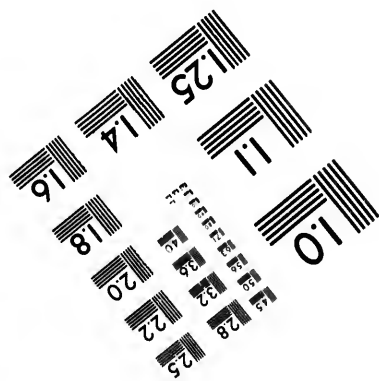
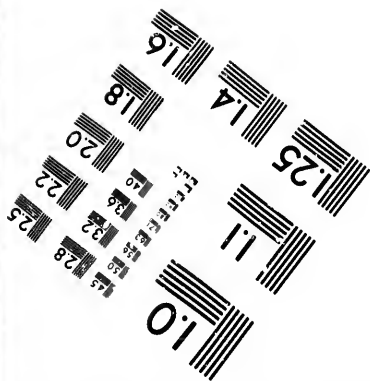
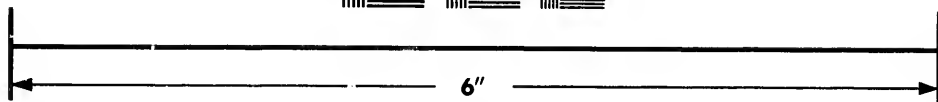
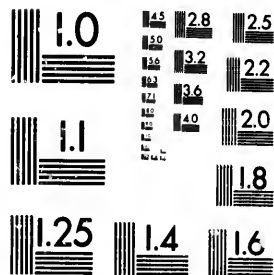


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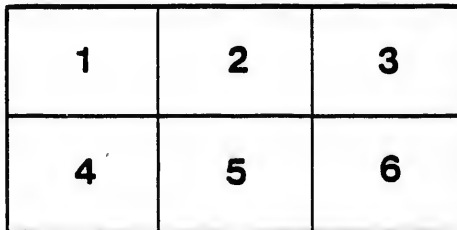
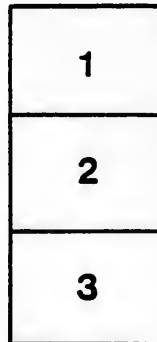
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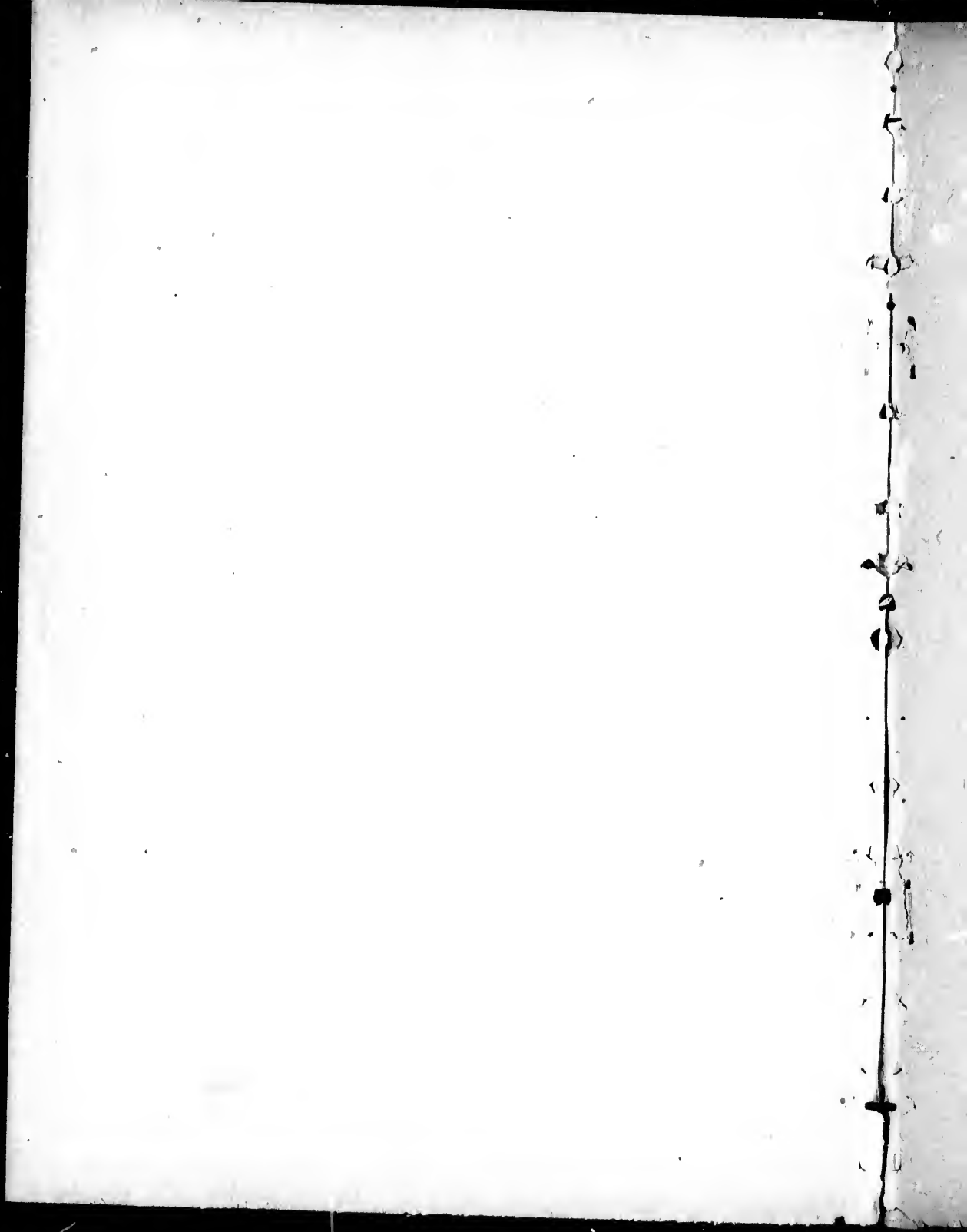
THE NEW TARIFF:

A Speech

Delivered in the Canadian House of Commons,
April 2nd, 1894, by

NICHOLAS FLOOD DAVIN, M.P.

