those who have a great deal of spurious coin is imported, nevertheless but they don't seem to think very much about it. country adopted its present navigation laws there. ported into the United States. They passed that years ago, when they used to wear the old slouched hats and and they seem to have forgotten that the world has progressed the result of their foolish policy? At the present moment United States for Europe nearly 150 steamships laden with the one of them but four are sailing under foreign flags. (Hear, Americans are deficient in mechanical effort or skill. As a ships as the British are. The best proof of that is given in their navigation laws, when they were pursuing the old and United States, the latter were then on equal terms with British United Kingdom shipping. I do not know the precise difference—speaking from recollection—is that at the time these laws were not more than from half a million to a million tons behind merchant navy. To-day Great Britain has over eight million States have no more than they had twenty years ago—(Hear, millions of people, and with a seaboard that may be said to New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, is fast overhauling persist in maintaining their restrictive system it will undoubtedly in population and weak in undeveloped resources as she is—I am quite sure of one thing, and I believe you are too Conservative leaders do not mean what their speeches say. I know it is not possible for any Government that could adopt a protectionist policy, for if you cease to raise a revenue for use into the country you must raise it in some other way the people and asserts that it would be for the welfare of the imposed as are of a protective character must admit two places, that the object is to stop the foreign trade from coming not he will not enlarge the market of our manufactures. If into the country, he must admit that he also stops the duties. The first time you hear one of these gentlemen speaking of how he proposes to raise a revenue. (Hear, hear.) It must be one of you that the effect of a protective policy would be revenue, and in the next place to raise the price of everything when I say workingmen, I embrace the entire farming population the inhabitants of the great cities—in short nearly all our aristocratic power, no great land owners apart from those who are all workingmen, and we have all to bear our share of have no royal road to wealth—no means of access to a mine to pay the amount of taxation required; and I venture to say, as one who has studied the affairs of the State, that the Dominion of Canada in the Opposition ranks by means of which we can prohibit foreign goods and raise and if they can propound such a policy they are cleverer men. But believe that the cry of protection is simply a delusive one

sinks into insignificance anything that they have attempted. (Hear and cheers.) I was to trace the history of the workingman from the time when he was the mere slave of the despot and the tyrant. In our own day efforts are made by strong Conservatives to induce the workingman to believe that they, and they alone, are his true friends, when it is impossible that any substantial sympathy can exist between a Conservative and the real workingman who subsists by the labour of his hands. (Cheers.) Well, Sir, let me come down in the history of the world to countries which followed fast upon the footsteps of the Egyptians in the race for civilization. Let us consider what was the condition of the workingman in England itself in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Tory rule was at its height, when no labourer had any voice in the administration of affairs, when scarcely such a thing as popular representation in Parliament existed. Even in the days of the Commonwealth we find that the wage of the workingman was fixed by the Quarter Sessions or the magistrates of the respective counties in England, and that, although they were termed freemen, they were really compelled to do the work of serfs. We find that during that period they were allowed simply such wages as would afford them the barest possible covering for their bodies, and the scantiest possible means of subsistence. And yet, Sir, through all that long period of darkness and distress to the labouring man, he was compelled to serve the State, either in the public armies or in doing public works, to an extent far in excess of any labour which the labouring men of this day performed when it is of a voluntary character, and performed at a fixed price bargained for by themselves. At the present day the conditions of labour are practically the same in Canada as in England. In both countries the arrangements with regard to it are now subject to conditions on which master and employee must of necessity agree. The labourer in Canada is, however, in a position a good deal superior, I think, in other respects to that of the labourer in England, because in Canada—in all the country places, at all events, and to a great extent in the cities also—every labouring man may, if he likes, have a home for, on soil owned as well as occupied by, himself. (Cheers.) I was about to allude to laws of a restrictive character which have been enacted apparently for the protection of the workingman, but really in order to bring about the most evil results to every one of them. All laws which have a tendency to prevent the free exchange of labour, which makes labour tributary to capital, which make the employee a mere serf to the employer, must of necessity affect injuriously the interests of the workingman. (A disorderly interruption here occurred, lasting for about five minutes; it was caused by an obstinate individual in the middle of the hall, who persisted in