

**MR. MCNERNEY'S SPEECH.**

protection and free trade. I cannot do better than to refer, on this subject, to the authority of one of the greatest political economists of the age. I refer to John Stuart Mill. He says:

In the case of a young nation, protective duties were defensible on principles of political economy, when they were imposed "in hopes of utilizing a foreign industry in its infancy, and of making it a permanent benefit to the country."

Again, he says:

The whole question of the applicability in a particular nation of free trade or protection, must be studied out in accordance with the facts of the case.

So that, as I have stated before in this House, the question of free trade and protection is not an academic question. It is a question that must be taken into consideration with the situation surrounding you, when you apply it to the circumstances of any country. In addition to the opinion of Mr. Mill, I have other opinions of a later date; opinions which ought to have considerable weight in this country. I have an opinion given by John Charlton, at present a member of this House representing North Norfolk, and a member of this House when this opinion was delivered. He is a gentleman who stands high in the councils of the Liberal party of Canada, a man who ever since he delivered that speech, and before it, was a member of the Liberal party. I have his opinion as to what protection is and as to what may be derived from it. Says Mr. Charlton in a speech delivered in 1875:

It may be safely assumed that no nation has attained to greatness in commerce or manufactures without having, in the course of its history, imposed exactions and restrictions, notably the case of Great Britain. When industries are adapted to the land, it is the duty of the government to protect them.

And again:

I believe the agricultural interests of the Dominion would be promoted by protection, and that the manufacturer, being brought to the door of the farmer, would afford a market for a great many articles which would not be saleable if the market were three thousand miles away. With a home market established by protection to manufacturers, the farmer can benefit his soil by a rotation of crops.

I wonder what the hon. gentleman from Huron (Mr. McMillan) would say to that since he has given his opinion, that protection has injured and ruined the farmer of Canada. Mr. Charlton went on to say:

They had heard a great deal said about protection vs. free trade, but that was not the issue at the present time. The issue was as to the relative degrees of protection it would be proper to afford our industries. We have now what some considered an efficient protection, and what others claimed insufficient.

I have here under my hand, the opinion expressed by another gentleman, high in the councils of the Liberal party. Mr. Paterson, the member for Brant, speaking in 1878, said:

I hold that the position is impregnable: that there is a duty other than the collection of revenue devolving on a Minister of Finance. Let us look for a moment at the article of boots and shoes. Within my own recollection almost all these goods were imported from the United States and I remember that, when the tariff was raised to 10 per cent, a great stimulus was given to that branch of our industry which now finds employment for tens of thousands of persons. I am not one of those who believe in erecting a wall so high that you cannot trade with any other country, but I must admit I am in favour of a defensive policy. I cannot view with complacency what we see in this country.

And, Sir, what he, the hon. gentlemen (Mr. Paterson) could not see with complacency, was the policy that had been adopted and kept up by the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright). Now, Sir, in addition to that, I might quote the opinion given, in his green and verdant days as he said himself, by the hon. the leader of the Opposition; but I will let that pass, as it is so long ago that the hon. gentlemen (Mr. Laurier) does not want to be held responsible now for his utterances then. But, if I remember aright, the hon. gentleman (Mr. Laurier) said: that in order to establish an industry in Canada and keep it here, he was willing to go so far as to put on a prohibitory tariff. To-day the hon. gentlemen (Mr. Laurier) takes different ground. He looks forward to free trade he is an out and out free trader. At that time, Sir, when he was expressing the sentiment of his heart, when the sentiments of his heart were coming fresh from his heart, when perhaps he had not any political ambition to gratify; at that time the hon. gentleman (Mr. Laurier) was a protectionist pure and simple. Now, Sir, I rise from the opinion that I have just read to the House, to the opinion of one of the greatest men that ever lived upon this continent: the opinion of Daniel Webster. It has been said that Daniel Webster made one very strong free trade speech, and the Democratic tariff tinkers in the United States, are very fond of reverting to that speech which they say was delivered in 1843. But, in 1846, Daniel Webster spoke as follows in the United States Senate:—

The interest of every labouring community requires diversity of occupations, pursuits, and objects of industry. The more that diversity is multiplied or extended the better. To diversify employment is to increase employment and to enhance wages. And, Sir, take this great

truth place it on the title-page of every book of political economy intended for the use of the government, put it in every farmer's almanac, let it be the heading of the column in every mechanic's magazine, proclaim it everywhere, and make it a proverb—that, where there is work for the hands of men, there will be work for their teeth.

Where there is employment, there will be bread. It is a great blessing to the poor to have cheap food, but greater than that, prior to that, and of still higher value is the blessing of being able to buy food by honest and respectable employment. Employment feeds and clothes and instructs. Employment gives health, sobriety and morals. Constant employment and well-paid labour produce, in a country like ours, general prosperity, content and cheerfulness. Thus happy have we seen the country. Thus happy may we long continue to see it.