1894



PREFATORY NOTE.

AT the request of my late revered Friend, Rev. Dr. Ryerson, I have assumed the duty of preparing for future publication a Personal and Historical Narrative of events connected with the founding and administration by him of our Educational System.

The *Narrative* will, however, include not only the period of Dr. Ryerson's incumbency of the office of chief administrator of the Education Department, but also that of his late successor, the Hon. Adam Crooks, the first Minister of Education.

My materials are rich and ample. Not only did Dr. Ryerson entrust me with the whole of his private correspondence with Public Men and Ministers of State on educational matters, but I have also had a voluminous correspondence, from time to time, with him myself on several important subjects connected with our School System. These, with various memoranda and other information, will be available for the *Narrative*. They will the more clearly illustrate than did *The Story of My Life* the great ability and statesmanlike qualities of the late Chief Superintendent of Education* as founder and administrator of our School System.

Although the *Narrative* may be prepared in the course of a year or so, yet it is not intended to publish it just now. I believe that such a personal record will likely be of more interest to the next generation than it would be to the present—especially as so many storms and personal conflicts marked the era

* In *The Story of My Life* I have only incidentally referred to Dr. Ryerson's connection with our educational system, and have given no particulars, as I had proposed to do so in this *Narrative*. See note on page 351 of that book.

Mr. MULOCK. Does the hon. gentleman say that, under the present tariff, the necessities of life are free?

Mr. DAVIN. I say that, under the present tariff, what are commonly called the necessities of life are free, and I shall be glad, when the hon. gentleman speaks, if he will show how, as the hon. gentleman who proposed this motion, has not done, he could get the revenue needed for carrying on the business of Canada without taxing articles which, according to his interpretation of the phrase, "necessaries of life," would come within that category. I will go further than that, I will promise to vote with the hon. gentleman, when it comes to a division, if the ablest amongst them will rise and show how the wit of man could raise the revenue necessary for carrying on the affairs of Canada at this moment by customs and excise, without having in the customs tariff, as my hon. friend the Finance Minister suggested, some of the elements of protection, (Cheers). At the first glance of this tariff, those of us who advocated reductions in the interest of the farmer, were disappointed. We had hoped that, for instance, agricultural implements would be free, that one or two other articles would be free; but, when I came to examine the tariff as a whole, I came to this conclusion, and I will endeavour to show that is the case before I sit down, that those for whom we agitated last session and the session before, have received a great deal more than if we had been successful last year and had induced the Finance Minister to give us that comparatively contracted measure of reform which we urged upon him at that time. The Finance Minister, and the Government generally, instead of doing what we asked them, took a course of which, at the time, I did not approve. They said: "We will not do that; on the contrary, we will postpone this matter for a year; some of our members will go and see the manufacturers and the farmers, and we will make ourselves acquainted with the exact condition of affairs." There were excuses, I confess, for their taking that course, because those who spoke, as representatives of the people, uttered a divided voice in the House. Some said they

wanted a tariff reform in the direction embodied in the motion which I had the honour to place on the motion paper. Others said they did not think such a reform was needed, that the farmers were perfectly content. Under those circumstances, it was perfectly natural that the Government should say that they must come into direct contact with the people of the country. Another idea, evidently, came into the minds of the Government. It occurred to them that, if they made any move, and it was so stated by the Prime Minister, I think, there must be a general revision, that the time has come to revise the tariff, and a general revision should be made, and the only way that it could be done was by doing, but more thoroughly, what Sir Leonard Tilley did in 1879, go about the country, come into contact with the various industries and ascertain exactly how they were progressing, and how much reduction could be made with loyalty to the principle on which hon gentlemen stood, as a Government, and with justice to the industries that had been called into being by that policy. The hon. Minister of Finance and Senator Angers came west; and, from the moment they touched the west, there was one universal voice in favor of certain reductions or certain abolitions in regard to duties on articles used by the farmers. The result of their coming west was, that one of the papers opposed to me attacked me, as if the coming west of those gentlemen showed that the Government had no confidence in what I represented in this House. But I pointed out to those who attacked me, as I point out now, that it was most natural, seeing that the voice coming from the west was divided and the Ministers should take the course they took. We had a meeting at Regina, and Mr. Bole, a prominent farmer, spoke at it. The hon. Finance Minister was so struck with the ability and exhaustiveness of the speech made by Mr. Bole, that he turned round to me and asked who he was, and expressed the opinion, which he holds in common with all who heard that gentleman, that the speech was a thoughtful one, and that, evidently, he was well posted. Mr. Bole asked for a reduction in certain directions,

he asked for certain duties to be swept away; and this is what he said in the hearing of the Finance Minister:—

As to implements, there is a great difference of opinion, but he believed the time had come when the duty should be reduced. 35 per cent. was a protection duty. It should be reduced to 15 or 17½ per cent. It was all right to protect them when they were infant industries, but the day had arrived to reduce the duties.