standing on his seat and acting in an eccentric fashion; he was ultimately, however, induced to sit down.) I was proceeding, Sir, to remark upon the evil tendency of all restrictive laws—that is, laws which unnecessarily interfere with contracts between man and man. Precisely the same principle which affects contracts for labour affects contracts for any other commodity; and whatever deprives a man of the liberty to transfer his labour to the market he thinks best adapted to meet his wants, and to furnish him with the equivalent which his labour is intended to purchase, must of necessity have an injurious effect upon the public policy of a people subjected to such a system of laws. Those who lived during the time of the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws in England—that great agitation against the last vestige of protection which cursed for so long the Mother Country—cannot but remember the deplorable state to which the population of England was reduced by this attempt to protect the farmer at the expense of all the rest of the community. (Cheers.) Sir, it is well known to every Englishman present who lived in England forty or fifty years ago, that at that time there was, instead of prosperity as is commonly supposed, a condition of the utmost depression in the Mother Country. (A Voice.)—"That's so." As long as protective laws remained in force it was supposed that a certain class would be benefitted, and that no other class would suffer any injury from them. It is, however, impossible to protect any particular interest, unless it be at the expense of other interests. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I remember very well when John Bright, George Thompson, Richard Cobden, and other great men of that time who had the far-seeing eye of a statesman to observe the disastrous influences which were sure to result within a comparatively short period if those laws were continued in existence. It is well known that for several years before the repeal of the Corn Laws was carried by a reluctant Legislature the people of the country were becoming most desperate. It was well known that revolution was breeding in the very heart of the British Empire. It is well known that starving thousands were patrolling the streets, cursed—cursed I say—by the demon of protection. And I shall be able to show before I am done the similarity which exists between that protective system and the system which people would have prevail in this new country, where we are supposed to be in a position to sweep away all the abuses of the old land, to strike out a new line for ourselves, and to bring Canada and all it can influence into harmony with the policy of the Empire. (Cheers.) That policy is one which is eminently just to all men, as it makes no conditions that we shall pay taxes to any one but the State; and any system of protection that compels us not merely to pay taxes for the maintenance of the State and for the execution of its laws, but compels us also to pay a large taxation for the purpose of filling the pockets of some of our fellow citizens (hear, hear), is a most iniquitous system. It is unjust in principle, it is productive of the worst consequences in practice. No one can possibly doubt that if they give

that we are on a footing of perfect equality with those who have the same boundless capacity, are on the same footing of labour productive and making a people happy. They are not make their own laws. We are oppressed by no tyrant either discuss the public affairs of a nation. (Cheers.) We see principles which have for their object the greatest amount of ultimate result national grandeur, or if the laws should be unjustly examine a few of the effects of the laws of the United States Canadian laws bearing upon human industry, and consequently who have not studied United States polity or history may never only commenced with 1860; for many years before that era Occasionally before 1860 they levied duties which partook largely tariff; but in 1860, just about the time that the war broke out, in particular speculations succeeded to a certain extent in power and upon the Government of the country, and the laws which levied duties that were prohibitory in their character for any foreign country to send articles into the United States were capable of producing. The people of the United States silk goods, certain qualities of woollen goods and some other by actual facts that it was impossible for them to do two things thought they could—that is, by means of a prohibitory tariff with all the manufactured articles required, and at the same tries to compete in their markets. What is said by our manufacturers to get our manufactures fairly established, and we foreigners and to maintain entire control of our home market result of such a policy in the United States. After ten years acquiring a pretty large amount of manufacturing power and 1870 we learn that the goods manufactured in the United States \$4,232,525,000, or about, in round numbers, \$4,250,000,000. The greatest degree of prosperity which they ever enjoyed, and, steady decline in 1876. In 1876 the amount of their manufactures, in four years—to the extent of \$732,000,000, the goods from the United States in 1876 being \$69,500,000, per cent, of the entire amount of their total manufactures, unable to compete in foreign markets with any considerable success. Now let us take one or two instances to illustrate the relation of the States under different tariff systems. In 1876, the entire production as near as may be, \$100,000,000. The total exports of the \$688,612, or eleven-sixteenth of one per cent. of the entire production showed that they were utterly unable to compete in the market with other