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The Canadian Post.

LINDSAY, FRIDAY, FEB. 1, 1895.

LAURIER AT MONTREAL.

ELOQUENT SPEECH BY THE GREAT LIBERAL LEADER.

(Continued from first page.)

DEBATE HOUSE.

Mr. O'Brien speaks as follows:—"From Liverpool to New York is 3,040 miles. From Liverpool to Montreal is 2,790 miles. From New York to Duluth via railroad to Buffalo is 1,437 miles and via the Erie canal 1,517 miles. From Montreal to Duluth via the St. Lawrence is 1,354. From Liverpool to Duluth via Montreal and the St. Lawrence is 4,144 miles, which will shortly be unbroken deep water navigation. From Liverpool to Duluth via New York is 4,277 miles or 4,577 miles, according as the route be via the New York Central railroad or the Erie canal to Buffalo. Montreal is 250 miles nearer Liverpool than New York and is 83 or 163 miles nearer Duluth. From Liverpool to Duluth the route via Montreal is 333 or 413 miles shorter than the route via New York." Let us translate these distances into dollars and cents and see what commercial advantages the Canadians will realize on the completion of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence water route from the Great Lakes to the seaboard. That is the advantage of Montreal. Now, perhaps some one may tell me, "Oh, we can have all this with protection," and some will say, it will come to the same thing whether we have protection or not. I say that you cannot have the benefit of that trade to the ocean unless you have return cargoes coming from Europe. (Cheers.) And there is nothing surer than that protection destroys maritime trade. There is no fact that is surer than this. It has been proven by the experience of all nations. Let me again quote the authority to which I alluded a moment ago, that is, the authority of Mr. O'Brien, upon the result of protection upon the American maritime trade:—"We have lost the ocean carrying trade. We once carried a large trade for other nations, and the bulk of our own exports and imports in our own vessels, but our shipping has dwindled both actually and relatively, compared to that of other nations, until we now depend almost entirely on foreign ships. Since 1868 the proportion of our foreign trade carried in our vessels has dwindled from 73 7-10 to 13 3-10 per cent., or five-sixths. Shall we wait patiently and lose our lakes and coast shipping also?"

**BRITISH MARITIME TRADE.** That has been the result of a different system and a different policy. In England, for instance, let me give you the figures. I have given you the result of protection on the American maritime trade, and now let me give you the result of the freedom of trade upon the English maritime trade. I quote from an article recently published in the Boston Globe and very carefully prepared:—"Fifty years ago England controlled one-third of the carrying trade on high seas, but now it controls more than one-half, or literally possesses 55 per cent. of the carrying trade of the world. Its tonnage of vessels increased from 3,310,000 tons in 1840 to 10,200,000 in 1892, or 210 per cent. It has increased steadily with a greater ratio of gain than that of any other country the past ten years. That is the result, sir, of a different system."

**MONTREAL'S SITUATION.** Now, I ask every man here how best will Montreal take advantage of its situation. Montreal, situated as she is at the end of ocean navigation, and at the head of inland navigation—how best will she take advantage of her situation? Will she best take advantage of it by a system of protection which will kill her maritime trade, or will she not best take advantage of it by removing the shackles from trade as far as it is possible to remove them, and to the extent that it is possible to remove them? I gave you, a moment ago, the names of Sir Hugh Allan, of the Hon. John Young, who have been the makers of Montreal, but long before the days of Sir Hugh Allan, and long before the days of the Hon. John Young, 200 years before them, there was a citizen of Montreal who had had a glimpse into the future of the development of this city. I refer to the very famous name of Robert Cavillier de la Salle. He realized what would be the greatness of the city of Montreal some day. He had heard of a great river in

the west, which he supposed was connected with the system of the great lakes, and which he also supposed entered into the Pacific ocean, and by which, as he imagined, it would be possible to bring the trade of the Orient to the city of Montreal. He went in search of that river. His surmises were not found correct; the river did not open into the Pacific Ocean, but into the Gulf of Mexico. However, he found an immense territory of land of the most fertile nature under the sun, and his vision showed him that land inhabited by teeming millions, and the commerce of that territory much greater than that of the commerce of the Orient. And if he were to come back to life he would find to-day on one side of the lakes the province of Ontario, the province of Manitoba, the N. W. T., and on the other side the state of New York, the state of Ohio, the state of Illinois, the state of Wisconsin, the state of Michigan, the state of Montana and even the state of Dakota. In the states and territories he would see millions of men of the Anglo-Saxon race, the great commercial race of the world, he would see a trade larger than the trade of the Orient, and he would find these water stretches which he travelled in a birch bark canoe now traversed by all the facilities which modern science can give. But he would find against all this that while trade is coming in naturally through this great waterway the people of Montreal are putting obstacles upon that trade and sending it back towards Europe. Now, it seems that for all these reasons you can appreciate that the policy of the city of Montreal should not lie in the way of the restriction of trade. The policy of the city of Montreal should not lie in the way of contraction of trade, but in freedom of trade. That is what I am here to argue and that is what I am here to propose to you to-night.