I think I remember that the hon. gentleman who leads the Opposition in this House, stated, when he discussed this question, that any reduction which had to be made should be made gradually; and, in fact, I stated to the hon. gentlemen on the Reform side of the House, in discussing this very tariff, that if the parties had crossed the House, if the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) stood in front of the chair occupied at this moment by the Finance Minister, he would not, he dared not, have brought down duties lower than those embodied in this tariff. Here is a book written by F. W. Taussig, Assistant Professor of Political Economy in Harvard University. It is written against the tariff in the United States; it is written from a free trade point of view; yet here is what he says:—

Certainly it is to be wished that changes from a system which has been in force for 25 years and to which the industrial organization has more or less completely adapted itself, ought to be made slowly and with caution. It would be a great mistake, fortunately not one likely to be committed, if a headlong reduction like that of 1883 were again to be attempted, and were again to overshoot the mark. A great change in the character of our industrial system, in order to be safe must be gradual and tentative, and is not likely to be fully carried out in less time than has elapsed since the present system was begun.

Mr. Fawcett in his book on "Protection and Free Trade" makes the same general statement. Now, Sir, that being so, in the interests of the country at large and looking at it rationally from the local standpoint that I looked at it last year, I cannot but say that this measure of tariff reform which has been given us by the Government is indeed a very large step in the right direction, far larger than we anticipated as I will show, and far larger I think than my hon. friend, the leader of the Opposition anticipated. I remember well when Sir Leonard Tilley propounded the policy of the Government in 1879.

At that time there used to be a seat on each side of the Speaker, and Sir John Macdonald had brought me in to sit on the right, and I was able to see the face of Mr. Mackenzie who used, I think, to occupy the chair which my hon. and learned friend the leader of the Opposition, occupies at the present moment. And, as Sir Leonard Tilley unfolded the scheme of adequate protection as it struck him, as he showed that the Government were determined to carry out fully its pledges made on the hustings in 1878, there was disappointment written on the face of the then leader of the Liberal party. I was one of the humblest of the little propaganda that went about the country in 1878, and the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) was ungracious enough to say: That we went about like a lot of quacks telling the people that we were about to do things that had never come to pass. The Liberal party thought in 1879 that the Government would not dare to carry out these pledges, and my hon. friend from South Oxford has been giving us revelations, or soi-disant revelations of what occurred. How Mr. Mackenzie went over to Sir Charles Tupper and said: Were you not going to do so and so if our policy had been different? Why, Sir, I have been assured on the very best authority that Mr. Mackenzie had a speech in his desk, and that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) had a speech in his desk full of denunciations against Sir John Macdonald's Government for want of faith in not carrying out the policy that they had promised on platform after platform. And I do think, that in those musings, and those rhetorical dreams that bear such excellent fruit, when the leader of the Opposition discourses in golden accents to this House—I cannot but think, that many a happy sentence and many a caustic epigram were evolved that are now wasted and gone; epigrams attacking the Government suggestions that they would give us tariff reform. My hon. friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) dealt with the tariff question; my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen) also dealt with it; and although my hon. friend from

Huron (Mr. McMillan) has not yet spoken on this matter he spoke in anticipation of what was going to be done, and he rather let the cat out of the bag as to what the expectations of his party were, for he actually complained that certain things were not done in regard to iron which we now find are done in this tariff. I remember reading in Charles Lamb about his school days in the Blue-coat Hospital school, that Coleridge, an exceedingly handsome youth, when walking out with him, played a prank on a fishwife, and you know that fishwives in London or elsewhere are not the most polite. Coleridge played a prank on the fishwife, and she turned around to maledict him—I cannot exactly say what she said in such polite ears as this assembly over which you preside, Mr. Speaker, or what she wanted to say—but instead of blasting, she blest the beautiful face of Coleridge when she saw it. And so my hon friend from South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), who is certainly not given to blessing, who deals out his maledictions in all directions and gives vent to his wild and severe opinions about all and sundry on every possible occasion, has not cursed this tariff; on the contrary he has given it a grudging benediction. In fact the only class of persons that the hon gentleman has never exercised his dreadfully black judgment upon are those who sit behind him; and when he is, so to speak, cursing the Conservative party and all its members, I long sometime that in a moment, in one short moment of frenzy he would turn around and, forgetting the bonds that bind him to the party behind him give us his candid opinion of his friends (laughter). Sir, if the hon. gentleman would only do that, I am persuaded that strong as the opinions have been that we have heard as against ourselves, they would prove to be mild compared with those that have been harbored so long in that thundrous bosom against his own party. The hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), however, has told us that there good points about this tariff. He says that he freely acknowledges that, and my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen) says: It is a move in the right

direction; and my hon. friend from Norfolk (Mr. Charlton) puts on it the highest eulogy possible, for he says: It is a child of his own. As I, Sir, greatly approve of this tariff as a whole, I am constrained to say that we are about to dispute the claim of fatherhood made by the hon. member for Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I am not going to waste the time of the House by discussing the question as to whether these gentlemen have any such claim as they make out. They say, and the 'Globe' also speaking of the tariff says: That the good points in it, the reductions were all suggested by the Liberals. Why, did not some of the Conservatives advocate some of these things? and before ever my hon. friend took up binder twine, and before ever we heard particular changes advocated from the Liberal side of the House—and we have only heard of one or two—the Conservatives in other parts of the country advocated these changes. I shall not discuss that question for it is a small one; it is lighter than dust in the balance compared with the practical question for us to discuss here: is this or is it not a good tariff? (Cheers). If it is a good tariff, or if it is an approach to a good tariff—just to take the standpoint of my hon. friend for a moment—surely the proper thing for us to do is to go into committee and like business men discuss it point after point, and see wherein we can improve it. I stated that the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright), was not only inconsistent in his motion but inconsistent in his speech. What did he say? In one part he said: You have the maximum of disturbance with the minimum of relief; in another part he said: You only have made trifling changes. If you have the maximum of disturbance in the tariff, you must have made great inroads on the protected manufacturers; and if so, my friends, the farmers, must have fared pretty well. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, I complain a little of what the hon. member for South Oxford said, though, mark you, it was really a eulogy of the tariff; but I complain still more of the fact that his remarks were echoed by a more conscientious man—my hon. friend from North

