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The Victoria Warder FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1891.

Mr Blake's Reputation of the Unrestricted Reciprocity Party.

THE REASONS WHY HE DECLINED TO REMAIN IN POLITICS.

To the Members of the West Durham Reform Convention.

HOMERWOOD, Toronto, March 5, '91. GENTLEMEN,—I on the 11th February last I addressed to your president the following letter:

"Some days ago I requested to be allowed to wait on the Convention.

"My only wish was that my name should be withdrawn as it is impossible to accept the honor of a nomination; to give my reasons for this conclusion; to return my heart-felt thanks for the unbounded kindness of four and twenty years; and to bid my faithful friends an affectionate farewell.

"With this view I had prepared a paper for communication to them.

"It has been intimated to me that it is not desirable that I should take the course that I had chalked out, and consequently I defer the communication.

"Will you have the goodness to read this letter to the Convention?

"I will only add that the writing of it is the most painful event in the political life of which I am the cause."

"I have now to ask you to receive my most grateful acknowledgments of your resolution of 13th February, couched in terms which I know are extravagantly beyond any deserts of mine, and which I can accept only as a last and crowning mark of your kindness and partiality.

"I have feared from the beginning that every hour's fishing in the contest which ends to-day must widen the rift between me; and that it close must leave me isolated in opinion and deprived of any right to expect your continued confidence.

"Therefore, I am cheered by no such expectation now.

"But I must give you 'vera pro gratia' thanks for compliments, you should know the grounds of my retirement.

"And with that view, an excuse for recidivism having ceased, I enjoin the paper referred to in my quoted letter.

I have, etc. EDWARD BLAKE.

PAPER REFERRED TO IN THE ABOVE LETTER. To the Members of the West Durham Reform Convention.

HOMERWOOD, Toronto, Feb. 6, 1891. GENTLEMEN,—I hope that you will not deem me presumptuous in assuming that my name may be submitted to you as a Liberal candidate for West Durham.

"By your extraordinary favor I have been permitted to serve you for the greater part of four and twenty years, during which long interval public affairs have mainly occupied my time and thoughts.

"There is much to be done and much to be prevented at Ottawa; and, while deeply sensible of many shortcomings, it yet seems reasonable to suppose that the experience of all these years has made me less unfit than formerly for your service.

"This is the sphere which offers the best prospect of usefulness to my country, during which short remainder of life in which I would labor for her, as remembering that 'the night cometh, when no man can work.'

"I have been anxious then to retain the asset with which the habits and interests of my life are interwoven; and to the duties of which I had arranged to devote the bulk of my time.

"So continuing for West Durham would be my greatest gain; the severance of our connection will inflict a bitter pang.

"Therefore I pray you not to suppose that it is dependency on the future of

past efforts, or preference for ignoble ease or sordid toil, or indifference to your warm friendships and generous consistency that lead me to ask the withdrawal of my name.

"It is due to both of us that you should know my reasons.

"3. Irrespective of the trade question, it is important in the interest of our party that the Liberal party, if it falls to win the election, should yet maintain and increase its strength in order to the efficient discharge of the general duties devolving on it—duties at this moment cast into the shade; but none the less essential to the public good.

"4. Yet, plainly, the issue which the party has thrown up is to tender for the judgment of the electorate is that of unrestricted reciprocity, or absolute free-trade with the States; an issue which has been maintained as 'the sole party plank' ever since it was put forward in 1857.

"5. Being at this time in Europe, I wrote, and after some fully stated to leaving me my views on this head.

"It was agreed that, unless the conditions should change, it would clearly be my duty, when called on to address the constituency, to make known those views; but the desire was expressed, in the party interest, that they should not be then published.

"Having decided to yield to every wish of my friends compatible with honor, and hoping against hope that some turn of events might ameliorate a situation to me most painful, I yielded to this wish.

"6. Lately, when a provincial convention was summoned, on my fifth session was approaching, I thought it right to convey to the riding association, as a basis for discussion, some brief intimation of my opinions.

"But, on the statement of prominent men that its publication would, even then, be detrimental to party interests, my letter was held back for a few days.

"Pending discussions on the matter, the discussion has been precipitated, we are now in the throes of the election; and I feel bound to limit my confidence to you alone to-day.