who may say to me, "Oh, it is all very well for you to say so; but what do you know about the business?" Well, I have read something. I do not manufacture, but I have read something, and every morning I read The Montreal Gazette, which is something. (Laughter.) You need not laugh, gentlemen. For my part I read The Gazette every morning. I breakfast upon it. (Laughter.) I will not say that it is absolutely wholesome food, but I am like Mithradates—I am poison-proof. I have read in The Gazette the statement that if you remove protection raw material would no longer be free. I say that if we were to have a revenue tariff raw materials would be free. Raw materials are not free to-day under the protective system. There are certain raw materials which are free. Wool is free. Cotton is free also; but is iron free? But there are two articles which are the raw material of every manufacturer, and these are coal and iron, and are they free? If you have a revenue tariff the object will be to develop the country, and all raw materials should be free under such a tariff. (Cheers.) I think I can give you, gentlemen, a little illustration as to the effect of protection and non-protection. Germany is a country after the heart of the Canadian protectionist. Germany for the Germans is the motto there, and you know Prince Bismarck, who was in power for a great many years, never did things by halves. In 1880 Prince Bismarck undertook to give still more protection to the refiners of beet root sugar. He put enormous import duties on sugar, but not satisfied with that he placed upon the export of German sugar to foreign countries enormous bounties. He gave to the refiners of German sugar enormous bounties on every ton they exported. Thus protected with an import duty and an export bounty, the refiners of sugar in Prussia were able to flood the English market with German sugars, which were retailed upon the counters of the English trader at a price actually lower than the cost of production.

**THE ENGLISH REFINERS.** Now, I admit that this was a very serious matter for the English refiners of sugar. The English refiners put up their complaint before Lord Salisbury. They represented that they could not compete with the German sugars, which were actually sold to the English mechanic at a price below the cost of production. Well, Lord Salisbury said in effect to this deputation of refiners, "Do I understand you well, gentlemen? You tell me that in consequence of the export duties paid by the German people to the refiners of German sugar that this German sugar is sold to-day to the English people at a price lower than the cost of production? If that be the case," said Lord Salisbury, "if the English people to-day are supplied with sugar at a price below the cost of production, I do not think the English people have very much to complain about after all—(cheers and laughter)—and if the German taxpayers will tax themselves in order to supply the English consumers can stand it just as long and perhaps longer than the Germans." (Cheers.) Lord Salisbury dismissed the sugar refiners with these remarks. But, sir, before I proceed any further, let us change the scene of action. Let us suppose that this incident had not taken place in England, but in Canada. In the city of Montreal there are some sugar refiners, and it is supposed, rightly or wrongly, perhaps rightly, that the refiners of sugar in Montreal are pretty deep in the confidence of the government. (Laughter.) Now, if the city of Montreal had been flooded with German sugars which were sold to the poor merchants of the city of Montreal at a price actually lower than the cost of production, I imagine that the sugar refiners in the city of Montreal would have done just the same as the English refiners, and have gone to the government to lay their case before Mr. Foster, the minister of finance. I have told what was the answer of Lord Salisbury to the English refiners of sugar, but do you think that the answer of Mr. Foster, the Canadian finance minister, would have been the same to a Canadian deputation of sugar refiners under similar circumstances? ("No, no!" Mr. Foster would have said, "Why, gentlemen, do you tell me that German sugar refiners have the audacity to bring their sugar and sell it in Canada at a lower price than the cost of production? Oh, gentlemen, that will never do. Canada for Canadians, and Canadian sugars for Canadian mouths; and we will have duties levied to prevent German sugar from coming in to interfere with Canadian refiners." (Laughter.)