Norfolk (Mr. Charlton). I am not constrained to weigh nicely what the hon. member for South Oxford says; because, as Mr. Disraeli said of Lord Salisbury, he is a great master of gibes and flouts and jeers; but my hon. friend from North Norfolk is a man who weighs his words, not merely in the nice balance of the apothecary, but in the balance of the sanctuary (laughter); and yet my hon. friend, echoing what was said by the hon. member for South Oxford, says that he does not think that the government will carry out this tariff. I doubt very much says the hon. member for South Oxford, if the government will carry out this tariff; it is so good, it goes so far, it does so much for the farmer. He tries to infect the farmers with that notion. That suggestion is unworthy of this House, and unworthy of the hon. member for South Oxford and the hon. member for North Norfolk [hear, hear]. It is a suggestion that the men who occupy the foremost positions in this country are ready to commit one of the basest, most dastardly, and most treacherous acts possible. And, Sir, it suggests more than that; it suggests that some thirteen or fourteen men would go spontaneously crazy, almost—that, having got themselves once more entrenched in power by appealing to the people they would turn round and betray and abandon the men who placed them in power, and show themselves damned in the eyes of the historian for all time. Why, sir, the thing is preposterous. I believe it is not unfair, under these circumstances, that I should ask, how persons with a cross-fishing motion like this intend to legislate? Examine the motion; you cannot get at the kernel of it. One paragraph says one thing to one set of men, and another paragraph another thing to another set. In fact, the hon. member for South Oxford, in one part of his speech, seemed to say to the manufacturers: The government have gone too far; your friends have betrayed you; you have been wounded in the house of your friends; I have been abusing you for years like pickpockets, but if you turn to me I will do something for you. But the hon. gentleman could hardly maintain himself in that mood

very long, because in a short time he said the government did not mind throwing over the minor thieves if they could keep the greater ones on their side. I remember that George Lord Littleton says, "love will hope where wisdom would despair." Well, sir, ambition will hope where reason would despond, and it is quite clear that all this fighting is not at all in the interest of the farmer, or in the interest of the country, but is carried on solely in the hope that the hon. member for south Oxford should once more have his finger in the pie of our finances, and the Reform party should once again be in power. That is the whole object. But we may well ask, and I will ask the country: Suppose they did come into power, what guarantee have we that they would carry out the principles enunciated in this motion? A well known jingle of a popular poet tells us that when the Whigs are out of power they are very noisy, but that

As bees on flowers alighting cease to hum
So settling into office Whigs grow dumb.—
(Cheers.)

Now, sir, the present leader of the Reform party used to edit a paper called 'Le Deffricheur'; and I need hardly say that he did so with such skill as we should expect from a man of his literary feeling and scholarship. He will remember that in 1854 the Rouges of Lower Canada laid down a platform, that in 1872 that platform was adopted in the very country which, at the time, he represented in the local House, and that he was advocating the various planks of it in his paper. What were those planks? I will not read them all; I will read only the most interesting—only those that remain still new, shining, untarnished by wear or tear. One was election of Senators; the third was the reduction of the number of Ministers of the Crown; the fourth, diminution of the Governor General's salary; the fifth, the diminution of the number of Government employes; the sixth, reorganization of the militia; the seventh, amelioration of our means of communication with the St. Lawrence; the eighth, opposition to the construction of the Pacific Railway, so long as the North-West is not sufficiently

colonized ; and the eleventh was—what do you think!—protection to home industries [laughter and cheers]. My hon. and learned friend shakes his head. To borrow a joke that was made by Daniel O'Connell, you will remember, Mr. Speaker, well versed as you are, in all sorts of parliamentary and forensic lore—that when arguing before a jury, and the presiding judge shook his head in dissent from the law as expounded by the learned counsel he said, "Gentlemen, His Lordship shakes his head ; but when His Lordship shakes his head, there's nothing in it" [laughter.] My hon. friend entered the House of Commons in 1876 and in 1877 became minister of Inland Revenue in Mr. Mackenzie's government ; but did we ever hear a word of these reforms from the Mackenzie Government while my hon. friend was a member of it? I need hardly tell you that they did not touch the question of the election of Senators ; they did not reduce the number of cabinet ministers nor the Governor General's salary, nor the number of public employees, but added \$300,000 a year to the public burdens under that head ; they did not recognize the militia ; they had no policy with regard to the St. Lawrence or any other route ; and they began to build the Pacific Railway before there were three farmers in the North-West. During that time my hon. friend never spoke one word in regard to those things that his eloquent pen was dilating upon in 1872.

MR. LAURIER. If the hon gentleman will pardon me : my paper was dead in 1872.

MR. DAVIN. I may be incorrect in saying that he advocated them in 1872 in his paper ; but he did advocate them in his paper and in 1872 in his speeches. I may say this, that it shows a failure of medical and surgical skill on my part from a literary standpoint not to know that it was dead, and it is a wonder that it lived even as long as it did [laughter, cheers and renewed cheers.] What happened, actually ? Going aside a little, and yielding, so to speak, to the spirit of this debate up to the present moment, I ask : What was done for the country during those four years ? and what could