manufactures, who had no protection whatever to sustain their woollen manufactures of the United States. They had a protection through the greater portion of the period from 1860 to 1876, and in 1876 was \$134,000,000, while their exports only reached the same time they were compelled to admit woollen products without protection did not enable them to manufacture themselves to the extent of the United States manufacturers of clothing made altogether \$579,595 worth, or almost exactly their total product. To such a state were the manufacturers of the United States they were utterly unable to send a particle almost to any foreign countries, while England and other countries which had no Revenue Tariff, were able to send their goods to Asia, to the East Indies, to Africa, to the East Indies, and to almost every part of the globe, and completely to shut out the American manufacturers of the world. There are some before me who will also remember that the ships of Great Britain. At one time within the memory of the oldest man present land prevented any foreign ships from being brought into the United States from carrying any portion of the produce of Great Britain that whenever a protective system is adopted it will for a country—the manufactured products of a country—but I will think I shall be able to show you that, although it will increase the cause of terrible wreck and ruin amongst the manufacturers, it increased the production of the country. In the United States, when adopted, the entire value of the products in manufactures was in ten years of a protective system, the annual average had increased to nearly double of what it was in 1860—although a very small increase in value in 1870 is to be deducted in order to find the real rate upon American money at that time was such as would reduce to, as Mr. David Wells calculates, something between 90 and 100 per cent. an immense increase in the production of a country, and this increase was always sure to increase much faster than the ratio of increase. In 1870 the number of cotton spindles in the United States increased to 9,415,383, or in the ratio of 33 per cent. during that time had only increased 11 per cent. You will observe from this that the country were being produced much faster than could be consumed, of course, to one of two things—to compel the manufacturers to make so many goods. They tried to obtain a larger market for their goods, and reason that it cost so much in the United States to produce goods (Hear, hear.) When they shipped their goods to other countries, and trade England, and the result was that within a few years after the United States began seriously to retrograde. Take the case of iron. There was an unlimited field for the production of iron. There were then 800 iron blast furnaces in operation. At the present time

erty, are on the same footing of equality as to the means of making a people happy. They are not oppressed by any tyrant, and they are not oppressed by any tyrant either; we meet here as free men to a nation. (Cheers.) We meet here to consider those great objects the greatest amount of human happiness, and for their attainment, or if the laws should be unjust, national failure. I propose to show the laws of the United States, as compared with the effects of man industry, and consequently upon human happiness. Those States polity or history may not be aware that the real protective tariff; for many years before that country had a purely revenue tariff levied duties which partook largely of the nature of a protective tariff. At the time that the war broke out, manufacturers and others interested succeeded to a certain extent in getting a hold upon the legislative power of the country, and the result of that was the enactment of laws prohibitory in their character, as it was utterly impossible to get articles into the United States which persons in the United States the people of the United States were not, of course, able to exclude woolen goods and some other articles. Now we propose to show the means for them to do two things at once in the manner that they have means of a prohibitory tariff to supply the entire home market for goods required, and at the same time send goods to foreign markets. What is said by our manufacturers is this, "Give us enough protection fairly established, and we will then be able to compete with the free control of our home markets." Well, Sir, let us look at the United States. After ten years of protection they succeeded in the development of manufacturing power and productiveness. By the census of 1870, the goods manufactured in the United States amounted in value to \$1,250,000,000. They had at this time arrived at the point which they ever enjoyed, and from thenceforward there was a decline in 1876 the amount of their manufactured goods had fallen—that extent of \$732,000,000, the entire export of manufactured goods in 1876 being \$69,500,000, as near as possible only two per cent of their total manufactures, showing that they were utterly unable to compete in the markets of the world with English and other manufactures with my considerable staple manufactures of the country. To instances to illustrate the relative position of trade in the United States. In 1876, the entire produce of her iron manufactures was \$1,000,000. The total exports of that production amounted only to one per cent, of the entire produce of manufactures. This is unable to compete in the markets of the world with English and other protection whatever to sustain them. Let us take again the United States. They had a protection of something like 60 per cent of the period from 1860 to 1876. The total amount of their production, while their exports only reached the figure of \$685,323, and that compelled to admit woolen products from foreign countries that their own manufacturers to manufacture themselves to the extent of \$47,676,065. In 1876 the value of clothing made altogether goods to the value of \$160,000,000, or \$579,595 worth, or almost exactly one-third of one per cent. of the produce of a state were the manufacturers of the United States reduced that to send a particle almost of their whole product to other countries which had either entire Free Trade or a tariff to send their goods to Asia, to the West Indies, to the South American States, East Indies, and to almost every civilized nation on the globe, and the American manufacturer from the trade of the world. Let me who will also remember the restrictive laws which affected the United States at one time within the memory of very many who are present Englishmen from being brought into the country—prevented any foreign goods of the produce of Great Britain coastwise. There is no doubt that a system is adopted it will for a time increase the productions of a country—but I wish to argue this matter out, and I wish to show you that, although it will increase them for a time, it is only ultimately to ruin amongst the manufacturers who will have so great a share in the country. In the United States, when the tariff of 1860 was in force, the products in manufactures was about \$65 per head; but in 1870, the annual average had increased to about \$128 per head, or it was in 1860—although a very considerable part of that annual increase in order to find the real ratio value of that day. The discount of time was such as would reduce the average per capita from \$128 to \$90, something between \$90 and \$100 per head; still it was an increase of a country, and this same tendency to manufacture is increasing faster than the ratio of increase of population. For instance, in the United States was 7,114,000; but in 1874 it had increased to the ratio of 33 per cent. during these four years, while the population of the country. You will observe from this that the manufactures of the United States much faster than could be consumed, and thus leading, as a matter of course, to compel the manufacturers to find a larger market, or not to be satisfied with the market they tried to obtain a larger market, but they failed, for the United States to produce what they were making. They shipped their goods to other parts they were outsold by free trade, and that within a few years afterwards the producing capacity of the United States to retrograde. Take the State of Pennsylvania alone, where the production of iron. There were in that State in 1870 not less than 100,000 in operation. At the present time more than one-half of these blast

furnaces in other words, the number of the country. The value of the export of goods to foreign parts—last year was only \$200,000,000, or the seventh part of the whole, and that figure included goods shipped which had been imported in a raw state. Now, Sir, the United States exportation in 1876 altogether of domestic produce was \$525,582,247 gold worth, or an average per capita of \$13.80. Canada exported during that same year, with less than an eleventh of their population, \$72,491,437 worth, or an average rate of \$18.48 per head, against \$13.80 per head in the United States. (Cheers.) And to show that this was not at all an exceptional year, let us take the next year, viz. 1877, when the exports from Canada had somewhat decreased, and the exports from the United States had somewhat increased, in consequence of their indebtedness in foreign countries. A large amount of exports is not always a true measure of the prosperity of a country. A farmer who is deeply in debt is often under the necessity of providing for that debt by selling more of his stock than he can well part with, and to that extent he diminishes the productive power of his farm; for instance, if he tries to do with five horses what he requires six to do properly, in order that he may sell the sixth to pay interest on a debt, he indeed shows a greater amount of sales in the year, but it is at the expense of his prosperity. Well, Sir, the United States during the year ending June 30, 1877, exported of domestic products, in gold value, \$589,620,224 worth, or at an average per head of \$12.65; Canada exported during that year—and you all remember that the year 1876-7 was one of most unexampled depression, unexampled at least since the year 1857—the very worst year we had—to the amount of \$68,030,546, or an average of \$17.50 per head, being in excess of the United States exports at the rate of \$5.46 per head. (Cheers.) (A voice—How much did we buy for?) We bought nothing we have not been able to pay for. (Hear, hear.) I have a table here showing the entire exports of manufactured goods from the year 1860 to the year 1876 from the United States. They exported in that year, when they had only a revenue tariff such as we have now—that is in 1860—with a population of little over thirty-one millions, \$316,242,123, or as nearly as possible \$10 per head. Now, it was believed that with protection to enable manufacturers to accomplish a complete establishment of their business, the production of the country would be so increased that they would be able to flood foreign markets with their produce. Well, sir, what was the result? In 1877, after seven years of a protection period, the exports of manufactured goods had decreased to \$7.67 per head, so that as protection advanced the exports of goods decreased, and it was only after 1871, when a serious and continuous stagnation of business set in, and the manufacturers of the United States were compelled to sell at any prices which could be realized, when they were