"8. Even when reduced by the elimination of essential political considerations, our trade and fiscal policy remains a vast and complex question, on which it is impossible, within the limits of an address, to give much more than general conclusions, omitting many qualifications of statements and links of argument.

"Of these conclusions some are in their nature essential, and not demonstrable; and their realization may be precipitated, modified or retarded by political and sentimental, as well as commercial and economic considerations, and by events alike beyond our ken and our control.

"They are stated then by no means dogmatically, which would be absurd; but only as the best forecasts in my power on doubtful matters, about which, and the times allowed, silence might have been more prudent than speech.

"So much promised, let me tell you what I think.

"7. In our present political condition, a moderate revenue tariff, approximating to free trade with all the world and coupled with Liberal provisions for a reciprocal free-trade with the States, would be, if practicable, our best arrangement.

"But—though we may and should greatly improve our tariff, whose defects, anomalies and oppressions, very serious in 1880, have been much aggravated since, and though we may and should substantially reduce the public expenditure—yet, as explained at Malvern, the result of our policy for the last 13 years is that we should be compelled for an indefinite time to raise the bulk of an enormous revenue by the duties on imports.

"On the other side it seems to be the settled policy of the States to decline a limited reciprocity.

"So that what would be best is not now attainable.

"8. The Canadian Conservative policy has failed to accomplish the predictions of its promoters.

"The result of the policy has been, as foretold twelve years ago, towards disintegration and annexation; instead of consolidation and the maintenance of that British constitution of which they claim to be the special guardians.

"It has left us with a small population, a scanty immigration, and a Northwest empty soil; with enormous additions to our public debt and yearly charge, an extravagant system of expenditure, and an unjust and oppressive tariff, with restricted markets for our needs, whether to buy or to sell, and all the basis of evils (greatly intensified by our special conditions) thence arising; with trade diverted from its natural into foreign and therefore unprofitable channels; and with unfriendly relations and growing tariff walls, ever more and more estranging us from the mighty English-speaking nation to the south, our neighbors and relations, with whom we ought to be, and it was promised to be, and it is now a living in generous amity and liberal intercourse.

"Worse; far worse! I have left us with lowered standards of public virtue; and a death-like apathy in public opinion; with racial, religious and provincial animosities rather inflamed than soothed; with a subservient parliament, an autocratic executive, debauched consciences and corrupt and corrupting classes; with lessened self-reliance and increased dependence on the public chest and on legislative aid; and possessed withal by a baseless jingo spirit, far enough removed from true manliness, loudly proclaiming unreal conditions and exaggerated sentiments, while actual facts and genuine opinions are suppressed.

"It has left us with our hands tied; our fire unquenched; and in such a plight that whether we stand or move, we must run some risk which else we might have either declined, or encountered with greater promise of success.

"9. Yet let us never despair of our country! It is a goodly land; endowed with great recuperative powers and vast resources, unexplored, inhabited by populations many religions, sober industries, virtuous and thrifty, capable and interested—the descendants of a choice immigration, of men of mark and courage, energy and enterprise; in the breasts of whose children still should glow the sparks of those ancestral fires.

"Under such conditions all is not lost! 'Though much be taken, much abides.' And if we do but wake from our delirious dream, face the stern facts in time, repair our errors, and amend our ways, there may still remain for us, despite the irrevocable past, a future, if not so clear and bright as we might once have hoped, yet fair and honorable, dignified and secure.

"10. Let me glance at some of the economic propositions which are advanced for our approval.

"And, first, as to that revival in Britain of home and colonial agricultural protection which conservatives invite us to expect.

"Federation, Federalists, Tories and Protectionists, to the contrary, notwithstanding—there is, I believe, no reasonable prospect that the people of the United Kingdom will seriously engage in a struggle, to which their whole Liberal party is opposed, and their Conservative Prime Minister has likened to a civil war—a struggle to turn back, for forty years the clock of time, and to achieve a social, industrial and economic revolution—in order to re-impose protective duties which shall effectively restrict, in favor of their own landlords, and of colonial producers like ourselves, the supply of their staple foods.