we expect to be done if they had remained longer in power ? I was reading the other day the speech made by the hon. member for South Oxford in 1878, when he was Minister of Finance. It is not necessary for me to inflict a long quotation from it on the House ; I do not, as a rule, you know, quote much. But I will say this, that all you have to do is to take up the speech made by the hon. member, when he was Finance Minister in 1878. That speech was one note of despair in regard to doing anything for the North-West or for the Dominion. When Mr. Tilley, afterwards Sir Leonard Tilley, brought in his Budget speech, what did the hon. member for South Oxford (Sir Richard Cartwright) say then ? What he did say then shows the value of his criticism on the present budget. He told the manufacturers that they would have competition a hundred times worse, under the tariff of Sir Leonard Tilley, than they had under the tariff it was to supersede. Not only that, he said they would have the most vehement domestic competition, and he described the ruinous financial evil consequent on the protective tariff of Sir Leonard Tilley. If you go westward, he said, you have a very long stretch of country which for many years, cannot be bridged over by railway, and we are dependent for the means of keeping up communication with the North-West, at best for several years, on the privilege of passing through a foreign country. He had no anticipation then of seeing the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which, three years later, was completed by the Government of Sir John Macdonald [cheers.] Such a thing as the feasibility of that enterprise never entered his head ; and if the hon. gentleman had continued in office we should have no Pacific Railway to-day and the North-West would still be an unknown region, and unknown quantity, so far as the Dominion is concerned. Therefore, when he denounces this tariff, when he says it gives the maximum of disturbance and the minimum of relief—when he prophesies all sorts of evil results from the tariff—all we have to do is to remember his doubts at the period to which I

refer. The hon. gentleman is a doubter who has never had ground for his doubts. He is worse than Thomas, for Thomas, when he got grounds for belief, believed. He is worse than Cassandra, for she prophesied the truth and was doomed not to be believed. But my hon. friend is not only not believed, but time mocks at his prophesies [cheers.] Therefore when he tells us this tariff may not be carried out that fact alone—even if we did not know the men on the Treasury benches; even if we did not know that no rational men could propose the policy which the Minister of Finance has proposed, and then after an election go back on it—the bare fact that it is the hon. member for South Oxford who doubts is sufficient to warrant us in coming to the conclusion, safe and sound that carried out it will be in every detail. I appeal to my hon. friend from North York [Mr. Mulock], who took an interest—it is true he came late in the day into the field of labor, but late as he came, we acknowledge his exertions and he will have his reward as though he came in at an early hour—I appeal to him whether we have not got a good deal. I asked myself, when I began to analyze this tariff, what does the farmer get? First, he gets a reduction of 15 per cent. on his implements. You have therefore at present a duty of but 20 per cent. on these and with the prospect of cheap iron in the States, I believe it will be found that the competition from there will probably be just as free and just as strong as if the duty had been entirely removed. I will come to the reasons by and by why no rational man could have expected the entire removal of that duty. Then we have lumber free, which is a tremendous boon to the North-West and Manitoba. We had a combine there. We had 20 per cent on lumber, which was paid by every man who built a house. Now, that lumber is free, and that is an immense boon. Not only that, but the laths and tar paper and everything that goes into the building of houses—which, from the standpoint of the hon. member for North York (Mr. Mulock), is of course a necessary of life, though not what is usually called a necessary of life among political

economists—have had the duty entirely taken off. What has been done in the matter of sugar is, I believe, also a great boon to the farmers of the North-West. I will not trust myself to discuss that question, but will do what I believe I have never done before in this House. I will read from a newspaper article to strengthen my position. In making this exception in this case, I shall tell the House the reason why. The newspaper is the Mail. It so happens that Mr. Bunting, who used formerly to have a seat in this House, and who manages this paper, is, we all know, an authority on sugar. What he does not know about sugar is not worth knowing. That he is thoroughly posted, I have personal knowledge, because I was once on the editorial staff of that newspaper, before and after Mr. Bunting was connected with it. In this article, Mr. Bunting says that the greatest advantages to the consumer will result from these sugar duties, that yellow refined sugar cannot fail to be cheaper, that the trader will have a great advantage under it; and he goes on to show that a great boon has been conferred on consumers, and that the changes should have an expanding effect on the consumption of sugar during the coming fruit season. I have given these as some of the larger items. There are twenty-seven items in the tariff relating specially to the farmers—tar paper, axle grease, whips, axes, scythes, hay knives, threshers separators, buckthorn fencing, hubs and spokes, felloes, etc., and for the cowboys, jiggers, stirrups, saddle trees, cheap Morgan trees, etc., etc., free instead of 10 per cent. So that, sir, when you add to that what has been done, you already have a set off to the 20 per cent. that remains on the implements and for the half of the old duty that remains on barbed wire.

Lumber free; barb wire $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ c; tarred paper from 30 to 20 per cent. (old $\frac{1}{2}$ c. per lb.); axle grease from 27 to 25 per cent. (old 1c. per lb.); whips from 46 to 35 per cent. (old 50c. per doz. and 30 per cent.); axes, scythes, hay knives, from \$2 per dozen and 20 per cent. to 35 per cent.; portable machines, threshers and separators from 35 to 30 per cent.; buckthorn

fencing from 1½c. per lb. to ¾c. per lb.; hubs, spokes, fellows, hewn and sawn, from 15 to 10 per cent.; pails, tubs, churns, from 25 to 20 per cent.; farm and freight waggons from 50 per cent. to 25 (this is the Globe's calculation, including all clerical errors); fertilizers from 20 to 10 per cent.; guns and all connected therewith from 35 to 30 per cent.; flax fibre and flax tow free, instead of 1c. and 2c. per lb.; saddle jiggers and stirrups, saddle trees and cheap moshan trees for cowboys' saddles, including pack saddle trees free, instead of 10 per cent.; laths free; shingles free.

But I go further than that: The farmer, as a rule has a wife, or he ought to have—every man ought to have. Now, Mr. Speaker, I have here a list of fifty odd articles, all touching the domestic life of the farmer. I shall not read this list, but I will say that the duty upon every one has been either lowered or abolished, and that these changes will materially lower the cost of living to the farmer of the North-West. For instance, the hon. member for South Oxford may in future have the consolation of knowing that he is washing his hands in cheaper delf and that when he comes to be buried, he can be buried in a casket that comes in under the lower duty,

Feathers, undressed, ostrich and vulture, a slight reduction from 15 and 25 to 20 per cent.; other feathers from 35 to 30 per cent.