compelled to sell in order to pay their debts and prevent their manufacturing and mills being shut up, that there was a slight rally in the ratio of the export of manufactured goods. And even in 1876, when they were sending goods into this country and into other countries at prices far below their value, it only reached \$11.60; while in free Canada in that same year we exceeded them by \$6.88 per head. (Cheers.) But I do not forget that I am addressing workmen. I do not forget that I have risen to the position I now occupy from the ranks of the workingman. I have done my full share of the hard work of this world. (Cheers.) But I would be sorry indeed to see amongst my fellow-countrymen such an absence of thought and intelligence as would induce them to adopt a system which could only result in beggary and serfdom. (Cheers.) What does it matter to workingmen whether you are in subjection to some tyrant who doles out to you what he pleases as wages, or whether you are under the tyranny of laws which prevent you buying where you please and selling where you like? (Cheers.) That is the point we have to come to. What was the condition of the workingman during this period of which I have striven to give you a brief history, illustrated by figures which cannot be controverted? Sir, the workingman's wages undoubtedly rose, and taking the average wages of about twenty classes of artisans, embracing all engaged in the building trade, and all engaged in the leading manufactures, the wages rose about 60 per cent. from 1860 to 1870; that is, the man who was getting a dollar in 1860 in the United States, daily wages, was getting \$1.60 a day in 1870. Now, Sir, this fact simply stated would seem to bear out the proposition that protection is beneficial to the labouring man. But, Sir, with the rate of wages the price of materials rose in a still higher ratio. (Hear, hear.) Rents rose in a still higher ratio; everything that it was necessary for the workingman to have—everything that was conducive to his health and livelihood—rose in the proportion of 92 per cent. as against the 60 per cent. that wages rose. (Hear, hear.) It does not matter to you or me whether our wages are a dollar or a shilling, if the price of commodities correspond. Why, Sir, 150 years ago a shilling would go further in England than two will now, and if it took \$1.92 to buy what only \$1.60 was given to purchase, the labouring man, as you will see, was 1840 32 per cent. worse off than he was before the protection era commenced. But what is the state of matters now? From 1870 down to 1877 there has been a steady decline of wages in the United States, and at this moment the United States labourer and artisan gets less wages than the Canadian labourer and artisan—positively less in amount, and very far less in the purchasing power of that amount. If you desire to protect a particular industry, you must either protect all other industries at the same time, or you take a course unjust to the people; and, if you protect all industries alike, that means raising prices universally, but not making them a bit better. If, for instance, I have to go to the butcher and pay him 15 cents for what I bought before for ten, what does it amount to if my wages are five cents an hour more? Depend upon it, the best policy for any country is one under which you raise simply the amount of taxes that is necessary to carry on the affairs of the State; not one which requires the community to pay taxes to any member of it, but one which makes the country as cheap a country as you can live in. (Hear, hear.) For it is where there is a cheap livelihood for the workingman that the workingman is the most prosperous. Sir, these gentlemen speak loudly about protecting our industries. What does protecting our industries mean? They talk, Sir, about being the friends of the workingman, those who are thus clamouring to get you to put your necks in the noose, and to accept a policy which would be utterly fatal to your happiness and prosperity, and to the welfare and prosperity of the country, of which every workingman is a unit. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, let us take a glance at the effect of even the existing tariff upon the productions of the country. You are aware that boots and shoes are made extensively in Canada, and you are also aware that the duty upon that article is 17 1/2 per cent. So far as we are able to tell, the census of 1871 being taken as the authority, the value of the boots and shoes consumed in Canada in 1870 was \$16,133,638. Now,

— that the tariff we have is a very reasonable tariff for all manufacturers, and a somewhat onerous one in the prices which it involves to all the consumers. It cannot be denied that if consumers of this country pay 17½ cents for every dollar's worth they purchase, they pay very high indeed for the protection of the manufacturer of every single class of goods in this country. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I may say that if the United States is to be taken as a fair example of a country having a protective system—and it must be; for it is the only English speaking country in the world—the only country, I may say, of any kind which has deliberately adopted as a matter of principle a protective tariff—the result is the destruction of their manufacturers, the closing of their mills, indeed the failure of many of their manufacturers. But it is said, "Look at the number of failures in Canada." Canada must, no doubt, suffer in common with all countries at a time when trade is severely depressed over the whole world, but during the first quarter of the present year the failures in the United States were \$84,000,000, as against \$69,000,000 in 1876; while we had of failures during the last three months, nine millions against 7½ millions in 1876—showing the proportion of failures with the United States was at least as large as the proportion of failures in Canada. Now it is stated on the other hand that the United States manufacturers are, to a great extent, dependent upon foreign capital, and that their failures are caused by a lack of capital in the country. This is a great mistake, and it is shown to be a mistake by this fact—that you can get money in New York at the present time upon good security at three to five per cent., and we know that the United States have within the last nine months sold to their own citizens nearly 100,000,000 of bonds which only yield an interest of four per cent. The fact is that the utter failure of the manufacturers of the country to pay dividends to their stockholders has induced the capitalists of that country to withhold the abundant capital which they possess from investment in that way; and they are investing it in any way which will bring to them a reasonable amount of interest. Now, Sir, let us look at the total imports and exports of different classes of goods into this country. Taking the products of the mine, we had in 1877 a total importation of \$4,387,000 and an exportation of \$3,628,368. Of the importation of products of the mine, the chief item—the item which comprises almost the whole amount—was coal. The importation was 972,692 tons, with a valuation of \$3,669,000. Now, I would like to know from my friend, Mr. Hay, if he is favourable to a tax upon coal—(Hear, hear)—if he believes, or if any one believes, that a tax upon the coal which we use to light our household fires, to keep our manufactories going, and run our railways and steamers, is likely to benefit the industries of this country? ("No, no.") In addition to this, it is known that coal is a prime necessity for our great railways, thereby facilitating and cheapening the transport of the productions of the country from the interior to the seaboard, and it would, therefore, in this case, be one of the most serious mistakes that could be made to tax this mineral product. No, Sir, it is not contended that it would benefit the country, and no Ministry that ever lives will dare to impose a tax upon one of the first necessities of life. (Great cheering.) Another principal item is that of salt. Of that article we imported last year three millions of bushels. Now we have vast deposits of salt in Canada, and it would no doubt be beneficial to the Ontario salt producers to prohibit the importation of salt, which comes to the Maritime Provinces almost entirely from England. But, on the other hand, to do this would be to deprive our fishermen of the means of cheaply preserving the product of their industry; and when I say that our exports of fish last year amounted to \$5,874,000, you will see that to impose such a duty as would prevent the import of salt would only be ruining one interest by promoting another interest. Of products of the forest there were imported into Canada last year \$1,326,000 worth, and we exported to the amount of \$23,665,000. Does anyone believe—can anyone in his senses believe—that we could raise the price of lumber to the lumber dealers by imposing a duty upon an article that we practically do not import at all. The thing would be impossible. Then let us take animals and their produce. Of those we imported last year, to the amount, altogether, of about six millions and a-half in round numbers, while we exported fifteen and a-half millions, showing that we were able to export two and a-half times the amount we imported, and showing also that almost our whole imports of animals and their products were merely brought into the country for the sake of re-exportation at the other end of the country; and to let you see how ludicrous is the proposal to put a protective duty on animals and their products, I have but to mention that while there were exported 159,573 sheep last year from Ontario to the United States, we only imported seven sheep altogether from that country. (Laughter.) And yet the protectionist wants to tax these seven sheep to as great an extent as the Americans tax our 150 and odd thousands. (Laughter.) This is the way they propose that we should enrich ourselves. Of agricultural products, that is, grains and breadstuffs generally, we imported last year—and everyone will remember that was a very bad year, that it was one of the worst years we ever had—sixteen millions and a-half in round numbers of dollars worth. But then we exported of them, even in that bad year, 19,000,000½ dollars worth in round numbers, showing that it would be impossible by any tax to give the farmer a larger price for his produce than he now receives. Let us assume for a moment that by taxing foreign grain or flour we could keep it out of this country, it is possible that the workingmen of Toronto would ask us to tax the bread they ate. (Hear, hear, no.) Yet, Sir, that is exactly what the leaders of the Conservative party are asking us to do. They say that if flour was taxed it would raise the price to the miller, but if it did raise the price it would be done at the expense of the poor man who has to purchase it. (Hear, hear.) Sir John Macdonald stated in his speech in the Eastern Townships that if we happened to have a deficient harvest our own producers should reap the advantage of such prices as could be imposed by the levying of a duty on foreign breadstuffs. That is, that our buyers of bread should be compelled to pay high prices or starve. Let us shut out these foreign products and get as much as we can, by consuming our own, and that is equivalent to saying that as a matter of public policy it is right