**THE BETTER POLICY.** Let me ask you, gentlemen, which is the wiser of the two opinions, that of Lord Salisbury or that of Mr. Foster? Which do you suppose is the better policy? Is it the policy of Canada, which taxes her people to give them a dear article of food, or is it the policy of England, which says, "We are ready to profit by the whole world, and if they give us anything free and cheap we will take it?" I think the policy of England is the wiser one. (Cheers.) But what took place in England when the sugar refiners told this answer from Lord Salisbury? The sugar refiners did not pine, they did not lament, they did not weep, but as true Britons they went to work and they converted their machinery so as to make it useful for the manufacture of jams and preserves, and they bought the cheap German sugars to manufacture them. (Cheers.) Men of Montreal, what example will you follow? I will tell you what I would do about that, but before I tell you what I would do I will tell you what the conservatives will do. (Laughter.) The conservatives are the great loyal party of Canada, as you know. (Laughter.) Whenever they are driven to the wall and beaten in argument they have an argument of their own to use upon their opponents, and they say to them, "You are not loyal, and we are the great loyal

party of this country." Which is the best policy for you to follow? Is it the sound common sense of England which takes its sugar wherever it comes from at the lowest possible price or the policy of Germany which, in order to maintain its infant industries, takes the money out of the pockets of the German people and puts it into the pockets of the German sugar refiners. There is no use pursuing that argument any further; the policy of England is the common sense one. (Cheers.)

**REVENUE.** I now come to another argument which seems to weigh very much on the minds of our conservative friends, although I must say that it never has disturbed my head. All the conservative papers and all the conservative orators say to you, "Oh, if you are going to reduce the tariff, how are you going to get a revenue? Gentlemen, it is not necessary to make any very serious argument to answer that question. We are asked how are you going to raise a revenue, and the answer is simply this, "by having a tariff for revenue." The tariff that we have in Canada to-day is not a tariff for revenue, and I could quote to prove this the words of Mr. Foster, the finance minister, which he gave utterance to not later than last session of parliament. Mr. Foster then said: "The other and third method is the protective tariff, by which you select a certain list of articles and place upon them certain rates of import with a view of raising a certain amount of money for the services of the country, but more especially with this view, that whilst you raise the amount of money that is necessary for the country, you must stimulate the development of the country." Gentlemen, you have it here plainly stated that the object of the tariff is not to raise a revenue. That is only an incident of the protective tariff, but the first object of the tariff is to raise money so as to develop our infant industries, that is to say, to raise taxes not to place in the pockets of certain favored classes and individuals. (Cheers.) Now, reverse the principle. Have a tariff not for protection, but simply for revenue, and it is quite clear, nay, it is as plain as can be, that with a lesser amount of duties you will have more revenue than you have under the present system at the present time. (Hear, hear.)

**THE REASONABLE COURSE.** Now, sir, there is another and very serious question. I have told you that our object is to have a customs tariff based upon the principles of revenue only. How is to be effected? As far as the settlement of that question goes we are met between two extreme sets of men. We are met by those who fear that we will go too far, and by those who fear that we will not go far enough. We are met by those who fear we will move too rapidly and by those who believe we will be over-cautious; between immovability on the one side and revolution on the other. There is another sound course, and that is the true principle of reform—the principle of British reform, which moves gradually step by step, and which never flinches until the end has been achieved. (Cheers.) I refer to that British reform which was very careful not to inflict any unnecessary hardship on any industry; and in the language of the resolution which I quoted to you, "While not doing injustice to any class, will promote domestic and foreign trade and hasten the return of prosperity to our people." (Cheers.) To-day in the streets of Montreal you meet upon every hand men with long faces, I do not know whether their anxiety is absolutely genuine, or whether it is put on. Perhaps it is genuine, and perhaps also it is put on. These people say to you: "If the liberals get into power, and very probably they will next time, they are going to abolish protection, and by abolishing protection they are going to create a panic, a certain disturbance of values that will bring on a financial crisis." Now, sir, if that reasoning means anything it would simply mean this—that reform would be forever impossible, and that if it be the misfortune of a country to be saddled with a vicious system—I do not care of what kind, economic, political or any other—then nobody should dare to touch that system because the process of reform would cause some displacement of interests. (Cheers.) But, gentlemen, there is a way, and a way of reform. We are willing to go for precedents to the old land, which has passed through that ordeal before us. In 1846 Sir Robert Peel carried England over from protection to free trade, and he did it by a gradual process which avoided all disturbance of values, and which avoided all financial crises. That is a precedent which, good for England, is good for Canada, and which ought to be still more sensible for Canada to adopt than it was for England, because the interests involved are not so great in Canada to-day as they were in England then—(cheers)—and the step would be here. The step in England was all the way from protection to free trade, whereas we propose in Canada to go from protection to a revenue tariff. Under such circumstances the duty is plain for the liberal party. (Cheers.) I have expressed here exactly what we want. Upon the question of principle there can be no compromise. We stand here against protection and in favor of a customs tariff based upon the principles of revenue and nothing else. (Cheers.) That is a position well understood, and I believe that under such a system all parties, all classes and all interests, the manufacturers, the merchants and the shippers of produce, will know exactly where they stand and will be in a better position to do business than they are under the shifting process of a protective tariff.

**THE LAST ARGUMENT.** The conservatives have always another argument against us, and their last and supreme argument is always the loyalty

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