The duty on common soap reduced by nearly 35 per cent., 1½c. per lb. to 1c. per lb.; condensed milk and coffee and milk foods, sweetened, from 47 to 30 per cent.—old 11½c. per lb. and 30 per cent.; unsweetened from 35 to 20 per cent.; oatmeal from \$2.70 per barrel to 50c.—old 1½c. per lb.; cleaned rice from 1½c. per lb. to 1c.; biscuits, sweetened, from 35 to 25 per cent.; macaroni, vermicella from 35 to 25—old 2c per lb; starch, including farina, from 4c to 1½c per lb; starch, unsweetened, from 2c to 1½c per lb; mustard cake from 20 to 15 per cent.; sweet potatoes, from 15c to 10c per bush.; tomatoes from 30c to 20c per bushel, the ad valorem the same; pickles from 38 to 35 per cent; sauces and catsups from 40 to 35 per cent; soy from 42 to 35; yeast

cakes and baking powder from 8 to 6c per lb; blackberries, gooseberries, raspberries and strawberries from 3 to 2c per lb; raisins from 40 to 25 per cent; oranges, lemons and limes in bulk from \$1.60 to \$1.50 per 1000—a very slight reduction. I could wish it were greater, and I am quite sure the revenue would not suffer and it would be of advantage to the health of the people. Fruits in cans reduced from 3 to 2c per lb; jellies and jams from 5c to 3c per lb; we have tea and coffee free; impossible under a revenue tariff—and coffee not directly imported reduced from 3 to 2c per lb, ad valorem being the same; cocoanuts from \$1 to 50c per 100; nutmegs and mace from 25 to 20 per cent; barrels containing petroleum from 40 to 20 cents; shoe-blackening from 30 to 25 per cent; china and earthenware from 35 to 30 per cent.

Now Sir, I do not wish to deny the hon. member for South Oxford the consolation of knowing when he performs his ablutions that toilet utensils have, owing to the persistency of himself and party, been reduced in price to the people of Canada. Glass jars reduced from 35 to 30 per cent. The spectacles of the old lady and the eye glass of the young man of fashion from 30 to 20 per cent; clothes wringers from \$1 and 30 per cent to 25c and 20 per cent; sewing machines from \$3 each and 20 per cent to 30 per cent; corset clasps and steels from 30 to 20 per cent, the specific duty of 5c remaining; enamelled iron ware from 35 to 20 per cent; plated cutlery from 58 to 35—old 50c a dozen and 20 per cent; clocks from 35 to 25; furniture from 35 to 30; coffins—is this domestic? from 35 to 25; fibre ware from 30 to 25; sugar candy from 45 to 35 per cent—old 1½c and 35 per cent; cotton balls, batting and sheet wadding undyed and dyed, from 2c and 3c per lb and 15 per cent to 22½ per cent—Globe calculates old equal 25; cotton warp and cotton yarn dyed from 34 to 25 per cent; unbleached cotton fabrics from 26 to 22½—old 1c per square yard and 15 per cent; bleached cottons 25 instead of 2c per square yard and 15 per cent; shirts—poor man's shirts—costing less than \$3 per dozen, from 75 per cent to 25c—old \$1 per dozen and 30 per cent; all cotton

clothing and other manufactures from 35 to 32½; lamp wicks from 30 to 25 per cent; Chaplin's unfinished leghorn hats and manilla hoods from 20 per cent to free; coke from 50c per ton to free; cotton yarn, finer than No. 40, from 2c per lb and 15 per cent to free; fire bricks free instead of 20 per cent; prunella, free instead of 10 per cent; salt, free; flaxseed free; shoebuttons free instead of 5c gross and 20 per cent; eyelets, hooks, etc., free instead of 30 per cent; nitrate of soda free instead of 20 per cent; woolen and worsted yarns finer than 56 and mohair yarns free instead of from 10 to 20 per cent.

Then, Sir, when you come to the industrial portion of the community, I have here a list of sixty-six articles, the reduction of duties upon which will cheapen production and will therefore result in a reduction of the cost of living to the farmer of the North-West. And when you put these into the scales, the 20 per cent. on implements and ½-cent per pound that remains on barbed wire, kick the beam.

Glue and mucilage each reduced from 30 to 25 per cent.; gum and sizing from 25 to 10 per cent. (old 1c. per lb.); muriatic and nitric acid from 25 to 20 p.c.; on sulphuric acid a slight reduction and on acid phosphate from 3 to 2c. per lb; essential oils from 20 to 10 per cent; lubricating oils from 7-one-fifth to 6c. per gallon; crude petroleum from 7-one fifth to 3 three-fifths per gallon; ochres and dry colors from 30 to 20 per cent.; oxides, dry filters, umbers and burnt siennas from 30 to 25 per cent.; paints and colors ground in oil from 30 to 20 per cent.; spirits of turpentine from 10 to 5 per cent.; varnishes, lacquers, Japan, driers and the like from 25 to 20 per cent.; the specific being the same; putty from 25 to 15 per cent.; plate glass, less than 12 sq. feet, from 6 to 4c. per ft; show cases from 59 per cent. to 35 (old \$2 each and 35 per cent.), duty specific entirely removed; plaster of paris from 32 to 15 per cent., old 10c. per 100 lbs.; P. P. calcined from 27 to 20 per cent., old 15c. per 100 lb.; rough marble from 25 to 20 per cent; leather board and leatheroid from 42 to 20 per cent., old 3c. per lb.; leather japanned or enamelled from 25