"The increase of foreign manufactures, so far stimulated by hostile tariffs, may rather darken and contract the prospects of Britain as the workshop of the world; some of her dependencies may propose to assert their manhood, and even to assume their place, alone or in partnership with others, in the great family of nations; the justly justly regarded certain of the domains of the older school of political economy; her present generation may be less instructed in its fundamental and impractical propositions than were their fathers who lived through the corn law campaign; her impatient Democracy may incline to the suggestion that reciprocity be not wanted to her case, of retaliation or reciprocal preference; yet, for all that, I cannot bring myself to believe that she will ever decide to tax the bread and beef which sustain the toilers in her industrial hive.

"And, indeed, it seems difficult to conceive a suggestion which, coming from this to alienate British feeling; even though accompanied by the sop of a delusive differential duty in favor of British manufacturers.

"11. While that free market which the United Kingdom, on a just conception of its own interests, opens permanently to all the world, is to us of very great value; and while every prudent effort should be made to enlarge our exports there and elsewhere beyond the seas, yet the results of all such efforts must be far below those to flow from a free market throughout our own continent.

"If, however, the United States tariff will (and, indeed, unless very high sugar duties be re-imposed, must) for a long time remain like our own, decidedly protective; still there is a fair expectation, based on the last election there, that sooner or later the tariff will be reduced to a level which will be no less than a revenue tariff, and that it will be so adjusted that it will be more moderate and favorable to the consumer than that which preceded the McKinley Bill; and may eventually approach what is known as a revenue tariff, incidentally, though still substantially protective.

"12. Having regard to this expectation, unrestricted free trade with the States, even though accompanied by higher duties against the rest of the world than 1 for an admiral, give in practice the great measure of free trade, much larger than we now enjoy or can otherwise attain; it would greatly advance our material interests, and help us to realize our largest, most substantial and most promising industries; it would create an influx of population and capital, and promote a rapid development of forces and materials now almost unused; in three words, it would give us men, money and markets.

"That I would emphatically be for the general and lasting good. And this, although of course it would produce, as all great changes do, temporary derangement of business and local losses; would strike hard some spending and exotic industries wholly tariff born, tariff bred and tariff fed; and would put on their mettle a good many material industries and manufactures; it would be a breath of competition, and others who would be obliged to adopt the specialization and the improved methods of production and distribution, which, to the signal advantage of the general consuming public, a large market allows and demands.

"13. Assuming consent on the part of the States, our financial difficulty is to be considered.

"Obviously, any practicable plan involved differential duties against the United Kingdom and the rest of the world.

"But, even with such duties, the gaps in revenue, due to the loss of present taxes on imports from the States (an on imports from Britain, to be replaced by home and U.S. manufactures, could be very substantially closed by being filled by a tax and coffee tax, and other available taxes of a like nature, and by practicable economies.

"Direct taxation, even in its most promising form, a succession tax, is, I regret to say, at present out of the question.

"As to the financial position presented by unrestricted reciprocity I have no solution which would leave us without a good deficit.

"14. I have said that any feasible plan involves differential duties; but it does more. It involves—as to the bulk by agreement, and as to much from the necessity of the case—substantial assimilation, in their leading features, of the tariffs of the two countries.

"The absence of agreement would give to each country power to disturb at will the industrial system of the other; and unrestricted reciprocity without an agreed assimilation of duties is an unsatisfactory dream.

"For example, the States could not at present, without destroying their industrial system, admit free wool or iron manufactures, the produce of wool or iron freely imported by us from beyond seas; nor could we, without destroying ours, levy on raw materials higher duties than those laid by the States.

"As the same basis, or revenue necessities would constrain us to call for duties, at the most protective (which, of course, does not mean the highest) rate, on whatever imports might remain available to us for revenue purposes.

"Again, differing rates of duty on imported goods, of a class so produced here in the States, would open a wide door to frauds on the transfers of goods of that class between the two countries—a door which could be but imperfectly barred by increased, vexatious and rigorous Customs examinations into the country of origin.

"15. Any practicable arrangement, so substantially involving, not only differential duties, but a common tariff, Unrestricted Reciprocity becomes, in these its redeeming features, difficult to distinguish from Commercial Union.

And Commercial Union—establishing

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