There, Sir, is an utterance in favour of protection from the greatest man, I think, this continent has ever produced. Now, Sir, I go from that speech to a speech delivered, it is true, by one of the greatest of protectionists, but also one of the greatest Americans ever born. I refer to Henry Clay's speech in the United States Senate in 1832. It is a long time ago, but economic principles are true forever. He says:

When gentlemen have succeeded in their design of an immediate or gradual destruction of the American system, what is their substitute? Free trade! The call for free trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child in its nurse's arms, for the moon, or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed. It never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports of any foreign nation shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to free trade on our part, but the work will not be complete until foreign powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions and exactions on the other. The bolts and the bars and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed.

In that speech there is a very remarkable quotation made from a speech delivered shortly before by Lord Goderich in the British Parliament. Lord Goderich had alluded to the violation of the Treaty of Methuen, and went on to say:

It was idle for us to endeavour to persuade other nations to join with us in adopting the principles of what was called "free trade." Other nations knew, as well as the noble lord opposite, and those who acted with him, what we meant by "free trade" was nothing more nor less than, by means of the great advantages we enjoyed, to get a monopoly of all their markets for our manufactures, and to prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations. When the system of reciprocity and free trade had been proposed to a French ambassador, his remark was, that the plan was excellent in theory, but, to make it fair in practice, it would be necessary to defer the attempt to put it into execution for half a century until France should be on the same footing with Great Britain, in marine, in manufactures, in capital, and in many other peculiar advantages which it now enjoyed.

Sir, I could point to numbers of authorities from eminent men, to prove that for a young country protection is a much better policy than free trade. But, Sir, before I sit down, I wish to try and illustrate the argument I have been making in favour of protection as against free trade by one or two examples. I hold that protection is amply vindicated and justified by results when it brings about three things: if it keeps the home market for the industry of the country, if it reduces the price of the article or keeps the price down, and if it enables the manufacturer to go abroad on the open markets of the world and compete openly there with the manufacturers of other countries, then I say protection stands fully justified and vindicated. We had a discussion some time ago with regard to the duty on agricultural implements; and this evening the hon. member for South Huron (Mr. McMillan), before taking his seat, endeavoured to show that the duty on agricultural implements was against the interests of the farmers of Canada. But we find, with regard to agricultural implements, that the tariff has brought about these three things of which I have spoken: it has reduced the price of the article, it has maintained the home market for the manufacturer, and it has permitted the manufacturer in Canada to go into open competition with the manufacturers of other countries in the open markets of the world. How is that proved? The latter part of the proposition is proved conclusively by the Trade and Navigation Returns, which show that in 1895 the manufacturers of agricultural implements in Canada exported \$663,718 worth to the open markets of the world. But the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), touching upon that, said, "Wasn't it a crime to allow the manufacturer of agricultural implements in Canada to receive a drawback for the implements he sent to meet with competitors in Argentina and other countries?" The hon. gentleman, if his facts had been correct, might have been all correct; but what will he say in regard to the fact that we sent last year to the open market of Great Britain \$300,000 worth, while we sent to Argentina only \$40,000 worth, or less than one-seventh the amount sent to Great Britain, and to Australia \$136,000 worth? Now, the question was asked the other day, and it was asked again to-day by the hon. member for South Huron: if protection conserves the home market, reduces the price and allows the country

manufacturer to go into competition abroad, particularly if it reduces the price, why do you keep up the duty? It seems to me very easy to answer that question. Just reverse it and ask: if the reduction of price is obtained by protection, what benefit would be obtained by taking the duty off? I cannot see that you would receive any.

Mr. Mills (Bothwell). We ought to have kept it on sugar, then.

Mr. McInerney. The same thing does not follow at all. This is not a sugar-growing country; but in this country we can manufacture agricultural implements just as well as they can in any other country. There are things on which it is not right to keep protection, and sugar is one of these. But if the requirements of the revenue demand a duty on sugar, I would say put a duty on sugar. Now, Sir, I must ask the House to pardon me for the very long time I have taken in making the remarks I have been allowed to make in the very incomplete way in which I have made them. I have endeavoured, in as concise a manner as possible, to place before the House the figures in which lie a fair comparison between the years 1873-78 and the years 1878-96; and I draw from these figures in every line the one conclusion, that from 1878 to 1896 the country has advanced in prosperity, whereas from 1873 to 1878 the very opposite was the case. Now, if we are to have a fair contest in the next appeal to the people, I think it will be on such a question as this that that contest will be carried on. But hon. gentlemen opposite will from time to time try to destroy the peace and harmony of this country on various other cries. Until they get into office, there will be no peace in this country. As a poet in the Atlanta "Constitution" has lately said:

There'll be peace in all this country  
From the mountains to the sea,  
And the rivers will go singing  
Just as merry as kin be;  
And the mule will pull the plow-stock,  
And the crows will all be killed,  
And the mortgage will be lifted  
When the offices are filled.

But not till then. But, Sir, for such a dishonourable peace, purchased at so dear a price as the filling of the public offices by our friends opposite, I think the intelligent people of this country, if rightly called upon, will not be willing to give their consent.

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