to 22½ per cent.; belting from 25 to 20 per cent; India rubber clothing from 39 to 35 per cent., old 10c. per lb. and 25 per cent.; composition nails from 20 to 13 per cent.; cut nails from 1c. to ½c. per lb.; cut tacks under 16 oz. from 2c. to 1c. per 1000; cut tacks over 16 oz. from 2c. to 1½c. per lb.; wood screws of certain lengths brought down from 6c., 8c., and 11c. to 3c., 5c. and 8c. per lb.; other screws reduced from 35 to 30 per cent.; iron and steel nuts from 25 to 20 per cent.; chopping adzes from 35 to 20 per cent.; picks from 40 to 30 per cent., old 1c. per lb. and 25 per cent.; matlocks and hammers from 35 to 30 per cent.; surgical and dental instruments from 20 to 15 per cent.; safes, vaults and scales from 35 to 30; engines, boilers, and machinery from 30 to 27½ per cent.; brass and copper wire from 15 to 10 per cent.; gas fixtures from 30 to 27½ per cent.; bells from 30 to 25 per cent.; brass nails and rivets from 35 to 25 per cent.; copper nails and rivets from 30 to 25 per cent.; gold and silver leaf from 30 to 25 [teeth stuffing]; cane or rattan from 25 to 12½ per cent; veneers of wood from 10 to 5; picture frames from 35 to 30; mouldings, plain wood, from 25 to 20 per cent.; gilt, from 30 to 25.

Cordage—new, 30 per cent., old, equal 1½c. per lb. and 10 per cent.; twine and cotton cordage from 30 to 25 per cent.

Nitro-glycerine from 70 to 25 per cent.; dynamite from 52 to 25 per cent.; blasting powder from 40 to 25; acids used for medicinal, chemical and manufacturing purposes, not specially provided for, from 20 per cent. to free; brass-scrap, etc., free; brass in strips for printers' rules from 15 per cent. free; coal dust from 10 per cent. to free; emery wheels and emery in block, crushed and ground from 25 per cent. to free; jute, rough, not colored, bleached or calendered, free instead of 20 per cent.; lampblacks, ivory black, free instead of 10 per cent.; oil—cocoanut and palm, carbolic or heavy oil, oil of roses, including otters or attar, free instead of 10 per cent.; platts, chip, manillas, cotton, mohair, free instead of 30 per cent.; potash free instead of 10 per cent.

Hammocks and lawn tennis nets and

other like articles manufactured of twine from 35 to 30 per cent.; jute cloth dyed or bleached from 25 to 10 per cent.; women's and childrens' dress goods, etc., ranging from 25 per cent. to 32½ per cent. down to 22½.

Is this no advantage? Floor oil cloth, matting and carpets from 40 to 30 per cent.; buttons of hoof, rubber, vulcanite or composition from 5c. a gross and 20 per cent., equal 33 per cent. to 4c. and 20 per cent.; other buttons cheaper.

Now, Sir, I come to a point on which I congratulate the Minister of Finance specially. I am not aware whether I can make the claim with certainty, but I think I was the first man in the House to move in the matter of bringing before the Minister the necessity of allowing books for universities, previously taxed, to come in free. I think the placing of these books on the free list is a great concession to higher education. I shall not now discuss the general question of the duty on books, but in regard to this particular matter, on behalf of those who take an interest in higher education, and those who take an interest in university life, I thank the hon. Minister for the concession. Now, Sir, I may be permitted to ask a question of the Opposition who have been discussing this matter of tariff reform. The whole tone of what they say is this: That a tariff somehow is responsible for any want of prosperity that may exist in the country at the time when the tariff prevails. They cannot deny that such is the tone of their speeches. Yet, in the same breath with which he conveyed that idea the hon. member for South Oxford will tell you that it is an absurd proposition. And, Sir, it is absurd, it is demonstrably absurd. It is demonstrable that tariffs have nothing whatever to do with what are called commercial crises.

Mr. LAURIER. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. I do not know whether that is a cheer of assent or a cheer of derision.

Mr. LAURIER. That is a recantation.

Mr. DAVIN. On your part?

Mr. LAURIER. On your part.

Mr. DAVIN. No, I will not say I never recant, but I will say I never have any

need of recanting. But, as I pointed out in the earlier part of my remarks, my hon. friend must have recanted.

Some hon. MEMBERS. Hear, hear.

Mr. DAVIN. If the hon. members on the Opposition side agree with it, why then is the argument stated in such a way as to suggest that if there is a low price for wheat, the tariff must be responsible. Take the remark of my hon. friend from Wellington (Mr. McMullen). He would have us believe that when there is a low price for any given commodity such as wheat the tariff is responsible for that. But if you had absolutely free trade, such as they have in England—or, for I will not discuss the technical point, such as they aim at in England—we should have the same price for wheat. Why then should the hon. gentlemen take the tone they do? Is it for the want of something to say, or is it to throw dust in the eyes of simple people? I do not know; but, as I say, it is demonstrable that a tariff has nothing to do with financial crises. Take, for instance, the years between 1874 and 1878. You had depressions during those four years over the whole world. There was depression, stringent and strong, in England, a free trade country. You had depression in Canada. You had depression very severe and drastic in the United States. Well, in the United States you had the highest tariff ever imposed up to that time in any country; in England you had free trade. My hon. friend from South Oxford talks as if the present depression that has swept over the United States, is due in some way to their bad banking system. But, even bad banking systems, Sir, do not necessarily produce crises. What produces, crises, depressions and financial disasters, is over-speculating,—wild speculation. Sir, we have an instance to demonstrate that a good banking system will not save a people from this result of bad speculation, in the crises of 1637 in Holland. The people in Holland at that time went as wild over tulip speculation as ever Englishmen did over the South Sea bubble. No less than thirteen thousand florins was paid for a single bulb. Men went shares in single bulbs; men sold