to tax the very bread which the poor man eats, the coal he burns, and the oil he consumes. (Hear, hear.) I now give you an extract from a return which was not published to show what the result of last year's harvest was—the first good harvest we have had for some years, though not so productive a one as we expected to reap. For the nine months ending the 31st of March we imported altogether \$11,074,000 worth of the farm—that is of grain and flour—and we exported during the same period \$20,851,017 worth, or very nearly \$10,000,000 more than we imported. Now, Sir, what was this used for? We imported it as a matter of trade, and that trade gives employment to our vessels and steamships. We have five distinct lines of steamships sailing from the port of Montreal to the European ports, while the United States, with forty-eight millions of people, are able to maintain only one line consisting of but

The first time you heard one of these gentlemen speaking of how he proposes to raise a revenue. (Hear, hear.) It must be one of you that the effect of a protective policy would be to raise a revenue, and in the next place to raise the price of everything when I say workingmen, I embrace the entire farming population, the inhabitants of the great cities—in short nearly all our aristocratic power, no great land owners apart from those who are all workingmen, and we have all to bear our share of the burden. But believe that the cry of protection is simply a delusive one. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) The Opposition have utterly failed in which their newspapers and their speakers have in the most confident of the Government, and knowing that they could not establish the confidence of the electors, and they raise the cry of protection over (hear, hear), then, Sir, you will find that Providence has had a good harvest, and they will say, or something else will be said, not in the same condition now that it was when these men were necessary, but we think, upon the whole, we can get on without it." (Hear, hear, and laughter.) A personal friend of mine, a very strong protectionist, was arguing the question with me. "Now, Mr. G., will you tell me where you are to get your money? He could not tell me. "Well," I said, "you must levy direct taxes upon every man his share of the tax would a Ministry live in Quebec if they adopted that policy?" twenty-four hours, if Parliament were sitting"—(laughter and existence would not be much longer. Now, Sir, in discussing respect to reason. There is no objection to the Tories, if the elections with, but let them take care that it does not involve which I have been discussing to-night. But, Sir, it may give rise of demagogues, and that is to act politically a dishonest and dishonourable of the gentlemen, Dr. Tupper, say when we proposed to add a duty in 1874 for the purpose of obtaining revenue enough to meet the announced it with the most intense vigour, declaring that he opposed it on the edge of the wedge of protection, (hear, hear, and laughter) drive into its head at the first opportunity. That, Sir, was the election. Last year was a year immediately preceding the horror that he had of the wedge of Protection in political standard which he could float with a degree of respect coming contest. (Cheers and laughter.) That is simply why it is nothing more in it. It is as hollow as it is possible for it to be, it will ever induce the thoughtful political man to swerve from the man at the present day. I do not know an English statesman back on the policy which the majority in Great Britain were the most remarkable speeches made on the subject lately was present Chancellor of the Exchequer. He pointed out in one half ago that no person made a greater mistake than to try to do any great party, or any party at all, in Great Britain, to undo during its existence, had retarded the prosperity of the country so effectually promotes its industries. Now, Sir, their theory is this—in a time of commercial depression, which we all admit, the true way to make them rich is to make them poor. (Laughter.) That is the panacea that is prescribed for a suffering. It carries absurdity on its face. Nothing could make man than a statement that we can make ourselves rich by making and wear. If you tax the shoemaker's goods for the tailor, you must tax the tailor and the linen draper to compensate will be so much the poorer by the cost that it takes to put the "Time, time." In pursuing the course we have taken, we give consideration on our side. We are able to point out a record of the United States for the last seventeen years, from the time that she adopted her revenue tariff policy, the universal wreck and ruin of the other. (Hear, hear.) Can we have no better footing as to geographical and physical conditions? (Hear, hear, and cheers.) You will find on all our public works new works on the Welland Canal—that at least one-half, if not more, employed there are Americans, who have come over because the States there are thousands upon thousands of idle men who are eating a state of terrorism which has had no example in that country because the protectionist has ruined its trade, and there are millions—a burden upon the rest of the country. It has depressed their power to buy goods from the manufacturer. All this and at such a cost, that they cannot be exported to foreign countries we take any pride in the policy of the Empire to which we belong our plan is politically to keep on all-ours with the rest of the money with that of the Mother Country in trade and in every way to act in unity with her. But these men—these Tory leaders, very salt of the earth as to loyalty—to be the means of present section—who are constantly denouncing myself or some of

