

determination of tribunals, irresponsible, irremovable, governed by no control and subject to no appeal.

I hope that state of affairs is now at an end. Many Indians and Eskimos are not yet citizens and have no social rights, although they were here long before we were. The Indians, for example, have no civil rights or civil liberties, even though those rights were guaranteed by treaty. We are not treating these people as I hope they will be treated when the resolution is considered.

It is not constitutional changes that are needed at the present time, because the matters referred to in the resolution are already the law of the land. It is the function of our law courts to see that the law of the land is carried out. Although this parliament deals with the liberty of the subject and the criminal code and other statutes, the enforcement of the law is under the provinces. It has been contended in this parliament that this legislature should enforce its own law. I believe it would be a good thing if we did that. We have what is called a duplicate system. We have a provincial system under section 92, and within it is another duplicate municipal system. All these freedoms referred to have long been the law of the land.

What do you propose to do? As I see it, this involves no constitutional change at all. The constitution is clear; that is not what we need in connection with these matters. After two long wars to secure freedom we need a change in the hearts of men. That is one thing which is more essential than anything else. We have been going around in a circle trying to find a solution to this problem. We propose now to appoint a committee, but that will lead to nowhere. We have had royal commissions, committees, conferences and ministers travelling abroad on this mission, and members of all parties have gone travelling, but it seems to me that all their efforts have largely been failures. As Tennyson said in his, "In Memoriam":

Let knowledge grow from more to more.

And again in the early stanzas of "In Memoriam":

Our little systems have their day;  
They have their day and cease to be:  
They are but broken lights of thee,  
And thou, O Lord, art more than they.

As I see it, one of the main factors is that we must get people back to where they started years ago, back to religion. Freedom of religion is one of the things in the charter which the government has set out. I believe that one of the great changes which will come about in this country is that we shall return, as I said the other day, to religion and the

[Mr. Church.]

principles of Christianity. St. James in his General Epistle, chapter 1, verses 26 and 27, says of freedom and religion:

If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his own tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.

Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

We have always had freedom of religion in this country. I know I have never seen any bigotry in the city from which I come, and I was born there. All the citizens have the same freedom; they are equal; they can run for any office. Some of the brightest students that we have are children of parents who came from European and other foreign countries, and long may it continue that way.

How are we to solve these problems? I do not know, but I wish to refer to what I said when this discussion was up before. I referred to the fact that in the early days of this country everybody owned some property, a farm, a little mill or something else. We have been slow to see how the rights of property have been taken away in Canada by big business; the old business has passed away, and a large majority of the people are just proletarians. In the days of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier it was quite different. In this house we are behind the times, and unless we make up and reform our house from within, it will be reformed from without. So far as my knowledge goes, none of the great reforms that have marked the history of England since 1800 originated within parliament; every one began outside. The same is true of our house. All our great reforms, except those which were initiated a few years ago, began outside the house. Reform was not enacted into law, either in Canada or in England, until parliaments were driven to do something. Look at the mother country. Parliamentary reform did not start in the House of Commons or the House of Lords, but outside those houses. The abolition of the slave trade, the abolition of the corn laws, prison reform, colonial reform, catholic emancipation and the reform of the franchise—all these started outside parliament.

I remember away back in the days when we had a committee which investigated the white-collar worker and the great reform which went on in our industrial system. That committee was appointed to make an inquiry in connection with the freedoms set out in this charter. What was the result? We were told about the principles of magna carta that no free man shall be arrested or detained in prison, and so on, and that there shall be no taxation without representation. Is that the law in Canada