bulbs that did not exist. Men who had not as much as a flower-pot in their possession sold bulbs at fabulous prices, and these the bulbs of tulips, which, while a beautiful are not the most attractive of flowers. After this period of wild speculation the crash came. In Holland at that time they had no paper currency whatever and its banking system had been always noted for its soundness. If our friends contend that any financial depression existing here is due to the tariff, they ought to point out here how the tariff has produced these evils of which they complain. Now, Sir, let me say one word about why I think it reasonable that we should be content with the 20 per cent. duty upon implements. That reason is this, that, owing to the tariff of 1887 the Finance Minister's hands were tied in regard to iron. I hold, as you know, Sir, that iron ought to be free, as being the raw material of so many things. But, suppose we had as a free trader a Finance Minister, he would have to deal with a very grave question. You had protected these industries and fostered them—how then could he do other than move slowly? Of course, you know my views still further. If I were to protect raw material at all, I would protect it by a bonus pure and simple. The 'Globe' newspaper, which is very able, and well written—never so well written as it is at present—discussed this question of a bonus, and it seems to think there is no difference between a bonus protecting a raw material industry and a customs. Let me point out what the difference is. We will suppose that a bonus is sufficient to encourage the manufacture of a given commodity, that it is sufficient to enable the manufacturer to compete with the outside world, that bonus will not affect the international price of the commodity to the consumer.

Mr. MILLS [Bothwell]. The Government pays the duty instead of receiving it, that is the difference.

Mr. DAVIN. Is that what the hon. gentleman always contends? The hon. gentleman contends in regard to protection that the Government does not receive the duty at all, but the manufacturer receives it.

Mr. MILLS [Bothwell]. Not on imported articles.

Mr. DAVIN. What would happen would be this: The community would give a certain premium; it would come to the conclusion that it was worth while to give a certain premium to encourage a given industry. Those who deal in that raw material would buy at the international price. I am only contending now, and I am sure the hon. member for Bothwell will agree with me, that there is a radical difference between encouraging an industry by protection in the shape of customs and by protection in the shape of a bonus. There is a complete difference, and I just mentioned it because, in my view of a tariff, under no circumstance would I put such a customs duty on raw material as was placed on iron in 1887; but once it was placed there, the hand of any Finance Minister is more or less tied; he cannot give you the heroic remedy that he might otherwise do, and partly because of such a criticism as the hon. member for Both [Mr. Mills] makes. That is the kind of criticism that would be made all over the country. The hon. gentlemen must know as well as I do that if there is anything to be paid for encouraging and industry under the circumstances the community at large would pay less under a bonus than under a customs protection. However, I merely mention that in passing, to point out that as long as a duty was to be placed on iron it was impossible for the Finance Minister to go farther than he has gone in regard to reducing the duty on implements. Now, Sir, I have no fear whatever that the farmers of the North-West, bearing in mind what has been done by this extended reform in our tariff, will not be well content with the reduction on implements, and on those other things that we fought for from year to year. I remember that in 1888 or 1889 a dinner happened to be given at Regina, when I was going away, and a gentlemen spoke at that banquet, whom my hon. friend the Finance Minister heard speak on a Regina platform last year when he was up there. This important question of protection had come up, and this gentleman stated at the Regina meeting what I say I had

laid down when I was editing the Regina LEADER in 1883, that the North-West did not receive directly any benefit from protection, and I took up specially the question of lumber. At that time the Government was doing a great deal to open up the North-West; they were spending large sums for that work, and Mr. George Brown, whom my hon. friend the Finance Minister heard speak last year, stated at that banquet, that the people of the North-West did not take so contracted a view of the tariff that they could not consider what was for the benefit of the whole Dominion of Canada. Sir, I will say this, that any view that stops short of regarding this country as an organic whole, that stops short of regarding it as an organism, just like a human organism, that looks to the benefit of any single member of that organism as against the rest, takes a narrower view than is consistent with even local wisdom, above all, consistent with patriotism to the country in which he happens to live. We must rise above that. As one of our most fascinating writers says, it is not Cape Breton, it is not Nova Scotia, it is not New Brunswick, it is not Quebec, it is not Ontario, it is not Manitoba, it is not British Columbia, it is not the North-West but all these together, the Dominion of Canada, that we must think of when we are considering what is best in a matter of this kind; because you cannot have a tariff for the North-West, you cannot have a tariff for Quebec, you cannot have a tariff for the lower provinces, but you must have a tariff for the whole Dominion. Sir, I believe that under the circumstances this tariff approaches as near as possible at the present time to that organic harmony in which if one member

suffers, in the language of the great Apostle, all suffer, and if one member rejoices all rejoice. From that point of view, I feel that this tariff we are discussing to-day, this tariff that we have been asked to condemn by a motion introduced in a speech which declares that it has some good points, a motion supported by speeches which yet say the tariff has gone a long way in the right direction, a motion supported, also, by a leading paper that has emphatically declared that a good deal has been well done in that tariff—I say, Sir, that tariff is one that it is impossible for me to condemn, as I am asked to do by the motion of the hon. member for South Oxford [Sir Richard Cartwright]. Speaking as a North-West man, looking at what has been done in the direction of easing the burden upon the farmer, and making living cheaper to him, easing the burden upon the mechanic, and making the domestic life of both classes easier—looking at all that, I say that the tariff placed before us goes beyond what I had anticipated, it goes beyond what I believe the member for South Oxford [Sir Richard Cartwright] would have dared to attempt if he had been in power and taking into account not only the interest of any one locality, but the interests of that locality combined with the interests of the Dominion at large, you have here a tariff that is one of the boldest and sagest that has been proposed in my memory, in Canada; it is one of the boldest things that have been done in the history of tariffs—and I recall what has been done by Mr. Gladstone; it is a bold, sage and a liberal measure, and it will have my undivided support. (Loud cheers). •

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